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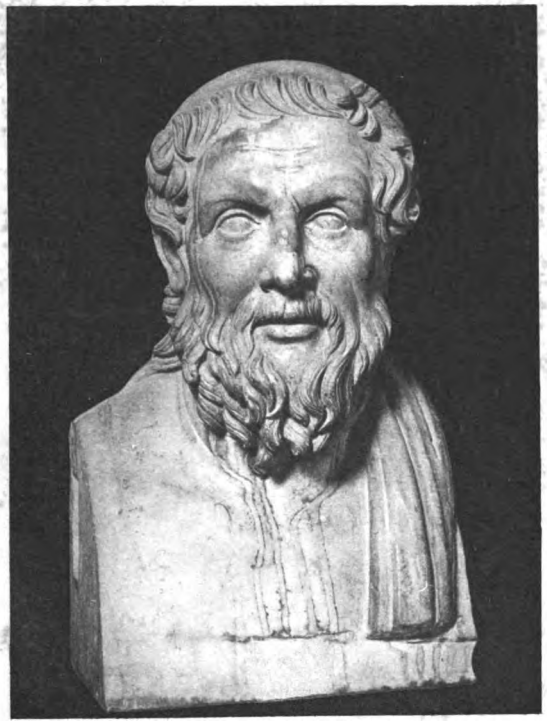
EDITED BY

T. E. PAGE, M.A. AND W. H. D. ROUSE, LITT.D.

PHILOSTRATUS

I

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APOLLONIUS OF TYANA. (?)
BUST IN THE CAPITOLINE MUSEUM, ROME.

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PHILOSTRATUS

THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

THE EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS AND THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES

I

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INTRODUCTION

THE Life of Apollonius of Tyana has only been once translated in its entirety into English, as long ago as the year 1811, by an Irish clergyman of the name of E. Berwick. It is to be hoped therefore that the present translation will be acceptable to the English reading public; for there is in it much that is very good reading, and it is lightly written. Of its author, Philostratus, we do not know much apart from his own works, from which we may gather that he was born in the island of Lemnos about the year 172 of our era, that he went to Athens as a young man to study rhetoric, and later on to Rome. Here he acquired a reputation as a sophist, and was drawn into what we may call the *salon* of the literary and philosophic Empress Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus. She put into his hands certain memoirs of Apollonius, the sage of Tyana, who had died in extreme old age nearly

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100 years before during the reign of the Emperor Nerva, and she begged him to use them for the composition of a literary life of the sage in question. These memoirs had been composed by a disciple and companion of Apollonius named Damis, a native of the city of Nineveh, whose style, Philostratus says, like that of most Syrian Greeks, was heavy and wanting in polish. Besides these memoirs Philostratus used for his work a history of the career of Apollonius at Aegae, written by an admirer of the name of Maximus. He also used the many letters of Apollonius which were in circulation. His collection of these agreed partly, but not wholly, with those which are preserved to us and translated below. He tells us further that the Emperor Hadrian had a collection of these letters in his villa at Antium. Philostratus also possessed various treatises of Apollonius which have not come down to us. Beside making use of the written sources here enumerated Philostratus had travelled about, not only to Tyana, where there was a temple specially dedicated to the cult of Apollonius, but to other cities where the sage's memory was held in honour, in order to collect such traditions of the sage as he found still current. From these sources then the work before us was drawn, for although Philostratus

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also knew the four books of a certain Moeragenes upon Apollonius, he tells us he paid no attention to them, because they displayed an ignorance of many things which concerned the sage. The learned Empress seems never to have lived to read the work of Philostratus, for it is not dedicated to her and cannot have been published before the year 217.

It has been argued that the work of Damis never really existed, and that he was a mere man of straw invented by Philostratus. This view was adopted as recently as the year 1910 by Professor Bigg, in his history of the origins of Christianity. But it seems unnecessarily sceptical. It is quite true that Philostratus puts into the mouth of the sage, on the authority of Damis, conversations and ideas which, as they recur in the Lives of the Sophists of Philostratus, can hardly have been reported by Damis. But because he resorted to this literary trick, it by no means follows that all the episodes which he reports on the authority of Damis are fictitious, for many of them possess great verisimilitude and can hardly have been invented as late as the year 217, when the life was completed and given to the literary world. It is rather to be supposed that Damis himself was not altogether a credible writer, but one who, like the so-called

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aretalogi of that age, set himself to embellish the life of his master, to exaggerate his wisdom and his supernatural powers; if so, more than one of the striking stories told by Philostratus may have already stood in the pages of Damis.

However this be, the evident aim of Philostratus is to rehabilitate the reputation of Apollonius, and defend him from the charge of having been a charlatan or wizard addicted to evil magical practices. This accusation had been levelled against the sage during his life-time by a rival sophist Euphrates, and not long after his death by the author already mentioned, Moeragenes. Unfortunately the orations of Euphrates have perished, and we know little of the work of Moeragenes. Origen, the Christian father, in his work against Celsus, written about the year 240, informs us that he had read it, and that it attacked Apollonius as a magician addicted to sinister practices. It is certain also that the accusations of Euphrates were of similar tendency, and we only need to read a very few pages of this work of Philostratus to see that his chief interest is to prove to the world that these accusations were ill-founded, and that Apollonius was a divinely-inspired sage and prophet, and a reformer along Pythagorean lines of the Pagan

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religion. It is possible that some of the stories told by Byzantine writers of Apollonius, notably by John Tzetzes, derive from Moeragenes.

The story of the life of Apollonius as narrated by Philostratus is briefly as follows. He was born towards the beginning of the Christian era at Tyana, in Cappadocia, and his birth was attended according to popular tradition with miracles and portents. At the age of sixteen he set himself to observe in the most rigid fashion the almost monastic rule ascribed to Pythagoras, renouncing wine, rejecting the married estate, refusing to eat any sort of flesh, and in particular condemning the sacrifice of animals to the gods, which in the ancient world furnished the occasion, at any rate for the poor people, of eating meat. For we must not forget that in antiquity hardly any meat was eaten which had not previously been consecrated by sacrifice to a god, and that consequently the priest was the butcher of a village and the butcher the priest. Like other votaries of the Neo-Pythagorean philosophy or discipline, Apollonius went without shoes or only wore shoes of bark, he allowed his hair to grow long, and never let a razor touch his chin, and he took care to wear on his person nothing but linen, for it was accounted by him, as by Brahmans, an impurity to allow any

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dress made of the skin of dead animals to touch the person. Before long he set himself up as a reformer, and betaking himself to the town of Aegae, he took up his abode in the temple of Aesculapius, where he rapidly acquired such a reputation for sanctity that sick people flocked to him asking him to heal them. On attaining his majority, at the death of his father and mother, he gave up the greater part of his patrimony to his elder brother, and what was left to his poor relations. He then set himself to spend five years in complete silence, traversing, it would seem, Asia Minor, in all directions, but never opening his lips. The more than Trappist vow of silence which he thus enforced upon himself seems to have further enhanced his reputation for holiness, and his mere appearance on the scene was enough to hush the noise of warring factions in the cities of Cilicia and Pamphylia. If we may believe his biographer he professed to know all languages without ever having learned them, to know the inmost thoughts of men, to understand the language of birds and animals, and to have the power of predicting the future. He also remembered his former incarnation, for he shared the Pythagorean belief of the migrations of human souls from body to body, both of animals and of human beings. He preached

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a rigid asceticism, and condemned all dancing and other diversions of the kind; he would carry no money on his person and recommended others to spend their money in the relief of the poorer classes. He visited Persia and India, where he consorted with the Brahmans; he subsequently visited Egypt, and went up the Nile in order to acquaint himself with those precursors of the monks of the Thebaid called in those days the Gymnosophists or naked philosophers. He visited the cataracts of the Nile, and returning to Alexandria held long conversations with Vespasian and Titus soon after the siege and capture of Jerusalem by the latter. He had a few years before, in the course of a visit to Rome, incurred the wrath of Nero, whose minister Tigellinus however was so intimidated by him as to set him at liberty. After the death of Titus he was again arrested, this time by the Emperor Domitian, as a fomenter of sedition, but was apparently acquitted. He died at an advanced age in the reign of Nerva, who befriended him; and according to popular tradition he ascended bodily to heaven, appearing after death to certain persons who entertained doubts about a future life.

Towards the end of the third century when the struggle between Christianity and decadent Paganism

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had reached its last and bitterest stage, it occurred to some of the enemies of the new religion to set up Apollonius, to whom temples and shrines had been erected in various parts of Asia Minor, as a rival to the founder of Christianity. The many miracles which were recorded of Apollonius, and in particular his eminent power over evil spirits or demons, made him a formidable rival in the minds of Pagans to Jesus Christ. And a certain Hierocles, who was a provincial governor under the Emperor Diocletian, wrote a book to show that Apollonius had been as great a sage, as remarkable a worker of miracles, and as potent an exorcist as Jesus Christ. His work gave great offence to the missionaries of the Christian religion, and Eusebius the Christian historian wrote a treatise in answer, in which he alleges that Apollonius was a mere charlatan, and if a magician at all, then one of very inferior powers; he also argues that if he did achieve any remarkable results, it was thanks to the evil spirits with whom he was in league. Eusebius is careful, however, to point out that before Hierocles, no anti-Christian writer had thought of putting forward Apollonius as the rival and equal of Jesus of Nazareth. It is possible of course that Hierocles took his cue from the Emperor Alexander Severus (A.D. 205–235), who instead of setting up

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images of the gods in his private shrine, established therein, as objects of his veneration, statues of Alexander the Great, Orpheus, Apollonius of Tyana, Abraham, and Christ. This story however in no way contradicts the statement of Eusebius, and it is a pity that this significant caution of the latter has been disregarded by Christian writers of the last three centuries, who have almost unanimously adopted a view that is utterly unwarrantable, namely, that Philostratus intended his life of Apollonius as a counterblast to that of the Christian gospel. The best scholars of the present generation are opposed to this view, for they realise that demoniac possession was a common feature in the ancient landscape, and that the exorcist driving demons out of afflicted human beings by use of threats and invocations of mysterious names was as familiar a figure in old Pagan society as he was in the early church.

We read that wherever Apollonius travelled, he visited the temples, and undertook to reform the cults which he there found in vogue. His reform seems to have consisted in this, that he denounced as derogatory to the gods the practice of sacrificing to them animal victims and tried to persuade the priests to abandon it. In this respect he prepared the ground for Christianity and was working along

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the same lines as many of the Christian missionaries. In the third century Porphyry the philosopher and enemy of Christianity was as zealous in his condemnation of blood-offerings, as Apollonius had been in the first. Unquestionably the neo-Pythagorean propaganda did much to discredit ancient paganism, and Apollonius and its other missionaries were all unwittingly working for that ideal of bloodless sacrifice which, after the destruction of the Jewish Temple, by an inexorable logic imposed itself on the Christian Church.

It is well to conclude this all too brief notice of Apollonius with a passage cited by Eusebius [1] from his lost work concerning sacrifice. There is no good reason for doubting its authenticity, and it is an apt summary of his religious belief:—

"In no other manner, I believe, can one exhibit a fitting respect for the divine being, beyond any other men make sure of being singled out as an object of his favour and good-will, than by refusing to offer to God whom we termed First, who is One and separate from all, as subordinate to whom we must recognise all the rest, any victim at all; to Him we must not kindle fire or make promise unto him of any sensible

[1] Eusebius, *On the Preparation for the Gospel*, Bk. iv. Ch. 13.

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object whatsoever. For He needs nothing even from beings higher than ourselves. Nor is there any plant or animal which earth sends up or nourishes, to which some pollution is not incident. We should make use in relation to him solely of the higher speech, I mean of that which issues not by the lips; and from the noblest of beings we must ask for blessings by the noblest faculty we possess, and that faculty is intelligence, which needs no organ. On these principles then we ought not on any account to sacrifice victims to the mighty and supreme God."

The text followed by the translator is that of C. L. Kayser, issued by B. G. Teubner, at Leipzic in 1870.

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PHILOSTRATUS

BOOK I

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ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

ΤΑ ΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΥΑΝΕΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ

Α′

I

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

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PHILOSTRATUS

THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

BOOK I

I

CHAP. I

Religious asceticism of Pythagoras

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

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CAP. I λαις περὶ αὐτοῦ δοξάζειν, ἑαυτῷ δὲ τόν τε Ἀπόλλω ἥκειν ὁμολογοῦντα, ὡς αὐτὸς εἴη, ξυνεῖναι δὲ καὶ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντας τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τὰς Μούσας καὶ θεοὺς ἑτέρους, ὧν τὰ εἴδη καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα οὔπω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους γιγνώσκειν. καὶ ὅ τι ἀποφήναιτο ὁ Πυθαγόρας, νόμον τοῦτο οἱ ὁμιληταὶ ἡγοῦντο καὶ ἐτίμων αὐτὸν ὡς ἐκ Διὸς ἥκοντα, καὶ ἡ σιωπὴ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου σφίσιν ἐπήσκητο· πολλὰ γὰρ θεῖά τε καὶ ἀπόρρητα ἤκουον, ὧν κρατεῖν χαλεπὸν ἦν μὴ πρῶτον μαθοῦσιν, ὅτι καὶ τὸ σιωπᾶν λόγος. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν Ἀκραγαντῖνον Ἐμπεδοκλέα βαδίσαι φασὶ τὴν σοφίαν ταύτην, τὸ γὰρ

χαίρετ', ἐγὼ δ' ὔμμιν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητός

καὶ

ἤδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ γενόμην κόρη τε κόρος τε

καὶ ὁ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ βοῦς, ὃν λέγεται πέμμα ποιησάμενος θῦσαι, τὰ Πυθαγόρου ἐπαινοῦντος εἴη ἄν. καὶ πλείω ἕτερα περὶ τῶν τὸν Πυθαγόρου τρόπον φιλοσοφησάντων ἱστοροῦσιν, ὧν οὐ προσήκει με νῦν ἅπτεσθαι σπεύδοντα ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον, ὃν ἀποτελέσαι προὐθέμην.

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

CHAP. I

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

And this also:

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

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

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II

CAP. II

Ἀδελφὰ γὰρ τούτοις ἐπιτηδεύσαντα Ἀπολλώνιον, καὶ θειότερον ἢ ὁ Πυθαγόρας τῇ σοφίᾳ προσελθόντα τυραννίδων τε ὑπεράραντα, καὶ γενόμενον κατὰ χρόνους οὔτ' ἀρχαίους οὔτ' αὖ νέους οὔπω οἱ ἄνθρωποι γιγνώσκουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθινῆς σοφίας, ἣν φιλοσόφως τε καὶ ὑγιῶς ἐπήσκησεν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τό, ὁ δὲ τὸ ἐπαινεῖ τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἱ δέ, ἐπειδὴ μάγοις Βαβυλωνίων καὶ Ἰνδῶν Βραχμᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Γυμνοῖς συνεγένετο, μάγον ἡγοῦνται αὐτὸν καὶ διαβάλλουσιν ὡς βιαίως σοφόν, κακῶς γιγνώσκοντες· Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε γὰρ καὶ Πυθαγόρας αὐτὸς καὶ Δημόκριτος, ὁμιλήσαντες μάγοις καὶ πολλὰ δαιμόνια εἰπόντες, οὔπω ὑπήχθησαν τῇ τέχνῃ, Πλάτων τε βαδίσας ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ προφητῶν τε καὶ ἱερέων ἐγκαταμίξας τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λόγοις, καὶ καθάπερ ζωγράφος ἐσκιαγραφημένοις ἐπιβαλὼν χρώματα, οὔπω μαγεύειν ἔδοξε, καίτοι πλεῖστα ἀνθρώπων φθονηθεὶς ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ προαισθέσθαι πολλὰ καὶ προγνῶναι διαβάλλοι ἂν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐς τὴν σοφίαν ταύτην, ἢ διαβεβλήσεταί γε καὶ Σωκράτης ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου προεγίγνωσκε, καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας ἐφ' οἷς προὔλεγε· καίτοι τίς οὐκ οἶδε τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν Ὀλυμπίασι μέν, ὁπότε ἥκιστα ὗε, παρελθόντα ὑπὸ κωδίῳ ἐς τὸ στάδιον ἐπὶ προρρήσει ὄμβρου, οἰκίαν

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II

CHAP. II

Apollonius was no wizard

For quite akin to theirs was the ideal which Apollonius pursued, and more divinely than Pythagoras he wooed wisdom and soared above tyrants; and though he lived in times not long gone by nor again quite of our own day, yet men know him not because of the true wisdom, which he practised as a sage and sanely; but one man singles out one feature for praise in him and another another; while some, because he had interviews with the wizards of Babylon and with the Brahmans of India, and with the nude ascetics of Egypt, put him down as a wizard, and spread the calumny that he was a sage of an illegitimate kind, judging of him ill. For Empedocles and Pythagoras himself and Democritus consorted with wizards and uttered many supernatural truths, yet never stooped to the black art; and Plato went to Egypt and mingled with his own discourses much of what he heard from the prophets and priests there; and though, like a painter, he laid their colours on to his rough sketches, yet he never passed for a wizard, although much envied of mankind for his wisdom. For the circumstance that Apollonius foresaw and foreknew so many things does not in the least justify us in imputing to him this kind of wisdom; we might as well accuse Socrates of the same, because, thanks to his familiar spirit, he knew things beforehand, and we might also accuse Anaxagoras because of the many things which he foretold. And indeed who does not know the story of how Anaxagoras at Olympia in a season of intense drought came forward wearing a fleece into the stadium, by way of predicting rain, and of how he

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CAP. II τε, ὡς πεσεῖται, προειπόντα μὴ ψεύσασθαι, πεσεῖν γάρ, νύκτα τε ὡς ἐξ ἡμέρας ἔσται, καὶ ὡς λίθοι περὶ Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐκδοθήσονται, προαναφωνήσαντα ἀληθεῦσαι; καὶ σοφίᾳ ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀναξαγόρου προστιθέντες ἀφαιροῦνται τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον τὸ κατὰ σοφίαν προγιγνώσκειν καί φασιν, ὡς μάγῳ τέχνῃ τοῦτ' ἔπραττεν. δοκεῖ οὖν μοι μὴ περιιδεῖν τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἄγνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἐξακριβῶσαι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῖς τε χρόνοις, καθ' οὓς εἶπέ τι ἢ ἔπραξε, τοῖς τε τῆς σοφίας τρόποις, ὑφ' ὧν ἔψαυσε τοῦ δαιμόνιός τε καὶ θεῖος νομισθῆναι. ξυνείλεκται δέ μοι τὰ μὲν ἐκ πόλεων, ὁπόσαι αὐτοῦ ἦρων, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἱερῶν, ὁπόσα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπανήχθη παραλελυμένα τοὺς θεσμοὺς ἤδη, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ὧν εἶπον ἕτεροι περὶ αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου ἐπιστολῶν. ἐπέστελλε δὲ βασιλεῦσι σοφισταῖς φιλοσόφοις Ἠλείοις Δελφοῖς Ἰνδοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ὑπὲρ θεῶν ὑπὲρ ἐθῶν ὑπὲρ νόμων, παρ' οἷς ὅ τι ἁμαρτάνοιτο, ἐπηνώρθου. τὰ δὲ ἀκριβέστερα ὧδε συνελεξάμην.

III

CAP. III Ἐγένετο Δάμις ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄσοφος τὴν ἀρχαίαν ποτὲ οἰκῶν Νῖνον· οὗτος τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ προσφιλοσοφήσας ἀποδημίας τε αὐτοῦ ἀναγέγραφεν, ὧν

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

CHAP. II

Such accusations call for a true Life of Apollonius

The sources used by Philostratus

III

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

CHAP. III

The memoirs of Damis used

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CAP. III κοινωνῆσαι καὶ αὐτός φησι, καὶ γνώμας καὶ λόγους καὶ ὁπόσα ἐς πρόγνωσιν εἶπε. καὶ προσήκων τις τῷ Δάμιδι τὰς δέλτους τῶν ὑπομνημάτων τούτων οὔπω γιγνωσκομένας ἐς γνῶσιν ἤγαγεν Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ βασιλίδι. μετέχοντι δέ μοι τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν κύκλου—καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς πάντας λόγους ἐπῄνει καὶ ἠσπάζετο—μεταγράψαι τε προσέταξε τὰς διατριβὰς ταύτας καὶ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι, τῷ γὰρ Νινίῳ σαφῶς μέν, οὐ μὴν δεξιῶς γε ἀπηγγέλλετο. ἐνέτυχον δὲ καὶ Μαξίμου τοῦ Αἰγιέως βιβλίῳ ξυνειληφότι τὰ ἐν Αἰγαῖς Ἀπολλωνίου πάντα, καὶ διαθῆκαι δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλονίῳ γεγράφαται, παρ' ὧν ὑπάρχει μαθεῖν, ὡς ὑποθειάζων τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐγένετο. οὐ γὰρ Μοιραγένει γε προσεκτέον, βιβλία μὲν ξυνθέντι ἐς Ἀμολλώνιον τέτταρα, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀγνοήσαντι. ὡς μὲν οὖν ξυνήγαγον ταῦτα διεσπασμένα, καὶ ὡς ἐπεμελήθην τοῦ ξυνθεῖναι αὐτά, εἴρηκα, ἐχέτω δὲ ὁ λόγος τῷ τε ἀνδρὶ τιμήν, ἐς ὃν ξυγγέγραπται, τοῖς τε φιλομαθεστέροις ὠφέλειαν· ἢ γὰρ ἂν μάθοιεν, ἃ μήπω γιγνώσκουσιν.

IV

CAP. IV Ἀπολλωνίῳ τοίνυν πατρὶς μὲν ἦν Τύανα πόλις Ἑλλὰς ἐν τῷ Καππαδοκῶν ἔθνει, πατὴρ δὲ ὁμώνυμος, γένος ἀρχαῖον καὶ τῶν οἰκιστῶν ἀνημμένον, πλοῦτος ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐκεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἔθνος βαθύ. κυούσῃ δὲ αὐτὸν τῇ μητρὶ φάσμα ἦλθεν Αἰγυπτίου

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

CHAP. III

at the instance of the empress Julia

Also Maximus of Aegae

The work of Moeragenes ignored

IV

CHAP. IV

Parentage and miraculous birth of Apollonius

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

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

V

CAP. V Τεχθῆναι δὲ ἐν λειμῶνι λέγεται, πρὸς ᾧ νῦν τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτῷ ἐκπεπόνηται. καὶ μηδὲ ὁ τρόπος ἀγνοείσθω, ὃν ἀπετέχθη· ἀγούσῃ γὰρ τῇ μητρὶ τόκου ὥραν ὄναρ ἐγένετο βαδίσαι ἐς τὸν λειμῶνα καὶ ἄνθη κεῖραι, καὶ δῆτα ἀφικομένῃ αἱ μὲν δμωαὶ προσεῖχον τοῖς ἄνθεσιν ἐσκεδασμέναι κατὰ τὸν λειμῶνα, αὐτὴ δε ἐς ὕπνον ἀπήχθη κλιθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πόᾳ. κύκνοι τοίνυν, οὓς ὁ λειμὼν ἔβοσκε, χορὸν ἐστήσαντο περὶ αὐτὴν καθεύδουσαν, καὶ τὰς πτέρυγας, ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν, ἄραντες ἀθρόον ἤχησαν, καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ζεφύρου ἦν ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι, ἡ δὲ ἐξέθορέ τε ὑπὸ τῆς ᾠδῆς καὶ ἀπέτεκεν, ἱκανὴ δὲ πᾶσα

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

V

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

The god's annunciation to his mother

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CAP. V ἔκπληξις μαιεύσασθαι καὶ πρὸ τῆς ὥρας. οἱ δὲ ἐγχώριοί φασιν, ὡς ὁμοῦ τε τίκτοιτο, καὶ σκηπτὸς ἐν τῇ γῇ πεσεῖσθαι δοκῶν ἐμμετεωρισθείη τῷ αἰθέρι καὶ ἀφανισθείη ἄνω, τό, οἶμαι, ἐκφανὲς καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ τὸ ἀγχοῦ θεῶν καὶ ὁπόσα ὅδε ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, φαίνοντες οἱ θεοὶ καὶ προσημαίνοντες.

VI

CAP. VI Ἔστι δέ τι περὶ Τύανα ὕδωρ Ὁρκίου Διός, ὥς φασι, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ Ἀσβαμαῖον, οὗ πηγὴ ἀναδίδοται ψυχρά, παφλάζει δέ, ὥσπερ ὁ θερμαινόμενος λέβης. τοῦτο εὐόρκοις μὲν ἴλεών τε καὶ ἡδὺ ὕδωρ, ἐπιόρκοις δὲ παρὰ πόδας ἡ δίκη· ἀποσκήπτει γὰρ καὶ ἐς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ἐς χεῖρας καὶ ἐς πόδας, καὶ ὑδέροις ἁλίσκονται καὶ φθόαις, καὶ οὐδ' ἀπελθεῖν δυνατόν, ἀλλ' αὐτόθι ἔχονται καὶ ὀλοφύρονται πρὸς τῷ ὕδατι ὁμολογοῦντες ἃ ἐπιώρκησαν· οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐγχώριοί φασι παῖδα τοῦ Διὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον γεγονέναι, ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ Ἀπολλωνίου ἑαυτὸν καλεῖ.

VII

CAP. VII Προϊὼν δὲ ἐς ἡλικίαν, ἐν ᾗ γράμματα, μνήμης τε ἰσχὺν ἐδήλου καὶ μελέτης κράτος, καὶ ἡ γλῶττα Ἀττικῶς εἶχεν, οὐδ' ἀπήχθη τὴν φωνὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους, ὀφθαλμοί τε πάντες ἐς αὐτὸν ἐφέροντο, καὶ γὰρ περίβλεπτος ἦν τὴν ὥραν. γεγονότα δὲ αὐτὸν

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

CHAP. V

Portents at his birth

VI

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

CHAP. VI

The well of Asbama

VII

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

CHAP. VII

Education by Euthydemus in Tarsus

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CAP. VII

ἔτη τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἄγει ἐς Ταρσοὺς ὁ πατὴρ παρ' Εὐθύδημον τὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης. ὁ δὲ Εὐθύδημος ῥήτωρ τε ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ ἐπαίδευε τοῦτον, ὁ δὲ τοῦ μὲν διδασκάλου εἴχετο, τὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἦθος ἄτοπόν τε ἡγεῖτο καὶ οὐ χρηστὸν ἐμφιλοσοφῆσαι, τρυφῆς τε γὰρ οὐδαμοῦ μᾶλλον ἅπτονται, σκωπτόλαι τε καὶ ὑβρισταὶ πάντες, καὶ δεδώκασι τῇ ὀθόνῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ σοφίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι, ποταμός τε αὐτοὺς διαρρεῖ Κύδνος, ᾧ παρακάθηνται, καθάπερ τῶν ὀρνίθων οἱ ὑγροί. τό τοι "παύσασθε μεθύοντες τῷ ὕδατι" Ἀπολλωνίῳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ εἴρηται. μεθίστησιν οὖν τὸν διδάσκαλον δεηθεὶς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς Αἰγὰς τὰς πλησίον, ἐν αἷς ἡσυχία τε πρόσφορος τῷ φιλοσοφήσοντι καὶ σπουδαὶ νεανικώτεραι καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καὶ ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς αὐτὸς ἐπίδηλος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. ἐνταῦθα ξυνεφιλοσόφουν μὲν αὐτῷ Πλατώνειοί τε καὶ Χρυσίππειοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου, διήκουε δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων, οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτους ἀπεσπούδαζε, τοὺς δέ γε Πυθαγορείους ἀρρήτῳ τινὶ σοφίᾳ ξυνέλαβε· διδάσκαλος μὲν γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ τῶν Πυθαγόρου λόγων οὐ πάνυ σπουδαῖος, οὐδὲ ἐνεργῷ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ χρώμενος, γαστρός τε γὰρ ἥττων ἦν καὶ ἀφροδισίων καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον ἐσχημάτιστο· ἦν δὲ οὗτος Εὔξενος ὁ ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τοῦ Πόντου, τὰς δὲ Πυθαγόρου δόξας ἐγίγνωσκεν, ὥσπερ οἱ ὄρνιθες

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

CHAP. VII

Removal to Aegae to live in the temple of Asclepius

His Pythagorean teacher Euxenus

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CAP. VII

ἃ μανθάνουσι παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὸ γὰρ "χαῖρε" καὶ τὸ "εὖ πρᾶττε" καὶ τὸ "Ζεὺς ἵλεως" καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οἱ ὄρνιθες εὔχονται, οὔτε εἰδότες ὅ τι λέγουσιν οὔτε διακείμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ ἐρρυθμισμένοι τὴν γλῶτταν· ὁ δέ, ὥσπερ οἱ νέοι τῶν ἀετῶν ἐν ἁπαλῷ μὲν τῷ πτερῷ παραπέτονται τοῖς γειναμένοις αὐτοὺς μελετώμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὴν πτῆσιν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ αἴρεσθαι δυνηθῶσιν, ὑπερπέτονται τοὺς γονέας, ἄλλως τε κἂν λίχνους αἴσθωνται καὶ κνίσης ἕνεκα πρὸς τῇ γῇ πετομένους, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος προσείχέ τε τῷ Εὐξένῳ παῖς ἔτι, καὶ ἤγετο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βαίνων ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγου, προελθὼν δὲ ἐς ἔτος δέκατον καὶ ἕκτον ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Πυθαγόρου βίον, πτερωθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπό τινος κρείττονος. οὐ μὴν τόν γε Εὔξενον ἐπαύσατο ἀγαπῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξαιτήσας αὐτῷ προάστειον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, ἐν ᾧ κῆποί τε ἁπαλοὶ ἦσαν καὶ πηγαί, "σὺ μὲν ζῆθι τὸν σεαυτοῦ τρόπον," ἔφη, "ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν Πυθαγόρου ζήσομαι."

VIII

CAP. VIII

Ἡγουμένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ Εὐξένου μεγάλης διανοίας ἅπτεσθαι καὶ ἐρομένου, ὁπόθεν ἄρξοιτο, "ὅθεν περ οἱ ἰατροί," ἔφη, "καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι καθαίροντες τὰς γαστέρας τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ νοσεῖν ἐῶσι, τοὺς δὲ ἰῶνται." καὶ εἰπὼν τοῦτο τὰς μὲν ἐμψύχους βρώσεις ὡς οὔτε καθαρὰς καὶ τὸν νοῦν παχυνούσας παρῃτήσατο, τραγήματα δὲ καὶ λάχανα ἐσιτεῖτο, καθαρὰ εἶναι φάσκων, ὁπόσα ἡ

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

VIII

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

Apollonius renounces flesh diet and wine

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CAP. VIII γῆ αὐτὴ δίδωσι, καὶ τὸν οἶνον καθαρὸν μὲν ἔφασκεν εἶναι πῶμα ἐκ φυτοῦ οὕτως ἡμέρου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἥκοντα, ἐναντιοῦσθαι δὲ τῇ τοῦ νοῦ συστάσει διαθολοῦντα τὸν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αἰθέρα· μετὰ δὲ τὴν κάθαρσιν τῆς γαστρὸς τοιαύτην γεγομένην ἀνυποδησίαν τε ποιεῖται κόσμημα καὶ λίνου ἐσθῆτα ἀμπίσχεται παραιτησάμενος τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ζῴων, ἀνῆκέ τε τὴν κόμην καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἔζη. ἐκπεπληγμένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ποτε πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα φήσαντος, ὡς χαίροι θεραπεύων τοὺς νοσοῦντας ὑπὸ Ἀπολλωνίῳ μάρτυρι, ξυνήεσαν ἐς τὰς Αἰγὰς ἐφ' ἱστορίᾳ Κίλικές τε αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πέριξ, ὅ τε Κιλίκιος λόγος "ποῖ τρέχεις; ἦ ἐπὶ τὸν ἔφηβον;" ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τε ἐλέγετο καὶ παροιμιώδη τιμὴν ἔσχεν.

IX

CAP. IX Ἄξιον δὲ μηδὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ παρελθεῖν βίον γε ἀφηγούμενον ἀνδρός, ὃς καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἦν ἐν λόγῳ· μειράκιον γὰρ δὴ Ἀσσύριον παρὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἥκον ἐτρύφα νοσοῦν καὶ ἐν πότοις ἔζη, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπέθνησκεν· ὑδέρῳ δὲ ἄρα εἴχετο καὶ μέθῃ χαῖρον αὐχμοῦ ἠμέλει. ἠμελεῖτο δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ διὰ ταῦτα, καὶ οὐδὲ ὄναρ αὐτῷ ἐφοίτα.

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

CHAP. VIII

Wears linen alone

IX

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

CHAP. IX

Incidents of his life in the temple of Asclepius. Cures a dropsical patient

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CAP. IX

ἐπιμεμφομένῳ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιστὰς ὁ θεὸς "εἰ Ἀπολλωνίῳ," ἔφη, "διαλέγοιο, ῥᾷων ἔσῃ." προσελθὼν οὖν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ "τί ἄν," ἔφη, "τῆς σῆς σοφίας ἐγὼ ἀπολαύσαιμι; κελεύει γάρ με ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς συνεῖναί σοι." "ὅ," ἦ δ' ὅς, "ἔσται σοι πρὸς τὰ παρόντα πολλοῦ ἄξιον· ὑγιείας γάρ που δέῃ;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ἦν γε ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐπαγγέλλεται μέν, οὐ δίδωσι δέ." "εὐφήμει," ἔφη, "τοῖς γὰρ βουλόμενοις δίδωσι, σὺ δὲ ἐναντία τῇ νόσῳ πράττεις, τρυφῇ γὰρ διδοὺς ὀψοφαγίαν ἐπεσάγεις ὑγροῖς καὶ διεφθορόσι τοῖς σπλάγχνοις καὶ ὕδατι ἐπαντλεῖς πηλόν." ταυτὶ μὲν σαφέστερα, οἶμαι, τῆς Ἡρακλείτου σοφίας ἐχρησμῴδει· ὁ μὲν γὰρ δεῖσθαι ἔφη τοῦ ποιήσοντος ἐξ ἐπομβρίας αὐχμόν, ἐσελθόντος αὐτὸν τουτουὶ τοῦ πάθους, οὐκ εὐξύνετά που λέγων, οὐδὲ δῆλα, ὁ δ' ἤγαγεν ἐς ὑγίειαν τὸ μειράκιον τὰ σοφὰ σαφῶς ἑρμηνεύσας.

X

CAP. X

Ἰδὼν δὲ ἀθρόον ποτὲ ἐν τῷ βωμῷ αἷμα, καὶ διακείμενα ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὰ ἱερά, τεθυμένους τε βοῦς Αἰγυπτίους καὶ σῦς μεγάλους, καὶ τὰ μὲν δέροντας αὐτούς, τὰ δὲ κόπτοντας, χρυσίδας τε ἀνακειμένας δύο καὶ λίθους ἐν αὐταῖς τῶν Ἰνδικωτάτων καὶ θαυμασίων, προσελθὼν τῷ ἱερεῖ "τί ταῦτα;" ἔφη, "λαμπρῶς γάρ τις χαρίζεται τῷ

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

X

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

Ostracises a wicked Cilician

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CAP. X θεῷ." ὁ δὲ "θαυμάσῃ," ἔφη, "μᾶλλον, ὅτι μήτε ἱκετεύσας ποτὲ ἐνταῦθα μήτε διατρίψας, ὃν οἱ ἄλλοι χρόνον, μήτε ὑγιάνας πω παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, μηδ' ἅπερ αἰτήσων ἦλθεν ἔχων. χθὲς γὰρ δὴ ἀφιγμένῳ ἔοικεν, ὁ δ' οὕτως ἀφθόνως θύει. φησὶ δὲ πλείω μὲν θύσειν, πλείω δὲ ἀναθήσειν, εἰ πρόσοιτο αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀσκληπιός. ἔστι δὲ τῶν πλουσιωτάτων· κέκτηται γοῦν ἐν Κιλικίᾳ βίον πλείω ἢ Κίλικες ὁμοῦ πάντες· ἱκετεύει δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἀποδοῦναί οἱ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐξερρυηκότα." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὥσπερ γεγηρακὼς εἰώθει, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐς τὴν γῆν στήσας "τί δὲ ὄνομα αὐτῷ;" ἤρετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσε "δοκεῖ μοι," ἔφη, "ὦ ἱερεῦ, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον μὴ προσδέχεσθαι τῷ ἱερῷ, μιαρὸς γάρ τις ἥκει καὶ κεχρημένος οὐκ ἐπὶ χρηστοῖς τῷ πάθει, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ πρὶν εὑρέσθαι τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πολυτελῶς θύειν οὐ θύοντός ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν παραιτουμένου σχετλίων τε καὶ χαλεπῶν ἔργων." ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος. ὁ δ' Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐπιστὰς νύκτωρ τῷ ἱερεῖ "ἀπίτω," ἔφη, "ὁ δεῖνα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων, ἄξιος γὰρ μηδὲ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχειν." ἀναμανθάνων οὖν ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, γυνὴ μὲν τῷ Κίλικι τούτῳ ἐγεγόνει θυγατέρα ἔχουσα προτέρων γάμων, ὁ δὲ ἦρα τῆς κόρης καὶ ἀκολάστως εἶχε ξυνῆν τε οὐδ' ὡς λαθεῖν· ἐπιστᾶσα

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

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CAP. X γὰρ ἡ μήτηρ τῇ εὐνῇ τῆς μὲν ἄμφω, τοῦ δὲ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐξέκοψεν ἐναράξασα τὰς περόνας.

XI

CAP. XI Τό γε μὴν θύοντας ἢ ἀνατιθέντας μὴ ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ μέτριον ὧδε αὐτῷ ἐφιλοσοφεῖτο· πλειόνων γάρ ποτε ξυνεληλυθότων ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἄρτι ἐξεληλαμένου τοῦ Κίλικος ἤρετο τὸν ἱερέα οὑτωσί· "ἆρα," ἔφη, "οἱ θεοὶ δίκαιοι;" "δικαιότατοι μὲν οὖν" εἶπε. "τί δέ· ξυνετοί;" "καὶ τί," ἔφη, "ξυνετώτερον τοῦ θείου;" "τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴσασιν, ἢ ἄπειροι αὐτῶν εἰσι;" "καὶ μὴν τοῦτ'," ἔφη, "πλεονεκτοῦσι μάλιστα οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείας οὐδὲ τὰ ἑαυτῶν, ἴσασι, τοῖς δὲ γιγνώσκειν ὑπάρχει τὰ ἐκείνων τε καὶ τὰ αὑτῶν." "πάντα," ἔφη, "ἄριστα, ὦ ἱερεῦ, καὶ ἀληθέστατα. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν πάντα γιγνώσκουσι, δοκεῖ μοι τὸν ἥκοντα ἐς θεοῦ καὶ χρηστὰ ἑαυτῷ ξυνειδότα τοιάνδε εὐχὴν εὔχεσθαι· ὦ θεοί, δοίητέ μοι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα· ὀφείλεται γάρ που, ὦ ἱερεῦ, τοῖς μὲν ὁσίοις τὰ ἀγαθά, τοῖς δὲ φαύλοις τἀναντία, καὶ οἱ θεοὶ οὖν εὖ ποιοῦντες, ὃν μὲν ἂν ὑγιᾶ τε καὶ ἄτρωτον κακίας εὕρωσι, πέμπουσι δήπου στεφανώσαντες οὐ χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις, ἀλλ' ἀγαθοῖς

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

XI

CHAP. XI

Insists on morality in Religion

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

The Prayer of Apollonius

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CAP. XI πᾶσιν, ὃν δ' ἂν κατεστιγμένον ἴδωσι καὶ διεφθορότα, καταλείπουσι τῇ δίκῃ, τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἐπιμηνίσαντες, ὅσον ἐτόλμησαν καὶ ἱερὰ ἐσφοιτᾶν μὴ καθαροὶ ὄντες." καὶ ἅμα ἐς τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν βλέψας "φιλοσοφεῖς," ἔφη "ὦ Ἀσκληπιέ, τὴν ἄρρητόν τε καὶ συγγενῆ σαυτῷ φιλοσοφίαν μὴ συγχωρῶν τοῖς φαύλοις δεῦρο ἥκειν, μηδ' ἂν πάντα σοι τὰ ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Σαρδώων ξυμφέρωσιν· οὐ γὰρ τιμῶντες τὸ θεῖον θύουσι ταῦτα καὶ ἀνάπτουσιν, ἀλλ' ὠνούμενοι τὴν δίκην, ἣν οὐ ξυγχωρεῖτε αὐτοῖς δικαιότατοι ὄντες." πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐφιλοσόφει ἐν ἐφήβῳ ἔτι.

XII

CAP. XII Κἀκεῖνα τῆς ἐν Αἰγαῖς διατριβῆς· Κιλίκων ἦρχεν ὑβριστὴς ἄνθρωπος καὶ κακὸς τὰ ἐρωτικά· ἐς τοῦτον ἦλθε λόγος τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου ὥρας, ὁ δὲ ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας οἷς ἔπραττεν· ἐν Ταρσοῖς δὲ ἄρα ἀγορὰν ἦγεν· ἐξωρμήθη ἐς τὰς Αἰγὰς νοσεῖν τε ἑαυτὸν φήσας καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ δεῖσθαι, καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ βαδίζοντι ἰδίᾳ "σύστησόν με" ἔφη "τῷ θεῷ." ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν "καὶ τί σοι δεῖ τοῦ συστήσοντος," εἶπεν, "εἰ χρηστὸς εἶ; τοὺς γὰρ σπουδαίους οἱ θεοὶ καὶ ἄνευ τῶν προξενούντων ἀσπάζονται." "ὅτι νὴ Δί'," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε,

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

XII

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

Attempts of the vicious Governor of Cilicia on Apollonius

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CAP. XII σὲ μὲν ὁ θεὸς πεποίηται ξένον, ἐμὲ δὲ οὔπω." "ἀλλὰ κἀμοῦ," ἔφη, "καλοκἀγαθία προὐξένησεν, ᾗ χρώμενος, ὡς δυνατὸν νέῳ, θεράπων τέ εἰμι τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἑταῖρος· εἰ δὲ καὶ σοὶ καλοκἀγαθίας μέλει, χώρει θαρρῶν παρὰ τὸν θεὸν καὶ εὔχου, ὅ τι ἐθέλεις." "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ἦν σοί γε προτέρῳ εὔξωμαι." "καὶ τί," ἔφη, "ἐμοὶ εὔξῃ;" "ὅ," ἦ δ' ὅς, "εὔχεσθαι δεῖ τοῖς καλοῖς· εὐχόμεθα δὲ αὐτοῖς κοινωνεῖν τοῦ κάλλους καὶ μὴ φθονεῖν τῆς ὥρας." ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθρύπτων ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑγραίνων, καὶ τί γὰρ οὐχ ἑλίττων τῶν οὕτως ἀσελγῶν τε καὶ ἐπιρρήτων· ὁ δὲ ταυρηδὸν ὑποβλέψας αὐτὸν "μαίνῃ," ἔφη, "ὦ κάθαρμα." τοῦ δ' οὐ μόνον πρὸς ὀργὴν ταῦτα ἀκούσαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπειλήσαντος, ὡς ἀποκόψοι αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν, καταγελάσας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος "ὦ ἡ δεῖνα ἡμέρα" ἀνεβόησε· τρίτῃ δὲ ἄρα ἦν ἀπ' ἐκείνης, ἐν ᾗ δήμιοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπέκτειναν τὸν ὑβριστὴν ἐκεῖνον, ὡς ξὺν Ἀρχελάῳ τῷ Καππαδόκιας βασιλεῖ νεώτερα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους πράττοντα. ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα Μαξίμῳ τῷ Αἰγιεῖ ξυγγέγραπται, ἠξιώθη δὲ καὶ βασιλείων ἐπιστολῶν οὗτος εὐδοκιμῶν τὴν φωνήν.

XIII

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

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

XIII

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

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CAP. XIII διέλαχε πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀκόλαστόν τε καὶ φιλοπότην ὄντα. καὶ τῷ μὲν τρίτον τε καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἦν ἔτος καὶ ἡλικία οἵα μὴ ἐπιτροπεύεσθαι, ὁ δ' αὖ εἴκοσι γεγόνει καὶ οἱ νόμοι αὐτὸν ὑπεῖχον τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις. διατρίψας οὖν ἐν Αἰγαῖς πάλιν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Λύκειόν τε ἀποφήνας καὶ Ἀκαδημίαν, φιλοσοφίας γὰρ ἠχὼ πάσης ἐν αὐτῷ ἦν, ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὰ Τύανα ἀνὴρ ἤδη καὶ κύριος τῶν ἑαυτοῦ· εἰπόντος δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν τινος, ὡς σωφρονίσαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν προσήκοι αὐτῷ καὶ μεταβαλεῖν τοῦ τρόπου, "τουτὶ μὲν θρασύ," ἔφη, "δόξει, πρεσβύτερον γὰρ νέος πῶς ἂν σωφρονίζοιμι; ὡς δέ μοι δυνατόν, ἰάσομαι αὐτὸν τουτωνὶ τῶν παθῶν·" δίδωσι δὴ αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μοίρας, τὸν μὲν πλειόνων δεῖσθαι φήσας, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὀλίγων, ἐφιστὰς δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ σοφῶς ὑπαγόμενος ἐς τὸ σωφρονίζοντι πείθεσθαι "ὁ μὲν πατήρ," ἔφη, "μεθέστηκεν, ὃς ἐπαίδευέ τε ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐνουθέτει, λοιπὸς δὲ σὺ ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ δήπου ἐγώ· εἶτ' οὖν ἐγώ τι ἁμαρτάνοιμι, σύμβουλος γίγνου καὶ ἰῶ τἀμά, εἴτ' αὐτός τι ἁμαρτάνοις, ἀνέχου διδάσκοντος." κἀκεῖνον μέν, ὥσπερ οἱ καταψῶντες τοὺς δυσηνίους τε καὶ μὴ εὐαγώγους τῶν ἵππων, ἐς πειθὼ ἤγαγε καὶ μετερρύθμισε τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων πολλῶν ὄντων, καὶ γὰρ κύβων ἥττητο καὶ οἴνου, καὶ ἐφ' ἑταίρας ἐκώμαζεν, ἐπαιρούσης αὐτὸν κόμης, ἣν καὶ βαφαῖς ἤσκει, σοβῶν τε καὶ ἄνω βαίνων.

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which was very ample, with his brother, who was an incorrigibly bad character and given to drink. Now the latter had reached his twenty-third year, and was of an age no longer to need a guardian; Apollonius, on the other hand, was only twenty, and the law subjected him to guardians. He therefore spent afresh some time in Aegae, and turned the temple into a Lyceum and Academy, for it resounded with all sorts of philosophical discussions. After that he returned to Tyana, by this time grown to manhood and his own master. Some one said to him that it was his duty to correct his brother and convert him from his evil ways; whereon he answered: "This would seem a desperate enterprise; for how can I who am the younger one correct and render wise an older man? but so far as I can do anything, I will heal him of these bad passions." Accordingly he gave to him the half of his own share of the property, on the pretence that he required more than he had, while he himself needed little; and then he pressed him and cleverly persuaded him to submit to the counsels of wisdom, and said: "Our father has departed this life, who educated us both and corrected us, so that you are all that I have left, and I imagine, I am all that you have left. If therefore I do anything wrong, please advise me and cure me of my faults; and in turn if you yourself do anything wrong, suffer me to teach you better." And so he reduced his brother to a reasonable state of mind, just as we break in skittish and unruly horses by stroking and patting them; and he reformed him from his faults, numerous as they were, for he was the slave of play and of wine, and he led a riotous life and was vain of his hair, which he dressed up and dyed, strutting

CHAP. XIII

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CAP. XIII ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ εὖ εἶχεν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἤδη συγγενεῖς ἐτράπετο καὶ τοὺς δεομένους σφῶν ἀνεκτήσατο τῇ λοιπῇ οὐσίᾳ μικρὰ ἑαυτῷ ὑπολιπόμενος, ὅτε δὴ τὸν μὲν Κλαζομένιον Ἀναξαγόραν ἀγέλαις τε καὶ μήλοις τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνέντα προβάτοις ἔφη μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις φιλοσοφῆσαι, τὸν δὲ Θηβαῖον Κράτητα καταποντώσαντα τὴν οὐσίαν οὔτε ἀνθρώποις γενέσθαι ἐπιτήδειον οὔτε προβάτοις. εὐδοκιμήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ, ὃν ἔλεγε περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν παρ' ἄλλην ἰέναι γυναῖκα ἢ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, τοῦτο μὲν ἑτέροις ἔφη ὑπὸ Πυθαγόρου προειρῆσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ μήτ' ἂν γῆμαι μήτ' ἂν ἐς ὁμιλίαν ἀφικέσθαι ποτὲ ἀφροδισίων, ὑπερβαλλόμενος καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους· ὁ μὲν γὰρ λυττῶντα ἔφη καὶ ἄγριον δεσπότην ἀποφυγεῖν ἐς γῆρας ἐλθών, ὁ δ' ὑπ' ἀρετῆς τε καὶ σωφροσύνης οὐδ' ἐν μειρακίῳ ἡττήθη τούτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ νέος ὢν καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐρρωμένος ἐκράτει τε καὶ λυττῶντος ἐδέσποζεν. ἀλλ' ὅμως συκοφαντοῦσί τινες ἐπὶ ἀφροδισίοις αὐτόν, ὡς διαμαρτίᾳ ἐρωτικῇ χρησάμενον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπενιαυτίσαντα ἐς τὸ Σκυθῶν ἔθνος, ὃς οὔτε ἐφοίτησέ ποτε ἐς Σκύθας οὔτε ἐς ἐρωτικὰ πάθη ἀπηνέχθη· οὔκουν οὐδὲ Εὐφράτης ποτὲ ἐσυκοφάντησεν ἐπὶ ἀφροδισίοις τὸν ἄνδρα, καίτοι ψευδῆ γράμματα κατ' αὐτοῦ ξυνθείς, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Εὐφράτου λόγοις δείξομεν, διεφέρετο δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων αὐτὸν πράττοντα ἐπέκοπτεν οὗτος

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

CHAP. XIII

Rejects marriage

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CAP. XIII καὶ ἀπῆγε τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαί τε καὶ τὴν σοφίαν καπηλεύειν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς αὐτῶν χρόνους ἀναβεβλήσθω μοι.

XIV

CAP. XIV Ἑρομένου δέ ποτε τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ Εὐξένου, τί δῆτα οὐ ξυγγράφοι καίτοι γενναίως δοξάζων καὶ ἀπαγγελίᾳ χρώμενος δοκίμῳ καὶ ἐγηγερμένῃ "ὅτι," ἔφη, "οὔπω ἐσιώπησα." καὶ ἐνθένδε ἀρξάμενος σιωπᾶν ᾠήθη δεῖν, καὶ τὴν μὲν φωνὴν κατεῖχεν, οἱ δ' ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὁ νοῦς πλεῖστα μὲν ἀνεγίγνωσκον, πλεῖστα δὲ ἐς μνήμην ἀνελέγοντο· τό τοι μνημονικὸν ἑκατοντούτης γενόμενος καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἔρρωτο, καὶ ὕμνος αὐτῷ τις ἐς τὴν μνημοσύνην ᾖδετο, ἐν ᾧ πάντα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου μαραίνεσθαί φησιν, αὐτόν γε μὴν τὸν χρόνον ἀγήρω τε καὶ ἀθάνατον παρὰ τῆς μνημοσύνης εἶναι. οὐ μὴν ἄχαρις τά γε ἐς ξυνουσίας ἦν παρ' ὃν ἐσιώπα χρόνον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοί τι ἐπεσήμαινον καὶ ἡ χεὶρ καὶ τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς νεῦμα, οὐδὲ ἀμειδὴς ἢ σκυθρωπὸς ἐφαίνετο, τὸ γὰρ φιλέταιρόν τε καὶ τὸ εὐμενὲς εἶχε. τοῦτον ἐπιπονώτατον αὐτῷ φησι γενέσθαι τὸν βίον ὅλων πέντε ἐτῶν ἀσκηθέντα, πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἔχοντα μὴ εἰπεῖν, πολλὰ δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀκούσαντα μὴ ἀκοῦσαι, πολλοῖς δ' ἐπιπλῆξαι προαχθέντα "τέτλαθι δὴ κραδίη τε

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

XIV

CHAP. XIV

His five years' spell of silence

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

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CAP. XIV καὶ γλῶττα" πρὸς ἑαυτὸν φάναι, λόγων τε προσκρουσάντων αὐτῷ παριέναι τὰς ἐλέγξεις τότε.

XV

CAP. XV Διέτριψέ τε τοὺς τῆς σιωπῆς χρόνους τὸν μὲν ἐν Παμφύλοις, τὸν δὲ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, καὶ βαδίζων δι' οὕτω τρυφώντων ἐθνῶν οὐδαμοῦ ἐφθέγξατο, οὐδ' ὑπήχθη γρύξαι. ὁπότε μὴν στασιαζούσῃ πόλει ἐντύχοι, πολλαὶ δὲ ἐστασίαζον ὑπὲρ θεαμάτων οὐ σπουδαίων, παρελθὼν ἂν καὶ δείξας ἑαυτόν, καί τι καὶ μελλούσης ἐπιπλήξεως τῇ χειρὶ καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ ἐνδειξάμενος, ἐξῄρητ' ἂν ἀταξία πᾶσα, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν μυστηρίοις ἐσιώπων. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοὺς ὀρχηστῶν τε καὶ ἵππων ἕνεκα στασιάζειν ὡρμηκότας ἀνασχεῖν οὔπω μέγα, οἱ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοιούτων ἀτακτοῦντες, ἂν πρὸς ἄνδρα ἴδωσιν, ἐρυθριῶσί τε καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιλαμβάνονται καὶ ῥᾷστα δὴ ἐς νοῦν ἥκουσι, λιμῷ δὲ πεπιεσμένην πόλιν οὐ ῥᾴδιον εὐηνίῳ καὶ πιθανῷ λόγῳ μεταδιδάξαι καὶ ὀργῆς παῦσαι. ἀλλ' Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ ἡ σιωπὴ πρὸς τοὺς οὕτω διακειμένους ἤρκει. ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς Ἄσπενδον τὴν Παμφύλων—πρὸς Εὐρυμέδοντι δὲ οἰκεῖται ποταμῷ ἡ πόλις αὕτη, τρίτη τῶν ἐκεῖ—ὄροβοι δ' ὤνιοι καὶ τὰ ἐς βρῶσιν ἀναγκαῖα διέβοσκεν αὐτούς, τὸν γὰρ σῖτον οἱ δυνατοὶ ξυγκλείσαντες εἶχον, ἵν' ἐκκαπηλευθείη τῆς χώρας. ἀνηρέθιστο δὴ ἐπὶ τὸν

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

XV

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

CHAP. XV

The selfish corn-merchants of Aspendus

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CAP. XV ἄρχοντα ἡλικία πᾶσα καὶ πυρὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἥπτοντο καίτοι προσκείμενον τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀνδριᾶσιν, οἳ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ φοβερώτεροι ἦσαν τότε καὶ ἀσυλότεροι, Τιβερίου γε ὄντες, ἐφ᾽ οὗ λέγεταί τις ἀσεβῆσαι δόξαι τυπτήσας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δοῦλον φέροντα δραχμὴν ἀργυρᾶν νενομισμένην ἐς Τιβέριον. προσελθὼν οὖν τῷ ἄρχοντι ἤρετο αὐτὸν τῇ χειρί, ὅ τι εἴη τοῦτο, τοῦ δὲ ἀδικεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν φήσαντος, ἀδικεῖσθαι δὲ μετὰ τοῦ δήμου, λόγου δ᾽ εἰ μὴ τύχοι, ξυναπολεῖσθαι τῷ δήμῳ, μετεστράφη τε εἰς τοὺς περιεστηκότας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ ἔνευσεν ὡς χρὴ ἀκοῦσαι, οἱ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐσιώπησαν ὑπ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἔθεντο ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν τῶν αὐτόθι. ἀναθαρρήσας οὖν ὁ ἄρχων "ὁ δεῖνα," ἔφη, "καὶ ὁ δεῖνα," πλείους εἰπών, "τοῦ λιμοῦ τοῦ καθεστηκότος αἴτιοι, τὸν γὰρ σῖτον ἀπολαβόντες φυλάττουσι κατ᾽ ἄλλος ἄλλο τῆς χώρας." διακελευομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀσπενδίων ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς φοιτᾶν, ἀνένευσεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος μὴ πράττειν τοῦτο, μετακαλεῖν δὲ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἐν τῇ αἰτίᾳ καὶ παρ᾽ ἑκόντων εὑρέσθαι τὸν σῖτον. ἀφικομένων δὲ μικροῦ μὲν ἐδέησε καὶ φωνὴν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ῥῆξαι, παθών τι πρὸς τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δάκρυα—καὶ γὰρ παιδία ξυνερρυήκει καὶ γύναια, καὶ ὠλοφύροντο οἱ γεγηρακότες, ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ ἀποθανούμενοι λιμῷ—

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

CHAP. XV

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CAP. XV τιμῶν δὲ τὸ τῆς σιωπῆς δόγμα γράφει ἐς γραμματεῖον ἐπίπληξιν, καὶ δίδωσιν ἀναγνῶναι τῷ ἄρχοντι· ἡ δὲ ἐπίπληξις ὧδε εἶχεν· "Ἀπολλώνιος σιτοκαπήλοις Ἀσπενδίων. ἡ γῆ πάντων μήτηρ, δικαία γάρ, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἄδικοι ὄντες πεποίησθε αὐτὴν αὐτῶν μόνων μητέρα, καὶ εἰ μὴ παύσεσθε, οὐκ ἐάσω ὑμᾶς ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἑστάναι." ταῦτα δείσαντες ἐνέπλησαν τὴν ἀγορὰν σίτου καὶ ἀνεβίω ἡ πόλις.

XVI

CAP. XVI Ἐπεφοίτησε καὶ Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ πεπαυμένος τοῦ σιωπᾶν, καὶ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Δαφναίου Ἀπόλλωνος, ᾧ περιάπτουσιν Ἀσσύριοι τὸν μῦθον τὸν Ἀρκάδα· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ Λάδωνος Δάφνην ἐκεῖ μεταφῦναι λέγουσι, καὶ ποταμὸς αὐτοῖς ῥεῖ Λάδων, καὶ φυτὸν τιμᾶται παρ' αὐτοῖς δάφνης, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἀντὶ τῆς παρθένου, κυπαρίττων τε ὕψη ἀμήχανα περιέστηκε κύκλῳ τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ πηγὰς ἐκδίδωσιν ὁ χῶρος ἀφθόνους τε καὶ ἠρεμούσας, αἷς τὸν Ἀπόλλω φασὶ ῥαίνεσθαι. ἐνταῦθα κυπαρίττου τι ἔρνος ἡ γῆ ἀναδέδωκεν, ἐπὶ Κυπαρίττῳ φασὶν ἐφήβῳ Ἀσσυρίῳ, καὶ πιστοῦται τὴν μεταβολὴν ἡ ὥρα τοῦ φυτοῦ. καὶ ἴσως νεανικώτερον ἅπτεσθαι δοκῶ τοῦ λόγου διαμυθολογῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ μυθολογίας ταῦτα. τί δέ μοι

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

XVI

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

Finds Antioch of Syria uncongenial

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CAP. XVI

ὁ λόγος βούλεται; ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἰδὼν τὸ ἱερὸν χαρίεν μέν, σπουδὴν δ' ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπους ἡμιβαρβάρους καὶ ἀμούσους "Ἄπολλον," ἔφη, "μετάβαλε τοὺς ἀφώνους ἐς δένδρα, ἵνα κἂν ὡς κυπάριττοι ἠχῶσιν." τὰς δὲ πηγὰς ἐπισκεψάμενος, ὡς γαλήνην ἄγουσι καὶ κελαρύζει σφῶν οὐδεμία, "ἡ ἀφωνία," εἶπεν, "ἡ ἐνταῦθα οὐδὲ ταῖς πηγαῖς ξυγχωρεῖ φθέγγεσθαι." πρὸς δὲ τὸν Λάδωνα ἰδὼν "οὐχ ἡ θυγάτηρ," ἔφη, "σοὶ μόνη μετέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺ τῷ δόξαι βάρβαρος ἐξ Ἕλληνός τε καὶ Ἀρκάδος." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγνω διαλέγεσθαι, τὰ μὲν ὁμιλούμενα τῶν χωρίων καὶ ἀτακτοῦντα παρῃτεῖτο, φήσας οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἑαυτῷ δεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν, τὰ δὲ σεμνότερα ἐσεφοίτα καὶ ᾤκει τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ μὴ κλιστά. ἡλίου μὲν δὴ ἀνίσχοντος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τινα ἔπραττεν, ἃ μόνοις ἐποίει δῆλα τοῖς ἐτῶν τεττάρων σιωπᾶν γεγυμνασμένοις, τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καιρόν, εἰ μὲν Ἕλλὰς ἡ πόλις εἴη καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ γνώριμα, ξυγκαλῶν ἂν τοὺς ἱερέας ἐφιλοσόφει περὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ διωρθοῦτο αὐτούς, εἴ που τῶν νομιζομένων ἐξαλλάττοιεν, εἰ δὲ βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἰδιότροπα εἴη, διεμάνθανε τοὺς ἱδρυσαμένους αὐτὰ καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἱδρύθη, πυθόμενός τε, ὅπη θεραπεύεται ταῦτα καὶ ὑποθέμενος, εἴ τι σοφώτερον τοῦ δρωμένου ἐνθυμηθείη,

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

CHAP. XVI

A day of his life in Antioch

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CAP. XVI μετῄει ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁμιλητὰς καὶ ἐκέλευεν ἐρωτᾶν, ἃ βούλονται. ἔφασκε γὰρ χρῆναι τοὺς οὕτω φιλοσοφοῦντας ἠοῦς μὲν ἀρχομένης ξυνεῖναι θεοῖς, προϊούσης δὲ περὶ θεῶν, τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καιρὸν ἀνθρωπείων πέρι τὰς ξυνουσίας ποιεῖσθαι. εἰπὼν δ' ἂν πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους, ὁπόσα ἠρώτων, καὶ ἱκανῶς τῆς τοιαύτης ξυνουσίας ἔχων ἐπὶ τὴν διάλεξιν ἀνίστατο λοιπὸν τὴν ἐς πάντας, οὐ πρὸ μεσημβρίας, ἀλλ' ὁπότε μάλιστα ἡ ἡμέρα ἑστήκοι. καὶ διαλεχθεὶς ἂν ὡς ἀπαρκεῖν ᾤετο, ἠλείφετό τε καὶ τριψάμενος ἴει ἑαυτὸν ἐς ὕδωρ ψυχρόν, γῆρας ἀνθρώπων καλῶν τὰ βαλανεῖα· τῆς γοῦν Ἀντιοχείας ἀποκλεισθείσης ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις ἁμαρτήμασιν "ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν," ἔφη, "ὁ βασιλεὺς κακοῖς οὖσι βιῶναι πλείονα ἔτη." Ἐφεσίων δὲ βουλομένων καταλιθῶσαι τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ἐκπυροῦν τὰ βαλανεῖα "ὑμεῖς μὲν τὸν ἄρχοντα," ἔφη, "αἰτιᾶσθε, ἐπειδὴ πονηρῶς λοῦσθε, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ὅτι λοῦσθε."

XVII

CAP. XVII Λόγων δὲ ἰδέαν ἐπήσκησεν οὐ διθυραμβώδη καὶ φλεγμαίνουσαν ποιητικοῖς ὀνόμασιν, οὐδ' αὖ κατεγλωττισμένην καὶ ὑπεραττικίζουσαν, ἀηδὲς γὰρ τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν μετρίαν Ἀτθίδα ἡγεῖτο, οὐδὲ λεπτολογίᾳ ἐδίδου, οὐδὲ διῆγε τοὺς λόγους,

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

CHAP. XVI

Condemns hot baths

XVII

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

CHAP. XVII

His literary and oratorical style

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CAP. XVII οὐδὲ εἰρωνευομένου τις ἤκουσεν ἢ περιπατοῦντος ἐς τοὺς ἀκροωμένους, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ τρίποδος ὅτε διαλέγοιτο "οἶδα" ἔλεγε καὶ "δοκεῖ μοι" καὶ "ποῖ φέρεσθε;" καὶ "χρὴ εἰδέναι." καὶ αἱ δόξαι βραχεῖαι καὶ ἀδαμάντινοι, κύριά τε ὀνόματα καὶ προσπεφυκότα τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἠχὼ εἶχεν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκήπτρου θεμιστευόμενα. ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν στενολεσχούντων τινός, ὅτου ἕνεκα οὐ ζητοίη, "ὅτι," ἔφη, "μειράκιον ὢν ἐζήτησα, νῦν δὲ οὐ χρὴ ζητεῖν, ἀλλὰ διδάσκειν ἃ εὕρηκα." "πῶς οὖν, Ἀπολλώνιε, διαλέξεται ὁ σοφός;" πάλιν ἐπερομένου αὐτὸν "ὡς νομοθέτης," ἔφη, "δεῖ γὰρ τὸν νομοθέτην, ἃ πέπεικεν ἑαυτόν, ταῦτα ἐπιτάγματα ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι." ὧδε αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐσπουδάζετο, καὶ ἐπέστρεφεν ἐς ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπους ἀμουσοτάτους.

XVIII

CAP. XVIII Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα λογισμὸν ἑαυτῷ διδοὺς ἀποδημίας μείζονος, ἐνθυμεῖται τὸ Ἰνδικὸν ἔθνος καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ σοφούς, οἳ λέγονται Βραχμᾶνές τε καὶ Τρκάνιοι εἶναι, προσήκειν φήσας νέῳ ἀνδρὶ ἀποδημεῖν τε καὶ ὑπερορίῳ αἴρεσθαι. εὕρημα δὲ τοὺς μάγους ἐποιεῖτο, οἳ Βαβυλῶνα καὶ Σοῦσα οἰκοῦσι, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων διαμαθεῖν ὁδῷ χρώμενος. καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμιλητὰς ἑπτὰ ὄντας ἀνέφηνε τὴν γνώμην. πειρωμένων δὲ αὐτῶν

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

CHAP. XVII

He spoke as one having authority

XVIII

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

CHAP. XVIII

Projects a visit to India

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CAP. XVIII ξυμβουλεύειν ἕτερα, εἴ πη ἀφελχθείη τῆς ὁρμῆς ταύτης, "ἐγὼ μὲν θεούς," ἔφη, "συμβούλους πεποίημαι καὶ τὰ δεδογμένα εἴρηκα, ὑμῶν δὲ βάσανον ἐποιούμην, εἰ πρὸς ἅπερ ἐγὼ ἔρρωσθε· ἐπεὶ τοίνυν μαλακῶς ἔχετε, ὑμεῖς μὲν ὑγιαίνετε," ἔφη, "καὶ φιλοσοφεῖτε· ἐμοὶ δὲ βαδιστέα, οἱ σοφία τε καὶ δαίμων με ἄγει." ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐξελαύνει τῆς Ἀντιοχείας μετὰ δυοῖν θεραπόντοιν, οἵπερ αὐτῷ πατρικὼ ἦστην, ὁ μὲν ἐς τάχος γράφων, ὁ δὲ ἐς κάλλος.

XIX

CAP. XIX Καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τὴν ἀρχαίαν Νῖνον, ἐν ᾗ ἄγαλμα ἵδρυται τρόπον βάρβαρον, ἔστι δὲ ἄρα Ἰὼ ἡ Ἰνάχου καὶ κέρατα τῶν κροτάφων ἐκκρούει μικρὰ καὶ οἷον μέλλοντα. ἐνταῦθα διατρίβοντι καὶ πλείω ξυνιέντι περὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἢ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ προφῆται, προσεφοίτησε Δάμις ὁ Νίνιος, ὃν καταρχὰς ἔφην ξυναποδημῆσαί οἱ καὶ ξυνέμπορον γενέσθαι τῆς σοφίας πάσης καὶ πολλὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διασώσασθαι, ὃς ἀγασθεὶς αὐτὸν καὶ ζηλώσας τῆς ὁδοῦ "ἴωμεν," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, σὺ μὲν θεῷ ἑπόμενος, ἐγὼ δὲ σοί, καὶ γάρ με καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον εὕροις ἄν· εἰ μὲν ἄλλο τι οὐκ οἶδα, τὸ δ' οὖν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἦκον, πόλεις τε, ὁπόσαι εἰσίν, οἶδα

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

CHAP. XVIII
His followers refuse

XIX

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

CHAP. XIX
Reaches Nineveh.
The image of Io
Damis joins him

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CAP. XIX

ἀνελθὼν οὐ πάλαι καὶ κώμας, ἐν αἷς πολλὰ ἀγαθά, καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰς φωνὰς τῶν βαρβάρων, ὁπόσαι εἰσίν, εἰσὶ δὲ ἄλλη μὲν Ἀρμενίων, ἄλλη δὲ Μήδων τε καὶ Περσῶν, ἄλλη δὲ Καδουσίων, μεταλαμβάνω δὲ πάσας." "ἐγὼ δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἑταῖρε, πασῶν ξυνίημι, μαθὼν μηδεμίαν." θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Νινίου "μὴ θαυμάσῃς," εἶπεν, "εἰ πάσας οἶδα φωνὰς ἀνθρώπων· οἶδα γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὅσα σιωπῶσιν ἄνθρωποι." ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀσσύριος προσηύξατο αὐτόν, ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσε, καὶ ὥσπερ δαίμονα ἔβλεπε, συνῆν τε αὐτῷ ἐπιδιδοὺς τὴν σοφίαν καὶ ὅ τι μάθοι μνημονεύων. φωνὴ δὲ ἦν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ξυμμέτρως πράττουσα, τὸ γὰρ λογοειδὲς οὐκ εἶχεν, ἅτε παιδευθεὶς ἐν βαρβάροις, διατριβὴν δὲ ἀναγράψαι καὶ συνουσίαν καὶ ὅ τι ἤκουσεν ἢ εἶδεν ἀνατυπῶσαι καὶ ὑπόμνημα τῶν τοιούτων ξυνθεῖναι σφόδρα ἱκανὸς ἦν, καὶ ἐπετήδευε τοῦτο ἄριστα ἀνθρώπων. ἡ γοῦν δέλτος ἡ τῶν ἐκφατνισμάτων τοιοῦτον τῷ Δάμιδι νοῦν εἶχεν· ὁ Δάμις ἐβούλετο μηδὲν τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου ἀγνοεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' εἴ τι καὶ παρεφθέγξατο ἢ ἀμελῶς εἶπεν, ἀναγεγράφθαι καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ ἄξιόν γε εἰπεῖν, ἃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν μεμψάμενον τὴν διατριβὴν ταύτην ἀπεφθέγξατο. διασύροντος γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπου ῥαθύμου τε καὶ βασκάνου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὀρθῶς ἀναγράφειν φήσαντος, ὁπόσαι γνῶμαί τέ εἰσι καὶ δόξαι τοῦ ἀνδρός,

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

CHAP. XIX

Apollonius' claim to know all tongues

Damis' memoirs of Apollonius. Their style

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CAP. XIX ταυτὶ δὲ τὰ οὕτω μικρὰ ξυλλεγόμενον παραπλήσιόν που τοῖς κυσὶ πράττειν τοῖς σιτουμένοις τὰ ἐκπίπτοντα τῆς δαιτός, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Δάμις "εἰ δαῖτες," ἔφη, "θεῶν εἰσι καὶ σιτοῦνται θεοί, πάντως που καὶ θεράποντες αὐτοῖς εἰσιν, οἷς μέλει τοῦ μηδὲ τὰ πίπτοντα τῆς ἀμβροσίας ἀπόλλυσθαι."

XX

CAP. XX Τοιοῦδε μὲν ἑταίρου καὶ ἐραστοῦ ἔτυχεν, ᾧ τὸ πολὺ τοῦ βίου συνεπορεύθη. παριόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν μέσην τῶν ποταμῶν ὁ τελώνης ὁ ἐπιβεβλημένος τῷ Ζεύγματι πρὸς τὸ πινάκιον ἦγε καὶ ἠρώτα, ὅ τι ἀπάγοιεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος "ἀπάγω" ἔφη "σωφροσύνην δικαιοσύνην ἀρετὴν ἐγκράτειαν ἀνδρείαν ἄσκησιν," πολλὰ καὶ οὕτω θήλεα εἴρας ὀνόματα. ὁ δ' ἤδη βλέπων τὸ ἑαυτοῦ κέρδος "ἀπόγραψαι οὖν" ἔφη "τὰς δούλας." ὁ δὲ "οὐκ ἔξεστιν," εἶπεν, "οὐ γὰρ δούλας ἀπάγω ταύτας, ἀλλὰ δεσποίνας." τὴν δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν μέσην ὁ Τίγρις ἀποφαίνει καὶ ὁ Εὐφράτης, ῥέοντες μὲν ἐξ Ἀρμενίας καὶ Ταύρου λήγοντος, περιβάλλοντες δὲ ἤπειρον, ἐν ᾗ καὶ πόλεις μέν, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον κῶμαι, ἔθνη τε

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

XX

CHAP. XX

Anecdote of the Bridge

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

Character of Mesopotamia

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

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CAP. XX Ἀρμένια καὶ Ἀράβια, ἃ ξυγκλείσαντες οἱ ποταμοὶ ἔχουσιν, ὧν καὶ νομάδες οἱ πολλοὶ στείχουσιν, οὕτω τι νησιώτας ἑαυτοὺς νομίζοντες, ὡς ἐπὶ θάλαττάν τε καταβαίνειν φάσκειν, ὅτ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς βαδίζοιεν, ὅρον τε ποιεῖσθαι τῆς γῆς τὸν τῶν ποταμῶν κύκλον· ἀποτορνεύσαντες γὰρ τὴν προειρημένην ἤπειρον ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἴενται θάλατταν. εἰσὶ δ', οἵ φασιν ἐς ἕλος ἀφανίζεσθαι τὸ πολὺ τοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ τελευτᾶν τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐν τῇ γῇ. λόγου δ' ἔνιοι θρασυτέρου ἐφάπτονται, φάσκοντες αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ ῥέοντα ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀναφαίνεσθαι καὶ Νείλῳ συγκεράννυσθαι. ἀκριβολογίας μὲν δὴ ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν παραλελεῖφθαί μοι τῶν γεγραμμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμιδος ἐβουλόμην ἂν καὶ τὰ διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων τούτων πορευομένοις σπουδασθέντα εἰπεῖν, ξυνελαύνει δὲ ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος ἐς τὰ μείζω τε καὶ θαυμασιώτερα, οὐ μὴν ὡς δυοῖν γε ἀμελῆσαι τούτοιν, τῆς τε ἀνδρείας, ᾗ χρώμενος ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος διεπορεύθη βάρβαρα ἔθνη καὶ λῃστρικά, οὐδ' ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πω ὄντα, τῆς τε σοφίας, ᾗ τὸν Ἀράβιον τρόπον ἐς ξύνεσιν τῆς τῶν ζῴων φωνῆς ἦλθεν. ἔμαθε δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τουτωνὶ τῶν Ἀραβίων πορευόμενος ἄριστα γιγνωσκόντων τε αὐτὸ καὶ πραττόντων. ἔστι γὰρ τῶν Ἀραβίων ἤδη κοινὸν καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων ἀκούειν μαντευομένων, ὁπόσα οἱ χρησμοί, ξυμβάλλονται δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων σιτούμενοι τῶν δρακόντων οἱ μὲν καρδίαν φασίν, οἱ δὲ ἧπαρ.

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

Apollonius learns from Arabs the language of birds

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XXI

CAP. XXI

Κτησιφῶντα δὲ ὑπερβαλὼν καὶ παριὼν ἐς τὰ Βαβυλῶνος ὅρια, φρουρὰ μὲν αὐτόθι ἦν ἐκ βασιλέως, ἦν οὐκ ἂν παρῆλθέ τις μὴ οὐκ ἐρωτηθεὶς ἑαυτόν τε καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἐφ' ὅ τι ἥκοι. σατράπης δὲ τῇ φρουρᾷ ταύτῃ ἐπετέτακτο, βασιλέως τις, οἶμαι, ὀφθαλμός, ὁ γὰρ Μῆδος ἄρτι ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν ἥκων οὐ ξυνεχώρει ἑαυτῷ ἀδεῶς ζῆν, ἀλλὰ ὄντα τε καὶ οὐκ ὄντα δεδιὼς ἐς φόβους κατεπεπτώκει καὶ πτοίας. ἄγονται τοίνυν παρὰ τὸν σατράπην Ἀπολλώνιός τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ ἔτυχε μὲν σκηνὴν ἐφ' ἁρμαμάξης πεποιημένος καὶ ἐξελαύνων ποι, ἰδὼν δὲ ἄνδρα αὐχμοῦ πλέων ἀνέκραγέ τε ὥσπερ τὰ δειλὰ τῶν γυναίων καὶ ξυνεκαλύψατο, μόγις τε ἀναβλέψας ἐς αὐτόν· "πόθεν ἡμῖν ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ἥκεις;" οἷον δαίμονα ἠρώτα. ὁ δὲ "ὑπ' ἐμαυτοῦ," ἔφη, "εἴ πη καὶ ἄκοντες ἄνδρες γένοισθε." πάλιν ἤρετο, ὅστις ὢν ἐσφοιτᾷ τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, ὁ δὲ "ἐμή," ἔφη, "πᾶσα ἡ γῆ καὶ ἀνεῖταί μοι δι' αὐτῆς πορεύεσθαι," τοῦ δὲ "βασανιῶ σε," εἰπόντος "εἰ μὴ λέγοις," "εἰ γὰρ ταῖς σαυτοῦ χερσίν," εἶπεν, "ὡς αὐτὸς βασανισθείης, θιγὼν ἀνδρός." ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ εὐνοῦχος, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἑρμηνέως ἑώρα δεόμενον, ἀλλ' ὑπολαμβάνοντα τὴν φωνὴν ἀλύπως τε καὶ

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XXI

CHAP. XXI

Passes from Ctesiphon to Babylon

Demeanour of the frontier satrap

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

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CAP. XXI εὐκόλως "πρὸς θεῶν," εἶπε, "τίς εἶ;" λιπαρῶν ἤδη καὶ μεταβαλὼν τοῦ τόνου. ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος "ἐπειδὴ μετρίως," ἔφη, "ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἀπανθρώπως ἤρου, ἄκουε, ὅς εἰμι· εἰμὶ μὲν ὁ Τυανεὺς Ἀπολλώνιος, ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς παρὰ τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα καθ' ἱστορίαν τῶν ἐκεῖ, βουλοίμην δ' ἂν καὶ τῷ σῷ βασιλεῖ ἐντυχεῖν· φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ ξυγγεγονότες οὐ τῶν φαύλων εἶναι, εἰ δὴ Οὐαρδάνης οὗτος, ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολωλυΐαν ποτ' αὐτῷ νῦν ἀνακεκτημένος." "ἐκεῖνος," ἔφη, "θεῖε Ἀπολλώνιε· πάλαι γάρ σε ἠκούομεν. σοφῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ κἂν αὐτοῦ παραχωρήσειε τοῦ χρυσοῦ θρόνου, καὶ πέμποι δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἐπὶ καμήλου ἕκαστον. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ξένον ἐμαυτοῦ ποιοῦμαί σε καὶ δίδωμί σοι τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, "ἅμα θησαυρὸν χρυσοῦ δείξας "ὁπόσα βούλει δράττεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐς ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ δεκάκις." παραιτησαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ χρήματα "σὺ δ' ἀλλὰ οἶνου," ἔφη, "Βαβυλωνίου, προπίνει δὲ αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς δέκα ἡμῖν σατράπαις, ἀμφορέα ἔχε, συῶν τε καὶ δορκάδων τεμάχη ὀπτά, ἄλευρά τε καὶ ἄρτους καὶ ὅ τι ἐθέλεις. ἡ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁδὸς ἐπὶ πολλὰ στάδια κῶμαί εἰσιν οὐ πάνυ εὔσιτοι." καὶ λαβόμενος ἑαυτοῦ ὁ εὐνοῦχος, "οἶον," ἔφη, "ὦ θεοί, ἔπαθον· ἀκούων γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα μήτ' ἀπὸ ζῴων σιτεῖσθαι μήτε οἴνου πίνειν, παχέως αὐτὸν καὶ ἀμαθῶς ἐστιῶ." "ἀλλ' ἔστι σοι," ἔφη, "καὶ

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

CHAP. XXI

Apollonius' vegetarianism

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

XXII

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

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

XXII

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

The portent of the slain lioness

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CAP. XXII δὲ τῆς δευτέρας δύο, τρίτου δὲ ἁπτομένη τόκου μονήρη σκύμνον ἀποτίκτει μέγαν, οἶμαι, καὶ ἀγριώτερον τῆς φύσεως. οὐ γὰρ προσεκτέα τοῖς λέγουσιν, ὡς ξήναντες οἱ σκύμνοι τὰς τῶν λεαινῶν μήτρας ἐκδέδονται τοῦ σπλάγχνου. δοκεῖ γὰρ τῇ φύσει τῷ τικτομένῳ πρὸς τὸ τίκτον ἐπιτήδεια εἶναι ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ γένους. ἐνιδὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ θηρίῳ καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπισχὼν "ὦ Δάμι," ἔφη, "ὁ χρόνος τῆς παρὰ βασιλέα ἀποδημίας ἐνιαυτοῦ ἔσται καὶ μηνῶν ὀκτώ, οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἀνήσει θᾶττον, οὔτε ἡμῖν λῷον ἀπελθεῖν πρὸ τούτου. τεκμαίρεσθαι δὲ χρὴ τῶν μὲν σκύμνων ἐς μῆνας, τῆς λεαίνης δὲ ἐς ἐνιαυτόν, τέλεια γὰρ τελείοις παραβλητέα." "οἱ δὲ δὴ στρουθοί," ἔφη ὁ Δάμις, "οἱ παρὰ τῷ Ὁμήρῳ τί φήσουσιν, οὓς ὁ δράκων μὲν ἐν τῇ Αὐλίδι ἐδαίσατο ὀκτὼ ὄντας, ἐννάτην ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὴν μητέρα ἑλών; Κάλχας δ' ἐξηγούμενος ταῦτα ἐννέα ἐνιαυτοῖς ἀνεῖπε καταπολεμήσεσθαι τὴν Τροίαν· καὶ ὅρα μὴ καθ' Ὁμηρόν τε καὶ Κάλχαντα ἐς ἐννέα ἡμῖν ἔτη ἡ ἀποδημία τείνῃ." "καὶ εἰκότως," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, καὶ τοὺς νεοττοὺς Ὅμηρος ἐνιαυτοῖς εἰκάζει, γεγόνασι γὰρ ἤδη καί εἰσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀτελῆ θηρία καὶ μήπω γεγονότα, ἴσως δὲ μηδ' ἂν γενόμενα, πῶς ἂν ἐνιαυτοῖς εἰκάζοιμι; τὰ γὰρ παρὰ φύσιν οὔτ' ἂν γένοιτο, ταχεῖάν τε ἴσχει διαφθοράν, κἂν γένηται. ἀλλ' ἔπου δὴ τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ἴωμεν εὐξάμενοι[1] τοῖς θεοῖς οἳ ταῦτα φαίνουσι."

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[1] εὐξάμενοι Phillimore : εὐξόμενοι Kayser,

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

CHAP. XXII

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XXIII

CAP. XXIII Προελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Κισσίαν χωραν καὶ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι ἤδη ὄντι, δόξα ἐνυπνίου ἐφοίτησεν ὧδε τῷ φήναντι θεῷ ξυντεθεῖσα· ἰχθῦς ἐκπεπτωκότες τῆς θαλάττης ἐν τῇ γῇ ἤσπαιρον, θρῆνον ἀνθρώπων ἱέντες καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενοι τὸ ἐκβεβηκέναι τοῦ ἤθους, δελφινά τε τῇ γῇ παρανέοντα ἱκέτευον ἀμῦναί σφισιν ἐλεεινοὶ ὄντες, ὥσπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ ἐν τῇ ξένῃ κλαίοντες. ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου, ξυμβάλλεται μὲν αὐτοῦ ὅπως καὶ ὅπη εἶχε, διαταράττειν δὲ βουλόμενος τὸν Δάμιν, καὶ γὰρ τῶν εὐλαβεστέρων αὐτὸν ἐγίγνωσκεν, ἀπαγγέλλει πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν ὄψιν, δέος πλασάμενος ὡς ἐπὶ πονηροῖς, οἷς εἶδεν· ὁ δὲ ἀνεβόησέ τε ὡς αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ταῦτα, καὶ ἀπῆγε τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ πρόσω "μή πη," ἔφη, "καὶ ἡμεῖς ὥσπερ ἰχθῦς ἐκπεσόντες τῶν ἠθῶν ἀπολώμεθα, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλεεινὰ ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδαπῇ εἴπωμεν, καί που καὶ ἐς ἀμήχανον ἐμπεσόντες ἱκετεύσωμεν δυνάστην τινὰ ἢ βασιλέα, ὁ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀτιμάσῃ, καθάπερ τοὺς ἰχθῦς οἱ δελφῖνες." γελάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος "σὺ μὲν οὔπω φιλοσοφεῖς," εἶπεν, "εἰ δέδιας ταῦτα, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον τείνει δηλώσω· Ἐρετριεῖς γὰρ τὴν Κισσίαν ταύτην χώραν οἰκοῦσιν οἱ ἐξ Εὐβοίας ποτὲ Δαρείῳ ἀναχθέντες ἔτη ταῦτα πεντακόσια, καὶ λέγονται, ὥσπερ ἡ ὄψις ἐφάνη, ἰχθύων πάθει περὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν χρήσασθαι· σαγηνευθῆναι γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἁλῶναι πάντας.

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XXIII

CHAP. XXIII

His dream about the captive Eretrians

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

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CAP. XXIII ἐοίκασιν οὖν οἱ θεοὶ κελεύειν με ἐς αὐτοὺς παρελθόντα ἐπιμεληθῆναι σφῶν, εἴ τι δυναίμην. ἴσως δὲ καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἵπερ ἔλαχον τὴν ἐνταῦθα μοῖραν, ἐπάγονταί με ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τῆς γῆς· ἴωμεν οὖν ἐξαλλάξαντες τῆς ὁδοῦ περὶ μόνου ἐρωτῶντες τοῦ φρέατος, πρὸς ᾧ οἰκοῦσι." λέγεται δὲ τοῦτο κεκρᾶσθαι μὲν ἀσφάλτου καὶ ἐλαίου καὶ ὕδατος, ἐκχέαντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνιμήσαντος ἀποχωρεῖν ταῦτα καὶ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων κρίνεσθαι. παρελθεῖν μὲν δὴ ἐς τὴν Κισσίαν καὶ αὐτὸς ὡμολόγηκεν ἐν οἷς πρὸς τὸν Κλαζομένιον σοφιστὴν γράφει, χρηστὸς γὰρ οὕτω τι καὶ φιλότιμος ἦν, ὡς ἐπειδὴ Ἐρετριέας εἶδε, σοφιστοῦ τε ἀναμνησθῆναι καὶ γράψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅ τε εἶδεν ἅ τε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔπραξεν· καὶ παρακελεύεταί οἱ παρὰ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πᾶσαν ἐλεεῖν τοὺς Ἐρετριέας, καὶ ὁπότε μελετῴη τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον, μηδὲ τὸ κλάειν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς παραιτεῖσθαι.

XXIV

CAP. XXIV Ξυνῳδὰ δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὁ Δάμις περὶ τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἀναγέγραφεν· οἰκοῦσι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ, Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντες ἡμέρας ὁδὸν δρομικῷ ἀνδρί, ἡ χώρα δὲ ἄπολις, ἡ γὰρ Κισσία κῶμαι πᾶσα, καί τι καὶ νομάδων ἐν αὐτῇ γένος μικρὰ τῶν ἵππων ἀποβαίνοντες. ἡ δὲ τῶν Ἐρετριέων οἰκεῖται μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μέση, περιβέβληται δὲ ποταμοῦ τάφρον, ἣν αὐτοὶ βαλ-

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

CHAP. XXIII

Letter to the Sophist of Clazomenae Scopelianus about them

XXIV

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

CHAP. XXIV

The story of Datis and the Eretrians carried captive to Media

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CAP. XXIV

ἔσθαι περὶ τῇ κώμῃ λέγονται, τεῖχος αὐτὴν ποιούμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Κισσίᾳ βαρβάρους. ὕπομβρος δὲ ἀσφάλτῳ ἡ χώρα καὶ πικρὰ ἐμφυτεῦσαι, βραχυβιώτατοί τε οἱ ἐκείνῃ ἄνθρωποι, τὸ γὰρ ἀσφαλτῶδες ποτὸν ἐς πολλὰ τῶν σπλάγχνων ἰζάνει. τρέφει δ' αὐτοὺς λόφος ἐν ὁρίοις τῆς κώμης, ὃν ὑπεραίροντα τοῦ παρεφθορότος χωρίου σπείρουσί τε καὶ ἡγοῦνται γῆν. φασὶ δὲ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ὡς ἑπτακόσιοι μὲν τῶν Ἐρετριέων πρὸς τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα ἦλωσαν, οὔτι που μάχιμοι πάντες, ἦν γάρ τι καὶ θῆλυ ἐν αὐτοῖς γένος καὶ γεγηρακός, ἦν δ', οἶμαί, τι καὶ παιδία, τὸ γὰρ πολὺ τῆς Ἐρετρίας τὸν Καφηρέα ἀνέφυγε καὶ ὅ τι ἀκρότατον τῆς Εὐβοίας. ἀνήχθησαν δὲ ἄνδρες μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακοσίους, γύναια δὲ ἴσως δέκα, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπ' Ἰωνίας τε καὶ Λυδίας ἀρξάμενοι διεφθάρησαν ἐλαυνόμενοι ἄνω. λιθοτομίαν δὲ αὐτοῖς παρεχομένου τοῦ λόφου, καί τινες καὶ λιθουργοὺς εἰδότες τέχνας, ἱερά τε ἐδείμαντο Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ ἀγοράν, ὁπόσην εἰκὸς ἦν, βωμούς τε ἱδρύσαντο Δαρείῳ μὲν δύο, Ξέρξῃ δὲ ἕνα, Δαριδαίῳ δὲ πλείους. διετέλεσαν δὲ ἐς Δαριδαῖον ἔτη μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν ὀκτὼ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα γράφοντες τὸν Ἑλλήνων τρόπον, καὶ οἱ τάφοι δὲ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι σφῶν "ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος" γεγράφαται, καὶ τὰ γράμματα Ἑλλήνων μέν, ἀλλ' οὔπω ταῦτα ἰδεῖν φασι. καὶ ναῦς ἐγκεχαραγ-

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

CHAP. XXIV

Apollonius restores their graves

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

Οἵδε ποτ' Αἰγαίοιο βαθύρροον οἶδμα πλέοντες
Ἐκβατάνων πεδίῳ κείμεθ' ἐνὶ μεσάτῳ.
χαῖρε κλυτή ποτε πατρὶς Ἐρέτρια, χαίρετ' Ἀθῆναι,
γείτονες Εὐβοίης, χαῖρε θάλασσα φίλη.

Τοὺς μὲν δὴ τάφους διεφθορότας ἀναλαβεῖν τε αὐτὸν ὁ Δάμις φησὶ καὶ ξυγκλεῖσαι, χέασθαί τε καὶ ἐπενεγκεῖν σφισιν, ὁπόσα νόμιμα, πλὴν τοῦ τεμεῖν τι ἢ καθαγίσαι, δακρύσαντά τε καὶ ὑποπλησθέντα ὁρμῆς τάδε ἐν μέσοις ἀναφθέγξασθαι· "Ἐρετριεῖς οἱ κλήρῳ τύχης δεῦρ' ἀπενεχθέντες, ὑμεῖς μέν, εἰ καὶ πόρρω τῆς αὐτῶν, τέθαφθε γοῦν, οἱ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐνταῦθα ῥίψαντες ἀπώλοντο περὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν νῆσον ἄταφοι δεκάτῳ μεθ' ὑμᾶς ἔτει· τὸ γὰρ ἐν κοίλῃ Εὐβοίᾳ πάθος θεοὶ φαίνουσιν." Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ πρὸς τὸν σοφιστὴν ἐπὶ τέλει τῆς ἐπιστολῆς "καὶ ἐπεμελήθην," φησίν, "ὦ Σκοπελιανέ, τῶν σῶν Ἐρετριέων νέος ὢν ἔτι, καὶ ὠφέλησα ὅ τι ἐδυνάμην καὶ τοὺς τεθνεῶτας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ζῶντας." τί δῆτα ἐπεμελήθη τῶν ζώντων; οἱ πρόσοικοι τῷ λόφῳ βάρβαροι σπειρόντων τῶν Ἐρετριέων αὐτὸν ἐληίζοντο τὰ φυόμενα περὶ τὸ

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

Here we who once sailed over the deep-flowing billows of the Aegean sea
Are lying in the midst of the plain of Ecbatana.
Farewell, once-famed fatherland of Eretria, farewell Athens,
Ye neighbours of Euboea, farewell, thou darling sea.

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

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

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

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CAP. XXIV θέρος ἥκοντες καὶ πεινὴν ἔδει γεωργοῦντας ἑτέροις. ὁπότ' οὖν παρὰ βασιλέα ἀφίκετο, εὕρετο αὐτοῖς τὸ χρῆσθαι μόνους τῷ λόφῳ.

XXV

CAP. XXV Τὰ δὲ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου καὶ ὁπόσα Βαβυλῶνος πέρι προσήκει γιγνώσκειν, τοιάδε εὗρον· ἡ Βαβυλὼν τετείχισται μὲν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ τετρακόσια στάδια, τοσαύτη κύκλῳ, τεῖχος δὲ αὐτῆς τρία μὲν τὸ ὕψος ἡμίπλεθρα, πλέθρου δὲ μεῖον τὸ εὖρος, ποταμῷ δὲ Εὐφράτῃ τέμνεται ξὺν ὁμοιότητι τοῦ εἴδους, ὃν ἀπόρρητος ὑποστείχει γέφυρα, τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις ἀφανῶς ξυνάπτουσα. γυνὴ γὰρ λέγεται Μηδεία τῶν ἐκείνῃ ποτὲ ἄρχουσα τὸν ποταμὸν ὑποζεῦξαι τρόπον, ὃν μήπω τις ποταμὸς ἐζεύχθη· λίθους γὰρ δὴ καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ ἄσφαλτον καὶ ὁπόσα ἐς ἔφυδρον ξύνδεσιν ἀνθρώποις εὕρηται, παρὰ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ νήσασα τὸ ῥεῦμα ἐς λίμνας ἔτρεψε, ξηρόν τε ἤδη τὸν ποταμὸν ὤρυγεν ὀργυιὰς ἐς δύο σήραγγα ἐργαζομένη κοίλην, ἵν' ἐς τὰ βασίλεια τὰ παρὰ ταῖς ὄχθαις ὥσπερ ἐκ γῆς ἀναφαίνοιτο, καὶ ἤρεψεν αὐτὴν ἴσως τῷ τοῦ ῥεύματος δαπέδῳ. οἱ μὲν δὴ θεμέλιοι ἐβεβήκεσαν καὶ οἱ τοῖχοι τῆς σήραγγος, ἅτε δὲ τῆς ἀσφάλτου δεομένης τοῦ ὕδατος ἐς τὸ λιθοῦσθαί τε καὶ πήγνυσθαι ὁ Εὐφράτης ἐπαφείθη ὑγρῷ τῷ ὀρόφῳ,

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

XXV

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

CHAP. XXV
Stay in Babylon and account of that city

[1] A *plethron* was equal to 101 English feet.

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CAP. XXV καὶ ὧδε ἔστη τὸ ζεῦγμα. τὰ δὲ βασίλεια χαλκῷ, μὲν ἤρεπται καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀστράπτει, θάλαμοι δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶνες καὶ στοαί, τὰ μὲν ἀργύρῳ, τὰ δὲ χρυσοῖς ὑφάσμασι, τὰ δὲ χρυσῷ αὐτῷ καθάπερ γραφαῖς ἠγλάϊσται, τὰ δὲ ποικίλματα τῶν πέπλων ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν σφίσιν ἥκει λόγων, Ἀνδρομέδαι καὶ Ἀμυμῶναι καὶ Ὀρφεὺς πολλαχοῦ. χαίρουσι δὲ τῷ Ὀρφεῖ, τιάραν ἴσως καὶ ἀναξυρίδα τιμῶντες, οὐ γὰρ μουσικήν γε, οὐδὲ ᾠδάς, αἷς ἔθελγεν. ἐνύφανταί που καὶ ὁ Δᾶτις τὴν Νάξον ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνασπῶν, καὶ Ἀρταφέρνης περιεστηκὼς τὴν Ἐρέτριαν, καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην, ἃ νικᾶν ἔφασκεν· Ἀθῆναι γὰρ δὴ ἐχόμεναί εἰσι καὶ Θερμοπύλαι καὶ τὰ Μηδικώτερα ἔτι, ποταμοὶ ἐξαιρούμενοι τῆς γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ζεῦγμα καὶ ὁ Ἄθως ὡς ἐτμήθη. φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶνι ἐντυχεῖν, οὗ τὸν ὄροφον ἐς θόλου ἀνῆχθαι σχῆμα οὐρανῷ τινι εἰκασμένον, σαπφειρίνῃ δὲ αὐτὸν κατηρέφθαι λίθῳ —κυανωτάτη δὲ ἡ λίθος καὶ οὐρανία ἰδεῖν—καὶ θεῶν ἀγάλματα, οὓς νομίζουσιν, ἵδρυται ἄνω καὶ χρυσᾶ φαίνεται, καθάπερ, ἐξ αἰθέρος. δικάζει μὲν δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνταῦθα, χρυσαῖ δὲ ἴυγγες ἀποκρέμανται τοῦ ὀρόφου τέτταρες, τὴν Ἀδράστειαν αὐτῷ παρεγγυῶσαι καὶ τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αἴρεσθαι. ταύτας οἱ μάγοι αὐτοί φασιν ἁρμόττεσθαι, φοιτῶντες ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὰς θεῶν γλώττας.

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

CHAP. XXV

Greek works of art in Babylon

Juvenal x. 176

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XXVI

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

XXVII

CAP. XXVII Ταυτὶ μὲν ὕστερον. ἀφικομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ὁ σατράπης ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν μεγάλων πυλῶν μαθὼν ὅτι ὑπὲρ ἱστορίας ἥκοι, ὀρέγει χρυσῆν εἰκόνα τοῦ βασιλέως, ἣν εἰ μὴ προσκυνήσειέ τις, οὐ θεμιτὸν ἦν ἐσφοιτᾶν ἔσω. πρεσβεύοντι μὲν οὖν παρὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντος οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη τούτου, παρὰ βαρβάρων δὲ ἥκοντι ἢ ἀφιστοροῦντι τὴν χώραν, εἰ μὴ τὴν εἰκόνα προθεραπεύσειεν, ἄτιμον ἀπειλῆφθαι· καὶ σατραπεύεται παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις τὰ οὕτως εὐήθη. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τὴν εἰκόνα εἶδε "τίς," ἔφη, "οὗτος;" ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι ὁ βασιλεύς "οὗτος," εἶπεν, "ὃν ὑμεῖς προσκυνεῖτε, εἰ ἐπαινεθείη ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καλὸς κἀγαθὸς δόξας μεγάλων τεύξεται·" καὶ εἰπὼν

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XXVI

CHAP. XXVI
Apollonius interviews the Magi

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

XXVII

CHAP. XXVII
He refuses to worship the king's image

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

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

XXVIII

CAP. XXVIII Δραμὼν δὲ αὐτὸς παρὰ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἳ δὴ νομίζονται βασιλέως ὦτα, ἀνατυποῖ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, προειπών ὅτι μήτε προσκυνεῖν βούλεται μήτε τι ἀνθρώπῳ ἔοικεν· οἱ δὲ ἄγειν κελεύουσι τιμῶντά τε καὶ μηδὲν ὕβρει πράττοντα, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθεν, ἤρετο αὐτὸν ὁ πρεσβύτατος ὅ τι μαθὼν καταφρονήσειε τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ δὲ "οὔπω," ἔφη, "κατεφρόνησα." "καταφρονήσειας δ' ἄν;" πάλιν ἐρομένου, "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ἦν γε ξυγγενόμενος μὴ καλόν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν εὕρω αὐτόν." "ἀπάγεις δὲ δή τίνα αὐτῷ δῶρα;" τοῦ δὲ αὖ τήν τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα φήσαντος "πότερον," ἔφη, "ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντι;" "μὰ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ὡς μαθησομένῳ χρῆσθαι, ἣν ἔχῃ αὐτάς," "καὶ μὴν χρώμενος τούτοις," ἔφη, "τήν τε βασιλείαν, ἣν ὁρᾷς, ἀπολωλυῖαν αὐτῷ ἀνέλαβε, τόν τε οἶκον ἐπανήγαγε τοῦτον, οὐκ ἀπόνως οὐδὲ ῥᾳθύμως." "πόστον δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ἔτος τῇ ἀνακτηθείσῃ ἀρχῇ;" "τρίτου,"

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

XXVIII

CHAP XXVIII

His proud bearing towards the great king

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

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CAP. XXVIII

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

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

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

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

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XXIX

CAP. XXIX Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀνηγγέλη ταῦτα, ἔτυχε μὲν θύων παρόντων αὐτῷ τῶν μάγων, τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνοις δρᾶται, καλέσας δὲ αὐτῶν ἕνα "ἥκει," ἔφη, "τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ὃ διηγούμην σοι τήμερον ἐπισκοπουμένῳ με ἐν τῇ εὐνῇ." ὄναρ δὲ ἄρα τῷ βασιλεῖ τοιοῦτον ἀφῖκτο· ἐδόκει Ἀρταξέρξης εἶναι ὁ τοῦ Ξέρξου καὶ μεθεστηκέναι ἐς ἐκεῖνον τὸ εἶδος, περιδεῶς τε εἶχε, μὴ ἐς μεταβολὴν ἤδη τὰ πράγματα ἥκῃ αὐτῷ, ἐς τοῦτο ἐξηγουμένῳ τὴν μεταβολὴν τοῦ εἴδους. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσεν Ἑλληνά τε καὶ σοφὸν εἶναι τὸν ἥκοντα, ἐσῆλθεν αὐτὸν Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων ποτὲ ἥκων ξυνεγένετο τῷ Ἀρταξέρξῃ καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐκείνου τε ἐποίησεν ἑαυτόν τε παρέσχετο. καὶ προτείνας τὴν δεξιὰν "κάλει," ἔφη, "καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ καλλίστου ἄρξαιτο ξυνθύσας τε καὶ ξυνευξάμενος."

XXX

CAP. XXX Εἰσῄει μὲν δὴ παραπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ πλειόνων, τουτὶ γὰρ ᾠοντο καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ χαρίζεσθαι μαθόντες ὡς χαίροι ἀφιγμένῳ, διιὼν δὲ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια οὐ διέβλεψεν ἐς οὐδὲν τῶν θαυμαζομένων, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁδοιπορῶν διῄει αὐτά, καὶ καλέσας τὸν Δάμιν "ἧρου με," ἔφη, "πρώην, ὅ τι ὄνομα ἦν τῇ Παμφύλῳ γυναικί, ἣ δὴ Σαπφοῖ τε ὁμιλῆσαι

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XXIX

CHAP. XXIX

The king welcomes him as a second Themistocles

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

XXX

CHAP. XXX

Apollonius insensible to the palace splendours

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

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CAP. XXX λέγεται καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους, οὓς ἐς τὴν Ἄρτεμιν τὴν Περγαίαν ᾄδουσι, ξυνθεῖναι τὸν Αἰολέων τε καὶ Παμφύλων τρόπον." "ἠρόμην," ἔφη, "τὸ δὲ ὄνομα οὐκ εἶπας." "οὐκ, ὦ χρηστέ, εἶπον, ἀλλ' ἐξηγούμην σοι τοὺς νόμους τῶν ὕμνων καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ ὅπη τὰ Αἰολέων ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατόν τε καὶ τὸ ἴδιον Παμφύλων παρήλλαξε· πρὸς ἄλλῳ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγενόμεθα, καὶ οὐκέτ' ἤρου με περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος· καλεῖται τοίνυν ἡ σοφὴ αὕτη Δαμοφύλη, καὶ λέγεται τὸν Σαπφοῦς τρόπον παρθένους τε ὁμιλητρίας κτήσασθαι ποιήματά τε ξυνθεῖναι τὰ μὲν ἐρωτικά, τὰ δὲ ὕμνους. τά τοι ἐς τὴν Ἄρτεμιν καὶ παρῴδηται αὐτῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Σαπφῴων ᾖσται." ὅσον μὲν δὴ ἀπεῖχε τοῦ ἐκπεπλῆχθαι βασιλέα τε καὶ ὄγκον, ἐδήλου τῷ μηδὲ ὀφθαλμῶν ἄξια ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ ἑτέρων πέρι διαλέγεσθαι κἀκεῖνα δήπου οὐχ ἡγεῖσθαι ὁρᾶν.

XXXI

CAP. XXXI Προϊδὼν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς προσιόντα, καὶ γάρ τι καὶ μῆκος ἡ τοῦ ἱεροῦ αὐλὴ εἶχε, διελάλησέ τε πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγύς, οἷον ἀναγιγνώσκων τὸν ἄνδρα, πλησίον τε ἤδη γιγνομένου μέγα ἀναβοήσας, "οὗτος," ἔφη, "ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὃν Μεγαβάτης ὁ

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

XXXI

CHAP. XXXI

Refuses to attend the king's sacrifice of a horse

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

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CAP. XXXI ἐμὸς ἀδελφὸς ἰδεῖν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ φησὶ θαυμαζόμενόν τε καὶ προσκυνούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν σπουδαίων, καὶ ἀπεζωγράφησέ μοι τότε τοιοῦτον αὐτόν, ὁποῖος ἥκει." προσελθόντα δὲ καὶ ἀσπασάμενον προσεῖπέ τε ὁ βασιλεὺς φωνῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ δὴ ἐκέλευσε θύειν μετ' αὐτοῦ· λευκὸν δὲ ἄρα ἵππον τῶν σφόδρα Νισαίων καταθύσειν ἔμελλε τῷ Ἡλίῳ φαλάροις κοσμήσας, ὥσπερ ἐς πομπήν, ὁ δ' ὑπολαβὼν "σὺ μέν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, θῦε," ἔφη, "τὸν σαυτοῦ τρόπον, ἐμοὶ δὲ ξυγχώρησον θῦσαι τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ·" καὶ δραξάμενος τοῦ λιβανωτοῦ, "Ἥλιε," ἔφη, "πέμπε με ἐφ' ὅσον τῆς γῆς ἐμοί τε καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ γιγνώσκοιμι ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς, φαύλους δὲ μήτε ἐγὼ μάθοιμι μήτε ἐμὲ φαῦλοι." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα τὸν λιβανωτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἧκεν, ἐπισκεψάμενος δὲ αὐτὸ ὅπη διανίσταται καὶ ὅπη θολοῦται, καὶ ὁπόσαις κορυφαῖς ἅττει, καί που καὶ ἐφαπτόμενος τοῦ πυρός, ὅπη εὔσημόν τε καὶ καθαρὸν φαίνοιτο "θῦε," ἔφη, "λοιπόν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κατὰ τὰ σαυτοῦ πάτρια, τὰ γὰρ πάτρια τἀμὰ τοιαῦτα."

XXXII

CAP. XXXII Καὶ ἀνεχώρησε τῆς θυσίας, ὡς μὴ κοινωνοίη τοῦ αἵματος. μετὰ δὲ τὴν θυσίαν προσῆλθε καί "ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "τὴν φωνὴν τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν γιγνώσκεις, ἢ σμικρὰ αὐτῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐξυμβόλου ἴσως καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀηδὴς δοκεῖν, εἴ τις ἀφίκοιτο

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

XXXII

CHAP. XXXII

Expounds his self-discipline to the king

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

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CAP. XXXII

"Ελλην;" "πᾶσαν," εἶπεν, "ἴσα τῇ ἐγχωρίῳ ταύτῃ, καὶ λέγε ὅ τι βούλει, διὰ τοῦτο γάρ που ἐρωτᾷς·" "διὰ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "καὶ ἄκουε· ἡ μὲν ὁρμή μοι τῆς ἀποδημίας Ἰνδοί εἰσι, παρελθεῖν δὲ οὐδ' ὑμᾶς ἐβουλήθην, σέ τε ἀκούων ἄνδρα, οἷον ἐξ ὄνυχος ἤδη ὁρῶ, σοφίαν τε, ἥπερ ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἐπιχώριος μελετωμένη μάγοις ἀνδράσι, κατιδεῖν δεόμενος, εἰ τὰ θεῖα, ὡς λέγονται, σοφοί εἰσι· σοφία δὲ ἐμοὶ Πυθαγόρου Σαμίου ἀνδρός, ὃς θεούς τε θεραπεύειν ὧδέ με ἐδιδάξατο, καὶ ξυνιέναι σφῶν ὁρωμένων τε καὶ οὐχ ὁρωμένων, φοιτᾶν τε ἐς διάλεξιν θεῶν, καὶ γηίνῳ τούτῳ ἐρίῳ ἐστάλθαι, οὐ γὰρ προβάτου ἐπέχθη, ἀλλ' ἀκήρατος ἀκηράτων φύεται, ὕδατός τε καὶ γῆς δῶρα, ὀθόνη· καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἄνετον τῆς κόμης ἐκ Πυθαγόρου ἐπήσκησα, καὶ τὸ καθαρεύειν ζῴου βορᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου μοι σοφίας ἥκει. ξυμπότης μὲν δὴ καὶ κοινωνὸς ῥᾳστώνης ἢ τρυφῆς οὔτ' ἄν σοι γενοίμην οὔτ' ἂν ἑτέρῳ οὐδενί, φροντίδων δὲ ἀπόρων τε καὶ δυσευρέτων δοίην ἂν λύσεις, οὐ γιγνώσκων τὰ πρακτέα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προγιγνώσκων." ταῦτα ὁ Δάμις μὲν διαλεχθῆναί φησι τὸν ἄνδρα, Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ἐπιστολὴν αὐτὰ πεποίηται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἑαυτῷ ἐς διάλεξιν εἰρημένων ἐς ἐπιστολὰς ἀνετυπώσατο.

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

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XXXIII

CAP. XXXIII

Ἐπεὶ δὲ χαίρειν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφη καὶ ἀγάλλεσθαι ἥκοντι μᾶλλον, ἢ εἰ τὰ Περσῶν καὶ Ἰνδῶν πρὸς τοῖς οὖσιν αὐτῷ ἐκτήσατο, ξένον τε ποιεῖσθαι καὶ κοινωνὸν τῆς βασιλείου στέγης, "εἰ ἐγώ σε, ὦ βασιλεῦ," εἶπεν, "ἐς πατρίδα τὴν ἐμὴν Τύανα ἥκοντα ἠξίουν οἰκεῖν οὗ ἐγώ, οἰκῆσαι ἂν ἤρας;" "μὰ Δί'," εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ τοσαύτην γε οἰκίαν οἰκήσειν ἔμελλον, ὁπόσην δορυφόρους τε καὶ σωματοφύλακας ἐμοὺς αὐτόν τε ἐμὲ λαμπρῶς δέξασθαι." "ὁ αὐτὸς οὖν," ἔφη, "καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ λόγος· εἰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτὸν οἰκήσω, πονηρῶς διαιτήσομαι, τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλον λυπεῖ τοὺς σοφοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμᾶς τὸ ἐλλεῖπον· ξενιζέτω με οὖν ἰδιώτης ἔχων ὁπόσα ἐγώ, σοὶ δὲ ἐγὼ ξυνέσομαι ὁπόσα βούλει." ξυνεχώρει ὁ βασιλεύς, ὡς μὴ ἀηδές τι αὐτῷ λάθοι πράξας, καὶ ᾤκησε παρ' ἀνδρὶ Βαβυλωνίῳ χρηστῷ τε καὶ ἄλλως γενναίῳ. δειπνοῦντι δὲ ἤδη εὐνοῦχος ἐφίσταται τῶν τὰς ἀγγελίας διαφερόντων, καὶ προσειπὼν τὸν ἄνδρα "βασιλεύς," ἔφη, "δωρεῖταί σε δέκα δωρεαῖς καὶ ποιεῖται κύριον τοῦ ἐπαγγεῖλαι αὐτάς, δεῖται δέ σου μὴ μικρὰ αἰτῆσαι, μεγαλοφροσύνην γὰρ ἐνδείξασθαι σοί τε καὶ ἡμῖν βούλεται." ἐπαινέσας δὲ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν "πότε οὖν χρὴ αἰτεῖν;" ἤρετο, ὁ δὲ "αὔριον," ἔφη, καὶ ἅμα ἐφοίτησε παρὰ πάντας τοὺς βασιλέως

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XXXIII

CHAP. XXXIII

Refuses to lodge in the palace

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

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CAP. XXXIII φίλους τε καὶ ξυγγενεῖς, παρεῖναι κελεύων αἰτοῦντι καὶ τιμωμένῳ τῷ ἀνδρί. φησὶ δὲ ὁ Δάμις ξυνιέναι μέν, ὅτι μηδὲν αἰτήσοι, τόν τε τρόπον αὐτοῦ καθεωρακὼς καὶ εἰδὼς εὐχόμενον τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχὴν τοιαύτην· "ὦ θεοί, δοίητε μοι μικρὰ ἔχειν καὶ δεῖσθαι μηδενός." ἐφεστηκότα μέντοι ὁρῶν καὶ ἐνθυμουμένῳ ὅμοιον οἴεσθαι ὡς αἰτήσοι μέν, βασανίζοι δέ, ὅ τι μέλλει αἰτήσειν. ὁ δὲ ἐσπέρας ἤδη "ὦ Δάμι," ἔφη, "θεωρῶ πρὸς ἐμαυτόν, ἐξ ὅτου ποτὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς εὐνούχους σώφρονας ἡγοῦνται καὶ ἐς τὰς γυναικωνίτιδας ἐσάγονται." "ἀλλὰ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ παιδὶ δῆλον· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ τομὴ τὸ ἀφροδισιάζειν ἀφαιρεῖται σφᾶς, ἀνεῖνται σφισιν αἱ γυναικωνίτιδες, κἂν ξυγκαθεύδειν ταῖς γυναιξὶ βούλωνται." "τὸ δὲ ἐρᾶν," εἶπεν, "ἢ τὸ ξυγγίγνεσθαι γυναιξὶν ἐκτετμῆσθαι αὐτοὺς οἴει;" "ἄμφω," ἔφη, "εἰ γὰρ σβεσθείη τὸ μόριον ὑφ' οὗ διοιστρεῖται τὸ σῶμα, οὐδ' ἂν τὸ ἐρᾶν ἐπέλθοι οὐδενί." ὁ δὲ βραχὺ ἐπισχών "αὔριον," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, μάθοις ἄν, ὅτι καὶ εὐνοῦχοι ἐρῶσι καὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, ὅπερ ἐσάγονται διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, οὐκ ἀπομαραίνεται σφῶν, ἀλλ' ἐμμένει θερμόν τε καὶ ζώπυρον, δεῖ γάρ τι περιπεσεῖν, ὃ τὸν σὸν ἐλέγξει λόγον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τέχνη τις ἦν ἀνθρωπεία τύραννός τε καὶ δυνατὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξωθεῖν τῆς γνώμης, οὐκ ἄν μοι δοκῶ τοὺς εὐνούχους ποτὲ ἐς τὰ τῶν σωφρονούντων ἤθη προσγράψαι, κατηναγκασμένους τὴν

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

CHAP. XXXIII

His form of prayer

Discusses Eunuchism with Damis

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CAP. XXXIII σωφροσύνην καὶ βιαίῳ τέχνῃ ἐς τὸ μὴ ἐρᾶν ἠγμένους. σωφροσύνη γὰρ τὸ ὀρεγόμενόν τε καὶ ὁρμῶντα μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι ἀφροδισίων, ἀλλ' ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ κρείττω φαίνεσθαι τῆς λύττης ταύτης." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Δάμις "ταῦτα μὲν καὶ αὖθις ἐπισκεψόμεθα," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, ἃ δὲ χρὴ ἀποκρίνασθαι ἄϋριον πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπαγγελίαν λαμπρὰν οὖσαν διεσκέφθαι προσήκει. αἰτήσεις μὲν γὰρ ἴσως οὐδέν, τὸ δ' ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἄλλῳ, φασί, τύφῳ παραιτεῖσθαι δοκοίης, ἅπερ ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς διδῷ, τοῦτο ὅρα καὶ φυλάττου αὐτό, ὁρῶν οἳ τῆς γῆς εἶ καὶ ὅτι ἐπ' αὐτῷ κείμεθα. δεῖ δὲ φυλάττεσθαι διαβολάς, ὡς ὑπεροψίᾳ χρώμενον, γιγνώσκειν τε ὡς νῦν μὲν ἐφόδιά ἐστιν ἡμῖν ὁπόσα ἐς Ἰνδοὺς πέμψαι, ἐπανιοῦσι δὲ ἐκεῖθεν οὔτ' ἂν ἀποχρήσαι ταῦτα, γένοιτο δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἕτερα."

XXXIV

CAP. XXXIV Καὶ τοιᾶδε ὑπέθαλπεν αὐτὸν τέχνῃ, μὴ ἀπαξιῶσαι λαβεῖν, ὅ τι διδοίη, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ὥσπερ ξυλλαμβάνων αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου "παραδειγμάτων δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ Δάμι, ἀμελήσεις; ἐν οἷς ἐστιν, ὡς Αἰσχίνης μὲν ὁ τοῦ Λυσανίου παρὰ Διονύσιον ἐς Σικελίαν ὑπὲρ χρημάτων ᾤχετο, Πλάτων δὲ τρὶς ἀναμετρῆσαι λέγεται τὴν Χάρυβδιν ὑπὲρ πλούτου Σικελικοῦ, Ἀρίστιππος δὲ ὁ Κυρηναῖος καὶ Ἑλίκων ὁ ἐκ Κυζίκου καὶ Φύτων, ὅτ' ἔφευγεν, ὁ Ῥηγῖνος,

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

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CHAP. XXXIV

Refuses kingly gifts, and rebukes Damis for his greediness

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

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οὕτω τι ἐς τοὺς Διονυσίου κατέδυσαν θησαυρούς, ὡς μόγις ἀνασχεῖν ἐκεῖθεν. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν Κνίδιόν φασιν Εὔδοξον, ἐς Αἴγυπτόν ποτε ἀφικόμενον, ὑπὲρ χρημάτων τε ὁμολογεῖν ἥκειν καὶ διαλέγεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπὲρ τούτου, καὶ ἵνα μὴ πλείους διαβάλλω, Σπεύσιππον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον οὕτω τι ἐρασιχρήματον γενέσθαι φασίν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Κασάνδρου γάμον ἐς Μακεδονίαν κωμάσαι ποιήματα ψυχρὰ ξυνθέντα, καὶ δημοσίᾳ ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων ᾄσαι. ἐγὼ δὲ ἡγοῦμαι, ὦ Δάμι, τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν σοφὸν πλείω κινδυνεύειν ἢ οἱ πλέοντές τε καὶ ξὺν ὅπλοις μαχόμενοι, φθόνος γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτὸν στείχει, καὶ σιωπῶντα καὶ φθεγγόμενον, καὶ ξυντείνοντα καὶ ἀνιέντα, κἂν παρέλθῃ τι κἂν προσέλθῃ τῳ, κἂν προσείπῃ κἂν μὴ προσείπῃ. δεῖ δὲ πεφράχθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, γιγνώσκειν τε ὡς ἀργίας μὲν ἡττηθεὶς ὁ σοφὸς ἢ χολῆς ἢ ἔρωτος ἢ φιλοποσίας, ἢ ἑτοιμότερόν τι τοῦ καιροῦ πράξας, ἴσως ἂν καὶ ξυγγνώμην φέροιτο, χρήμασι δὲ ὑποθεὶς ἑαυτὸν οὔτ' ἂν ξυγγινώσκοιτο καὶ μισοῖτ' ἄν, ὡς ὁμοῦ πάσας κακίας συνειληφώς· μὴ γὰρ ἂν ἡττηθῆναι χρημάτων αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ γαστρὸς ἥττητο καὶ ἀμπεχόνης καὶ οἴνου καὶ τοῦ ἐς ἑταίρας φέρεσθαι. σὺ δ' ἴσως ἡγῇ τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἁμαρτεῖν ἧττον εἶναι τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν ἢ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἢ Πυθοῖ, καὶ οὐκ ἐνθυμῇ ὅτι σοφῷ ἀνδρὶ Ἕλλας πάντα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔρημον ἢ βάρβαρον χωρίον οὔτε ἡγήσεται ὁ σοφὸς οὔτε νομιεῖ, ζῶν γε ὑπὸ τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ βλέπει

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

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CAP. XXXIV μὲν ὀλίγους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, μυρίοις δ' ὄμμασιν αὐτὸς ὁρᾶται. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀθλητῇ ξυνῆσθα τούτων τινί, ὦ Δάμι, οἳ παλαίειν τε καὶ παγκρατιάζειν ἀσκοῦσιν, ἆρα ἂν ἠξίους αὐτόν, εἰ μὲν Ὀλύμπια ἀγωνίζοιτο καὶ ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν ἴοι, γενναῖόν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καὶ νὴ Δί', εἰ Πύθια ἄγοιτο ἢ Νέμεα, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ σώματος, ἐπειδὴ φανεροὶ οἱ ἀγῶνες καὶ τὰ στάδια ἐν σπουδαίῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, εἰ δὲ θύοι Φίλιππος Ὀλύμπια πόλεις ᾐρηκώς, ἢ ὁ τούτου παῖς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ νίκαις ἀγῶνα ἄγοι, χεῖρον ἤδη παρασκευάζειν τὸ σῶμα καὶ μὴ φιλονίκως ἔχειν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ ἀγωνιεῖται ἢ Μακεδονίᾳ ἢ Αἰγύπτῳ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐν Ἕλλησι καὶ σταδίοις τοῖς ἐκεῖ;" ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ τῶν λόγων τούτων ὁ Δάμις οὕτω διατεθῆναί φησιν, ὡς ξυγκαλύψασθαί τε ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸς εἰρηκὼς ἔτυχε, παραιτεῖσθαί τε τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ξυγγνώμην αὐτῷ ἔχειν, εἰ μήπω κατανενοηκὼς αὐτὸν ἐς ξυμβουλίαν τε καὶ πειθὼ τοιαύτην ὥρμησεν. ὁ δὲ ἀναλαμβάνων αὐτόν "θάρρει," ἔφη, "οὐ γὰρ ἐπίπληξιν ποιούμενος, ἀλλὰ τοὐμὸν ὑπογράφων σοι ταῦτα εἶπον."

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

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XXXV

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Ἀφικομένου δὲ τοῦ εὐνούχου καὶ καλοῦντος αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα "ἀφίξομαι," εἶπεν, "ἐπειδὰν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὖ μοι ἔχῃ." θύσας οὖν καὶ εὐξάμενος ἀπῄει, περιβλεπόμενός τε καὶ θαυμαζόμενος τοῦ σχήματος. ὡς δὲ ἔσω παρῆλθε, "δίδωμί σοι," ἔφη ὁ βασιλεύς, "δέκα δωρεάς, ἄνδρα σε ἡγούμενος, οἷος οὔπω τις ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων δεῦρ' ἦλθεν." ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβών "οὐ πάσας," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, παραιτήσομαι, μίαν δέ, ἣν ἀντὶ πολλῶν δεκάδων αἱροῦμαι, προθύμως αἰτήσω·" καὶ ἅμα τὸν περὶ τῶν Ἐρετριέων διῆλθε λόγον, ἀναλαβὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δάτιδος. "αἰτῶ οὖν," ἔφη, "μὴ περικόπτεσθαι τοὺς ἀθλίους τούτους τῶν ὁρίων τε καὶ τοῦ λόφου, ἀλλὰ νέμεσθαι σφᾶς μέτρον τῆς γῆς, ὃ Δαρεῖος ἐνόμισε, δεινὸν γάρ, εἰ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐκπεσόντες μηδ' ἣν ἀντ' ἐκείνης ἔχουσιν, ἕξουσιν." ξυντιθέμενος οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς "Ἐρετριεῖς," εἶπεν, "ἐς μὲν τὴν χθὲς ἡμέραν ἐμοῦ τε πολέμιοι καὶ πατέρων ἐμῶν ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ ὅπλων ποτὲ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἦρξαν, καὶ παρεωρῶντο, ὡς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἀφανισθείη, λοιπὸν δὲ φίλοι τε ἀναγεγράψονται καὶ σατραπεύσει αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, ὃς δικαιώσει τὴν χώραν. τὰς δὲ ἐννέα δωρεάς," ἔφη, "διὰ τί οὐ λήψῃ;" "ὅτι, ὦ βασιλεῦ," εἶπεν, "οὔπω φίλους ἐνταῦθα ἐκτησάμην." "αὐτὸς

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CHAP. XXXV

He intercedes with the king in behalf of the Eretrians

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

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CAP. XXXV δὲ οὐδενὸς δέῃ"; "φήσαντος· "τῶν γε τραγημάτων," ἔφη, "καὶ τῶν ἄρτων, ἃ με ἡδέως τε καὶ λαμπρῶς ἑστιᾷ."

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CAP. XXXVI Τοιαῦτα δὴ λαλούντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, κραυγὴ τῶν βασιλείων ἐξεφοίτησεν εὐνούχων καὶ γυναικῶν ἅμα· εἵληπτο δὲ ἄρα εὐνοῦχός τις ἐπὶ μιᾷ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως παλλακῶν ξυγκατακείμενός τε καὶ ὁπόσα οἱ μοιχοὶ πράττων, καὶ ἦγον αὐτὸν οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν ἐπισπῶντες τῆς κόμης, ὃν δὴ ἄγονται τρόπον οἱ βασιλέως δοῦλοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν εὐνούχων ἐρῶντα μὲν τῆς γυναικὸς πάλαι ᾐσθῆσθαι ἔφη, καὶ προειρηκέναι οἱ μὴ προσδιαλέγεσθαι αὐτῇ, μηδὲ ἅπτεσθαι δέρης ἢ χειρός, μηδὲ κοσμεῖν ταύτην μόνην τῶν ἔνδον, νῦν δὲ καὶ ξυγκατακείμενον εὑρηκέναι καὶ ἀνδριζόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος ἐς τὸν Δάμιν εἶδεν, ὡς δὴ τοῦ λόγου ἀποδεδειγμένου, ὃς ἐφιλοσοφεῖτο αὐτοῖς περὶ τοῦ καὶ εὐνούχων τὸ ἐρᾶν εἶναι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας "ἀλλ' αἰσχρόν γε," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνδρες, παρόντος ἡμῖν Ἀπολλωνίου περὶ σωφροσύνης ἡμᾶς, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦτον, ἀποφαίνεσθαι· τί οὖν κελεύεις, Ἀπολλώνιε, παθεῖν αὐτόν;" τί δὲ ἄλλο ἢ ζῆν;" εἶπε παρὰ τὴν πάντων ἀποκρινάμενος δόξαν. ἀνερυθριάσας οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς "εἶτα οὐ πολλῶν," ἔφη, "θανάτων ἄξιος, ὑφέρπων οὕτως

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

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CHAP. XXXVI

Incident illustrative of the manners of Eunuchs

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

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τὴν εὐνὴν τὴν ἐμήν;" "ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ ξυγγνώμης," ἔφη, "βασιλεῦ, ταῦτα εἶπον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τιμωρίας, ἣ ἀποκναίσει αὐτόν· εἰ γὰρ ζήσεται νοσῶν καὶ ἀδυνάτων ἁπτόμενος, καὶ μήτε σῖτα μήτε ποτὰ ἥσει αὐτὸν μήτε θεάματα, ἃ σέ τε καὶ τοὺς σοι συνόντας εὐφρανεῖ, πηδήσεταί τε ἡ καρδία θαμὰ ἐκθρώσκοντος τοῦ ὕπνου, ὃ δὴ μάλιστα περὶ τοὺς ἐρῶντάς φασι γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τίς μὲν οὕτω φθόη τήξει αὐτόν, τίς δὲ οὕτω λιμὸς ἐπιθρύψει τὰ σπλάγχνα; εἰ δὲ μὴ τῶν φιλοψύχων εἴη τις αὐτός, ὦ βασιλεῦ, δεήσεταί σού ποτε καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν, ἢ ἑαυτόν γε ἀποκτενεῖ, πολλὰ ὀλοφυρόμενος τὴν παροῦσαν ταύτην ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ μὴ εὐθὺς ἀπέθανε." τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ οὕτω σοφόν τε καὶ ἥμερον, ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνῆκε τὸν θάνατον τῷ εὐνούχῳ.

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Μέλλων δέ ποτε πρὸς θήρᾳ γίγνεσθαι τῶν ἐν τοῖς παραδείσοις θηρίων, ἐς οὓς λέοντές τε ἀπόκεινται τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ ἄρκτοι καὶ παρδάλεις, ἠξίου τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον παρατυχεῖν οἱ θηρῶντι, ὁ δέ "ἐκλέλησαι, ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "ὅτι μηδὲ θύοντί σοι παρατυγχάνω; καὶ ἄλλως οὐχ ἡδὺ θηρίοις βεβασανισμένοις καὶ παρὰ τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν δεδουλωμένοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι." ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως, πῶς ἂν βεβαίως καὶ

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

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

XXXVII

CHAP. XXXVII

Apollonius composes the king's quarrel with the Romans over certain frontier villages

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

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CAP. XXXVII ἀσφαλῶς ἄρχοι, "πολλούς," ἔφη, "τιμῶν, πιστεύων δὲ ὀλίγοις·" πρεσβευομένου δέ ποτε τοῦ τῆς Συρίας ἄρχοντος περὶ κωμῶν, οἶμαι, δύο προσοίκων τῷ Ζεύγματι, καὶ φάσκοντος ὑπακηκοέναι μὲν αὐτὰς Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ Σελεύκῳ πάλαι, νῦν δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῷ εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις προσηκούσας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Ἀραβίους τε καὶ Ἀρμενίους μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τὰς κώμας, αὐτὸν δὲ ὑπερβαίνοντα τοσαύτην γῆν καρποῦσθαι σφᾶς, ὡς αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ Ῥωμαίων οὔσας, μεταστησάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς πρέσβεις "τὰς μὲν κώμας ταύτας," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, ξυνεχώρησαν τοῖς ἐμοῖς προγόνοις οἱ βασιλεῖς, οὓς εἶπον, τροφῆς ἕνεκα τῶν θηρίων, ἃ παρ' ἡμῖν ἁλισκόμενα φοιτᾷ ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων διὰ τοῦ Εὐφράτου, οἱ δ', ὥσπερ ἐκλαθόμενοι τούτου καινῶν τε καὶ ἀδίκων ἅπτονται. τίς οὖν φαίνεταί σοι τῆς πρεσβείας ὁ νοῦς;" "μέτριος, ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "καὶ ἐπιεικής, εἰ, ἃ δύνανται καὶ ἄκοντος ἔχειν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ὄντα, βούλονται παρ' ἑκόντος εὑρίσκεσθαι μᾶλλον." προσετίθει δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ δεῖν ὑπὲρ κωμῶν, ὧν μείζους κέκτηνται τάχα καὶ ἰδιῶται, διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ πόλεμον οὐδ' ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἱρεσθαι. νοσοῦντι δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ παρών, τοσαῦτά τε καὶ οὕτω θεῖα περὶ ψυχῆς διεξῆλθεν, ὡς τὸν βασιλέα ἀναπνεῦσαι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἰπεῖν, ὅτι "Ἀπολλώνιος οὐκ ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας μόνης ἀφροντιστεῖν εἴργασταί με, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θανάτου."

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

CHAP. XXXVII

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XXXVIII

CAP. XXXVIII

Τὴν δὲ σήραγγα τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ δεικνύντος αὐτῷ ποτε τοῦ βασιλέως καί "τί σοι φαίνεται τὸ θαῦμα;" εἰπόντος, καταβάλλων τὴν τερατουργίαν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος "θαῦμα ἂν ἦν, ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "εἰ διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βαθέος οὕτω καὶ ἀπόρου ὄντος πεζῇ ἐβαδίζετε." δείξαντος δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις τείχη καὶ θεῶν φάσκοντος ταῦτα εἶναι οἴκησιν "θεῶν μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅλως οἴκησις," εἶπεν, "εἰ δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ οἶδα· ἡ γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων, ὦ βασιλεῦ, πόλις ἀτείχιστος ᾤκισται." καὶ μὴν καὶ δίκην τινὰ δικάσαντος αὐτοῦ κώμαις καὶ μεγαλοφρονουμένου πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὡς δυοῖν ἡμερῶν ἠκροαμένος εἴη τῆς δίκης "βραδέως γ'," ἔφη, "τὸ δίκαιον εὗρες." χρημάτων δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὑπηκόου φοιτησάντων ποτὲ ἀθρόων, ἀνοίξας τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἐδείκνυ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὑπαγόμενος αὐτὸν ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν πλούτου, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ὢν εἶδε θαυμάσας "σοὶ ταῦτα," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, χρήματα, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἄχυρα·" "τί ἂν οὖν," ἔφη, "πράττων καλῶς αὐτοῖς χρησαίμην;" "χρώμενος," ἔφη, "βασιλεὺς γὰρ εἶ."

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XXXVIII

CHAP. XXXVIII

He belittles the king's palaces and wealth

ONE day the king was showing to him the grotto under the Euphrates, and asked him what he thought of so wonderful a thing. Apollonius in answer belittled the wonder of the work, and said: "It would be a real miracle, O king, if you went dry-shod through a river as deep as this and as unfordable." And when he was shown the walls of Ecbatana, and was told that they were the dwelling-place of gods, he remarked: "They are not the dwelling-place of gods at all, and I am not sure that they are of real men either; for, O king, the inhabitants of the city of Lacedaemon do not dwell within walls, and have never fortified their city." Moreover, on one occasion the king had decided a suit for some villages and was boasting to Apollonius of how he had listened to the one suit for two whole days. "Well," said the other, "you took a mighty long time, anyhow, to find out what was just." And when the revenues from the subject country came in on one occasion in great quantities at once, the king opened his treasury and showed his wealth to the sage, to induce him to fall in love with wealth; but he admired nothing that he saw and said: "This, for you, O king, represents wealth, but to me it is mere chaff." "How, then," said the other, "and in what manner can I best make use of it?" "By spending it," he said, "for you are a king."

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XXXIX

CAP. XXXIX Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἰπὼν καὶ τυχὼν αὐτοῦ προθύμου πράττειν ἃ ξυνεβούλευεν, ἔτι καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς μάγους ξυνουσίας ἱκανῶς ἔχων "ἄγε, ὦ Δάμι," ἔφη, "ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἴωμεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Λωτοφάγοις προσπλεύσαντες ἀπήγοντο τῶν οἰκείων ἠθῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ βρώματος, ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ γευόμενοί τινος τῶν ἐνταῦθα καθήμεθα πλείω χρόνον τοῦ εἰκότος τε καὶ ξυμμέτρου." "κἀμοί," ἔφη ὁ Δάμις, "ὑπερδοκεῖ ταῦτα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνεθυμούμην τὸν χρόνον, ὃν ἐν τῇ λεαίνῃ διεσκέψω, περιέμενον ἀνυσθῆναι αὐτόν· οὔπω μὲν οὖν ἐξήκει πᾶς, ἐνιαυτὸς γὰρ ἡμῖν ἤδη καὶ μῆνες τέτταρες· εἰ δὲ ἤδη κομιζοίμεθα, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι;" "οὐδὲ ἀνήσει ἡμᾶς," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, ὁ βασιλεὺς πρότερον ἢ τὸν ὄγδοον τελευτῆσαι μῆνα· χρηστὸν γάρ που ὁρᾷς αὐτὸν καὶ κρείττω ἢ βαρβάρων ἄρχειν."

XL

CAP. XL Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι λοιπὸν ἐδόκει καὶ ξυνεχώρησέ ποτε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπιέναι, ἀνεμνήσθη τῶν δωρεῶν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἃς ἀνεβάλλετο ἔς τ' ἂν φίλοι αὐτῷ γένωνται, καί "ὦ βέλτιστε," ἔφη, "βασιλεῦ, τὸν ξένον οὐδὲν εὖ πεποίηκα καὶ μισθὸν ὀφείλω τοῖς μάγοις· σὺ οὖν ἐπιμελήθητι αὐτῶν καὶ τοὐμὸν προθυμήθητι περὶ ἄνδρας σοφούς τε καὶ σοὶ σφόδρα εὔνους." ὑπερησθεὶς

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XXXIX

CHAP. XXXIX

Is impatient to go on to India, but has to stay a year and eight months in Babylon

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

XL

CHAP. XL

The king equips them for further travel

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

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CAP. XL οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς "τούτους μὲν αὔριον ζηλωτούς," ἔφη, "καὶ μεγάλων ἠξιωμένους ἀποδείξω σοι, σὺ δ' ἐπεὶ μηδενὸς δέῃ τῶν ἐμῶν, ἀλλὰ τούτοις γε ξυγχώρησον χρήματα παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ ὅ τι βούλονται," τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Δάμιν δείξας. ἀποστραφέντων οὖν κἀκείνων τὸν λόγον τοῦτον "ὁρᾷς," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰς ἐμὰς χεῖρας, ὡς πολλαί τέ εἰσι καὶ ἀλλήλαις ὅμοιαι;" "σὺ δὲ ἀλλὰ ἡγεμόνα ἄγου," ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφη, "καὶ καμήλους, ἐφ' ὧν ὀχήσεσθε, τὸ γὰρ μῆκος τῆς ὁδοῦ κρεῖττον ἢ βαδίσαι πᾶσαν." "γιγνέσθω," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦτο, φασὶ γὰρ τὴν ὁδὸν ἄπορον εἶναι μὴ οὕτως ὀχουμένῳ, καὶ ἄλλως τὸ ζῷον εὔσιτόν τε καὶ ῥᾴδιον βόσκειν, ὅπου μὴ χιλὸς εἴη. καὶ ὕδωρ δέ, οἶμαι, χρὴ ἐπισιτίσασθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν αὐτὸ ἐν ἀσκοῖς, ὥσπερ τὸν οἶνον." "τριῶν ἡμερῶν," ἔφη ὁ βασιλεύς, "ἄνυδρος ἡ χώρα, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ πολλὴ ἀφθονία ποταμῶν τε καὶ πηγῶν, βαδίζειν δὲ δεῖ τὴν ἐπὶ Καυκάσου, τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια ἄφθονα καὶ φίλη ἡ χώρα." ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ὅ τι αὐτῷ ἀπάξει ἐκεῖθεν· "χαρίεν," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, δῶρον· ἦν γὰρ ἡ συνουσία τῶν ἀνδρῶν σοφώτερόν με ἀποφήνῃ, βελτίων ἀφίξομαί σοι ἢ νῦν εἰμι." περιέβαλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα εἰπόντα καὶ "ἀφίκοιο," εἶπε, "τὸ γὰρ δῶρον μέγα."

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

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BOOK II

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B′

I

CAP. I

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνουσι περὶ τὸ θέρος αὐτοί τε ὀχούμενοι καὶ ὁ ἡγεμών, ἱπποκόμος δὲ ἦν τῶν καμήλων καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὁπόσων ἐδέοντο, ἦν ἄφθονα βασιλέως δόντος, ἥ τε χώρα, δι' ἧς ἐπορεύοντο, εὖ ἔπραττεν, ἐδέχοντο δὲ αὐτοὺς αἱ κῶμαι θεραπεύουσαι· χρυσοῦ γὰρ ψάλιον ἡ πρώτη κάμηλος ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου ἔφερε, γιγνώσκειν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ὡς πέμποι τινὰ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων. προσιόντες δὲ τῷ Καυκάσῳ φασὶν εὐωδεστέρας τῆς γῆς αἰσθέσθαι.

II

CAP. II

Τὸ δὲ ὄρος τοῦτο ἀρχὴν ποιώμεθα Ταύρου τοῦ δι' Ἀρμενίας τε καὶ Κιλίκων ἐπὶ Παμφύλους καὶ Μυκάλην στείχοντος, ἣ τελευτῶσα ἐς θάλατταν, ἣν Κᾶρες οἰκοῦσι, τέρμα τοῦ Καυκάσου νομίζοιτ' ἄν, ἀλλ' οὐχ, ὡς ἔνιοί φασιν, ἀρχή· τό τε γὰρ τῆς Μυκάλης ὕψος οὔπω μέγα καὶ αἱ ὑπερβολαὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου τοσοῦτον ἀνεστᾶσιν, ὡς σχίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτὰς τὸν ἥλιον. περιβάλλει δὲ Ταύρῳ ἑτέρῳ καὶ τὴν ὄμορον τῇ

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BOOK II

I

CHAP. I

They quit Babylon

In the summer our travellers, together with their guide, left Babylon and started out, mounted on camels; and the king had supplied them with a camel-driver, and plenty of provisions, as much as they wanted. The country through which they travelled was fertile; and the villages received them very respectfully, for the leading camel bore upon his forehead a chain of gold, to intimate to all who met them that the king was sending on their way some of his own friends. And as they approached the Caucasus they say that they found the land becoming more fragrant.

II

CHAP. II

The ranges of Caucasus and Taurus

We may regard this mountain as the beginning of the Taurus which extends through Armenia and Cilicia as far as Pamphylia and Mycale, and it ends at the sea on the shore of which the Carians live, and this we may regard as the extreme end of the Caucasus, and not as its beginning, as some people say. For the height of Mycale is not very great, whereas the peaks of the Caucasus are so lofty that the sun is cloven asunder by them. And it encompasses with the rest of the Taurus the whole of

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CAP. II

Ἰνδικῇ Σκυθίαν πᾶσαν κατὰ Μαιῶτίν τε καὶ ἀριστερὸν Πόντον, σταδίων μάλιστα δισμυρίων μῆκος, τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐπέχει μέτρον τῆς γῆς ὁ ἀγκὼν τοῦ Καυκάσου· τὸ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἡμεδαπῇ Ταύρου λεγόμενον, ὡς ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν πορεύοιτο, χρόνῳ ἀπιστηθὲν πιστοῦνται λοιπὸν αἱ παρδάλεις, ἃς οἶδα ἁλισκομένας ἐν τῇ Παμφύλων ἀρωματοφόρῳ. χαίρουσι γὰρ τοῖς ἀρώμασι, κἀκ πολλοῦ τὰς ὀσμὰς ἕλκουσαι φοιτῶσιν ἐξ Ἀρμενίας διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν πρὸς τὸ δάκρυον τοῦ στύρακος, ἐπειδὰν οἵ τε ἄνεμοι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πνεύσωσι καὶ τὰ δένδρα ὀπώδη γένηται. καὶ ἁλῶναί ποτέ φασιν ἐν τῇ Παμφυλίᾳ πάρδαλιν στρεπτῷ ἅμα, ὃν περὶ τῇ δέρῃ ἔφερε, χρυσοῦς δὲ ἦν καὶ ἐπεγέγραπτο Ἀρμενίοις γράμμασι ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΗΣ ΘΕΩΙ ΝΤΣΙΩΙ. βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ἀρμενίας τότε ἦν Ἀρσάκης, καὶ αὐτός, οἶμαι, ἰδὼν τὴν πάρδαλιν ἀνῆκε τῷ Διονύσῳ διὰ μέγεθος τοῦ θηρίου. Νύσιος γὰρ ὁ Διόνυσος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἰνδοῖς Νύσης Ἰνδοῖς τε ὀνομάζεται καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πρὸς ἀκτῖνα ἔθνεσιν. ἡ δὲ χρόνον μέν τινα ὑπεζεύχθη ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ χεῖρα ἠνέσχετο ἐπαφωμένην τε καὶ καταψῶσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνοίστρησεν αὐτὴν ἔαρ, ὅτε δὴ ἀφροδισίων ἥττους καὶ παρδάλεις, ἀνέθορεν ἐς τὰ ὄρη πόθῳ ἀρσένων, ὡς εἶχε τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ἦλω περὶ τὸν κάτω Ταῦρον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρώματος ἑλχθεῖσα. ὁ δὲ Καύκασος ὁρίζει μὲν τὴν Ἰνδικήν τε καὶ Μηδικήν, καθήκει δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν ἑτέρῳ ἀγκῶνι.

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Scythia which borders on India, and skirts Maeotis and the left side of Pontus, a distance almost of 20,000 stades; for no less than this is the extent of land enclosed by the elbow of the Caucasus. As to the statement made about such part of the Taurus as is in our own country, to the effect that it projects beyond Armenia,—it was long disbelieved, but has received definite confirmation from the conduct of the pards, which I know are caught in the spice-bearing region of Pamphylia. For these animals delight in fragrant odours, and scenting their smell from afar off they quit Armenia and traverse the mountains in search of the tear or gum of the Styrax, whenever the winds blow from its quarter and the trees are distilling. And they say that a pard was once caught in Pamphylia which was wearing a chain round its neck, and the chain was of gold, and on it was inscribed in Armenian lettering: "The king Arsaces to the Nysian god." Now the king of Armenia was certainly at that time Arsaces, and he, I imagine, finding the pard, had let it go free in honour of Dionysus because of its size. For Dionysus is called Nysian by the Indians and by all the Oriental races from Nysa in India. And this animal had been for a time under the restraint of man, and would let you pat it with your hand and caress it; but when it was goaded to excitement by the springtime, for in that season the pards begin to rut, it would rush into the mountains, from longing to meet the male, decked as it was with the ring; and it was taken in the lower Taurus whither it had been attracted by the fragrance of the gum. And the Caucasus bounds India and Media, and stretches down by another arm to the Red Sea.

CHAP. II

On leopards

Armenian inscription on a leopard's collar

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III

CAP. III

Μυθολογεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τὸ ὄρος, ἃ καὶ Ἕλληνες ἐπ' αὐτῷ ᾄδουσιν, ὡς Προμηθεὺς μὲν ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ δεθείη ἐκεῖ, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἕτερος, οὐ γὰρ τὸν Θηβαῖόν γε βούλονται, μὴ ἀνάσχοιτο τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τοξεύσειε τὸν ὄρνιν, ὃν ἔβοσκεν ὁ Προμηθεὺς τοῖς σπλάγχνοις· δεθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἐν ἄντρῳ φασίν, ὃ δὴ ἐν πρόποδι τοῦ ὄρους δείκνυται, καὶ δεσμὰ ὁ Δάμις ἀνῆφθαι τῶν πετρῶν λέγει οὐ ῥᾴδια ξυμβαλεῖν τὴν ὕλην, οἱ δ' ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους· δικόρυμβος δὲ ἡ κορυφὴ καί φασιν, ὡς τὰς χεῖρας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐδέθη διαλειπουσῶν οὐ μεῖον ἢ στάδιον, τοσοῦτος γὰρ εἶναι. τὸν δὲ ὄρνιν τὸν ἀετὸν οἱ τῷ Καυκάσῳ προσοικοῦντες ἐχθρὸν ἡγοῦνται καὶ καλιάς γε, ὁπόσας ἐν τοῖς πάγοις οἱ ἀετοὶ ποιοῦνται, καταπιμπρᾶσιν ἱέντες βέλη πυρφόρα, θήρατρά τε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἵστανται τιμωρεῖν τῷ Προμηθεῖ φάσκοντες· ὧδε γὰρ τοῦ μύθου ἥττηνται.

IV

CAP. IV

Παραμείψαντες δὲ τὸν Καύκασον τετραπήχεις ἀνθρώπους ἰδεῖν φασιν, οὓς ἤδη μελαίνεσθαι, καὶ πενταπήχεις δὲ ἑτέρους ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν ἐλθόντες. ἐν δὲ τῇ μέχρι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου

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III

CHAP. III

Legend of Prometheus and the eagle

AND legends are told of this mountain by the barbarians, which also have an echo in the poems of the Greeks about it, to the effect that Prometheus, because of his love of man, was bound there, and that Hercules,—another Hercules and not the Theban is meant,—could not brook the ill-treatment of Prometheus, and shot the bird which was feeding upon his entrails. And some say that he was bound in a cave, which as a matter of fact is shown in a foot-hill of the mountain : and Damis says that his chains still hung from the rocks, though you could not easily guess at the material of which they were made, but others say that they bound him on the peak of the mountain ; and it has two summits, and they say that his hands were lashed to them, although they are distant from one another not less than a stade,[1] so great was his bulk. But the inhabitants of the Caucasus regard the eagle as a hostile bird, and burn out the nests which they build among the rocks by hurling into them fiery darts, and they also set snares for them, declaring that they are avenging Prometheus ; to such an extent are their imaginations dominated by the fable.

IV

CHAP. IV

A hobgoblin visits the voyagers

HAVING passed the Caucasus our travellers say they saw men four cubits high, and that they were already black, and that when they passed over the river Indus they saw others five cubits high. But on their way to this river our wayfarers found the

[1] 606 English feet.

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CAP. IV

ὁδοιπορίᾳ τάδε εὗρον ἀφηγήσεως ἄξια· ἐπορεύοντο μὲν γὰρ ἐν σελήνῃ λαμπρᾷ, φάσμα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐμπούσης ἐνέπεσε, τὸ δεῖνα γινομένη καὶ τὸ δεῖνα αὖ καὶ οὐδὲν εἶναι, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ξυνῆκεν, ὅ τι εἴη, καὶ αὐτός τε ἐλοιδορεῖτο τῇ ἐμπούσῃ, τοῖς τε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν προσέταξε ταὐτὸ πράττειν, ταυτὶ γὰρ ἄκος εἶναι τῆς προσβολῆς ταύτης· καὶ τὸ φάσμα φυγῇ ᾤχετο τετριγός, ὥσπερ τὰ εἴδωλα.

V

CAP. V

Κορυφὴν δ' ὑπερβάλλοντες τοῦ ὄρους καὶ βαδίζοντες αὐτήν, ἐπειδὴ ἀποτόμως εἶχεν, ἤρετο οὑτωσὶ τὸν Δάμιν· "εἰπέ μοι," ἔφη, "ποῦ χθὲς ἦμεν;" ὁ δέ "ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ," ἔφη. "τήμερον δέ, ὦ Δάμι, ποῦ;" "ἐν τῷ Καυκάσῳ," εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ ἐμαυτοῦ ἐκλέλησμαι." "πότε οὖν κάτω μᾶλλον ἦσθα;" πάλιν ἤρετο, ὁ δέ "τουτὶ μέν," ἔφη, "οὐδὲ ἐπερωτᾶν ἄξιον· χθὲς μὲν γὰρ διὰ κοίλης τῆς γῆς ἐπορευόμεθα, τήμερον δὲ πρὸς τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐσμέν." "οἶει οὖν," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, τὴν μὲν χθὲς ὁδοιπορίαν κάτω εἶναι, τὴν δὲ τήμερον ἄνω;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ μαίνομαί γε." "τί οὖν ἠγῇ," ἔφη, "παραλλάττειν τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀλλήλων ἢ τί τήμερον πλέον εἶναι σοι τοῦ χθές;" "ὅτι χθές," ἔφη, "ἐβάδιζον οὖπερ πολλοί, σήμερον δέ, οὖπερ ὀλίγοι." "τί

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following incidents worthy of notice. For they were travelling by bright moonlight, when the figure of an *empusa* or hobgoblin appeared to them, that changed from one form into another, until finally it vanished into nothing. And Apollonius realised what it was, and himself heaped abuse on the hobgoblin and instructed his party to do the same, saying that this was the right remedy for such a visitation. And the phantasm fled away shrieking even as ghosts do. CHAP. IV

V

AND as they were passing over the summit of the mountain, going on foot, for it was very steep, Apollonius asked of Damis the following question. "Tell me," he said, "where we were yesterday." And he replied: "On the plain." "And to-day, O Damis, where are we?" "In the Caucasus," said he, "if I mistake not." "Then when were you lower down than you are now?" he asked again, and Damis replied: "That's a question hardly worth asking. For yesterday we were travelling through the valley below, while to-day we are close up to heaven." "Then you think," said the other, "O Damis, that our road yesterday lay low down, whereas our road to-day lies high up?" "Yes, by Zeus," he replied, "unless at least I'm mad." "In what respect then," said Apollonius, "do you suppose that our roads differ from one another, and what advantage has to-day's path for you over that of yesterday?" "Because," said Damis, "yesterday I was walking along where a great many people go, but to-day, where are very few." "Well," said the other, "O CHAP. V

Discussion with Damis about mountaineering and religion

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CAP. V γάρ," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, οὐ καὶ τὰς ἐν ἄστει λεωφόρους ἐκτρεπομένῳ βαδίζειν ἐστὶν ἐν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων;" "οὐ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "εἶπον, ἀλλ' ὅτι χθὲς μὲν διὰ κωμῶν ἐκομιζόμεθα καὶ ἀνθρώπων, σήμερον δὲ ἀστιβές τι ἀναβαίνομεν χωρίον καὶ θεῖον, ἀκούεις γὰρ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι θεῶν αὐτὸ ποιοῦνται οἶκον," καὶ ἅμα ἀνέβλεπεν ἐς τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ὄρους. ὁ δὲ ἐμβιβάζων αὐτὸν ἐς ὃ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἠρώτα "ἔχεις οὖν εἰπεῖν, ὦ Δάμι, ὅ τι ξυνῆκας τοῦ θείου βαδίζων ἀγχοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ;" "οὐδέν," ἔφη. "καὶ μὴν ἐχρῆν γε," εἶπεν, "ἐπὶ μηχανῆς τηλικαύτης καὶ θείας οὕτως ἑστηκότα περί τε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ σαφεστέρας ἤδη ἐκφέρειν δόξας περί τε τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης, ὧν γε καὶ ῥάβδῳ ἴσως ἡγῇ ψαύσειν προσεστηκὼς τῷ οὐρανῷ τούτῳ." "ἃ χθές," ἔφη, "περὶ τοῦ θείου ἐγίγνωσκον, γιγνώσκω καὶ τήμερον, καὶ οὔπω μοι ἑτέρα προσέπεσε περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξα." "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, κάτω τυγχάνεις ὢν ἔτι, καὶ οὐδὲν παρὰ τοῦ ὕψους εἴληφας, ἀπέχεις τε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁπόσον χθές· καὶ εἰκότως σε ἠρόμην, ἃ ἐν ἀρχῇ· σὺ γὰρ ᾧου γελοίως ἐρωτᾶσθαι." "καὶ μήν," ἔφη, "καταβήσεσθαί γε σοφώτερος ᾠμην ἀκούων, Ἀπολλώνιε, τὸν μὲν Κλαζομένιον Ἀναξαγόραν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωνίαν Μίμαντος ἐπεσκέφθαι τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, Θαλῆν τε τὸν Μιλάσιον ἀπὸ τῆς

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Damis, can you not also in a city turn out of the main street and walk where you will find very few people?" "I did not say that," replied Damis, "but that yesterday we were passing through villages and populations, whereas to-day we are ascending through an untrodden and divine region: for you heard our guide say that the barbarians declare this tract to be the home of the gods." And with that he glanced up to the summit of the mountain. But Apollonius recalled his attention to the original question by saying: "Can you tell me then, O Damis, what understanding of divine mystery you get by walking so near the heavens?" "None whatever," he replied. "And yet you ought," said Apollonius. "When your feet are placed on a platform so divine and vast as this, you ought at once to utter thoughts of the clearest kind about the heaven and about the sun and moon, which you probably think you could touch from a vantage ground so close to heaven." "Whatever," said he, "I knew about God's nature yesterday, I equally know to-day, and so far no fresh idea has occurred to me concerning him." "So then," replied the other, "you are, O Damis, still below, and have won nothing from being high up, and you are as far from heaven as you were yesterday. And my question which I asked you to begin with was a fair one, although you thought that I asked it in order to make fun of you." "The truth is," replied Damis, "that I thought I should anyhow go down from the mountain wiser than I came up it, because I had heard, O Apollonius, that Anaxagoras of Clazomenae observed the heavenly bodies from the mountain Mimas in Ionia, and Thales of Miletus from

CHAP. V

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CAP. V προσοίκου Μυκάλης, λέγονται δὲ καὶ τῷ Παγγαίῳ ἔνιοι φροντιστηρίῳ χρήσασθαι καὶ ἕτεροι τῷ Ἄθῳ. ἐγὼ δὲ μέγιστον τούτων ἀνελθὼν ὕψος οὐδὲν σοφώτερος ἑαυτοῦ καταβήσομαι." "οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι," ἔφη, "αἱ γὰρ τοιαίδε περιωπαὶ γλαυκότερον μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀποφαίνουσι καὶ μείζους τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ἐκ νυκτός, ἃ καὶ ποιμέσιν ἤδη καὶ αἰπόλοις ἐστὶ δῆλα, ὅπη δὲ τὸ θεῖον ἐπιμελεῖται τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους καὶ ὅπη χαίρει ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θεραπευόμενον, ὅ τί τε ἀρετὴ καὶ ὅ τι δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ σωφροσύνη, οὔτε Ἄθως ἐκδείξει τοῖς ἀνελθοῦσιν οὔτε ὁ θαυμαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν Ὄλυμπος, εἰ μὴ διορῴη αὐτὰ ἡ ψυχή, ἦν, εἰ καθαρὰ καὶ ἀκήρατος αὐτῶν ἅπτοιτο, πολλῷ μεῖζον ἔγωγ' ἂν φαίην ἅπτειν τουτουὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου."

VI

CAP. VI. Ὑπερβάντες δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐπ' ἐλεφάντων ἤδη ὀχουμένοις ἀνδράσιν, εἰσὶ δ' οὗτοι μέσοι Καυκάσου καὶ ποταμοῦ Κωφῆνος, ἄβιοί τε καὶ ἱππόται τῆς ἀγέλης ταύτης, καὶ κάμηλοι δὲ ἐνίους ἦγον, αἷς χρῶνται Ἰνδοὶ ἐς τὰ δρομικά, πορεύονται δὲ χίλια στάδια τῆς ἡμέρας γόνυ οὐδαμοῦ κάμψασαι. προσελάσας οὖν τῶν Ἰνδῶν εἷς ἐπὶ καμήλου τοιαύτης ἠρώτα τὸν ἡγεμόνα οἳ στείχοιεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν νοῦν τῆς ἀποδημίας ἤκουσεν, ἀπήγγειλε τοῖς νομάσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀνεβόησαν ὥσπερ

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Mycale which was close by his home; and some are said to have used as their observatory mount Pangaeus and others Athos. But I have come up a greater height than any of these, and yet shall go down again no wiser than I was before." "For neither did they," replied Apollonius: "and such stargazings show you indeed a bluer heaven and bigger stars and the sun rising out of the night; but all these phenomena were manifest long ago to shepherds and goatherds, but neither Athos will reveal to those who climb up it, nor Olympus, so much extolled by the poets, in what way God cares for the human race and how he delights to be worshipped by them, nor reveal the nature of virtue and of justice and temperance, unless the soul scans these matters narrowly, and the soul, I should say, if it engages on the task pure and undefiled, will soar much higher than this summit of Caucasus." CHAP. V

VI

CHAP. VI.

And having passed beyond the mountain, they at once came upon elephants with men riding on them; and these people dwell between the Caucasus and the river Cophen, and they are rude in their lives and their business is to tend the herds of elephants; some of them however rode on camels, which are used by Indians for carrying despatches, and they will travel 1,000 stades a day without ever bending the knee or lying down anywhere. One of the Indians, then, who was riding on such a camel, asked the guide where they were going, and when he was told the object of their voyage, he informed the nomads

Natives on the Cophen

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CAP. VI ἡσθέντες, ἐκέλευόν τε πλησίον ἥκειν καὶ ἀφικομένοις οἰνόν τε ὤρεγον, ὃν ἀπὸ τῶν φοινίκων σοφίζονται, καὶ μέλι ἀπὸ ταὐτοῦ φυτοῦ καὶ τεμάχη λεόντων καὶ παρδάλεων, ὧν καὶ τὰ δέρματα νεόδαρτα ἦν, δεξάμενοι δὲ πλὴν τῶν κρεῶν πάντα ἀπήλασαν ἐς τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς καὶ ἐχώρουν πρὸς ἕω.

VII

CAP. VII Ἀριστοποιουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς πηγῇ ὕδατος, ἐγχέας ὁ Δάμις τοῦ παρὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἴνου "Διός," ἔφη, "Σωτῆρος ἥδε σοι, Ἀπολλώνιε, διὰ πολλοῦ γε πίνοντι. οὐ γάρ, οἶμαι, παραιτήσῃ καὶ τοῦτον, ὥσπερ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμπέλων" καὶ ἅμα ἔσπεισεν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπεμνήσθη. γελάσας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος "οὐ καὶ χρημάτων," ἔφη, "ἀπεχόμεθα, ὦ Δάμι;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ὡς πολλαχοῦ ἐπεδείξω." "ἆρ' οὖν," ἔφη, "χρυσῆς μὲν δραχμῆς καὶ ἀργυρᾶς ἀφεξόμεθα, καὶ οὐχ ἡττησόμεθα τοιούτου νομίσματος, καίτοι κεχηνότας ἐς αὐτὸ ὁρῶντες οὐκ ἰδιώτας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέας, εἰ δὲ χαλκοῦν τις ὡς ἀργυροῦν ἢ ὑπόχρυσόν τε καὶ κεκιβδηλευμένον ἡμῖν διδοίη, ληψόμεθα τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐκεῖνό ἐστιν, οὗ οἱ πολλοὶ ὀλίχονται; καὶ μὴν καὶ νομίσματά ἐστιν Ἰνδοῖς ὀρειχάλκου τε καὶ χαλκοῦ μέλανος, ὧν δεῖ δήπου πάντα ὠνεῖσθαι πάντας ἥκοντας ἐς τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἤθη· τί οὖν; εἰ

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thereof; and they raised a shout of pleasure, and bade them approach, and when they came up they offered them wine which they make out of palm dates and honey from the same tree, and steaks from the flesh of lions and leopards which they had just flayed. And our travellers accepted everything except the flesh, and then started off for India and betook themselves eastwards. CHAP. VI

VII

CHAP. VII

Discussion of palm wine, and necessity of teetotalism

And as they were taking breakfast by a spring of water, Damis poured out a cup of the Indians' wine, and said: "Here's to you, Apollonius, on the part of Zeus the Saviour; for it is a long time since you have drunk any wine. But you will not, I am sure, refuse this as you do wine that is made from the fruit of the vine." And withal he poured out a libation, because he had mentioned the name of Zeus. Apollonius then gave a laugh and said: "Do we not also abstain from money, O Damis?" "Yes, by Zeus," said the other, "as you have often intimated to us." "Shall we then," said the other, "abstain from the use of a golden drachma and of a silver piece, and be proof against temptation by any such coin, although we see not private individuals only, but kings as well, agape for money, and then if anyone offers us a brass coin for a silver one, or a gilded one and a counterfeit, shall we accept it, merely because it is not what it pretends to be, and what the many itch to have? And to be sure the Indians have coins of orichalcus and black brass, with which, I suppose, all who come to the Indian haunts must purchase everything; what

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CAP. VII χρήματα ἡμῖν ὤρεγον οἱ χρηστοὶ νομάδες, ἆρ' ἄν, ὦ Δάμι, παραιτούμενόν με ὁρῶν, ἐνουθέτεις τε καὶ ἐδίδασκες, ὅτι χρήματα μὲν ἐκεῖνά ἐστιν, ἃ Ῥωμαῖοι χαράττουσιν ἢ ὁ Μήδων βασιλεύς, ταυτὶ δὲ ὕλη τις ἑτέρα κεκομψευμένη τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς; καὶ ταῦτα πείσας τίνα ἂν ἡγήσῳ με; ἆρ' οὐ κίβδηλόν τε καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀποβεβληκότα μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ πονηροὶ στρατιῶται τὰς ἀσπίδας; καίτοι ἀσπίδος μὲν ἀποβληθείσης ἑτέρα γένοιτ' ἂν τῷ ἀποβαλόντι κακίων οὐδὲν τῆς προτέρας, ὡς Ἀρχιλόχῳ δοκεῖ, φιλοσοφία δὲ πῶς ἀνακτητέα τῷ γε ἀτιμάσαντι αὐτὴν καὶ ῥίψαντι; καὶ νῦν μὲν ἂν ξυγγιγνώσκοι ὁ Διόνυσος οὐδενὸς οἴνου ἡττημένῳ, τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν φοινίκων εἰ πρὸ τοῦ ἀμπελίνου αἱροίμην, ἀχθέσεται, εὖ οἶδα, καὶ περιυβρίσθαι φήσει τὸ ἑαυτοῦ δῶρον. ἐσμὲν δὲ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ γὰρ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἀκούεις, ὡς πλησίον ἡ Νῦσα τὸ ὄρος, ἐφ' οὗ ὁ Διόνυσος πολλά, οἶμαι, καὶ θαυμαστὰ πράττει. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ μεθύειν, ὦ Δάμι, οὐκ ἐκ βοτρύων μόνων ἐσφοιτᾷ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φοινίκων παραπλησίως ἐκβακχεύει· πολλοῖς γοῦν ἤδη τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐνετύχομεν κατεσχημένοις τῷ οἴνῳ τούτῳ, καὶ οἱ μὲν ὀρχοῦνται πίπτοντες, οἱ δὲ ᾄδουσιν ὑπονυστάζοντες, ὥσπερ οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκ πότου νύκτωρ τε καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἀναλύοντες. ὅτι δὲ οἶνον ἠγῇ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πῶμα, δηλοῖς τῷ σπένδειν τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ Διὶ καὶ ὁπόσα ἐπὶ οἴνῳ εὔχεσθαι. καὶ εἴρηταί μοι, ὦ Δάμι, πρὸς σὲ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ ταῦτα· οὔτε γὰρ σὲ

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then? Supposing the nomads, good people as they are, offered us money, would you in that case, Damis, seeing me decline it, have advised me better and have explained, that what is coined by the Romans or by the king of Media is really money, whereas this is another sort of stuff only in vogue among the Indians? And what would you think of me, if you could persuade me of such things? Would you not think I was a cheat and abandoned my philosophy as thoroughly as cowardly soldiers do their shields? And yet, when you have thrown away your shield you can procure another that is quite as good as the first, in the opinion of Archilochus. But how can one who has dishonoured and cast away philosophy, ever recover her? And in this case Dionysus might well pardon one who refuses all wine whatever, but if I chose date-wine in preference to that made of grapes, he would be aggrieved, I am sure, and say that his gift had been scorned and flouted. And we are not far away from this god, for you hear the guide saying that the mountain of Nysa is close by, upon which Dionysus works, I believe, a great many miracles. Moreover, drunkenness, Damis, invades men not from drinking the wine of grapes alone, for they are equally roused to frenzy by date-wine. Anyhow we have seen a great many Indians overcome by this wine, some of them dancing till they fell, and others singing as they reeled about, just like the people among us, who indulge in drink of a night and not in season. And that you yourself regard this drink as genuine wine, is clear from the fact that you poured out a libation of it to Zeus and offered up the prayers which usually accompany wine. And this, Damis, is the defence which I have to make of

CHAP. VII

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CAP. VII τοῦ πίνειν ἀπάγοιμ' ἂν οὔτε τοὺς ὀπαδοὺς τούτους, ξυγχωροίην δ' ἂν ὑμῖν καὶ κρεῶν σιτεῖσθαι, τὸ γὰρ ἀπέχεσθαι τούτων ὑμῖν μὲν ἐς οὐδὲν ὁρῶ προβαῖνον, ἐμαυτῷ δὲ ἐς ἃ ὡμολόγηταί μοι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐκ παιδός." ἐδέξαντο τὸν λόγον τοῦτον οἱ περὶ τὸν Δάμιν καὶ ἠσπάσαντο εὐωχεῖσθαι, ῥᾷον ἡγούμενοι πορεύσεσθαι, ἢν ἀφθονώτερον διαιτῶνται.

VIII

CAP. VIII Διαβάντες δὲ τὸν Κωφῆνα ποταμόν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ νεῶν, κάμηλοι δὲ πεζῇ τὸ ὕδωρ, ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς οὔπω μέγας, ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ βασιλευομένῃ ἠπείρῳ, ἐν ᾗ ἀνατεῖνον πεφύτευται Νῦσα ὄρος ἐς κορυφὴν ἄκραν, ὥσπερ ὁ ἐν Λυδίᾳ Τμῶλος, ἀναβαίνειν δ' αὐτὸ ἔξεστιν, ὡδοποίηται γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ γεωργεῖσθαι. ἀνελθόντες οὖν ἱερῷ Διονύσου ἐντυχεῖν φασιν, ὃ δὴ Διόνυσον ἑαυτῷ φυτεῦσαι δάφναις περιεστηκυίαις κύκλῳ, τοσοῦτον περιεχούσαις τῆς γῆς, ὅσον ἀπόχρην νεῷ ξυμμέτρῳ, κιττόν τε περιβαλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀμπέλους ταῖς δάφναις, ἄγαλμά τε ἑαυτοῦ ἔνδον στήσασθαι, γιγνώσκοντα ὡς ξυμφύσει τὰ δένδρα ὁ χρόνος καὶ δώσει τινὰ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὄροφον, ὃς οὕτω ξυμβέβληται νῦν, ὡς μήτε ὕεσθαι τὸ ἱερὸν μήτ' ἀνέμῳ ἐσπνεῖσθαι. δρέπανα δὲ καὶ ἄρριχοι καὶ ληνοὶ καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ ληνοὺς ἀνάκειται

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myself against you; for neither do I wish to dissuade you from drinking, nor these companions of ours either; nay, I would allow you also to eat meat; for the abstinence from these things has, I perceive, profited you nothing, though it has profited me in the philosophic profession which I have made from boyhood." The companions of Damis welcomed this speech and took to their good cheer with a will, thinking that they would find the journey easier if they lived rather better. CHAP. VII

VIII

THEY crossed the river Cophen, themselves in boats, but the camels by a ford on foot; for the river has not yet reached its full size here. They were now in a continent subject to the king, in which the mountain of Nysa rises covered to its very top with plantations, like the mountain of Tmolus in Lydia; and you can ascend it, because paths have been made by the cultivators. They say then that when they had ascended it, they found the shrine of Dionysus, which it is said Dionysus founded in honour of himself, planting round it a circle of laurel trees which encloses just as much ground as suffices to contain a moderate sized temple. He also surrounded the laurels with a border of ivy and vines; and he had set up inside an image of himself, knowing that in time the trees would grow together and make themselves into a kind of roof; and this had now formed itself, so that neither rain can wet nor wind blow upon the shrine. And there were scythes and baskets and wine-presses and their CHAP. VIII

Shrine of Dionysus on the mountain of Nysa

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CAP. VIII τῷ Διονύσῳ χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καθάπερ τρυγῶντι. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα εἴκασται μὲν ἐφήβῳ Ἰνδῷ, λίθου δὲ ἔξεσται λευκοῦ. ὀργιάζοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ σείοντος τὴν Νῦσαν, ἀκούουσιν αἱ πόλεις αἱ ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει καὶ ξυνεξαίρονται.

IX

CAP. IX Διαφέρονται δὲ περὶ τοῦ Διονύσου τούτου καὶ Ἕλληνες Ἰνδοῖς καὶ Ἰνδοὶ ἀλλήλοις· ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ τὸν Θηβαῖον ἐπ' Ἰνδοὺς ἐλάσαι φαμὲν στρατεύοντά τε καὶ βακχεύοντα τεκμηρίοις χρώμενοι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῷ Πυθοῖ ἀναθήματι, ὃ δὴ ἀπόθετον οἱ ἐκεῖ θησαυροὶ ἴσχουσιν· ἔστι δὲ ἀργύρου Ἰνδικοῦ δίσκος, ᾧ ἐπιγέγραπται· ΔΙΟΝΤΣΟΣ Ο ΣΕΜΕΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΙΝΔΩΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΔΕΛΦΩΙ. Ἰνδῶν δὲ οἱ περὶ Καύκασον καὶ Κωφῆνα ποταμὸν ἐπηλύτην Ἀσσύριον αὐτόν φασιν ἐλθεῖν τὰ τοῦ Θηβαίου εἰδότα· οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἰνδοῦ τε καὶ Ὑδραώτου μέσην νεμόμενοι καὶ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα ἤπειρον, ἣ δὴ ἐς ποταμὸν Γάγγην τελευτᾷ, Διόνυσον γενέσθαι ποταμοῦ παῖδα Ἰνδοῦ λέγουσιν, ᾧ φοιτήσαντα τὸν ἐκ Θηβῶν ἐκεῖνον, θύρσου τε ἅψασθαι καὶ δοῦναι ὀργίοις, εἰπόντα δέ, ὡς εἴη Διὸς καὶ τῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐμβιώῃ μηρῷ τόκου ἕνεκα, Μηρόν τε εὑρέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ ὄρος, ᾧ προσβέβηκεν ἡ Νῦσα, καὶ τὴν Νῦσαν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐκφυτεῦσαι ἀπάγοντα

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furniture dedicated to Dionysus, as if to one who gathers grapes, all made of gold and silver. And the image resembled a youthful Indian, and was carved out of polished white stone. And when Dionysus celebrates his orgies and shakes Nysa, the cities underneath the mountain hear the noise and exult in sympathy. CHAP. VIII

IX

Now the Hellenes disagree with the Indians, and the Indians among themselves, concerning this Dionysus. For we declare that the Theban Dionysus made an expedition to India in the rôle both of soldier and of reveller, and we base our arguments, among other things, on the offering at Delphi, which is preserved in the treasuries there. And it is a disc of Indian silver bearing the inscription: "Dionysus the son of Semele and of Zeus, from the men of India to the Apollo of Delphi." But the Indians who dwell in the Caucasus and along the river Cophen say that he was an Assyrian visitor when he came to them, who understood the affairs of the Theban. But those who inhabit the district between the Indus and the Hydraotes and the continental region beyond, which ends at the river Ganges, declare that Dionysus was son of the river Indus, and that the Dionysus of Thebes having become his disciple took to the thyrsus and introduced it in the orgies; that this Dionysus declared that he was the son of Zeus and had lived safe inside his father's thigh until he was born, and that he found a mountain called Merus or "Thigh" on which Nysa borders, and planted Nysa in honour of Dionysus with

CHAP. IX

Visit of Dionysus to India

His offering to Delphi

Indian legends of Dionysus

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CAP. IX ἐκ Θηβῶν τὸ γόνυ τῆς ἀμπέλου, οὗ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὀργιάσαι. οἱ δὲ τὴν Νῦσαν οἰκοῦντες οὔ φασι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀνελθεῖν ἐς τὸ ὄρος, ἀλλ' ὁρμῆσαι μέν, ἐπειδὴ φιλότιμός τε ἦν καὶ ἀρχαιολογίας ἥττων, δείσαντα δὲ μὴ ἐς ἀμπέλους παρελθόντες οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἃς χρόνου ἤδη οὐχ ἑωράκεσαν, ἐς πόθον τῶν οἴκοι ἀπενεχθῶσιν, ἢ ἐπιθυμίαν τινὰ οἴνου ἀναλάβωσιν εἰθισμένοι ἤδη τῷ ὕδατι, παρελάσαι τὴν Νῦσαν, εὐξάμενον τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ θύσαντα ἐν τῇ ὑπωρείᾳ. καὶ γιγνώσκω μὲν οὐκ ἐς χάριν ταῦτα ἐνίοις γράφων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατεύσαντες οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀνέγραψαν, δεῖ δὲ ἀληθείας ἐμοὶ γοῦν, ἢν εἰ κἀκεῖνοι ἐπῄνεσαν, οὐκ ἂν ἀφείλοντο καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἐγκωμίου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον· τοῦ γὰρ ἀνελθεῖν ἐς τὸ ὄρος καὶ βακχεῦσαι αὐτόν, ἃ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι, μεῖζον, οἶμαι, τὸ ὑπὲρ καρτερίας τοῦ στρατοῦ μηδὲ ἀναβῆναι.

X

CAP. X Τὴν δὲ Ἄορνον πέτραν οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχουσαν τῆς Νύσης ἰδεῖν μὲν οὔ φησιν ὁ Δάμις, ἐν ἐκβολῇ γὰρ κεῖσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ δεδιέναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐκτρέπεσθαί ποι παρὰ τὸ εὐθύ, ἀκοῦσαι δέ, ὡς ἁλωτὸς μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γένοιτο, Ἄορνος δὲ ὀνομάζοιτο οὐκ ἐπειδὴ στάδια πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνέστηκε, πέτονται

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CHAP. IX

Alexander never ascended to his shrine

the vine of which he had brought the suckers from Thebes; and that it was there that Alexander held his orgies. But the inhabitants of Nysa deny that Alexander ever went up the mountain, although he was eager to do so, being an ambitious person and fond of old-world things; but he was afraid lest his Macedonians, if they got among vines, which they had not seen for a long time, would fall into a fit of homesickness or recover their taste for wine, after they had already become accustomed to water only. So they say he passed by Nysa, making his vow to Dionysus, and sacrificing at the foot of the mountain. Well I know that some people will take amiss what I write, because the companions of Alexander on his campaigns did not write down the truth in reporting this, but I at any rate insist upon the truth, and hold that, if they had respected it more, they would never have deprived Alexander of the praise due to him in this matter; for, in my opinion it was a greater thing that he never went up, in order to maintain the sobriety of his army, than that he should have ascended the mountain and have himself held a revel there, which is what they tell you.

X

CHAP. X

The rock *Aornus*

Damis says that he did not see the rock called the "Birdless" (*Aornus*), which is not far distant from Nysa, because this lay off their road, and their guide feared to diverge from the direct path. But he says he heard that it had been captured by Alexander, and was called "Birdless," not because it rises 9,000 feet, for the sacred birds fly higher than that;

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CAP. X γὰρ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦτο οἱ ἱεροὶ ὄρνιθες, ἀλλ' ἐν κορυφῇ τῆς πέτρας ῥῆγμα εἶναί φασι τοὺς ὑπερπετομένους τῶν ὀρνίθων ἐπισπώμενον, ὡς Ἀθήνησί τε ἰδεῖν ἐστιν ἐν προδόμῳ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν γῆς, ὑφ' οὗ τὴν πέτραν Ἄορνον κεκλῆσθαί τε καὶ εἶναι.

XI

CAP. XI Ἐλαύνοντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν παιδὶ ἐντυγχάνουσι τρισκαίδεκά που ἔτη γεγονότι, ἐπ' ἐλέφαντος ὀχουμένῳ καὶ παίοντι τὸ θηρίον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐθαύμασαν ὁρῶντες "τί ἔργον," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, ἀγαθοῦ ἱππέως;" "τί δ' ἄλλο γε," εἶπεν, "ἢ ἰζήσαντα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἄρχειν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ χαλινῷ στρέφειν καὶ κολάζειν ἀτακτοῦντα, καὶ προορᾶν, ὡς μὴ ἐς βόθρον ἢ τάφρον ἢ χάσμα κατενεχθείη ὁ ἵππος, ὅτε γε δι' ἕλους ἢ πηλοῦ χωροίη;" "ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν, ὦ Δάμι, ἀπαιτήσομεν," ἔφη, "τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἱππέα;" "νη Δί," εἶπε, "τό τε ἀναπηδῶντι μὲν τῷ ἵππῳ πρὸς τὸ σιμὸν ἐφεῖναι τὸν χαλινόν, κατὰ πρανοῦς δὲ ἰόντι οἱ μὴ ξυγχωρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνθέλκειν, καὶ τὸ καταψῆσαι δὲ τὰ ὦτα ἢ τὴν χαίτην, καὶ μὴ ἀεὶ ἡ μάστιξ σοφοῦ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἱππέως, καὶ ἐπαινοίην ἂν τὸν ὧδε ὀχούμενον." "τῷ δὲ δὴ μαχίμῳ τε καὶ πολεμιστηρίῳ τίνων δεῖ;" "τῶν γε αὐτῶν," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ πρός γε τούτοις τοῦ βάλλειν τε καὶ φυλάττεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐπελάσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπελάσαι, καὶ τὸ ἀνειλῆσαι πολεμίους, καὶ μὴ ἐᾶν ἐκπλήττεσθαι τὸν ἵππον, ὅτε

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but because on the summit of the rock there is, they say, a cleft which draws into itself the birds which fly over it, as we may see at Athens also in the vestibule of the Parthenon, and in several places in Phrygia and Lydia. And this is the reason why the rock was called and actually is "Birdless." CHAP. X

XI

CHAP. XI

Discussion of mahouts and elephant intelligence

AND as they made their way to the Indus they met a boy of about thirteen years old mounted on an elephant and striking the animal. And when they wondered at the sight, Apollonius said: "Damis, what is the business of a good horseman?" "Why, what else," he replied, "than to sit firm upon the horse, and control it, and turn it with the bit, and punish it when it is unruly, and to take care that the horse does not plunge into a chasm or a ditch or a hole, especially when he is passing over a marsh or a clay bog?" "And shall we require nothing else, O Damis, of a good horseman?" said Apollonius. "Why, yes," he said, "when the horse is galloping up a hill he must slacken the bit; and when he is going down hill he must not let the horse have his way, but hold him in; and he must caress his ears and mane; and in my opinion a clever rider never uses a whip, and I should commend any one who rode in this way." "And what is needful for a soldier who rides a charger?" "The same things," he said, "O Apollonius, and in addition the ability to inflict and parry blows and to pursue and to retire, and to crowd the enemies together, without letting his horse be frightened by the rattling of

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CAP. XI

δουπήσειεν ἀσπὶς ἢ ἀστράψειαν αἱ κόρυθες, ἢ παιανιζόντων τε καὶ ἀλαλαζόντων βοὴ γένοιτο, σοφίᾳ, οἶμαι, ἱππικῇ πρόσκειται." "τοῦτον οὖν," ἔφη, "τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐλέφαντος ἱππέα τί φήσεις;" "πολλῷ," ἔφη, "θαυμασιώτερον, Ἀπολλώνιε, τὸ γὰρ θηρίῳ τηλικούτῳ ἐπιτετάχθαι τηλικόνδε ὄντα, καὶ εὐθύνειν αὐτὸ καλαύροπι, ἣν ὁρᾷς αὐτὸν ἐμβαλόντα τῷ ἐλέφαντι, ὥσπερ ἄγκυραν, καὶ μήτε τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ θηρίου δεδιέναι μήτε τὸ ὕψος· μήτε τὴν ῥώμην τοσαύτην οὖσαν, δαιμόνιον ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, καὶ οὐδ' ἂν ἐπίστευσα, μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, εἰ ἑτέρου ἤκουσα." "τί οὖν," ἔφη, "εἰ ἀποδόσθαι τις ἡμῖν τὸν παῖδα βούλοιτο, ὠνήσῃ αὐτόν, ὦ Δάμι;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπε, "τῶν γε ἐμαυτοῦ πάντων. τὸ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολιν κατειληφότα δεσπόζειν θηρίου μεγίστου ὧν ἡ γῆ βόσκει, ἐλευθέρας ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ φύσεως καὶ λαμπρᾶς εἶναι." "τί οὖν χρήσῃ τῷ παιδί," ἔφη, "εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν ἐλέφαντα ὠνήσῃ;" "τῇ τε οἰκίᾳ," ἔφη, "ἐπιστήσω τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις καὶ πολλῷ βέλτιον τούτων ἢ ἐγὼ ἄρξει." "σὺ δὲ οὐχ ἱκανός," ἔφη, "τῶν σεαυτοῦ ἄρχειν;" "ὅν γε," εἶπε, "καὶ σὺ τρόπον, ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε· καταλιπὼν γὰρ τἀμὰ περίειμι, ὥσπερ σύ, φιλομαθῶν καὶ περιφρονῶν τὰ ἐν τῇ ξένῃ." "εἰ δὲ δὴ πρίαιο τὸν παῖδα, καὶ ἵππῳ σοι γενοίσθην ὁ μὲν ἀμιλλητήριος, ὁ δὲ πολεμικός, ἀναθήσῃ αὐτόν, ὦ Δάμι, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους;" "ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν ἀμιλλητήριον," εἶπεν, "ἴσως ἄν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἑτέρους ὁρῶ, τὸν

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shields or the flashing of the helmets, or by the noise made when the men raise their war-cry and give a whoop; this, I think all belongs to good horsemanship." "What then will you say of this boy who is riding on the elephant?" "He is much more wonderful, Apollonius. For it seems to me a superhuman feat for such a tiny mite to manage so huge an animal and guide it with the crook, which you see him digging into the elephant like an anchor, without fearing either the look of the brute or its height, or its enormous strength; and I would not have believed it possible, I swear by Athene, if I had heard another telling it, and had not seen it." "Well then," said Apollonius, "if anyone wanted to sell us this boy, would you buy him, Damis?" "Yes, by Zeus," he said, "and I would give everything I have to possess him For it seems to me the mark of a liberal and splendid nature, to be able to capture like a citadel the greatest animal which earth sustains, and then govern it as its master." "What then would you do with the boy," said the other, "unless you bought the elephant as well?" "I would set him," said Damis, "to preside over my household and over my servants, and he would rule them much better than I can." "And are you not able," said Apollonius, "to rule your own servants?" "About as able to do so," replied Damis, "as you are yourself, Apollonius. For I have abandoned my property, and am going about, like yourself, eager to learn and to investigate things in foreign countries." "But if you did actually buy the boy, and if you had two horses, one of them a racer, and the other a charger, would you put him, O Damis, on these horses?" "I would perhaps," he answered, "upon

CHAP. XI

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CAP. XI δὲ μάχιμόν τε καὶ ὁπλιτεύοντα πῶς ἂν ἀναβαίνοι οὗτος; οὔτε γὰρ ἀσπίδα δύναιτ' ἂν φέρειν, ἧς δεῖ τοῖς ἱππεύουσιν, οὔτ' ἂν θώρακα ἢ κράνος, αἰχμὴν δὲ πῶς οὗτος, ὃς οὐδὲ ἅτρακτον βέλους ἢ τοξεύματος κραδαίνοι ἄν, ψελλιζομένῳ ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ ἐοικὼς ἔτι;" "ἕτερον οὖν τι," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, ἐστίν, ὃ τὸν ἐλέφαντα τοῦτον ἡνιοχεῖ καὶ πέμπει, καὶ οὐχ ὁ ἡνίοχος οὗτος, ὃν σὺ μόνον οὐ προσκυνεῖς ὑπὸ θαύματος." τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος "τί ἂν εἴη τοῦτο, Ἀπολλώνιε; ὁρῶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ θηρίου πλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς οὐδὲν ἕτερον." "τὸ θηρίον," ἔφη, "τοῦτο εὐπαίδευτόν τε παρὰ πάντα ἐστί, κἀπειδὰν ἅπαξ ἀναγκασθῇ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπῳ ζῆν, ἀνέχεται τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πάντα καὶ ὁμοήθειαν ἐπιτηδεύει τὴν πρὸς αὐτόν, χαίρει τε σιτούμενον ἀπὸ τῆς χειρός, ὥσπερ οἱ μικροὶ τῶν κυνῶν, προσιόντα τε τῇ προνομαίᾳ αἰκάλλει καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὴν φάρυγγα ἐσωθοῦντα ἀνέχεται καὶ κέχηνεν ἐφ' ὅσον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ δοκεῖ, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς νομάσιν ἑωρῶμεν. νύκτωρ δὲ λέγεται τὴν δουλείαν ὀλοφύρεσθαι, μὰ Δί', οὐ τετριγός, ὁποῖον εἴωθεν, ἀλλ' οἰκτρόν τε καὶ ἐλεεινὸν ἀνακλᾶον, εἰ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἐπισταίη ὀδυρομένῳ ταῦτα, ἴσχει τὸν θρῆνον ὁ ἐλέφας, ὥσπερ αἰδούμενος. αὐτὸς δὴ ἑαυτοῦ, ὦ Δάμι, ἄρχει καὶ ἡ πειθὼ αὐτὸν ἡ τῆς φύσεως ἄγει μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ ἐπικείμενός τε καὶ ἀπευθύνων."

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the racer, for I see others doing the same, but how could he ever mount a war-horse accustomed to carry armour? For he could not either carry a shield, as knights must do; or wear a breast-plate or helmet; and how could he wield a javelin, when he cannot use the shaft of a bolt or of an arrow, but he would in military matters be like a stammerer." "Then," said the other, "there is, Damis, something else which controls and guides this elephant, and not the driver alone, whom you admire almost to the point of worshipping." Damis replied: "What can that be, Apollonius? For I see nothing else upon the animal except the boy." "This animal," he answered, "is docile beyond all others; and when he has once been broken in to serve man, he will put up with anything at the hands of man, and he makes it his business to be tractable and obedient to him, and he loves to eat out of his hands, in the way little dogs do; and when his master approaches he fondles him with his trunk, and he will allow him to thrust his head into his jaws, and he holds them as wide open as his master likes, as we have seen among the nomads. But of a night the elephant is said to lament his state of slavery, yes, by heaven, not by trumpeting in his ordinary way, but by wailing mournfully and piteously. And if a man comes upon him when he is lamenting in this way, the elephant stops his dirge at once as if he were ashamed. Such control, O Damis, has he over himself, and it is his instinctive obedience which actuates him rather than the man who sits upon him and directs him."

CHAP. XI

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XII

CAP. XII

Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ἐλθόντες ἀγέλην ἐλεφάντων ἰδεῖν φασι περαιουμένους τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ τάδε ἀκοῦσαι περὶ τοῦ θηρίου· ὡς οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔλειοι, οἱ δ' αὖ ὄρειοι, καὶ τρίτον ἤδη γένος πεδινοί εἰσιν, ἁλίσκονταί τε ἐς τὴν τῶν πολεμικῶν χρείαν. μάχονται γὰρ δὴ ἐπεσκευασμένοι πύργους οἵους κατὰ δέκα καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα ὁμοῦ τῶν Ἰνδῶν δέξασθαι, ἀφ' ὧν τοξεύουσί τε καὶ ἀκοντίζουσιν οἱ Ἰνδοί, καθάπερ ἐκ πυλῶν βάλλοντες. καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ θηρίον χεῖρα τὴν προνομαίαν ἡγεῖται, καὶ χρῆται αὐτῇ ἐς τὸ ἀκοντίζειν. ὅσον δὲ ἵππου Νισαίου μείζων ὁ Λιβυκὸς ἐλέφας, τοσοῦτον τῶν ἐκ Λιβύης οἱ Ἰνδοὶ μείζους. περὶ δὲ ἡλικίας τοῦ ζῴου καὶ ὡς μακροβιώτατοι, εἴρηται μὲν καὶ ἑτέροις, ἐντυχεῖν δὲ καὶ οὗτοί φασιν ἐλέφαντι περὶ Τάξιλα μεγίστην τῶν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς πόλιν, ὃν μυρίζειν τε οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ ταινιοῦν· εἶναι γὰρ δὴ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὲρ Πώρου μεμαχημένων εἷς οὗτος, ὅν, ἐπειδὴ προθύμως ἐμεμάχητο, ἀνῆκεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ Ἡλίῳ. εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρυσοῦ ἕλικας περὶ τοῖς εἴτ' ὀδοῦσιν εἴτε κέρασι, καὶ γράμματα ἐπ' αὐτῶν Ἑλληνικὰ λέγοντα ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ Ο ΔΙΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΑΙΑΝΤΑ ΤΩΙ ΗΛΙΩΙ. ὄνομα γὰρ τοῦτο τῷ ἐλέφαντι ἔθετο, μεγάλου ἀξιώσας μέγαν. ξυνεβάλοντο δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι πεντήκοντα εἶναι καὶ τριακόσια ἔτη μετὰ τὴν μάχην, οὔπω λέγοντες καὶ ὁπόσα γεγονὼς ἐμάχετο.

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XII

CHAP. XII

Different breeds of elephants

Elephants used in war

The elephant of Porus at Taxila

And when they came to the Indus, they saw a herd of elephants crossing the river, and they say that they heard this account of the animals. Some of them are marsh elephants, others again mountain elephants, and there is also a third kind which belongs to the plain; and they are captured for use in war. For indeed they go into battle saddled with towers big enough to accommodate ten or fifteen Indians all at once; and from these towers the Indians shoot their bows and hurl their javelins, just as if they were taking aim from gate towers. And the animal itself regards his trunk as a hand, and uses it to hurl weapons. And the Indian elephants are as much bigger than those of Libya, as these are bigger than the horses of Nisa. And other authorities have dwelt on the age of the animals, and say that they are very long-lived; but our party too say that they came on an elephant near Taxila, the greatest city in India, who was anointed with myrrh by the natives and adorned with fillets. For, they said, this elephant was one of those who fought on the side of Porus against Alexander; and, as it had made a brave fight, Alexander dedicated it to the Sun. And it had, they say, gold rings around its tusks or horns, whichever you call them, and an inscription was on them written in Greek, as follows: "Alexander the son of Zeus dedicates Ajax to the Sun." For he had given this name to the elephant, thinking so great an animal deserved a great name. And the natives reckoned that 350 years had elapsed since the battle, without taking into account how old the elephant was when he went into battle.

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XIII

CAP. XIII Ἰόβας δέ, ὃς ἦρξέ ποτε τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ ἔθνους, φησὶ μὲν ξυμπεσεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐπ' ἐλεφάντων πάλαι Λιβυκοὺς ἱππέας—εἶναι δὲ τοῖς μὲν πύργον ἐς τοὺς ὀδόντας κεχαραγμένον, τοῖς δὲ οὐδέν—νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης τὴν μάχην ἡττηθῆναι μὲν τοὺς ἐπισήμους φησί, φυγεῖν δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἄτλαντα τὸ ὄρος, αὐτὸς δὲ ἑλεῖν τετρακοσίων μήκει ἐτῶν ὕστερον τῶν διαφυγόντων ἕνα καὶ τοὐπίσημον εἶναι αὐτῷ κοῖλον καὶ οὔπω περιτετριμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου. οὗτος ὁ Ἰόβας τοὺς ὀδόντας κέρατα ἡγεῖται τῷ φύεσθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς ὅθεν περ οἱ κρόταφοι, παραθήγεσθαι δὲ μηδενὶ ἑτέρῳ, μένειν δ' ὡς ἔφυσαν καὶ μή, ὅπερ οἱ ὀδόντες, ἐκπίπτειν εἶτ' ἀναφύεσθαι· ἐγὼ δ' οὐ προσδέχομαι τὸν λόγον· κέρατά τε γὰρ εἰ μὴ πάντα, τά γε τῶν ἐλάφων ἐκπίπτει καὶ ἀναφύεται, ὀδόντες δὲ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκπεσοῦνται καὶ ἀναφύσονται πάντες, ζῴων δ' ἂν οὐδενὶ ἑτέρῳ χαυλιόδους ἢ κυνόδους αὐτομάτως ἐκπέσοι, οὐδ' ἂν ἐπανέλθοι ἐκπεσών, ὅπλου γὰρ ἕνεκα ἡ φύσις ἐμβιβάζει αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰς γένυς. καὶ ἄλλως τὰ κέρατα γραμμὴν ἀποτορνεύει κύκλῳ πρὸς τῇ ῥίζῃ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον, ὡς αἰγές τε δηλοῦσι καὶ προβατεῖαι καὶ βόες, ὀδοὺς δὲ λεῖος ἐκφύεται καὶ ἢν μὴ πηρώσῃ τι αὐτόν, τοιόσδε ἀεὶ μένει, μετέχει γὰρ τῆς λιθώδους ὕλης τε καὶ οὐσίας. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ κερασφορεῖν περὶ τὰ δίχηλα τῶν ζῴων μόνα

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XIII

CHAP. XIII

Juba on the age of elephants

AND Juba, who was once sovereign of the Libyan race, says that formerly the knights of Libya fought with one another on elephants, and one division of these had a tower engraved upon their tusks, but the others nothing. And when night interrupted the fray the animals which were so marked had, he says, got the worst of it, and fled into Mount Atlas; but he himself 400 years afterwards caught one of the fugitives and found the cavity of the stamp still fresh on the tusk and not yet worn away by time. This Juba is of opinion that the tusks are horns, because they grow just where the temples are, and because they need no sharpening of any kind, and remain as they grew and do not, like teeth, fall out and then grow afresh. But I cannot accept this view; for horns, if not all, at any rate those of stags, do fall out and grow afresh, but the teeth, although in the case of men those which may fall out, will in every case grow again, on the other hand there is not a single animal whose tusk or dog-tooth falls out naturally, nor in which, when it has fallen out, it will come again. For nature implants these tusks in their jaws for the sake of defence. And moreover, a circular ridge is formed year by year at the base of the horns, as we see in the case of goats and sheep and oxen; but a tusk grows out quite smooth, and unless something breaks it, it always remains so, for it consists of a material and substance as hard as stone. Moreover the carrying of horns is confined to animals with cloven hoofs, but this animal has five nails and the sole

And on the character of their tusks

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CAP. XIII ἕστηκε, τὸ δὲ ζῷον τοῦτο πεντώνυχον καὶ πολυσχιδὲς τὴν βάσιν, ἢ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐσφίγχθαι χηλαῖς ὥσπερ ἐν ὑγρῷ ἕστηκε. καὶ τοῖς μὲν κερασφόροις ἅπασιν ὑποβάλλουσα ἡ φύσις ὀστᾶ σηραγγώδη περιφύει τὸ κέρας ἔξωθεν, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων πλῆρες ἀποφαίνει καὶ ὅμοιον, ἀναπτύξαντι δὲ σύριγξ αὐτὸ λεπτὴ διέρπει μέσον, ὥσπερ τοὺς ὀδόντας· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἐλείων ὀδόντες πελιδνοὶ καὶ μανοὶ μεταχειρίσασθαί τε ἄτοποι, πολλαχοῦ γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑποδεδύκασι σήραγγες, πολλαχοῦ δὲ ἀνεστᾶσι χάλαζαι μὴ ξυγχωροῦσαι τῇ τέχνῃ, οἱ δὲ τῶν ὀρείων μείους μὲν ἢ οὗτοι, λευκοὶ δὲ ἱκανῶς καὶ δύσεργον περὶ αὐτοὺς οὐδέν, ἄριστοι δὲ οἱ τῶν πεδινῶν ὀδόντες, μέγιστοί τε γὰρ καὶ λευκότατοι καὶ ἀναπτύξαι ἡδεῖς καὶ γίγνονται πᾶν ὅ τι θέλει ἡ χείρ. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἤθη ἐλεφάντων χρὴ ἀναγράφειν, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἑλῶν ἁλισκομένους ἀνοήτους ἡγοῦνται καὶ κούφους Ἰνδοί, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν κακοήθεις τε καὶ ἐπιβουλευτάς, καὶ ἢν μὴ δέωνταί τινος, οὐ βεβαίους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οἱ πεδινοὶ δὲ χρηστοί τε εἶναι λέγονται καὶ εὐάγωγοι καὶ μιμήσεως ἐρασταί· γράφουσι γοῦν καὶ ὀρχοῦνται καὶ παρενσαλεύουσι πρὸς αὐλὸν καὶ πηδῶσιν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐκεῖνοι.

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of his foot has many furrows in it, and not being confined by hoofs, it seems to stand on a soft, flabby foot. And in the case of all animals that have horns, nature supplies cavernous bones and causes the horn to grow from outwards, whereas she makes the elephant tusk full and equally massive throughout; and when in the lathe you lay bare the interior, you find a very thin tube piercing the centre of it, as is the case with teeth. Now the tusks of the marsh elephants are dark in colour and porous and difficult to work, because they are hollowed out into many cavities, and often knots are formed in them which oppose difficulties to the craftsman's tool; but the tusks of the mountain kind, though smaller than these, are very white and there is nothing about them difficult to work; but best of all are the tusks of the elephants of the plain, for these are very large and very white and so pleasant to turn and carve that the hand can shape them into whatever it likes. CHAP. XIII

If I may also describe the characters of these elephants; those which come from the marshes, and are taken there, are considered to be stupid and idle by the Indians; but those which come from the mountains they regard as wicked and treacherous and, unless they want something, not to be relied upon by man; but the elephants of the plain are said to be good and tractable, and fond of learning tricks; for they will write and dance, and will sway themselves to and fro and leap up and down from the ground to the sound of the flute.

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XIV

CAP. XIV Ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸν Ἰνδὸν περαιουμένους, ἦσαν δέ, οἶμαι, τριάκοντα, καὶ χρωμένους ἡγεμόνι τῷ σμικροτάτῳ σφῶν, καὶ τοὺς μείζους αὐτῶν ἀνειληφότας τοὺς αὐτῶν πώλους ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ὀδόντων προβολὰς τάς τε προνομαίας ἐπεζευχότας δεσμοῦ ἕνεκα "ταῦτα μέν," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, οὐδὲ ἐπιτάττοντος οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν οὗτοι διὰ ξύνεσίν τε καὶ σοφίαν πράττουσι, καὶ ὁρᾷς, ὡς παραπλησίως τοῖς σκευαγωγοῦσιν ἀνειλήφασι τοὺς πώλους καὶ καταδησάμενοι αὐτοὺς ἄγουσιν;" "ὁρῶ," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, ὡς σοφῶς τε αὐτὸ καὶ ξυνετῶς πράττουσι. τί οὖν βούλεται τὸ εὔηθες ἐκεῖνο φρόντισμα τοῖς ἐρεσχελοῦσι φυσικὴν ἢ μὴ τὴν πρὸς τὰ τέκνα εἶναι εὔνοιαν; τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐλέφαντες ἤδη βοῶσιν, ὡς παρὰ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῖς ἥκει· οὐ γὰρ δὴ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων γε μεμαθήκασιν αὐτό, ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα, οἵ γε μηδὲ ξυμβεβιώκασί πω ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ φύσει κεκτημένοι τὸ φιλεῖν ἃ ἔτεκον, προκήδονταί τε αὐτῶν καὶ παιδοτροφοῦσι." "καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας εἴπῃς, ὦ Δάμι· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ζῷον δεύτερον ἀνθρώπου τάττω κατὰ ξύνεσίν τε καὶ βουλάς, ἀλλὰ τάς τε ἄρκτους ἐνθυμοῦμαι μᾶλλον, ὡς ἀγριώταται θηρίων οὖσαι πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν σκύμνων πράττουσι, τούς τε λύκους, ὡς ἀεὶ προσκείμενοι τῷ ἁρπάζειν ἡ μὲν θήλεια φυλάττει

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of his foot has many furrows in it, and not being confined by hoofs, it seems to stand on a soft, flabby foot. And in the case of all animals that have horns, nature supplies cavernous bones and causes the horn to grow from outwards, whereas she makes the elephant tusk full and equally massive throughout; and when in the lathe you lay bare the interior, you find a very thin tube piercing the centre of it, as is the case with teeth. Now the tusks of the marsh elephants are dark in colour and porous and difficult to work, because they are hollowed out into many cavities, and often knots are formed in them which oppose difficulties to the craftsman's tool; but the tusks of the mountain kind, though smaller than these, are very white and there is nothing about them difficult to work; but best of all are the tusks of the elephants of the plain, for these are very large and very white and so pleasant to turn and carve that the hand can shape them into whatever it likes. CHAP. XIII

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CAP. XIV

ἃ ἔτεκεν, ὁ δὲ ἄρρην ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν σκυλάκων ἀπάγει αὐτῇ σῖτον, τάς τε παρδάλεις ὡσαύτως, αἳ διὰ θερμότητα χαίρουσι τῷ γίγνεσθαι μητέρες, δεσπόζειν γὰρ δὴ τότε βούλονται τῶν ἀρρένων καὶ τοῦ οἴκου ἄρχειν, οἱ δὲ ἀνέχονται τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν πᾶν ἡττώμενοι τοῦ τόκου. λέγεται δέ τις καὶ περὶ τῶν λεαινῶν λόγος, ὡς ἐραστὰς μὲν ποιοῦνται τοὺς παρδάλεις καὶ δέχονται αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς εὐνὰς τῶν λεόντων ἐς τὰ πεδία, τῆς δὲ γαστρὸς ὥραν ἀγούσης ἀναφεύγουσιν ἐς τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰ τῶν παρδάλεων ἤθη, στικτὰ γὰρ τίκτουσιν, ὅθεν κρύπτουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ θηλάζουσιν ἐν σκολιαῖς λόχμαις πλασάμεναι ἀφημερεύειν πρὸς θήραν. εἰ γὰρ φωράσειαν τουτὶ οἱ λέοντες, διασπῶνται τοὺς σκύμνους καὶ ξαίνουσι τὴν σποράν ὡς νόθον. ἐνέτυχες δήπου καὶ τῶν Ὁμηρείων λεόντων ἑνί, ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ σκύμνων δεινὸν βλέπει καὶ ῥώννυσιν ἑαυτὸν μάχης ἅπτεσθαι. καὶ τὴν τίγριν δὲ χαλεπωτάτην οὖσάν φασιν ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ περὶ τὴν θάλατταν τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἵεσθαι, τοὺς σκύμνους ἀπαιτοῦσαν, καὶ ἀπολαβοῦσαν μὲν ἀπιέναι χαίρουσαν, εἰ δὲ ἀποπλεύσαιεν, ὠρύεσθαι αὐτὴν πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐνίοτε. τὰ δὲ τῶν ὀρνίθων τίς οὐκ οἶδεν; ὡς ἀετοὶ μὲν καὶ πελαργοὶ καλιὰς οὐκ ἂν πήξαιντο μὴ πρότερον αὐταῖς ἐναρμόσαντες ὁ μὲν τὸν ἀετίτην λίθον, ὁ δὲ τὸν λυχνίτην ὑπὲρ τῆς ὠογονίας καὶ τοῦ μὴ πελάζειν σφίσι τοὺς ὄφεις. κἂν τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ σκοπῶμεν, τοὺς μὲν δελφῖνας

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the male brings her food in order to save the life of the whelps. And I also equally have in mind the panther, which, from the warmth of its temperament, delights to become a mother, for that is the time when it is determined to rule the male and be mistress of the household; and the male puts up with anything and everything from her, subordinating everything to the welfare of the offspring. And there is also told a story of the lioness, how she will make a lover of the panther and receive him in the lion's lair in the plain; but when she is going to bring forth her young she flees into the mountains to the haunts of the panthers; for she brings forth young ones that are spotted, and that is why she hides her young and nurses them in winding thickets, pretending that she is spending the day out hunting. For if the lion detected the trick, he would tear the whelps in pieces and claw her offspring as illegitimate. You have read no doubt, also, of one of Homer's lions, and of how he made himself look terrible in behalf of his own whelps and steeled himself to do battle for them. And they say the tigress, although she is the cruellest animal in this country, will approach the ships on the Red Sea, to demand back her whelps; and if she gets them back, she goes off mightily delighted; but if the ships sail away, they say that she howls along the sea-coast and sometimes dies outright. And who does not know the ways of birds, how that the eagles and the cranes will not build their nests until they have fixed in them, the one an eagle-stone, and the other a stone of light, to help the hatching out of the eggs and to drive away the snakes. And if we look at creatures in the sea, we need not wonder at the dolphins loving their

CHAP. XIV

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CAP. XIV οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμεν, εἰ χρηστοὶ ὄντες φιλοτεκνοῦσι, φαλαίνας δὲ καὶ φώκας καὶ τὰ ζῳοτόκα ἔθνη πῶς οὐ θαυμασόμεθα, εἰ φώκη μέν, ἣν εἶδον ἐγὼ ἐν Αἰγαῖς καθειργμένην ἐς κυνήγια, οὕτως ἐπένθησεν ἀποθανόντα τὸν σκύμνον, ὃν ἐν τῷ οἰκίσκῳ ἀπεκύησεν, ὡς μὴ προσδέξασθαι τριῶν ἡμερῶν σῖτον, καίτοι βορωτάτη θηρίων οὖσα, φάλαινα δὲ ἐς τοὺς χηραμοὺς τῆς φάρυγγος ἀναλαμβάνει τοὺς σκύμνους, ἐπειδὰν φεύγῃ τι ἑαυτῆς μεῖζον ; καὶ ἔχιδνα ὤφθη ποτὲ τοὺς ὄφεις, οὓς ἀπέτεκε, λιχμωμένη καὶ θεραπεύουσα ἐκκειμένῃ τῇ γλώττῃ. μὴ γὰρ δεχώμεθα, ὦ Δάμι, τὸν εὐήθη λογον, ὡς ἀμήτορες οἱ τῶν ἐχιδνῶν τίκτονται, τουτὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἡ φύσις ξυγκεχώρηκεν, οὔτε ἡ πεῖρα." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Δάμις "ξυγχωρεῖς οὖν," ἔφη, "τὸν Εὐριπίδην ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰαμβείῳ τούτῳ, ᾧ πεποίηται αὐτῷ ἡ Ἀνδρομάχη λέγουσα

ἅπασι δ' ἀνθρώποις ἄρ' ἦν
ψυχὴ τέκνα ;"

"ξυγχωρῶ, ἔφη, "σοφῶς γὰρ καὶ δαιμονίως εἴρηται, πολλῷ δ' ἂν σοφώτερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον εἶχεν, εἰ περὶ πάντων ζῴων ὕμνητο." "ἔοικας," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, μεταγράφειν τὸ ἰαμβεῖον, ἵν' οὕτως ᾄδοιμεν·

ἅπασι δὲ ζῴοις ἄρ' ἦν
ψυχὴ τέκνα.

καὶ ἕπομαί σοι, βέλτιον γάρ."

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offspring, for they are superior creatures; but shall we not admire the whales and seals and the viviparous species? For I once saw a seal that was kept shut up at Aegae in the circus, and she mourned so deeply for her whelp, which had died after being born in confinement, that she refused food for three days together, although she is the most voracious of animals. And the whale takes up its young ones into the cavities of its throat, whenever it is fleeing from a creature bigger than itself. And a viper has been seen licking the serpents which it had borne, and caressing them with her tongue, which she shoots out for the purpose. But we need not entertain, Damis, the silly story that the young of vipers are brought into the world without mothers; for that is a thing which is consistent neither with nature nor with experience."

CHAP. XIV

The tame seal at Aegae

Damis then resumed the conversation by saying: "You will allow me then to praise Euripides, for this iambic line which he puts into the mouth of Andromache:

'And in the case of all men, then, their life lay in their children.'"

"I admit," said Apollonius, "that that is said cleverly and divinely; but much cleverer and truer would have been the verse, if it had included all animals." "Then you would like," said Damis, "O Apollonius, to rewrite the line so that we might sing it as follows:

'And in the case of all animals, then, their life lay in their children.'

and I agree with you, for it is better so."

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XV

CAP. XV

"Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό μοι εἰπέ· οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν λόγων ἔφαμεν σοφίαν εἶναι περὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ νοῦν περὶ ἃ πράττουσι;" "καὶ εἰκότως," εἶπεν, "ὦ Δάμι, ἔφαμεν, εἰ γὰρ μὴ νοῦς ἐκυβέρνα τόδε τὸ θηρίον, οὔτ' ἂν αὐτὸ διεγίγνετο οὔτ' ἂν τὰ ἔθνη, ἐν οἷς γίγνεται." "τί οὖν," ἔφη, "οὕτως ἀμαθῶς καὶ οὐ πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον ἑαυτοῖς τὴν διάβασιν ποιοῦνται; ἡγεῖται μὲν γάρ, ὡς ὁρᾷς, ὁ μικρότατος, ἕπεται δὲ αὐτῷ τις ὀλίγῳ μείζων, εἶτα ὑπὲρ τοῦτον ἕτερος, καὶ οἱ μέγιστοι κατόπιν πάντες. ἔδει δέ που τὸν ἐναντίον τρόπον αὐτοὺς πορεύεσθαι καὶ τοὺς μεγίστους τείχη καὶ προβλήματα ἑαυτῶν ποιεῖσθαι." "ἀλλ', ὦ Δάμι," ἔφη, "πρῶτον μὲν ὑποφεύγειν ἐοίκασι δίωξιν ἀνθρώπων, οἷς που καὶ ἐντευξόμεθα ἑπομένοις τῷ ἴχνει, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους δεῖ τὰ κατὰ νώτου πεφράχθαι μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, καὶ τοῦτο τακτικώτατον ἡγοῦ τῶν θηρίων, ἔπειτα ἡ διάβασις, εἰ μὲν προδιέβαινον οἱ μέγιστοι σφῶν, οὔπω τεκμαίρεσθαι παρεῖχον ἂν τοῦ ὕδατος εἰ διαβήσονται πάντες, τοῖς μὲν γὰρ εὔπορός τε καὶ ῥᾳδία ἡ περαίωσις ὑψηλοτάτοις οὖσι, τοῖς δὲ χαλεπή τε καὶ ἄπορος,

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XV

CHAP. XV

Intelligence shewn by elephants when pursued in crossing a river

"But tell me this: did we not, at the beginning of our conversation, declare that the elephants display wisdom and intelligence in what they do?" "Why certainly," he replied, "we did say so, Damis; for if intelligence did not govern this animal, neither would it subsist, nor the populations among which it lived." "Why then," said Damis, "do they conduct their passage over the river in a way so stupid and inconvenient to themselves? For as you see, the smallest one is leading the way, and he is followed by a slightly larger one, then comes another still larger than he, and the biggest ones come last of all. But surely they ought to travel in the opposite fashion, and make the biggest ones a wall and rampart in front of themselves." "But," replied Apollonius, "in the first place they appear to be running away from men who are pursuing them, and whom we shall doubtless come across, as they follow the animals' tracks; and they must and ought to use their best strength to fortify their rear against attack, as is done in war; so that you may regard the elephant as the best tactician to be found among animals. Secondly, as they are crossing a river, if their biggest ones went first, that would not enable the rest of the herd to judge whether the water is shallow enough for all to pass; for the tallest ones would find the passage practicable and easy, but the others would find it dangerous and difficult, because they would not rise above the level of the stream. But the fact that the smallest is able to get across is a sign in itself to the rest that there is no difficulty. And

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CAP. XV

μὴ ὑπεραίρουσι τοῦ ῥεύματος, διελθὼν δὲ ὁ σμικρότατος τὸ ἄλυπον ἤδη καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἑρμηνεύει, καὶ ἄλλως οἱ μὲν μείζους προεμβαίνοντες κοιλότερον ἂν τὸν ποταμὸν ἀποφαίνοιεν τοῖς σμικροῖς, ἀνάγκη γὰρ συνιζάνειν τὴν ἰλὺν ἐς βόθρους διά τε βαρύτητα τοῦ θηρίου διά τε παχύτητα τῶν ποδῶν, οἱ δ' ἐλάττους οὐδὲν ἂν βλάπτοιεν τὴν τῶν μειζόνων διαπορείαν ἧττον ἐμβοθρεύοντες."

XVI

CAP. XVI

"Ἐγὼ δὲ εὗρον ἐν τοῖς Ἰόβα λόγοις, ὡς καὶ ξυλλαμβάνουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἐν τῇ θήρᾳ καὶ προΐστανται τοῦ ἀπειπόντος, κἂν ἐξέλωνται αὐτόν, τὸ δάκρυον τῆς ἀλόης ἐπαλείφουσι τοῖς τραύμασι περιεστῶτες ὥσπερ ἰατροί." πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἐφιλοσοφεῖτο αὐτοῖς ἀφορμὰς ποιουμένοις τὰ λόγου ἄξια.

XVII

CAP. XVII

Τὰ δὲ Νεάρχῳ τε καὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ περὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου ποταμοῦ εἰρημένα, ὡς ἐσβάλλει μὲν ἐς τὸν Ἰνδὸν οὗτος, τρέφει δὲ ὄφεις ἑβδομήκοντα πηχῶν μῆκος, τοιαῦτα εἶναί φασιν, ὁποῖα εἴρηται, καὶ ἀνακείσθω μοι ὁ λόγος ἐς τοὺς δράκοντας, ὧν ὁ Δάμις ἀφηγεῖται τὴν θήραν. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν καὶ πρὸς διαβάσει τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄντες ἤροντο τὸν Βαβυλώνιον, εἴ τι τοῦ ποταμοῦ οἶδε, διαβάσεως πέρι ἐρωτῶντες, ὁ δὲ οὔπω ἔφη

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moreover, if the bigger ones went in first, they would deepen the river for the small ones, for the mud is forced to settle down into ruts and trenches, owing to the heaviness of the animal and the thickness of his feet; whereas the larger ones are in no way prejudiced bythe smaller ones crossing in front, because they sink in less deeply." CHAP. XV

XVI

"And I have read in the discourse of Juba that elephants assist one another when they are being hunted, and that they will defend one that is exhausted, and if they can remove him out of danger, they anoint his wounds with the tears of the aloe tree, standing round him like physicians." Many such learned discussions were suggested to them as one occasion after another worth speaking of arose. CHAP. XVI

XVII

And the statements made by Nearchus and Pythagoras, about the river Acesines, to the effect that it debouches into the Indus, and that snakes live in it seventy cubits long, were, they say, fully verified by them; but I will defer what I have to say till I come to speak about dragons, of whose capture Damis gives an account. But when they reached the Indus and were inclined to pass over the river, they asked the Babylonian whether he knew anything of the river, and questioned him about how to get across it. CHAP. XVII The Letter of King Vardanes

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CAP. XVII πεπλευκέναι αὐτόν, οὐδὲ γιγνώσκειν, ὁπόθεν πλεῖται. "τί οὖν," ἔφασαν, "οὐκ ἐμισθώσω ἡγεμόνα;" "ὅτι ἔστιν," ἔφη, "ὁ ἡγησόμενος," καὶ ἅμα ἐδείκνυ τινὰ ἐπιστολὴν ὡς τοῦτο πράξουσαν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὸν Οὐαρδάνην τῆς τε φιλανθρωπίας καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἀγασθῆναί φασι· πρὸς γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ σατράπην ἔπεμψε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ταύτην καίτοι μὴ ὑποκείμενον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῇ, εὐεργεσίας ἀναμιμνήσκων αὐτόν, καὶ χάριν μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ ἀπαιτῆσαι φάσκων—οὐ γὰρ εἶναι πρὸς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ τρόπου τὸ ἀνταπαιτεῖν—Ἀπολλώνιον δὲ ὑποδεξαμένῳ καὶ πέμψαντι οἳ βούλεται χάριν ἂν γνῶναι. χρυσίον δὲ τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἔδωκεν, ἵν' εἰ δεηθέντα τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον αἴσθοιτο, δοίη τοῦτο καὶ μὴ ἐς ἄλλου χεῖρα βλέψειεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Ἰνδὸς ἔλαβε, μεγάλων τε ἀξιοῦσθαι ἔφη καὶ φιλοτιμήσεσθαι περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα μεῖον οὐδὲν ἢ εἰ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἔγραφε, καὶ τήν τε ναῦν τὴν σατραπίδα ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ἐμβῆναι πλοιά τε ἕτερα, ἐφ' ὧν αἱ κάμηλοι ἐκομίζοντο, ἡγεμόνα τε τῆς γῆς πάσης, ἣν ὁ Ὑδραώτης ὁρίζει, πρός τε τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἔγραψε μὴ χείρω αὐτοῦ Οὐαρδάνου γενέσθαι περὶ ἄνδρα Ἕλληνά τε καὶ θεῖον.

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But he said that he had never navigated it, nor did he know whence they could get a boat on to it. "Why then," said they, "did you not hire a guide?" "Because," he said, "I have one who will direct us." And with that, he showed them a letter, written to that effect, and this gave them occasion to marvel afresh at the humanity and foresight of Vardanes. For he had addressed the letter in question to the satrap of the Indus, although he was not subject to his dominion; and in it he reminded him of the good service he had done him, but declared that he would not ask any recompense for the same, "for," he said, "it is not my habit to ask for a return of favours." But he said he would be very grateful, if he would give a welcome to Apollonius and send him on wherever he wished to go. And he had given gold to the guide, so that in case he found Apollonius in want thereof, he might give it him and save him from looking to the generosity of anyone else. And when the Indian received the letter, he declared that he was highly honoured, and would interest himself in the sage as much as if the king of India had written in his behalf; and he lent his official boat for him to embark in and other vessels on which the camels were ferried across, and he also sent a guide to the whole of the country which is bordered by the Hydraotes, and he wrote to his own king, begging him not to treat with less respect than Vardanes a man who was a Greek and divine. CHAP. XVII

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XVIII

CAP. XVIII Τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἰνδὸν ὧδε ἐπεραιώθησαν σταδίους μάλιστα τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ γὰρ πλόιμον αὐτοῦ τοσοῦτον, περὶ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου τάδε γράφουσι· τὸν Ἰνδὸν ἄρχεσθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Καυκάσου μείζω αὐτόθεν ἢ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ποταμοὶ πάντες, προχωρεῖν δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν ναυσιπόρων ἑαυτοῦ ποιούμενον, ἀδελφὰ δὲ τῷ Νείλῳ πράττοντα τῇ τε Ἰνδικῇ ἐπιχεῖσθαι γῆν τε ἐπάγειν τῇ γῇ καὶ παρέχειν Ἰνδοῖς τὸν Αἰγυπτίων τρόπον σπείρειν. χιόσι δ' Αἰθιόπων τε καὶ Καταδούπων ὁρῶν ἀντιλέγειν μὲν οὐκ ἀξιῶ διὰ τοὺς εἰπόντας, οὐ μὴν ξυντίθεμαί γε λογιζόμενος τὸν Ἰνδόν, ὡς ταὐτὸν τῷ Νείλῳ ἐργάζεται μὴ νιφομένης τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν χώρας, καὶ ἄλλως τὸν θεὸν οἶδα κέρατα τῆς γῆς ξυμπάσης Αἰθίοπάς τε καὶ Ἰνδοὺς ἀποφαίνοντα μελαίνοντά τε τοὺς μὲν ἀρχομένου ἡλίου, τοὺς δὲ λήγοντος, ὃ πῶς ἂν ξυνέβαινε περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα ἐθέροντο ; ἦν δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος θάλπει γῆν ἥλιος, πῶς ἄν τις ἡγοῖτο νίφεσθαι, πῶς δ' ἂν τὴν χιόνα χορηγὸν τοῖς ἐκείνῃ ποταμοῖς γίγνεσθαι τοῦ ὑπεραίρειν τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν μέτρα ; εἰ δὲ καὶ φοιτᾶν χιόνα ἐς τὰ οὕτω πρόσειλα, πῶς ἂν αὐτὴν ἐς τοσόνδε ἀναχυθῆναι πέλαγος ; πῶς δ' ἂν ἀποχρῆσαι ποταμῷ βυθίζοντι Αἴγυπτον ;

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XVIII

CHAP. XVIII

An account of the River Indus

THUS they crossed the Indus at a point where it was nearly 40 stades broad, for such is the size of its navigable portion; and they write the following account of this river. They say that the Indus arises in the Caucasus and is bigger at its source than any of the other rivers of Asia; and as it advances it absorbs into itself several navigable rivers and, like the Nile, it floods the land of India and brings down soil over it, and so provides the Indians with land to sow in the manner of the Egyptians. Now it is said that there is snow on the hills in Ethiopia, and in the land of the Catadupi, and I do not choose to contradict, out of respect for the authorities; nevertheless, I cannot agree with them, when I consider how the river Indus effects the same results as the Nile, without any snow falling on the country that rises behind and above it. And moreover I know that God has set the Ethiopian and the Indian at the two extremes or horns of the entire earth, making black the latter who dwell where the sun rises no less than the former who dwell where it sets; now how should this be the case of the inhabitants, unless they enjoyed summer heat during the winter? But where the sun warms the earth all through the year, how can one suppose that it ever snows? And how could it ever snow there so hard, as to supply the rivers there with water, and make them rise above their normal levels? But even if there were frequent snowfalls in regions so exposed to the sun, how could the melted snow ever cover such an expanse as to resemble a sea? And how could it ever supply a river which deluges the whole of Egypt?

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XIX

CAP. XIX

Κομιζόμενοι δὲ διὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ πολλοῖς μὲν ποταμίοις ἵπποις ἐντυχεῖν φασι, πολλοῖς δὲ κροκοδείλοις, ὥσπερ οἱ τὸν Νεῖλον πλέοντες, λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ἄνθη τῷ Ἰνδῷ εἶναι, οἷα τοῦ Νείλου ἀναφύεται, καὶ τὰς ὥρας, αἳ περὶ τὴν Ἰνδικήν εἰσι, χειμῶνος μὲν ἀλεεινὰς εἶναι, θέρους δὲ πνιγηράς, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο ἄριστα μεμηχανῆσθαι τῷ δαίμονι, τὴν γὰρ χώραν αὐτοῖς θαμὰ ὕεσθαι. φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ὡς ἀφικνοῖτο μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον, ὅτε ἀναβιβάζοιεν αὐτὸν αἱ ὧραι, θύοι δὲ αὐτῷ ταύρους τε καὶ ἵππους μέλανας—τὸ γὰρ λευκὸν ἀτιμότερον Ἰνδοὶ τίθενται τοῦ μέλανος δι', οἶμαι, τὸ ἑαυτῶν χρῶμα—θύσαντα δὲ καταποντοῦν φασι τῷ ποταμῷ χρυσοῦν μέτρον, εἰκασμένον τῷ ἀπομετροῦντι τὸν σῖτον, καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ μὲν τοῦτο πράττει ὁ βασιλεύς, οὐ ξυμβαλέσθαι τοὺς Ἰνδούς, αὐτοὶ δὲ τεκμαίρεσθαι τὸ μέτρον καταποντοῦσθαι τοῦτο ἢ ὑπὲρ ἀφθονίας καρπῶν, οὓς γεωργοὶ ἀπομετροῦσιν, ἢ ὑπὲρ ξυμμετρίας τοῦ ῥεύματος, ὡς μὴ κατακλύσειε τὴν γῆν πολὺς ἀφικόμενος.

XX

CAP. XX

Πορευθέντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν ποταμὸν ἦγεν ὁ παρὰ τοῦ σατράπου ἡγεμὼν εὐθὺ τῶν Ταξίλων, οὗ τὰ βασίλεια ἦν τῷ Ἰνδῷ. στολὴν δὲ εἶναι τοῖς

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XIX

CHAP. XIX

Comparison of the Indus with the Nile

AND as they were being conveyed across the Indus, they say that they came across many river-horses, and many crocodiles, just as those do who sail along the Nile; and they say that the vegetation on the Indus resembles that which grows along the Nile, and that the climate of India is sunny in winter, but suffocating in summer; but to counteract this Providence has excellently contrived that it should often rain in their country. And they also say that they learned from the Indians that the king was in the habit of coming to this river when it rose in the appropriate seasons, and would sacrifice to the river bulls and black horses; for white is less esteemed by the Indians than black, because, I imagine, the latter is their own colour; and when he has sacrificed, they say that he plunges into the river a measure of gold made to resemble that which is used in measuring wheat. And why the king does this, the Indians, they say, have no idea; but they themselves conjectured that this measure was sunk in the river, either to secure the plentiful harvest, whose yield the farmers use such a measure to gauge, or to keep the river within its proper bounds and prevent it from rising to such heights as that it would drown the land.

XX

CHAP XX

Dress of the Indian natives

AND after they had crossed the river, they were conducted by the satrap's guide direct to Taxila, where the Indian had his royal palace. And they say that on this side of the Indus the dress of the

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CAP. XX μετὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν λίνου φασὶν ἐγχωρίου καὶ ὑποδήματα βύβλου καὶ κυνῆν, ὅτε ὗοι, καὶ βύσσῳ δὲ τοὺς φανερωτέρους αὐτῶν φασιν ἐστάλθαι, τὴν δὲ βύσσον φύεσθαι δένδρου φασὶν ὁμοίου μὲν τῇ λεύκῃ τὴν βάσιν, παραπλησίου δὲ τῇ ἰτέᾳ τὰ πέταλα. καὶ ἡσθῆναι τῇ βύσσῳ φησὶν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐπειδὴ ἔοικε φαιῷ τρίβωνι. καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον δὲ ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐς πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν φοιτᾷ ἡ βύσσος. τὰ δε Τάξιλα μέγεθος μὲν εἶναι κατὰ τὴν Νῖνον, τετειχίσθαι δὲ ξυμμέτρως, ὥσπερ αἱ Ἑλλάδες, βασίλεια δὲ εἶναι ἀνδρὸς τὴν Πώρου τότε ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντος, νεὼν δὲ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἰδεῖν φασιν οὐ παρὰ πολὺ τῶν ἑκατομπόδων λίθου κογχυλιάτου, καὶ κατεσκευάσθαι τι ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ἧττον μὲν ἢ κατὰ τὸν νεὼν τοσοῦτόν τε ὄντα καὶ περικίονα, θαυμάσαι δὲ ἄξιον· χαλκοῖ γὰρ πίνακες ἐγκεκρότηνται τοίχῳ ἑκάστῳ, γεγραμμένοι τὰ Πώρου τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔργα· γεγράφαται δὲ ὀρειχάλκῳ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ χαλκῷ μέλανι ἐλέφαντες ἵπποι στρατιῶται κράνη ἀσπίδες, λόγχαι δὲ καὶ βέλη καὶ ξίφη σιδήρου πάντα, καὶ ὥσπερ λόγος εὐδοκίμου γραφῆς, οἷον εἰ Ζεύξιδος εἴη τι ἢ Πολυγνώτου τε καὶ Εὐφράνορος, οἳ τὸ εὔσκιον ἠσπάσαντο καὶ τὸ ἔμπνουν καὶ τὸ ἐσέχον τε καὶ ἐξέχον, οὕτως, φασί, κἀκεῖ διαφαίνεται, καὶ ξυντετήκασιν αἱ ὕλαι καθάπερ χρώματα. ἡδὺ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἦθος τῆς γραφῆς· ἀναθεὶς γὰρ ταῦτα μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Μακεδόνος τελευτὴν ὁ Πῶρος νικᾷ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ Μακεδὼν καὶ τὸν Πῶρον ἀνακτᾶται

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people consists of native linen, with shoes of byblus and a hat when it rains; but that the upper classes there are apparelled in byssus; and that the byssus grows upon a tree of which the stem resembles that of the white poplar, and the leaves those of the willow. And Apollonius says that he was delighted with the byssus, because it resembled his sable philosopher's cloak. And the byssus is imported into Egypt from India for many sacred uses. Taxila, they tell us, is about as big as Nineveh, and was fortified fairly well after the manner of Greek cities; and here was the royal residence of the personage who then ruled the empire of Porus. And they saw a Temple, they say, in front of the wall, which was not far short of 100 feet in size, made of porphyry, and there was constructed within it a shrine, somewhat small as compared with the great size of the Temple which is also surrounded with columns, and deserving of notice. For bronze tablets were nailed into each of its walls on which were engraved the exploits of Porus and Alexander. But the pattern was wrought with orichalcus and silver and gold and black bronze, and you saw elephants, horses, soldiers, helmets, shields, and spears, and javelins and swords, all made of iron; and, if we are to believe report, in a respectable style of art resembling that of Zeuxis or Polygnotus and Euphranor, who delighted in light and shade and infused life into their designs, as well as a sense of depth and relief. And the metals were blended in the design, melted in like so many colours; and the character of the picture was also pleasing in itself, for Porus dedicated these designs after the death of the Macedonian, who is depicted in them in the hour of victory, reinstating Porus who

CHAP. XX

Byssus exported to Egypt

Greek reliefs in Temple at Taxila

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CAP. XX τετρωμένον καὶ δωρεῖται τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἑαυτοῦ λοιπὸν οὖσαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ πενθῆσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποθανόντα ὁ Πῶρος, ὀλοφύρασθαί τε ὡς γενναῖον καὶ χρηστὸν βασιλέα, ζῶντός τε Ἀλεξάνδρου μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀναχώρησιν μήτε εἰπεῖν τι ὡς βασιλεὺς καίτοι ξυγχωροῦντος, μήτε προστάξαι τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ σατράπης σωφροσύνης μεστὸς εἶναι καὶ πράττειν ἐς χάριν τὴν ἐκείνου πάντα.

XXI

CAP. XXI Οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ μοι ὁ λόγος παρελθεῖν ἃ περὶ ταῦ Πώρου τούτου ἀναγράφουσι· πρὸς διαβάσει γὰρ τοῦ Μακεδόνος ὄντος καὶ ξυμβουλευόντων αὐτῷ ἐνίων τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὑφασίν τε καὶ τὸν Γάγγην ποταμὸν ποιεῖσθαι ξυμμάχους, οὐ γὰρ ἂν πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν πᾶσαν ξυμφρονοῦσαν παρατάξεσθαί ποτε αὐτόν, "εἰ τοιοῦτόν ἐστί μοι," ἔφη, "τὸ ὑπήκοον, ὡς μὴ σώζεσθαι ἄνευ ξυμμάχων, ἐμοὶ βέλτιον τὸ μὴ ἄρχειν." ἀπαγγείλαντος δὲ αὐτῷ τινος, ὅτι Δαρεῖον ᾑρηκε, "βασιλέα," ἔφη, "ἄνδρα δὲ οὔ." τὸν δὲ ἐλέφαντα, ἐφ' οὗ μάχεσθαι ἔμελλε, κοσμήσαντος τοῦ ὀρεωκόμου καὶ εἰπόντος "οὗτος σέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οἶσει," "ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "τοῦτον, ἤν γε ἀνὴρ ἐμαυτῷ ὅμοιος γένωμαι." γνώμην δὲ ποιουμένων θῦσαι αὐτὸν τῷ ποταμῷ, ὡς μὴ δέξαιτο τὰς Μακεδόνων σχεδίας, μηδὲ εὔπορος τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γένοιτο, "οὐκ ἔστιν," ἔφη, "τῶν ὅπλα ἐχόντων τὸ καταρᾶσθαι." μετὰ δὲ τὴν

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is wounded, and presenting him with India which was now his gift. And it is said that Porus was grieved at the death of Alexander, and that he lamented him as a generous and good prince; and as long as Alexander was alive after his departure from India, he never used the royal diction and style, although he had license to do so, nor issued kingly edicts to the Indians, but figured himself as a satrap full of moderation, and guided in every action by the wish to please Alexander. CHAP. XX Alexander and King Porus

XXI

My argument does not allow me to pass over the accounts written of this Porus. For when the Macedonian was about to cross the river, and some of Porus' advisers wished him to make an alliance with the kings on the other side of the Hyphasis and of the Ganges, urging that the invader would never face a general coalition against him of the whole of India, he replied: "If the temper of my subjects is such that I cannot save myself without allies, then for me it is better not to be king." And when some one announced to him that Alexander had captured Darius, he remarked, "a king but not a man." And when the mule-driver had caparisoned the elephant on which he meant to fight, and said: "He, oh king, will carry you," he replied: "Nay, I shall carry him, if I prove myself the same man I used to be." And when they counselled him to sacrifice to the river, and induce it to reject the rafts of the Macedonians, and make itself impassable to Alexander, he said: "It ill befits those who have arms to resort to imprecation." And after the CHAP XXI

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CAP. XXI μάχην, ὅτε καὶ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ θεῖός τε καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἔδοξεν, εἰπόντος τῶν ξυγγενῶν τινος, "εἰ δὲ προσεκύνησας διαβάντα, ὦ Πῶρε, οὔτ' ἂν ἡττήθης μαχόμενος οὔτ' ἂν τοσοῦτοι Ἰνδῶν ἀπώλοντο, οὔτ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἐτέτρωσο," "ἐγὼ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον," εἶπε, "φιλοτιμότατον ἀκούων ξυνῆκα, ὅτι προσκυνήσαντα μὲν δοῦλόν με ἡγήσεται, πολεμήσαντα δὲ βασιλέα, καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἠξίουν ἢ ἐλεεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθην· παρασχὼν γὰρ ἐμαυτόν, οἷον Ἀλέξανδρος εἶδε, πάντα ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ καὶ ἀπώλεσα καὶ ἐκτησάμην." τοιοῦτον μὲν τὸν Ἰνδὸν τοῦτον ἐξιστοροῦσι, γενέσθαι δέ φασιν αὐτὸν κάλλιστον Ἰνδῶν καὶ μῆκος, ὅσον οὔπω τινὰ ἀνθρώπων τῶν μετὰ τοὺς Τρωικοὺς ἄνδρας, εἶναι δὲ κομιδῇ νέον, ὅτε τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπολέμει.

XXII

CAP. XXII Ὃν δὲ διέτριβεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χρόνον, πολὺς δὲ οὗτος ἐγένετο, ἔστ' ἂν ἀγγελθῇ τῷ βασιλεῖ ξένους ἥκειν, "ὦ Δάμι," ἔφη ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἔστι τι γραφική;" "εἴ γε," εἶπε, "καὶ ἀλήθεια." "πράττει δὲ τί ἡ τέχνη αὕτη;" "τὰ χρώματα," ἔφη, "ξυγκεράννυσιν, ὁπόσα ἐστί, τὰ κυανᾶ τοῖς βατραχείοις καὶ τὰ λευκὰ τοῖς μέλασι καὶ τὰ πυρσὰ τοῖς ὠχροῖς." "ταυτὶ δέ," ἦ δ' ὅς, "ὑπὲρ τίνος μίγνυσιν; οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ μόνου τοῦ ἄνθους, ὥσπερ αἱ κήριναι." "ὑπὲρ μιμήσεως," ἔφη, "καὶ τοῦ κύνα τε ἐξεικάσαι καὶ ἵππον καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ ναῦν καὶ

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battle, in which his conduct struck Alexander as divine and superhuman, when one of his relations said to him: "If you had only paid homage to him after he had crossed, O Porus, you would not yourself have been defeated in battle, nor would so many Indians have lost their lives, nor would you yourself have been wounded," he said: "I knew from report that Alexander was so fond of glory that, if I did homage to him, he would regard me as a slave, but if I fought him, as a king. And I much preferred his admiration to his pity, nor was I wrong in my calculation. For by shewing myself to be such a man as Alexander found me, I both lost and won everything in one day." Such is the character which historians give of this Indian, and they say that he was the handsomest of his race, and in stature taller than any man since the Trojan heroes, but that he was quite young, when he went to war with Alexander. CHAP. XXI

XXII

CHAP. XXII

Apollonius discusses painting with Damis

WHILE he was waiting in the Temple,—and it took a long time for the king to be informed that strangers had arrived,—Apollonius said: "O Damis, is there such a thing as painting?" "Why, yes," he answered, "if there be any such thing as truth." "And what does this art do?" "It mixes together," replied Damis, "all the colours there are, blue with green, and white with black, and red with yellow." "And for what reason," said the other, "does it mix these? For it isn't merely to get a colour, like dyed wax." "It is," said Damis, "for the sake of imitation, and

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ὁποσα ὁρᾷ ὁ ἥλιος· ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸν ἐξεικάζει τοτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ τεττάρων ἵππων, οἷος ἐνταῦθα λέγεται φαίνεσθαι, τοτὲ δ' αὖ καὶ διαπυρσεύοντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐπειδὰν αἰθέρα ὑπογράφῃ καὶ θεῶν οἶκον." "μίμησις οὖν ἡ γραφική, ὦ Δάμι;" "τί δὲ ἄλλο;" εἶπεν, "εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο πράττοι, γελοία δόξει χρώματα ποιοῦσα εὐήθως." "τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ," ἔφη, "βλεπόμενα, ἐπειδὰν αἱ νεφέλαι διασπασθῶσιν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τοὺς κενταύρους καὶ τραγελάφους καί, νὴ Δί', οἱ λύκοι τε καὶ οἱ ἵπποι, τί φήσεις; ἆρ' οὐ μιμητικῆς εἶναι ἔργα;" "ἔοικεν," ἔφη. "ζωγράφος οὖν ὁ θεός, ὦ Δάμι, καὶ καταλιπὼν τὸ πτηνὸν ἅρμα, ἐφ' οὗ πορεύεται διακοσμῶν τὰ θεῖά τε καὶ ἀνθρώπεια, κάθηται τότε ἀθύρων τε καὶ γράφων ταῦτα, ὥσπερ οἱ παῖδες ἐν τῇ ψάμμῳ;" ἠρυθρίασεν ὁ Δάμις ἐς οὕτως ἄτοπον ἐκπεσεῖν δόξαντος τοῦ λόγου. οὐχ ὑπεριδὼν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, οὐδὲ γὰρ πικρὸς πρὸς τὰς ἐλέγξεις ἦν, "ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "βούλει λέγειν, ὦ Δάμι, τὸ ταῦτα μὲν ἄσημά τε καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε διὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φέρεσθαι τόγε ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ, ἡμᾶς δὲ φύσει τὸ μιμητικὸν ἔχοντας ἀναρρυθμίζειν τε αὐτὰ καὶ ποιεῖν;" "μᾶλλον," ἔφη, "τοῦτο ἡγώμεθα, ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, πιθανώτερον γὰρ καὶ πολλῷ βέλτιον." "διττὴ ἄρα ἡ μιμητική, ὦ Δάμι, καὶ

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to get a likeness of a dog, or a horse, or a man, or a ship, or of anything else under the sun; and what is more, you see the sun himself represented, sometimes borne upon a four horse car, as he is said to be seen here, and sometimes again traversing the heaven with his torch, in case you are depicting the ether and the home of the gods." "Then, O Damis, painting is imitation?" "And what else could it be?" said he: "for if it did not effect that, it would be voted to be an idle playing with colours." "And," said the other, "the things which are seen in heaven, whenever the clouds are torn away from one another, I mean the centaurs and stag-antelopes, yes, and the wolves too, and the horses, what have you got to say about them? Are we not to regard them as works of imitation?" "It would seem so," he replied. "Then, Damis, God is a painter, and has left his winged chariot, upon which he travels, as he disposes of affairs human and divine, and he sits down on these occasions to amuse himself by drawing these pictures, as children make figures in the sand." Damis blushed, for he felt that his argument was reduced to such an absurdity. But Apollonius, on his side, had no wish to humiliate him, for he was not unfeeling in his refutations of people, and said: "But I am sure, Damis, you did not mean that; rather that these figures flit through the heaven not only without meaning, but, so far as providence is concerned, by mere chance; while we who by nature are prone to imitation rearrange and create them in these regular figures." "We may," he said, "rather consider this to be the case, O Apollonius, for it is more probable, and a much sounder idea." "Then, O Damis, the mimetic art is

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CAP. XXII τὴν μὲν ἡγώμεθα οἵαν τῇ χειρὶ ἀπομιμεῖσθαι καὶ τῷ νῷ, γραφικὴν δὲ εἶναι ταύτην, τὴν δ' αὖ μόνῳ τῷ νῷ εἰκάζειν." "οὐ διττήν," ἔφη ὁ Δάμις, "ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν τελεωτέραν ἡγεῖσθαι προσήκει γραφικήν γε οὖσαν, ἣ δύναται καὶ τῷ νῷ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἐξεικάσαι, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ἐκείνης μόριον, ἐπειδὴ ξυνίησι μὲν καὶ μιμεῖται τῷ νῷ καὶ μὴ γραφικός τις ὤν, τῇ χειρὶ δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἐς τὸ γράφειν αὐτὰ χρήσαιτο." "ἆρα," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, πεπηρωμένος τὴν χεῖρα ὑπὸ πληγῆς τινος ἢ νόσου;" "μὰ Δί," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ μήτε γραφίδος τινὸς ἥφθαι, μήτε ὀργάνου τινὸς ἢ χρώματος, ἀλλ' ἀμαθῶς ἔχειν τοῦ γράφειν." "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, ἄμφω ὁμολογοῦμεν μιμητικὴν μὲν ἐκ φύσεως τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἥκειν, τὴν γραφικὴν δὲ ἐκ τέχνης. τουτὶ δ' ἂν καὶ περὶ τὴν πλαστικὴν φαίνοιτο. τὴν δὲ δὴ ζωγραφίαν αὐτὴν οὔ μοι δοκεῖς μόνον τὴν διὰ τῶν χρωμάτων ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ γὰρ ἓν χρῶμα ἐς αὐτὴν ἤρκεσε τοῖς γε ἀρχαιοτέροις τῶν γραφέων καὶ προϊοῦσα τεττάρων εἶτα πλειόνων ἥψατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ γραμμὴν καὶ τὸ ἄνευ χρώματος, ὃ δὴ σκιᾶς τε ξύγκειται καὶ φωτός, ζωγραφίαν προσήκει καλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁμοιότης τε ὁρᾶται εἶδός τε καὶ νοῦς καὶ αἰδὼς καὶ θρασύτης, καίτοι χηρεύει χρωμάτων ταῦτα, καὶ οὔτε αἷμα ἐνσημαίνει οὔτε κόμης τινὸς ἢ ὑπήνης ἄνθος, ἀλλὰ μονοτρόπως ξυντιθέμενα τῷ τε ξανθῷ ἀνθρώπῳ

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twofold, and we may regard the one kind as an employment of the hands and mind in producing imitations, and declare that this is painting, whereas the other kind consists in making likenesses with the mind alone." "Not twofold," replied Damis, "for we ought to regard the former as the more perfect and more complete kind being anyhow painting, and a faculty of making likenesses with the help both of mind and hand; but we must regard the other kind as a department of that, since its possessor perceives and imitates with the mind, without having the delineative faculty, and would never use his hand in depicting its objects." "Then," said Apollonius, "you mean, Damis, that the hand is disabled by a blow or by disease?" "No," he answered, "but it is disabled, because it has never handled pencil nor any instrument or colour, and has never learned to draw." "Then," said the other, "we are both of us, Damis, agreed that man owes his mimetic faculty to nature, but his power of painting to art. And the same would appear to be true of plastic art. But, methinks, you would not confine painting itself to the mere use of colours, for a single colour was often found sufficient for this purpose by our older painters; and as the art advanced, it employed four, and later, yet more; but we must also concede the name of a painting to an outline drawn without any colour at all, and composed merely of shadow and light. For in such designs we see a resemblance, we see form and expression, and modesty and bravery, although they are altogether devoid of colour; and neither blood is represented, nor the colour of a man's hair or beard; nevertheless these compositions in monochrome are likenesses of people either tawny

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ἔοικε καὶ τῷ λευκῷ, κἂν τούτων τινὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν λευκῇ τῇ γραμμῇ γράψωμεν, μέλας δήπου δόξει, τὸ γὰρ ὑπόσιμον τῆς ῥινὸς καὶ οἱ ὀρθοὶ βόστρυχοι καὶ ἡ περιττὴ γένυς καὶ ἡ περὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς οἷον ἔκπληξις μελαίνει τὰ ὁρώμενα καὶ Ἰνδὸν ὑπογράφει τοῖς γε μὴ ἀνοήτως ὁρῶσιν. ὅθεν εἴποιμ' ἂν καὶ τοὺς ὁρῶντας τὰ τῆς γραφικῆς ἔργα μιμητικῆς δεῖσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐπαινέσειέ τις τὸν γεγραμμένον ἵππον ἢ ταῦρον μὴ τὸ ζῷον ἐνθυμηθεὶς ᾧ εἴκασται, οὐδ' ἂν τὸν Αἴαντά τις τὸν Τιμομάχου ἀγασθείη, ὃς δὴ ἀναγέγραπται αὐτῷ μεμηνώς, εἰ μὴ ἀναλάβοι τι ἐς τὸν νοῦν Αἴαντος εἴδωλον καὶ ὡς εἰκὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεκτονότα τὰ ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ βουκόλια καθῆσθαι ἀπειρηκότα, βουλὴν ποιούμενον καὶ ἑαυτὸν κτεῖναι. ταυτὶ δέ, ὦ Δάμι, τὰ τοῦ Πώρου δαίδαλα μήτε χαλκευτικῆς μόνον ἀποφαινώμεθα, γεγραμμένοις γὰρ εἴκασται, μήτε γραφικῆς, ἐπειδὴ ἐχαλκεύθη, ἀλλ' ἡγώμεθα σοφίσασθαι αὐτὰ γραφικόν τε καὶ χαλκευτικὸν ἕνα ἄνδρα, οἷον δή τι παρ' Ὁμήρῳ τὸ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου περὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἀσπίδα ἀναφαίνεται. μεστὰ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων, καὶ τὴν γῆν ᾑματῶσθαι φήσεις χαλκῆν οὖσαν."

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or white, and even if we drew one of these Indians with a white pencil, yet he would seem black, for there would be his flat nose, and his stiff curling locks and prominent jaw, and a certain gleam about his eyes, to give a black look to the picture and depict an Indian to the eyes of all those who have intelligence. And for this reason I should say that those who look at works of painting and drawing require a mimetic faculty; for no one could appreciate or admire a picture of a horse or of a bull, unless he had formed an idea of the creature represented. Nor again could one admire a picture of Ajax, by the painter Timomachus, which represents him in a state of madness, unless one had conceived in one's mind first an idea or notion of Ajax, and had entertained the probability that after killing the flocks in Troy he would sit down exhausted and meditate suicide. But these elaborate works of Porus we cannot, Damis, regard as works of brass founding alone, for they resemble regular pictures, nor as works of painting alone, for they are cast in brass; so let us regard them as the *chefs d' œuvre* of a man who is both painter and brass-founder at once, and as similar to the work of Hephaestus upon the shield of Achilles, as revealed in Homer. For there are crowded together in that work too men slaying and slain, and you would say that the earth was stained with gore, though it is made of brass." CHAP XXII

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XXIII

CAP. XXIII Τοιαῦτα σπουδάζοντι τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐφίστανται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄγγελοι καὶ ἑρμηνεύς, ὡς ποιοῖτο αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ξένον ἐς τρεῖς ἡμέρας, μὴ γὰρ πλειόνων νενομίσθαι τοὺς ξένους ἐνομιλεῖν τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἠγοῦντο αὐτῷ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια. ἡ πόλις δ' ὡς μὲν ἔχει τοῦ τείχους, εἴρηκα, φασὶ δ' ὡς ἀτάκτως τε καὶ Ἀττικῶς τοὺς στενωποὺς τέτμηται κατεσκεύασταί τε οἰκίαις, εἰ μὲν ἔξωθεν ὁρῴη τις αὐτάς, ἕνα ἐχούσαις ὄροφον, εἰ δ' ἔσω παρέλθοι τις, ὑπογείοις ἤδη καὶ παρεχομέναις ἴσα τοῖς ἄνω τὰ ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ.

XXIV

CAP. XXIV Ἱερὸν δὲ ἰδεῖν Ἡλίου φασίν, ᾧ ἀνεῖτο Αἴας ἐλέφας, καὶ ἀγάλματα Ἀλεξάνδρου χρυσᾶ καὶ Πώρου ἕτερα, χαλκοῦ δ' ἦν ταῦτα μέλανος. οἱ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῖχοι, πυρσαῖς λίθοις ὑπαστράπτει χρυσὸς αὐγὴν ἐκδιδοὺς ἐοικυῖαν ἀκτῖνι. τὸ δὲ ἔδος αὐτὸ μαργαρίτιδος ξύγκειται ξυμβολικὸν τρόπον, ᾧ βάρβαροι πάντες ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ χρῶνται.

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CHAP. XXIII. Description of houses in Taxila

WHILE the sage was engaged in this conversation, messengers and an interpreter presented themselves from the king, to say that the king would make him his guest for three days,[1] because the laws did not allow of strangers residing in the city for a longer time; and accordingly they conducted him into the palace. I have already described the way in which the city is walled, but they say that it was divided up into narrow streets in the same irregular manner as is Athens, and that the houses were built in such a way that if you look at them from outside they had only one storey, while if you went into one of them, you at once found subterranean chambers extending as far below the level of the earth as did the chambers above.

XXIV

CHAP. XXIV The temple elephant Ajax, and images of Alexander

AND they say that they saw a Temple of the Sun in which was kept a sacred elephant called Ajax, and there were images of Alexander made of gold, and others of Porus, though the latter were of black bronze. But on the walls of the Temple there were red stones, and gold glittered underneath, and gave off a sheen as bright as sunlight. But the statue was compacted of pearls arranged in the symbolic manner affected by all barbarians in their shrines.

[1] Compare the proverb "Saepe dies post tres vilescit piscis et hospes," and cp. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 1901, p. 270.

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CAP. XXV Περὶ δὲ τὰ βασίλεια οὔτε ὄγκον ἰδεῖν φασιν οἰκοδομημάτων, οὔτε δορυφόρους ἢ φύλακας, ἀλλ' οἷα περὶ τὰς τῶν λαμπρῶν οἰκίας, ὀλίγους οἰκέτας καὶ διαλεχθῆναι τῷ βασιλεῖ δεομένους τρεῖς, οἶμαι, ἢ τέτταρας· καὶ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον ἀγασθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι φλεγμαίνοντα, καὶ πολλῷ πλέον ἔσω παρελθόντες· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνδρῶνας καὶ τὰς στοὰς καὶ τὴν αὐλὴν πᾶσαν κεκολάσθαι φασίν.

XXVI

CAP. XXVI Ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ φιλοσοφεῖν ὁ Ἰνδὸς καὶ παραστησάμενος τὸν ἑρμηνέα, "χαίρω," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, φιλοσοφοῦντά σε ὁρῶν." "ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπερχαίρω," ἔφη, "ἐπειδὴ οὕτω περὶ ἐμοῦ οἴει." "τουτὶ δὲ νενόμισται παρ' ὑμῖν," εἶπεν, "ἢ σὺ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιεικὲς τοῦτο τὴν ἀρχὴν κατεστήσω;" "σωφρόνως," ἔφη, "νενομισμένῳ σωφρονέστερον χρῶμαι, καὶ πλεῖστα μὲν ἔχω ἀνθρώπων, δέομαι δὲ ὀλίγων, τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν φίλων τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ ἡγοῦμαι." "μακάριε τοῦ θησαυροῦ," εἶπεν, "εἰ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἀντερύῃ τοὺς φίλους, ἐξ ὧν ἀναφύεταί σοι πολλά τε καὶ ἀγαθά." "καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς," ἔφη, "κοινωνῶ τοῦ πλούτου. τοὺς γὰρ ἀεί ποτε διαφόρους τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ βαρβάρους

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CHAP. XXV
Simplicity of the Indian king's life

And in the palace they say that they saw no magnificent chambers, nor any bodyguards or sentinels, but, as is the case in the houses of the upper class, a few servants; and only three or four of them, who required to converse with the king. And they say that they admired this arrangement more than they did the pompous splendour of Babylon, and their esteem was enhanced when they went within. For the men's chambers and the porticoes and the whole of the vestibule were in a very chaste style.

XXVI

CHAP. XXVI
The king's life and policy

So the Indian was regarded by Apollonius as a philosopher, and addressing him through an interpreter, he said: "I am delighted, O king, to find you living like a philosopher." "And I," said the other, "am over delighted that you should think of me thus." "And," said Apollonius, "is this customary among you, or was it you yourself established your government on so modest a scale?" "Our customs," said the king, "are dictated by moderation, and I am still more moderate in my carrying them out; and though I have more than other men, yet I want little, for I regard most things as belonging to my own friends." "Blessed are you then in your treasure," said Apollonius," "if you rate your friends more highly than gold and silver, for out of them grows up for you a harvest of blessings." "Nay more," said the king, "I share my wealth also with my enemies. For the barbarians who live on the

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CAP. XXVI προσοικοῦντας καὶ καταδρομαῖς χρωμένους ἐς τἀμὰ ὅρια ὑποποιοῦμαι τουτοισὶ τοῖς χρήμασι, καὶ δορυφορεῖταί μοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἡ χώρα, καὶ οὔτε αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τἀμὰ φοιτῶσι τούς τε ὁμόρους αὐτοῖς βαρβάρους ἀνείργουσι, χαλεποὺς ὄντας." ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, εἰ καὶ Πῶρος αὐτοῖς ἐτέλει χρήματα, "Πῶρος," εἶπε, "πολέμου ἦρα, ἐγὼ δὲ εἰρήνης." πάνυ τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις ἐχειροῦτο τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, καὶ οὕτως αὐτοῦ ἡττήθη, ὡς Εὐφράτῃ ποτὲ ἐπιπλήττων μὴ φιλοσοφοῦντι, "ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν Φραώτην αἰδώμεθα," φάναι, ὄνομα γὰρ τῷ Ἰνδῷ τοῦτο ἦν. σατράπου δέ, ἐπειδὴ μεγάλων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἠξιώθη, βουληθέντος αὐτὸν ἀναδῆσαι μίτρᾳ χρυσῇ κεκοσμημένῃ λίθοις ποικίλοις, "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "εἰ καὶ τῶν ζηλούντων τὰ τοιαῦτα ἦν, παρῃτησάμην ἂν αὐτὰ νῦν καὶ ἀπέρριψα τῆς κεφαλῆς Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐντυχών, οἷς δὲ μήπω πρότερον ἀναδεῖσθαι ἠξίωσα, πῶς ἂν νῦν κοσμοίμην τὸν μὲν ξένον ἀγνοήσας, ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ ἐκλαθόμενος;" ἤρετο αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ διαίτης ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὁ δέ, "οἴνου μέν," ἔφη, "πίνω τοσοῦτον, ὅσον τῷ Ἡλίῳ σπένδω, ἃ δ' ἂν ἐν θήρᾳ λάβω, ταῦτα σιτοῦνται ἕτεροι, ἐμοὶ δ' ἀπόχρη τὸ γεγυμνάσθαι. τὰ δὲ ἐμὰ σιτία λάχανα καὶ φοινίκων ἐγκέφαλοι καὶ ὁ καρπὸς τῶν φοινικῶν καὶ ὁπόσα ὁ ποταμὸς κηπεύει. πολλὰ δέ μοι καὶ ἀπὸ δένδρων φύεται, ὧν γεωργοὶ αἵδε αἱ χεῖρες." ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ὑπερήδετό τε καὶ ἐς τὸν Δάμιν θαμὰ ἐώρα.

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border of this country were perpetually quarrelling with us and making raids into my territories, but I keep them quiet and control them with money, so that my country is patrolled by them, and instead of their invading my dominions, they themselves keep off the barbarians that are on the other side of the frontier, and are difficult people to deal with." And when Apollonius asked him, whether Porus also had paid them subsidy, he replied: "Porus was as fond of war as I am of peace." By expressing such sentiments he quite disarmed Apollonius, who was so captivated by him, that once, when he was rebuking Euphrates for his want of philosophic self-respect, he remarked: "Nay, let us rather reverence Phraotes the Indian," for this was the name of the Indian. And when a satrap, for the great esteem in which he held the monarch, desired to bind on his brow a golden mitre adorned with various stones, he said: "Even if I were an admirer of such things, I should decline them now, and cast them off my head, because I have met with Apollonius. And how can I now adorn myself with ornaments which I never before deigned to bind upon my head, without ignoring my guest and forgetting myself?" Apollonius also asked him about his diet, and he replied: "I drink just as much wine as I pour out in libation to the Sun; and whatever I take in the chase I give to others to eat, for I am satisfied with the exercise I get. But my own meal consists of vegetables and of the pith and fruit of date palms, and of all that a well-watered garden yields in the way of fruit. And a great deal of fruit is yielded to me by the trees which I cultivate with these hands." When Apollonius heard this, he was more than gratified, and kept glancing at Damis.

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Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱκανῶς διελέχθησαν περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς παρὰ τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας, τὸν μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου ἡγεμόνα ἐκέλευσε ξενίζειν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει τοὺς ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἥκοντας, τὸν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ σατράπου ἀπιέναι λαβόντα ἐφόδια, αὐτὸς δὲ λαβόμενος τῆς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου χειρός, καὶ κελεύσας ἀπελθεῖν τὸν ἑρμηνέα, "ἆρ' ἄν," ἔφη, "ποιήσαιό με συμπότην;" ἤρετο δ' αὐτὸν φωνῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου καί, "τοῦ χάριν οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὕτω διελέγου;" φήσαντος, "ἔδεισα," ἔφη, "θρασὺς δόξαι μὴ γιγνώσκων ἐμαυτόν, μηδ' ὅτι βάρβαρον εἶναί με δοκεῖ τῇ τύχῃ, σοῦ δὲ ἡττηθείς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ σὲ ὁρῶ ἐμοὶ χαίροντα, οὐκ ἠδυνήθην ἐμαυτὸν κρύπτειν, ὡς δὲ μεστός εἰμι τῆς Ἑλλήνων φωνῆς, ἐν πολλοῖς δηλώσω." "τί οὖν," εἶπεν, "οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐπήγγειλας ἐμοὶ τὸ συμπόσιον, ἀλλ' ἐμέ σοι κελεύεις ἐπαγγέλλειν;" "ὅτι σε," ἔφη, "βελτίω ἐμαυτοῦ ἡγοῦμαι, τὸ γὰρ βασιλικώτερον σοφία ἔχει." καὶ ἅμα ἦγεν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτόν, οὓπερ εἰώθει λοῦσθαι. τὸ δὲ βαλανεῖον παράδεισος ἦν σταδίου μῆκος, ᾧ μέση κολυμβήθρα ἐνωρώρυκτο πηγὰς ἐκδεχομένη ποτίμου τε καὶ ψυχροῦ ὕδατος, τὰ δὲ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα δρόμοι ἦσαν, ἐν οἷς ἀκοντίῳ τε καὶ δίσκῳ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν τρόπον

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XXVII

CHAP. XXVII

The Brahmans

AND when they had conversed a good deal about which road to take to the Brahmans, the king ordered the guide from Babylon to be well entertained, as it was customary so to treat those who came from Babylon; and the guide from the satrap, to be dismissed after being given provisions for the road. Then he took Apollonius by the hand, and having bidden the interpreter to depart, he said: "You will then, I hope, choose me for your boon companion." And he asked the question of him in the Greek tongue. But Apollonius was surprised, and remarked: "Why did you not converse with me thus, from the beginning?" "I was afraid," said the king, "of seeming presumptuous, for I do not know myself, not to mention the fact that I am a barbarian by decree of fate; but you have won my affection, and as soon as I saw that you take pleasure in my society, I was unable to keep myself concealed. But that I am quite competent in the Greek speech I will show you amply." "Why then," said Apollonius, "did you not invite me to the banquet, instead of begging me to invite you?" "Because," he replied, "I regard you as my superior, for wisdom has more of the kingly quality about it." And with that he led him and his companions to where he was accustomed to bathe. And the bathing-place was a garden, a stade in length, in the middle of which was dug out a pool, which was fed by fountains of water, cold and drinkable; and on each side there were exercising places, in which he was accustomed to practise himself after the manner

Apollonius talks Greek with him

The king's bath

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CAP. XXVII ἑαυτὸν ἐξήσκει, καὶ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἔρρωτο ὑπό τε ἡλικίας—ἑπτὰ γὰρ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονὼς ἦν—ὑπό τε τοῦ ὧδε γυμνάζεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱκανῶς ἔχοι ἐπήδα ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἐγύμναζεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ νεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἐλούσαντο, ἐβάδιζον ἐς τὸ συσσίτιον ἐστεφανωμένοι, τουτὶ δὲ νενόμισται Ἰνδοῖς, ἐπειδὰν ἐς τοῦ βασιλέως πίνωσιν.

XXVIII

CAP. XXVIII Ἄξιον δὲ μηδὲ τὸ σχῆμα παραλιπεῖν τοῦ πότου σαφῶς γε ἀναγεγραμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμιδος· εὐωχεῖται μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ στιβάδος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τῶν ξυγγενῶν μέχρι πέντε οἱ ἐγγύς, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐν θάκοις συσσιτοῦσι. τράπεζα δέ, ὥσπερ βωμὸς ὕψος ἐς γόνυ ἀνδρὸς ἐξῳκοδόμηται μέση, κύκλον ἐπέχουσα χοροῦ ξυμβεβλημένου ἀνδρῶν τριάκοντα, ἐφ' ἧς δάφναι τε διαστρώννυνται καὶ κλῶνες ἕτεροι παραπλήσιοι μὲν τῇ μυρρίνῃ, φέροντες δὲ Ἰνδοῖς μύρον. ἐνταῦθα διάκεινται ἰχθῦς μὲν καὶ ὄρνιθες, διάκεινται δὲ λέοντές τε ὅλοι καὶ δορκάδες καὶ σύες καὶ τίγρεων ὀσφύες, τὰ γὰρ λοιπὰ τοῦ θηρίου παραιτοῦνται ἐσθίειν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ζῷον τοῦτό, φασιν, ὅταν πρῶτον γένηται, τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους τῶν ποδῶν ἀνίσχοντι αἴρειν τῷ Ἡλίῳ. καὶ ἀνιστάμενος ὁ δαιτυμὼν φοιτᾷ πρὸς τὴν τράπεζαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνελόμενος τούτων, τὰ δὲ

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of the Greeks with javelin and quoit-throwing; for physically he was very robust, both because he was still young, for he was only seven-and-twenty years old, and because he trained himself in this way. And when he had had enough exercise, he would jump into the water and exercised himself in swimming. But when they had taken their bath, they proceeded into the banqueting chamber with wreaths upon their heads; for this is the custom of the Indians, whenever they drink wine in the palace. CHAP. XXVII

XXVIII

CHAP. XXVIII

The Royal Banquet

And I must on no account omit to describe the arrangement of the banquet, since this has been clearly described and recorded by Damis. The king then banquets lying upon a mattress, and as many as five of his nearest relations with him; but all the rest join in the feast sitting upon chairs. And the table resembles an altar in that it is built up to the height of a man's knee in the middle of the chamber, and allows room for thirty to dispose themselves around it like a choir in a close circle. Upon it laurels are strewn, and other branches which are similar to the myrtle, but yield to the Indians their balm. Upon it are served up fish and birds, and there are also laid upon it whole lions and gazelles and swine and the loins of tigers; for they decline to eat the other parts of this animal, because they say that, as soon as it is born, it lifts up its front paws to the rising Sun. Next, the master of ceremonies rises and goes to the table, and he selects some of the viands for himself, and cuts off other portions, and then he goes

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CAP. XXVIII ἀποτεμών, ἀπελθὼν ἐς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θᾶκον ἐμπίπλαται, θαμινὰ ἐπεσθίων τοῦ ἄρτου. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἱκανῶς ἔχωσιν, ἐσφέρονται κρατῆρες ἀργυροῖ τε καὶ χρυσοῖ, δέκα συμπόταις ἀποχρῶν εἷς, ἀφ' ὧν πίνουσι κύψαντες, ὥσπερ ποτιζόμενοι. μεταξὺ δὲ πίνοντες ἐπεσάγονται ἀγερωχίας ἐπικινδύνους καὶ οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ σπουδάζειν· παῖς γάρ τις, ὥσπερ ὁ τῶν ὀρχηστρίδων, ἀνερριπτεῖτο κούφως συναφιεμένου αὐτῷ βέλους ἐς τὸ ἄνω, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς γένοιτο, ἐκυβίστα ὁ παῖς ὑπεραίρων ἑαυτὸν τοῦ βέλους, καὶ ἁμαρτόντι τοῦ κυβιστᾶν ἕτοιμα ἦν βεβλῆσθαι· ὁ γὰρ τοξότης πρὶν ἀφιέναι περιῄει τοὺς ξυμπότας ἐπιδεικνὺς τὴν ἀκίδα καὶ διδοὺς ἔλεγχον τοῦ βέλους. καὶ τὸ διὰ σφενδόνης δὲ τοξεῦσαι καὶ τὸ ἐς τρίχα ἰέναι, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σκιαγραφῆσαι βέλεσιν ἀνεστῶτα πρὸς σανίδα, σπουδάζουσιν ἐν τοῖς πότοις, καὶ κατορθοῦσιν αὐτὰ μεθύοντες.

XXIX

CAP. XXIX Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὸν Δάμιν ἐξεπλήττοντο αὐτὰ ὡς εὔσκοπα, καὶ τὴν ξυμμετρίαν τῆς τοξείας ἐθαύμαζον, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, ξυνεσίτει γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὁμοδιαίτῳ ὄντι, τούτοις μὲν ἧττον προσεῖχε, πρὸς δὲ τὸν βασιλέα, "εἰπέ μοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "πόθεν οὕτως ἔχεις φωνῆς Ἑλλάδος, φιλοσοφία τε ἡ περὶ

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back to his own chair and eats his full, constantly munching bread with it. And when they have all had enough, goblets of silver and gold are brought in, each of which is enough for ten banqueters, and out of these they drink, stooping down like animals that are being watered. And while they are drinking, they have brought in performers of various dangerous feats, requiring elaborate preparation. For a boy, like a theatrical dancer, would throw a light somersault, and at the same moment a javelin was aimed at him, up in the air, and when he was a long way from the ground, the boy would, by a tumblers' leap, raise himself above the weapon, and if he missed his leap, he was sure to be hit. For the archer, before he let fly, went round the banqueters and showed them the point of his weapon, and let them try the missile themselves. And another man would take a sling and aiming within a hair's breadth would shoot at his own son, and pick out his figure with the missiles as he stood erect against a hoarding. Such are their forms of entertainment in their banquets, and they aim straight, even when they are drunk.

CHAP. XXVIII

Tumblers' feats at the banquet

XXIX

WELL, the companions of Damis marvelled at the accuracy of their eye, and were surprised at the exactness with which they aimed their weapons; but Apollonius, who was eating beside the king cheek by jowl, was less interested in these feats and said to the king: "Tell me, O King, how you acquired such a command of the Greek tongue,

CHAP. XXIX

The king expounds Indian philosophical training

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CAP. XXIX σὲ πόθεν ἐνταῦθα; οὐ γὰρ ἐς διδασκάλους γε οἶμαι ἀναφέρειν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ εἶναί τινας ἐν Ἰνδοῖς εἰκὸς διδασκάλους τούτου." γελάσας οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς, "οἱ μὲν παλαιοί," ἔφη, "τὰς ἐρωτήσεις τῶν καταπλεόντων ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ λῃσταί εἰσιν, οὕτως αὐτὸ καίτοι χαλεπὸν ὂν κοινὸν ἡγοῦντο, ὑμεῖς δέ μοι δοκεῖτε τοὺς ἐπιφοιτῶντας ὑμῖν ἐρωτᾶν, μὴ φιλόσοφοί εἰσιν, οὕτως αὐτὸ καίτοι θειότατον τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὂν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσιν ὑπάρχειν οἴεσθε. καὶ ὅτι μὲν παρ' ὑμῖν ταὐτὸν τῷ λῃστεύειν ἐστίν, οἶδα, ὁμοίῳ μὲν γὰρ σοὶ ἀνδρὶ οὔ φασιν εἶναι ἐντυχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πολλούς, ὥσπερ σκυλεύσαντας αὐτὸ ἑτέρων περιβεβλῆθαί τε ἀναρμόστως, καὶ σοβεῖν ἀλλοτρίαν ἐσθῆτα ἐπισύροντας· καὶ νὴ Δί', ὥσπερ οἱ λῃσταὶ τρυφῶσιν εἰδότες ὅτι ὑπὸ τῇ δίκῃ κεῖνται, οὕτω κἀκείνους φασὶ γαστρί τε διδόναι καὶ ἀφροδισίοις καὶ ἀμπεχόνῃ λεπτῇ. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον· νόμοι ὑμῖν, οἶμαι, εἰσίν, εἰ μὲν τὸ νόμισμα παραφθείροι τις, ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτόν, καὶ παιδίον εἴ τις παρεγγράφοι, ἢ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι ἐπὶ τούτῳ, τοὺς δὲ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὑποβαλλομένους ἢ παραφθείροντας οὐδείς, οἶμαι, νόμος παρ' ὑμῖν ἴσχει, οὐδὲ ἀρχή τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τέτακται.

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and whence you derived all your philosophical attainments in this place? For I don't imagine that you owe them to teachers, for it is not likely that there are, in India, any who could teach it." The king then smiled and said: "Our ancestors used to ask questions of mariners who sailed to their coast, to see whether they were pirates, so widespread did they consider that calling to be in spite of its cruelty; but so far as I can make out, you Greeks ask your visitors whether they are not philosophers, so convinced are you that everyone you meet with must needs possess this divinest of human attainments. And that philosophy and piracy are one and the same thing among you, I am well aware; for they say that a man like yourself is not to be found anywhere; but that most of your philosophers are like people who have despoiled another man of his garment and then have dressed themselves up in it, although it does not fit them, and proceed to strut about trailing another man's garment. Nay, by Zeus, just as robbers live in luxury, well knowing that they lie at the mercy of justice, so are they, it is said, addicted to gluttony and riotous living and to delicate apparel. And the reason is this: you have laws, I believe, to the effect that if a man is caught forging money, he must die, and the same if anyone illegally enrolls a boy upon the register and all the rest of it, I know not what; but people who utter a counterfeit philosophy or corrupt her are not, I believe, restrained among you by any law, nor is any authority set to suppress them.

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CAP. XXX Παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ ὀλίγοι μὲν τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν ἅπτονται, δοκιμάζονται δὲ ὧδε· χρὴ τὸν νέον, ἐπειδὰν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονὼς τύχῃ, τουτὶ δ', οἶμαι, καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐφήβου μέτρον, ὑπὲρ τὸν Τφασιν ποταμὸν ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς σὺ ὥρμηκας, εἰπόντα δημοσίᾳ πρότερον ὅτι φιλοσοφήσοι, ἵν' ᾖ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξείργειν αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ καθαρὸς φοιτῴη. καθαρὸν δὲ λέγω πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἐς πατέρα καὶ μητέρα ἥκον, μὴ περὶ αὐτοὺς ὄνειδός τι ἀναφαίνοιτο, εἶθ' οἱ τούτων γονεῖς καὶ τρίτον γένος ἐς ἄνω, μὴ ὑβριστής τις ἢ ἀκρατὴς ἢ χρηματιστὴς ἄδικος. ὅταν δὲ μηδεμία οὐλὴ περὶ τούτους ἀναφαίνηται, μηδὲ στίγμα ὅλως μηδέν, αὐτὸν ἤδη διορᾶν τὸν νέον καὶ βασανίζειν, πρῶτον μέν, εἰ μνημονικός, εἶτα, εἰ κατὰ φύσιν αἰδήμων, ἀλλὰ μὴ πλαττόμενος τοῦτο, μὴ μεθυστικὸς μὴ λίχνος μὴ ἀλαζὼν μὴ φιλόγελως μὴ θρασὺς μὴ φιλολοίδορος, εἰ πατρὸς ὑπήκοος εἰ μητρὸς εἰ διδασκάλων εἰ παιδαγωγῶν, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, εἰ μὴ κακὸς περὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὥραν. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν γειναμένων αὐτὸν καὶ οἳ ἐκείνους ἐγείναντο, ἐκ μαρτύρων ἀναλέγονται καὶ γραμμάτων, ἃ δημοσίᾳ κεῖται. ἐπειδὰν γὰρ τελευτήσῃ ὁ Ἰνδός, φοιτᾷ ἐπὶ θύρας αὐτοῦ μία ἀρχὴ τεταγμένη ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀναγράφειν αὐτόν, ὡς ἐβίω, καὶ ψευσα-

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CHAP. XXX

Now among us few engage in philosophy, and they are sifted and tried as follows: A young man so soon as he reaches the age of eighteen, and this I think is accounted the time of full age among you also, must pass across the river Hyphasis to the men whom you are set upon visiting, after first making a public statement that he will become a philosopher, so that those who wish to may exclude him, if he does not approach the study in a state of purity. And by pure I mean, firstly, in respect of his parentage, that no disgraceful deed can be proved against either his father or his mother; next that their parents in turn, up to the third generation, are equally pure, that there was no ruffian among them, no debauchee, nor any unjust usurer. And when no scar or reproach can be proved against them, nor any other stain whatever, then it is time narrowly to inspect the young man himself and test him, to see firstly, whether he has a good memory, and secondly, whether he is modest and reserved in disposition, and does not merely pretend to be so, whether he is addicted to drink, or greedy, or a quack, or a buffoon, or rash, or abusive, to see whether he is obedient to his father, to his mother, to his teachers, to his school-masters, and above all, if he makes no bad use of his personal attractions. The particulars then of his parents and of their progenitors are gathered from witnesses and from the public archives. For whenever an Indian dies, there visits his house a particular authority charged by the law to make a record of him, and of how he

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CAP. XXX μένῳ ἢ ψευσθέντι τῷ ἄρχοντι ἐπιτιμῶσιν οἱ νόμοι μὴ ἄρξαι αὐτὸν ἔτι ἀρχὴν μηδεμίαν, ὡς παραποιήσαντα βίον ἀνθρώπου, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐφήβων ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁρῶντες ἀναμανθάνουσι· πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἠθῶν ἑρμηνεύουσι, πολλὰ δ' ἐν ὀφρύσι καὶ παρειαῖς κεῖται γνωματεύειν τε καὶ θεωρεῖν, ἀφ' ὧν σοφοί τε καὶ φυσικοὶ ἄνδρες, ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ εἴδωλα, τοὺς νοῦς τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαθεῶνται. μεγάλων γὰρ δὴ ἀξιουμένης φιλοσοφίας ἐνταῦθα, καὶ τιμὴν τούτου παρ' Ἰνδοῖς ἔχοντος, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἐκβασανίζεσθαί τε τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἰόντας ἐλέγχοις τε ὑποβεβλῆσθαι μυρίοις. ὡς μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ διδασκάλοις αὐτὸ ποιούμεθα καὶ ἐς δοκιμασίαν ἡμῖν τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν ἥκει, σαφῶς εἴρηκα, τοὐμὸν δὲ ὧδε ἔχει.

XXXI

CAP. XXXI Ἐγὼ μὲν πάππου βασιλέως ἐγενόμην, ὃς ἦν μοι ὁμώνυμος, πατρὸς δὲ ἰδιώτου· καταλειφθεὶς γὰρ κομιδῇ νέος ἐπίτροποι μὲν αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο δύο τῶν ξυγγενῶν κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Ἰνδῶν νόμους, ἔπραττον δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὰ βασιλικὰ οὐ χρηστῶς, μὰ τὸν Ἥλιον, οὐδὲ ξυμμέτρως, ὅθεν βαρεῖς τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐφαίνοντο καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ κακῶς ἤκουε. ξυστάντες οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῶν δυνατῶν τινες ἐπιτίθενταί σφισιν ἐν ἑορτῇ καὶ

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lived, and if this officer lies or allows himself to be deceived, he is condemned by the law and forbidden ever to hold another office, on the ground that he has counterfeited a man's life. But the particulars of the youths themselves are duly learnt by inspection of them. For in many cases a man's eyes reveal the secrets of his character, and in many cases there is material for forming a judgment and appraising his value in his eyebrows and cheeks, for from these features the dispositions of people can be detected by wise and scientific men, as images are seen in a looking-glass. For seeing that philosophy is highly esteemed in this country, and it is held in honour by the Indians, it is absolutely necessary that those who take to it should be tested and subjected to a thousand modes of proof. That then we proceed thus in the case of teachers, and put their philosophical aptitude to a test, I have clearly explained; and now I will relate to you my own history. CHAP. XXX

XXXI

CHAP. XXXI

And relates his history to Apollonius

My grandfather was king, and had the same name as myself; but my father was a private person. For he was left quite young, and two of his relations were appointed his guardians in accordance with the laws of the Indians. But they did not carry on the king's government honestly on his behalf. No, by the Sun, but so unfairly that their subjects found their regime oppressive and the government fell into bad repute. A conspiracy then was formed against them by some of the magnates, who attacked them

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CAP. XXXI κτείνουσι τῷ Ἰνδῷ θύοντας, αὐτοί τε ἐπεσπηδήσαντες τῷ ἄρχειν ξυνέσχον τὰ κοινά. δείσαντες οὖν οἱ ξυγγενεῖς περὶ τῷ πατρὶ μήπω ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονότι πέμπουσιν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τὸν Τφασιν παρὰ τὸν ἐκεῖ βασιλέα. πλειόνων δὲ ἢ ἐγὼ ἄρχει καὶ εὐδαίμων ἡ χώρα παρὰ πολὺ τῆς ἐνταῦθα. βουλομένου δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως παῖδα ποιεῖσθαι, τουτὶ μὲν παρῃτήσατο φήσας μὴ φιλονεικεῖν τῇ τύχῃ ἀφῃρημένῃ αὐτὸν τὸ ἄρχειν, ἐδεήθη δ' αὐτοῦ ξυγχωρῆσαί οἱ φιλοσοφῆσαι βαδίσαντι παρὰ τοὺς σοφούς, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ῥᾷον καρτερῆσαι τὰ οἴκοι κακά. βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ κατάγειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχήν, "εἰ γνησίως," ἔφη, "φιλοσοφοῦντα αἴσθοιο, κάταγε, εἰ δὲ μή, ἔα με οὕτως ἔχειν." αὐτὸς οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἥκων παρὰ τοὺς σοφοὺς μεγάλων ἂν ἔφη παρ' αὐτῶν τυχεῖν, εἰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπιμεληθεῖεν γενναίου τὴν φύσιν ἤδη ὄντος, οἱ δὲ κατιδόντες τι ἐν αὐτῷ πλέον ἠσπάσαντο προσδοῦναί οἱ τῆς αὐτῶν σοφιας, καὶ προθύμως ἐπαίδευον προσκείμενον πάνυ τῷ μανθάνειν. ἑβδόμῳ δὲ ἔτει νοσῶν ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐτελεύτα, μεταπέμπεται αὐτὸν καὶ κοινωνὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποφαίνει τῷ υἱῷ, τήν τε θυγατέρα ὁμολογεῖ πρὸς ὥραν οὖσαν, ὁ δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως υἱὸν εἶδε κολάκων καὶ οἴνου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν ἥττω μεστόν τε ὑποψιῶν πρὸς αὐτόν, "σὺ μέν," ἔφη, "ταῦτ' ἔχε

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at a festival and slew them when they were sacri- CHAP. XXXI
ficing to the river Indus. The conspirators then seized upon the reins of government and held the State together. Now my father's kinsmen entertained apprehensions for him, because he was not yet sixteen years of age, so they sent him across the Hyphasis to the king there. And he has more subjects than I have, and his country is much more fertile than this one. This monarch wished to adopt him, but this my father declined on the ground that he would not struggle with fate that had robbed him of his kingdom; but he besought him to allow him to take his way to the sages and become a philosopher, for he said that this would make it easier for him to bear the reverses of his house. The king however being anxious to restore him to his father's kingdom, my father said: "If you see that I am become a genuine philosopher, then restore me; but if not, let me remain as I am." The king accordingly went in person to the sages, and said that he would lie under great obligation to them if they would take care of a youth who already showed such nobility of character, and they, discerning in him something out of the common run, were delighted to impart to him their wisdom, and were glad to educate him when they saw how addicted he was to learning. Now seven years afterwards the king fell sick, and at the very moment when he was dying, he sent for my father, and appointed him co-heir in the government with his own son, and promised his daughter in marriage to him as she was already of marriageable age. And my father, since he saw that the king's son was the victim of flatterers and of wine and of such like vices, and was also full of suspicions of himself, said to

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CAP. XXXI καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπάσης ἐμφοροῦ, καὶ γὰρ εὔηθες μηδὲ τὴν προσήκουσαν ἑαυτῷ βασιλείαν κτήσασθαι δυνηθέντα θρασέως δοκεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν μὴ προσήκουσαν ἥκειν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὴν ἀδελφὴν δίδου, τουτὶ γὰρ μόνον ἀπόχρη μοι τῶν σῶν." καὶ λαβὼν τὸν γάμον ἔζη πλησίον τῶν σοφῶν ἐν κώμαις ἑπτὰ εὐδαίμοσιν, ἃς ἐπέδωκε τῇ ἀδελφῇ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐς ζώνην. γίγνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ τοῦ γάμου τούτου καί με ὁ πατὴρ τὰ Ἑλλήνων παιδεύσας ἄγει παρὰ τοὺς σοφοὺς πρὸ ἡλικίας ἴσως, δώδεκα γάρ μοι τότε ἦν ἔτη, οἱ δὲ ἔτρεφον ἴσα καὶ ἑαυτῶν παῖδα, οὓς γὰρ ἂν ὑποδέξωνται τὴν Ἑλλήνων φωνὴν εἰδότας, ἀγαπῶσι μᾶλλον, ὡς ἐς τὸ ὁμόηθες αὐτοῖς ἥδη προσήκοντας.

XXXII

CAP. XXXII Ἀποθανόντων δέ μοι καὶ τῶν γονέων οὐ μεταπολὺ ἀλλήλων, αὐτοί με βαδίσαντα ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας ἐκέλευσαν ἐπιμεληθῆναι τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ γεγονότα ἐννεακαίδεκα ἔτη. τὰς μὲν οὖν κώμας ἀφῄρητό με ἤδη ὁ χρηστὸς θεῖος καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ γῄδιά μοι ὑπέλιπε τὰ κεκτημένα τῷ πατρί, πάντα γὰρ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῇ προσήκειν αὐτά, ἐμὲ δ' ἂν μεγάλων παρ' αὐτοῦ τυχεῖν, εἴ με ἐᾷη ζῆν. ἔρανον οὖν ξυλλεξάμενος παρὰ τῶν τῆς μητρὸς ἀπελευθέρων ἀκολούθους εἶχον τέτταρας. καί μοι ἀναγιγνώσκοντι τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας τὸ δρᾶμα, ἐπέστη τις ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιστολὴν φέρων παρὰ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιτηδείου τῷ πατρί, ὅς με ἐκέλευσε διαβάντα τὸν Τδραώτην

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him: "Do you keep all this and enjoy the whole Empire as your own; for it is ridiculous that one who could not even keep the kingdom which belonged to him should presume to meddle with one which does not; but give me your sister, for this is all I want of yours." So having obtained her in marriage he lived hard by the sages in seven fertile villages which the king bestowed upon his sister as her pin-money. I then am the issue of this marriage, and my father after teaching me Greek brought me to the sages at an age, somewhat too early perhaps, for I was only twelve at the time, but they brought me up like their own son; for any that they admit knowing the Greek tongue they are especially fond of, because they consider that in virtue of the similarity of his disposition he already belongs to themselves. CHAP. XXXI

XXXII

CHAP. XXXII

His restoration to his grandfather's throne

And when my parents had died, which they did almost together, the sages bade me repair to the villages and look after my own affairs, for I was now nineteen years of age. But, alas, my good uncle had already taken away the villages, and didn't even leave me the few acres my father had acquired; for he said that the whole of them belonged to his kingdom, and that I should get more than I deserved if he spared my life. I accordingly raised a subscription among my mother's freedmen, and kept four retainers. And one day when I was reading the play called "The Children of Hercules," a man presented himself from my own country bringing a letter from a person devoted to my father, who urged me to cross

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CAP. XXXII ποταμὸν ξυγγίγνεσθαί οἱ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐνταῦθα, πολλὰς γὰρ ἐλπίδας εἶναί μοι ἀνακτήσασθαι αὐτὴν μὴ ἐλινύοντι. τὸ μὲν δὴ δρᾶμα θεῶν τις οἶμαι ἐπὶ νοῦν ἤγαγε καὶ εἰπόμην τῇ φήμῃ, διαβὰς δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν μὲν ἕτερον τῶν βεβιασμένων ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τεθνάναι ἤκουσα, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις πολιορκεῖσθαι τούτοις. ἐχώρουν δὴ ξυντείνων καὶ βοῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, δι' ὧν ἔστειχον, ὡς ὁ τοῦ δεῖνος εἴην υἱὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἴοιμι, οἱ δὲ χαίροντές τε καὶ ἀσπαζόμενοί με προὔπεμπον παραπλήσιον ἡγούμενοι τῷ πάππῳ, ἐγχειρίδιά τε ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ τόξα, καὶ πλείους ἀεὶ ἐγιγνόμεθα, καὶ προσελθόντα ταῖς πύλαις οὕτω τι ἄσμενοι ἐδέξαντο οἱ ἐνταῦθα, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ἡλίου δᾷδας ἁψάμενοι πρὸ πυλῶν τε ἥκειν καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι δεῦρο ἐφυμνοῦντες πολλὰ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ πάππῳ, τὸν δὲ ἔσω κηφῆνα πέριξ τὸ τεῖχος ἔκλησαν καίτοι ἐμοῦ παραιτουμένου μὴ τοιῷδε τρόπῳ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν."

XXXIII

CAP. XXXIII Ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "Ἡρακλειδῶν," ἔφη, "κάθοδον ἀτεχνῶς διελήλυθας, καὶ ἐπαινετέοι οἱ θεοὶ τῆς διανοίας, ὅτι γενναίῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ στείχοντι ξυνήραντο τῆς καθόδου. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό μοι περὶ τῶν σοφῶν εἰπέ· οὐ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ποτὲ ἐγένοντο οὗτοι καὶ ἀναχθέντες

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the river Hydraotes and confer with him about my present kingdom; for he said there was a good prospect of my recovering it, if I wavered not. I cannot but think that some god set me on reading this drama at the moment, and I followed the omen; and having crossed the river I learnt that one of the usurpers of the kingdom was dead, and that the other was besieged in this very palace. Accordingly I hurried forward, and proclaimed to the inhabitants of the villages through which I passed that I was the son of so and so, naming my father, and that I was come to take possession of my own kingdom; but they received me with open arms and escorted me, recognising my resemblance to my grandfather, and they had daggers and weapons, and our numbers increased from day to day. And when I approached the gates the population received me with such enthusiasm that they snatched up torches off the altar of the Sun and came before the gates and escorted me hither with many hymns in praise of my father and grandfather. But the drone that was within they walled up, although I protested against his being put to such a death."

CHAP. XXXII

XXXIII

HERE Apollonius interrupted and said: "You have exactly played the part of the restored sons of Hercules in the play, and praised be the gods who have helped so noble a man to come by his own and restored you by their providential intervention. But tell me this about these sages: were they not once actually subject to Alexander, and were they not brought before him

CHAP. XXXIII

The castle of the Brahman Sages never visited by Alexander

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CAP. XXXIII αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐφιλοσόφησαν;" "Ὀξυδράκαι," ἔφη, "ἐκεῖνοι ἦσαν, τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἐλευθεριάζει τε ἀεὶ καὶ πολεμικῶς ἐξήρτυται, σοφίαν τε μεταχειρίζεσθαί φασιν οὐδὲν χρηστὸν εἰδότες· οἱ δὲ ἀτεχνῶς σοφοὶ κεῖνται μὲν τοῦ Ὑφάσιδος καὶ τοῦ Γάγγου μέσοι, τὴν δὲ χώραν ταύτην οὐδὲ ἐπῆλθεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὔτι που τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ δείσας, ἀλλ', οἶμαι, τὰ ἱερὰ ἀπεσήμηνεν αὐτῷ. εἰ δὲ καὶ διέβη τὸν Ὑφασιν καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς γῆν ἠδυνήθη ἐλεῖν, ἀλλὰ τήν γε τύρσιν, ἣν ἐκεῖνοι κατοικοῦσιν, οὐδ' ἂν μυρίους μὲν Ἀχιλλέας, τρισμυρίους δὲ Αἴαντας ἄγων ποτὲ ἐχειρώσατο· οὐ γὰρ μάχονται τοῖς προσελθοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ διοσημίαις τε καὶ σκηπτοῖς βάλλοντες ἀποκρούονται σφᾶς ἱεροὶ καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ὄντες· τὸν γοῦν Ἡρακλέα τὸν Αἰγύπτιον καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ξὺν ὅπλοις διαδραμόντας τὸ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος φασὶ μέν ποτε ἐλάσαι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἅμα μηχανάς τε παλαμήσασθαι καὶ τοῦ χωρίου ἀποπειρᾶσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀντιπράττειν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀτρεμεῖν, ὡς ἐκείνοις ἐφαίνοντο, ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτοὶ προσῄεσαν, πρηστῆρες αὐτοὺς ἀπεώσαντο καὶ βρονταὶ κάτω στρεφόμεναι καὶ ἐμπίπτουσαι τοῖς ὅπλοις, τήν τε ἀσπίδα χρυσῆν οὖσαν ἀποβαλεῖν ἐκεῖ λέγεται ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, καὶ πεποίηνται αὐτὴν ἀνάθημα οἱ σοφοὶ διά τε τὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους δόξαν, διά τε τὸ ἐκτύπωμα τῆς ἀσπίδος· αὐτὸς γὰρ πεποίηται ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὁρίζων τὰ Γάδειρα καὶ τὰ ὄρη στήλας ποιούμενος τόν τε Ὠκεανὸν ἐς τὰ ἔσω

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to philosophise about the heavens?" "Those were the Oxydrakae," he said, "but this race has always been independent and well equipped for war; and they say that they attempted, yet never acquired any real knowledge of wisdom. But the genuine sages live between the Hyphasis and the Ganges, in a country which Alexander never reached; not I imagine because he was afraid of what was in it, but, I think, because the omens warned him against it. But if he had crossed the Hyphasis, and had been able to take the surrounding country, he could certainly never have taken possession of their castle in which they live, not even if he had had ten thousand like Achilles, and thirty thousand like Ajax behind him; for they do not do battle with those who approach them, but they repulse them with prodigies and thunderbolts which they send forth, for they are holy men and beloved of the gods. It is related, anyhow, that Hercules of Egypt and Dionysus after they had overrun the Indian people with their arms, at last attacked them in company, and that they constructed engines of war, and tried to take the place by assault; but the sages, instead of taking the field against them, lay quiet and passive, as it seemed to the enemy; but as soon as the latter approached they were driven off by rockets of fire and thunderbolts which were hurled obliquely from above and fell upon their armour. It was on that occasion, they say, that Hercules lost his golden shield, and the sages dedicated it as an offering, partly out of respect for Hercules' reputation, and partly because of the reliefs upon the shield. For in these Hercules is represented fixing the frontier of the world at Gadira, and turning the

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CAP. XXXIII ἐπισπώμενος, ὅθεν δηλοῦται μὴ τὸν Θηβαῖον Ἡρακλέα, τὸν δὲ Αἰγύπτιον ἐπὶ τὰ Γάδειρα ἐλθεῖν καὶ ὁριστὴν γενέσθαι τῆς γῆς."

XXXIV

CAP. XXXIV Τοιαῦτα διαλεγομένων αὐτῶν ἐπῆλθεν ὁ ὕμνος αὐλῷ ἅμα, ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὸν βασιλέα, ὅ τι ἐθέλοι ὁ κῶμος, "Ἰνδοί," ἔφη, "παραινέσεις τῷ βασιλεῖ ἄδουσιν, ἐπειδὰν πρὸς τῷ καθεύδειν γίγνηται, ὀνείρασί τε ἀγαθοῖς χρῆσθαι χρηστόν τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ εὐξύμβολον τοῖς ὑπηκόοις." "πῶς οὖν," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, διάκεισαι πρὸς ταῦτα; σὲ γάρ που αὐλοῦσιν." "οὐ καταγελῶ," ἔφη, "δεῖ γὰρ προσίεσθαι αὐτὰ τοῦ νόμου ἕνεκεν, παραινέσεως μέντοι μηδεμιᾶς δεῖσθαι, ὅσα γὰρ ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς μετρίως τε καὶ χρηστῶς πράττῃ, ταῦτα ἑαυτῷ δήπου χαριεῖται μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις."

XXXV

CAP. XXXV Τοιαῦτα διαλεχθέντες, ἀνεπαύσαντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ὑπεφαίνετο, αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον, ᾧ ἐνεκάθευδον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, καὶ τὸν σκίμποδα ἐπιψηλαφήσας προσεῖπέ

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mountains into pillars, and confining the ocean within its bounds. Thence it is clear that it was not the Theban Hercules, but the Egyptian one, that came to Gadira, and fixed the limits of the world." CHAP. XXXIII

XXXIV

WHILE they were thus talking, the strain of the hymn sung to the flute fell upon their ears, and Apollonius asked the king what was the meaning of their ode. "The Indians," he answered, "sing their admonitions to the king, at the moment of his going to bed; and they pray that he may have good dreams, and rise up propitious and affable towards his subjects." "And how," said Apollonius, "do you, O king, feel in regard to this matter? For it is yourself I suppose that they honour with their pipes." "I don't laugh at them," he said, "for I must allow it because of the law, although I do not require any admonition of the kind: for in so far as a king behaves himself with moderation and integrity, he will bestow, I imagine, favours on himself rather than on his subjects." CHAP. XXXIV The Hymn to the king

XXXV

AFTER this conversation they laid themselves down to repose; but when the day dawned, the king himself went to the chamber in which Apollonius and his companions were sleeping, and gently stroking the bed he addressed the sage, and asked him what CHAP. XXXV Discussion of the relation of drinking to divination

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CAP. XXXV

τε τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ἤρετο αὐτόν, ὅ τι ἐνθυμοῖτο, "οὐ γάρ που καθεύδεις," εἶπεν, "ὕδωρ πίνων καὶ καταγελῶν τοῦ οἴνου." "οὐ γὰρ καθεύδειν ἡγῇ," ἔφη, "τοὺς τὸ ὕδωρ πίνοντας;" "καθεύδειν μέν," ἔφη, "λεπτὸν δὲ ὕπνον, ὅνπερ ἄκροις αὐτῶν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐφιζάνειν φῶμεν, οὐ τῷ νῷ." "ἀμφοτέροις," εἶπε, "καὶ ἴσως τῷ νῷ μᾶλλον· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀτρεμήσει ὁ νοῦς, οὐδὲ ὑποδέξονται οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τὸν ὕπνον· οἱ γοῦν μεμηνότες οὐδὲ καθεύδειν δύνανται διὰ τὴν τοῦ νοῦ πήδησιν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα ἀπιούσης τῆς ἐννοίας γοργότερόν τε ἀναβλέπουσι καὶ ἀναιδέστερον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄυπνοι τῶν δρακόντων. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν, ὦ βασιλεῦ," εἶπε, "σαφῶς ἡρμήνευται τὸ τοῦ ὕπνου ἔργον καὶ ἅττα δηλοῦται αὐτῷ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, σκεψώμεθα, τί μειονεκτήσει ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοῦ μεθύοντος ὁ τὸ ὕδωρ πίνων." "μὴ σοφίζου," ἔφη ὁ βασιλεύς, "εἰ γὰρ μεθύοντα ὑποθήσῃ, οὐ καθευδήσει τοῦτο, βακχεύουσα γὰρ ἡ γνώμη στροβήσει τε αὐτὸν καὶ ταραχῆς ἐμπλήσει· δοκοῦσί τοι πάντες οἱ ἐκ μέθης καταδαρθεῖν πειρώμενοι ἀναπέμπεσθαί τε ἐς τὸν ὄροφον, καὶ αὖ ὑπόγειοι εἶναι δίνην τε ἐμπεπτωκέναι σφίσιν, οἷα δὴ περὶ τὸν Ἰξίονα λέγεται ξυμβαίνειν. οὔκουν ἀξιῶ τὸν μεθύοντα, ἀλλὰ τὸν πεπωκότα μὲν τοῦ οἴνου, νήφοντα δὲ θεωρεῖν, ὡς καθευδήσει καὶ ὡς πολλῷ βέλτιον τοῦ ἀοίνου."

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he was thinking about. "For," he said, "I don't imagine you are asleep, since you drink water and despise wine." Said the other: "Then you don't think that those who drink water go to sleep?" "Yes," said the king, "they sleep, but with a very light sleep, which just sits upon the tips of their eyelids, as we say, but not upon their minds." "Nay with both do they sleep," said Apollonius, "and perhaps more with the mind than with the eyelids. For unless the mind is thoroughly composed, the eyes will not admit of sleep either. For note how madmen are not able to go to sleep because their mind leaps with excitement, and their thoughts run coursing hither and thither, so that their glances are full of fury and morbid impulse, like those of the dragons who never sleep. Since then, O king," he went on, "we have clearly intimated the use and function of sleep, and what it signifies for men, let us examine whether the drinker of water need sleep less soundly than the drunkard." "Do not quibble," said the king, "for if you put forward the case of a drunkard, he, I admit, will not sleep at all, for his mind is in a state of revel, and whirls him about and fills him with uproar. All, I tell you, who try to go to sleep when in drink seem to themselves to be rushed up on to the roof, and then to be dashed down to the ground, and to fall into a whirl, as they say happened to Ixion. Now I do not put the case of a drunkard, but of a man who has merely drunk wine, but remains sober; I wish to consider whether he will sleep, and how much better he will sleep than a man who drinks no wine."

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XXXVI

CAP. XXXVI Καλέσας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸν Δάμιν, "πρὸς δεινὸν ἄνδρα," ἔφη, "ὁ λόγος καὶ σφόδρα γεγυμνασμένον τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι." "ὁρῶ," ἔφη, "καὶ τοῦτ'. ἴσως ἦν τὸ μελαμπύγου τυχεῖν. κἀμὲ δὲ πάνυ αἱρεῖ ὁ λόγος, ὃν εἴρηκεν· ὥρα οὖν σοι ἀφυπνίσαντι ἀποτελεῖν αὐτόν." ἀνακουφίσας οὖν τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "καὶ μὴν ὅσον," ἔφη, "πλεονεκτοῦμεν οἱ τὸ ὕδωρ πίνοντες πρὸς τὸ καθεύδειν ἥδιον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω τοῦ γε σοῦ λόγου ἐχόμενος· ὡς μὲν γὰρ τετάρακται ἡ γνώμη τοῖς μεθύουσι καὶ μανικώτερον διάκειται, σαφῶς εἴρηκας, ὁρῶμεν γὰρ τοὺς μέθῃ κατεσχημένους διττὰς μὲν σελήνας δοκοῦντας βλέπειν, διττοὺς δὲ ἡλίους, τοὺς δὲ ἧττον πεπωκότας, κἂν πάνυ νήφωσιν, οὐδὲν μὲν τούτων ἡγουμένους, μεστοὺς δὲ εὐφροσύνης καὶ ἡδονῆς, ἣ δὴ προσπίπτει σφίσιν οὐδὲ ἐξ εὐπραγίας πολλάκις, καὶ μελετῶσι δὲ οἱ τοιοῦτοι δίκας οὐδὲ φθεγξάμενοί πω ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, καὶ πλουτεῖν φασιν οὐδὲ δραχμῆς αὐτοῖς ἔνδον οὔσης. ταῦτα δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μανικὰ πάθη· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τὸ ἥδεσθαι διακινεῖ τὴν γνώμην καὶ πολλοὺς οἶδα τῶν σφόδρα ἡγουμένων εὖ πράττειν οὐδὲ καθεύδειν δυναμένους, ἀλλ' ἐκπηδῶντας τοῦ ὕπνου, καὶ τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη τὸ παρέχειν φροντίδας καὶ τἀγαθά. ἔστι δὲ καὶ

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XXXVI

CHAP. XXXVI

All effects of drinking hostile to reason and sound divination

APOLLONIUS then summoned Damis, and said: "'Tis a clever man with whom we are discussing and one thoroughly trained in argument." "I see it is so," said Damis, "and perhaps this is what is meant by the phrase 'catching a Tartar.' But the argument excites me very much, of which he has delivered himself; so it is time for you to wake up and finish it." Apollonius then raised his head slightly and said: "Well I will prove, out of your own lips and following your own argument, how much advantage we who drink water have in that we sleep more sweetly. For you have clearly stated and admitted that the minds of drunkards are disordered and are in a condition of madness; for we see those who are under the spell of drink imagining that they see two moons at once and two suns, while those who have drunk less, even though they are quite sober, while they entertain no such delusions as these, are yet full of exultation and pleasure; and this fit of joy often falls upon them, even though they have not had any good luck, and men in such a condition will plead cases, although they never opened their lips before in a law-court, and they will tell you they are rich, although they have not a farthing in their pockets. Now these, O king, are the affections of a madman. For the mere pleasure of drinking disturbs their judgment, and I have known many of them who were so firmly convinced that they were well off, that they were unable to sleep, but leapt up in their slumbers, and this is the meaning of the saying that 'good fortune itself is a reason for being anxious.'

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CAP XXXVI φάρμακα ὕπνου μεμηχανημένα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὧν πιόντες τε καὶ ἀλειψάμενοι καθεύδουσιν ἐκτείναντες αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ ἀποθανόντες, ὅθεν μετά τινος λήθης ἀνίστανται καὶ ἄλλοσέ ποι μᾶλλόν εἰσιν ἢ οὗπερ εἶναι δοκοῦσιν. ὅτι μὲν δὴ τὰ πινόμενα, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ ἐπαντλουμένα τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι οὐ γνήσιον οὐδὲ οἰκεῖον ἐπεσάγεται τὸν ὕπνον, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ βαθὺν καὶ ἡμιθνῆτα ἢ βραχὺν καὶ διασπώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐντρεχόντων, κἂν χρηστὰ ᾖ, ξυνθήσῃ τάχα, εἰ μὴ τὸ δύσερι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἐριστικὸν σπουδάζεις. οἱ δὲ ἐμοὶ ξυμπόται τὰ μὲν ὄντα ὁρῶσιν ὡς ὄντα, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ὄντα οὔτ᾽ ἀναγράφουσιν αὐτοῖς οὔθ᾽ ὑποτυποῦνται, κοῦφοί τε οὔπω ἔδοξαν, οὐδὲ μεστοὶ βλακείας οὐδὲ εὐηθείας ἢ ἱλαρώτεροι τοῦ προσήκοντος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφεστηκότες εἰσὶ καὶ λογισμοῦ πλέῳ, παραπλήσιοι δείλης τε καὶ ὁπότε ἀγορὰ πλήθει, οὐ γὰρ νυστάζουσιν οὗτοι, κἂν πόρρω τῶν νυκτῶν σπουδάζωσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἐξωθεῖ αὐτοὺς ὁ ὕπνος ὥσπερ δεσπότης βρίσας ἐς τὸν αὐχένα δεδουλωμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, ἄλλ᾽ ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ ὀρθοὶ φαίνονται, καταδαρθέντες δὲ καθαρᾷ τῇ ψυχῇ δέχονται τὸν ὕπνον οὔτε ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπραγιῶν ἀνακουφιζόμενοι αὐτοῦ οὔτε ὑπὸ κακοπραγίας τινὸς ἐκθρώσκοντες. ξύμμετρος γὰρ πρὸς ἄμφω ταῦτα ψυχὴ νήφουσα καὶ οὐδετέρου τῶν παθῶν ἥττων, ὅθεν καθεύδει ἥδιστα καὶ ἀλυπότατα μὴ ἐξισταμένη τοῦ ὕπνου.

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Men have also devised sleeping draughts, by drinking or anointing themselves with which, people at once stretch themselves out and go to sleep as if they were dead; but when they wake up from such sleep it is with a sort of forgetfulness, and they imagine that they are anywhere rather than where they are. Now these draughts are not exactly drunk, but I would rather say that they drench the soul and body; for they do not induce any sound or proper sleep, but the deep coma of a man half dead, or the light and distracted sleep of men haunted by phantoms, even though they be wholesome ones; and you will, I think, agree with me in this, unless you are disposed to quibble rather than argue seriously. But those who drink water, as I do, see things as they really are, and they do not record in fancy things that are not; and they were never found to be giddy, nor full of drowsiness, or of silliness, nor unduly elated; but they are wide awake and thoroughly rational, and always the same, whether late in the evening or early in the morning when the market is crowded; for these men never nod, even though they pursue their studies far into the night. For sleep does not drive them forth, pressing down like a slave-holder upon their necks, that are bowed down by the wine; but you find them free and erect, and they go to bed with a clear, pure soul and welcome sleep, and are neither buoyed up by the bubbles of their own private luck, nor scared out of their wits by any adversity. For the soul meets both alternatives with equal calm, if it be sober and not overcome by either feeling; and that is why it can sleep a delightful sleep untouched by the sorrows which startle others from their couches.

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CAP. XXXVII Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ μαντικὸν τὸ ἐκ τῶν ὀνειράτων, ὃ θειότατον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων δοκεῖ, ῥᾷον διορᾷ μὴ ξυντεθολωμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, ἀλλ' ἀκήρατος δεχομένη αὐτὸ καὶ περιαθροῦσα· οἱ γοῦν ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν ὄψεων, οὓς ὀνειροπόλους οἱ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσιν, οὐκ ἂν ὑποκρίνοιντο ὄψιν οὐδεμίαν μὴ πρότερον ἐρόμενοι τὸν καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ εἶδεν. ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἑῷος ᾖ καὶ τοῦ περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ὕπνου, ξυμβάλλονται αὐτὴν ὡς ὑγιῶς μαντευομένης τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐπειδὰν ἀπορρύψηται τὸν οἶνον, εἰ δ' ἀμφὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον ἢ μέσας νύκτας, ὅτε βεβύθισταί τε καὶ ξυντεθόλωται ἔτι ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, παραιτοῦνται τὴν ὑπόκρισιν σοφοὶ ὄντες. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς δοκεῖ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ χρησμῶδες ἐν ταῖς νηφούσαις ψυχαῖς τίθενται, σαφῶς δηλώσω· ἐγένετο, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παρ' Ἕλλησιν Ἀμφιάρεως ἀνὴρ μάντις." "οἶδα," εἶπε, "λέγεις γάρ που τὸν τοῦ Οἰκλέους, ὃν ἐκ Θηβῶν ἐπανιόντα ἐπεσπάσατο ἡ γῆ ζῶντα." "οὗτος, ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "μαντευόμενος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ νῦν ὀνείρατα ἐπάγει τοῖς χρωμένοις, καὶ λαβόντες οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸν χρησόμενον σίτου τε εἴργουσι μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ οἴνου τρεῖς, ἵνα διαλαμπούσῃ τῇ ψυχῇ τῶν λογίων σπάσῃ· εἰ δὲ ὁ οἶνος

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Dreams due to drink are valueless for purposes of divination

AND more than this, as a faculty of divination by means of dreams, which is the divinest and most god-like of human faculties, the soul detects the truth all the more easily when it is not muddied by wine, but accepts the message unstained and scans it carefully. Anyhow, the explainers of dreams and visions, those whom the poets call interpreters of dreams, will never undertake to explain any vision to anyone without having first asked the time when it was seen. For if it was at dawn and in the sleep of morning-tide, they calculate its meaning on the assumption that the soul is then in a condition to divine soundly and healthily, because by then it has cleansed itself of the stains of wine. But if the vision was seen in the first sleep or at midnight, when the soul is still immersed in the lees of wine and muddied thereby, they decline to make any suggestions, if they are wise. And that the gods also are of this opinion, and that they commit the faculty of oracular response to souls which are sober, I will clearly show. There was, O king, a seer among the Greeks called Amphiaraus." "I know," said the other; "for you allude, I imagine, to the son of Oecles, who was swallowed up alive by the earth on his way back from Thebes." "This man, O king," said Apollonius, "still divines in Attica, inducing dreams in those who consult him, and the priests take a man who wishes to consult him, and they prevent his eating for one day, and from drinking wine for three, in order that he may imbibe the oracles with his soul in a condition of utter transparence. But if wine were

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CAP. XXXVII ἀγαθὸν ἦν τοῦ ὕπνου φάρμακον, ἐκέλευσεν ἂν ὁ σοφὸς Ἀμφιάρεως τοὺς θεωροὺς τὸν ἐναντίον ἐσκευασμένους τρόπον καὶ οἴνου μεστούς, ὥσπερ ἀμφορέας, ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον αὐτῷ φέρεσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μαντεῖα λέγοιμ' ἂν εὐδόκιμα παρ' Ἕλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις, ἐν οἷς ὁ ἱερεὺς ὕδατος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ οἴνου σπάσας ἀποφθέγγεται τὰ ἐκ τοῦ τρίποδος. θεοφόρητον δὴ κἀμὲ ἡγοῦ καὶ πάντας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοὺς τὸ ὕδωρ πίνοντας· νυμφόληπτοι γὰρ ἡμεῖς καὶ βάκχοι τοῦ νήφειν." "ποιήσῃ οὖν," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, κἀμὲ θιασώτην;" "εἴπερ μὴ φορτικός," εἶπε, "τοῖς ὑπηκόοις δόξεις· φιλοσοφία γὰρ περὶ βασιλεῖ ἀνδρὶ ξύμμετρος μὲν καὶ ὑπανειμένη θαυμαστὴν ἐργάζεται κρᾶσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν σοὶ διαφαίνεται, ἡ δ' ἀκριβὴς καὶ ὑπερτείνουσα φορτική τε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ ταπεινοτέρα τῆς ὑμετέρας σκηνῆς φαίνεται καὶ τύφου δὲ αὐτό τι ἂν ἔχειν ἡγοῖντο βάσκανοι."

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CAP. XXXVIII Ταῦτα διαλεχθέντες, καὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἤδη ἐτύγχανεν, ἐς τὸ ἔξω προῆλθον. καὶ ξυνεὶς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὡς χρηματίζειν δέοι τὸν βασιλέα πρεσβείαις τε καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, "σὺ μέν," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ πρᾶττε, ἐμὲ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἄνες τῷ Ἡλίῳ, δεῖ γάρ με τὴν εἰθισμένην εὐχὴν εὔξασθαι." "καὶ ἀκούοι γε εὐχομένου," ἔφη, "χαριεῖται γὰρ πᾶσιν, ὁπόσοι τῇ σοφίᾳ τῇ

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a good drug of sleep, then the wise Amphiaraus would have bidden his votaries to adopt the opposite regimen, and would have had them carried into his shrine as full of wine as leathern flagons. And I could mention many oracles, held in repute by Greeks and barbarians alike, where the priest utters his responses from the tripod after imbibing water and not wine. So you may consider me also as a fit vehicle of the god, O king, along with all who drink water. For we are rapt by the nymphs and are bacchantic revellers in sobriety." "Well, then," said the king, "you must make me too, O Apollonius, a member of your religious brotherhood." "I would do so," said the other, "provided only you will not be esteemed vulgar and held cheap by your subjects. For in the case of a king a philosophy that is at once moderate and indulgent makes a good mixture, as is seen in your own case; but an excess of rigour and severity would seem vulgar, O king, and beneath your august station; and it might be construed by the envious as due to pride." CHAP. XXXVII

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WHEN they had thus conversed, for by this time it was daylight, they went out into the open. And Apollonius, understanding that the king had to give audience to embassies and such-like, said: "You then, O king, must attend to the business of state, but let me go and devote this hour to the Sun, for I must needs offer up to him my accustomed prayer." "And I pray he may hear your prayer," said the king, "for he will bestow his grace on all who find pleasure CHAP. XXXVIII

Apollonius' cult of the Sun

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CAP. XXXVIII σῇ χαίρουσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ περιμενῶ σε ἐπανιόντα, καὶ γὰρ δικάσαι τινὰς χρὴ δίκας, αἷς παρατυχὼν τὰ μέγιστά με ὀνήσεις."

XXXIX

CAP. XXXIX Ἐπανελθὼν οὖν προκεχωρηκυίας ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἠρώτα περὶ ὧν ἐδίκασεν, ὁ δέ, "τήμερον," ἔφη, "οὐκ ἐδίκασα, τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ οὐ ξυνεχώρει μοι." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἐφ' ἱεροῖς οὖν," ἔφη, "ποιεῖσθε καὶ ταύτας, ὥσπερ τὰς ἐξόδους τε καὶ τὰς στρατείας;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπε, "καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα κίνδυνος, εἰ ὁ δικάζων ἀπενεχθείη τοῦ εὐθέος." εὖ λέγειν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἔδοξε, καὶ ἤρετο αὐτὸν πάλιν, τίς εἴη, ἣν δικάσοι δίκην, "ὁρῶ γάρ," εἶπεν, "ἐφεστηκότα σε καὶ ἀποροῦντα, ὅπη ψηφίσαιο." "ὁμολογῶ," ἔφη, "ἀπορεῖν, ὅθεν ξύμβουλον ποιοῦμαί σε· ἀπέδοτο μὲν γάρ τις ἑτέρῳ γῆν, ἐν ᾗ θησαυρὸς ἀπέκειτό τις οὔπω δῆλος, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἡ γῆ ῥαγεῖσα χρυσοῦ τινα ἀνέδειξε θήκην, ἣν φησι μὲν ἑαυτῷ προσήκειν μᾶλλον ὁ τὴν γῆν ἀποδόμενος, καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ἀποδόσθαι τὴν γῆν, εἰ προὔμαθεν, ὅτι βίον ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἔχοι, ὁ πριάμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἀξιοῖ πεπᾶσθαι, ἃ ἐν τῇ λοιπὸν ἑαυτοῦ γῇ εὗρε· καὶ δίκαιος μὲν ὁ ἀμφοῖν λόγος, εὐήθης δ' ἂν ἐγὼ φαινοίμην, εἰ κελεύσαιμι ἄμφω νείμασθαι τὸ χρυσίον, τουτὶ

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in your wisdom; but I will wait for you until you return, for I have to decide some cases in which your presence will very greatly help me." CHAP. XXXVIII

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The king consults him about a lawsuit

Apollonius then returned, when the day was already far advanced, and asked him about the cases which he was judging; but he answered: "To-day I have not judged any, for the omens did not allow me." Apollonius then replied and said: "It is the case then that you consult the omens in such cases as these, just as you do when you are setting out on a journey or a campaign." "Yes, by Zeus," he said, "for there is a risk in this case of one who is a judge straying from the right line." Apollonius felt that what he said was true, and asked him again what the suit was which he had to decide; "For I see," he said, "that you have given your attention to it and are perplexed what verdict to give." "I admit," said the king, "that I am perplexed; and that is why I want your advice; for one man has sold to another land, in which there lay a treasure as yet undiscovered, and some time afterwards the land, being broken up, revealed a certain chest, which the person who sold the land says belongs to him rather than to the other, for that he would never have sold the land, if he had known beforehand that he had a fortune thereon; but the purchaser claims that he acquired everything that he found in land, which thenceforth was his. And both their contentions are just; and I shall seem ridiculous if I order them

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γὰρ ἂν καὶ γραῦς διαιτῷη." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὡς μὲν οὐ φιλοσόφω," ἔφη, "τὼ ἄνδρε, δηλοῖ τὸ περὶ χρυσίου διαφέρεσθαι σφᾶς, ἄριστα δ' ἄν μοι δικάσαι δόξεις ὧδε ἐνθυμηθείς, ὡς οἱ θεοὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιοῦνται τῶν ξὺν ἀρετῇ φιλοσοφούντων, δεύτερον δὲ τῶν ἀναμαρτήτων τε καὶ μηδὲν πώποτε ἀδικεῖν δοξάντων. διδόασι δὲ τοῖς μὲν φιλοσοφοῦσι διαγιγνώσκειν εὖ τὰ θεῖά τε καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, τοῖς δ' ἄλλως χρηστοῖς βίον ἀποχρῶντα, ὡς μὴ χήτει ποτὲ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἄδικοι γένωνται· δοκεῖ δή μοι, βασιλεῦ, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τρυτάνης ἀντικρῖναι τούτους καὶ τὸν ἀμφοῖν ἀναθεωρῆσαι βίον, οὐ γὰρ ἄν μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ θεοὶ τὸν μὲν ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὴν γῆν, εἰ μὴ φαῦλος ἦν, τῷ δ' αὖ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ δοῦναι, εἰ μὴ βελτίων ἦν τοῦ ἀποδομένου." ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν δικασόμενοι ἄμφω, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀποδόμενος ὑβριστής τε ἠλέγχετο καὶ θυσίας ἐκλελοιπώς, ἃς ἔδει τοῖς ἐν τῇ γῇ θεοῖς θύειν, ὁ δὲ ἐπιεικής τε ἐφαίνετο καὶ ὁσιώτατα θεραπεύων τοὺς θεούς. ἐκράτησεν οὖν ἡ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου γνώμη καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ χρηστὸς ὡς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ταῦτα ἔχων.

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to share the gold between them, for any old woman could settle the matter in that way." Apollonius thereupon replied as follows: "The fact that they are quarrelling about gold shows that these two men are no philosophers; and you will, in my opinion, give the best verdict if you bear this in mind, that the gods attach the first importance and have most care for those who live a life of philosophy together with moral excellence, and only pay secondary attention to those who have committed no faults and were never yet found unjust. Now they entrust to philosophers the task of rightly discerning things divine and human as they should be discerned, but to those who merely are of good character they give enough to live upon, so that they may never be rendered unjust by actual lack of the necessaries of life. It seems then to me, O king, right to weigh these men in the balance, as it were, and to examine their respective lives; for I cannot believe that the gods would deprive the one even of his land, unless he was a bad man, or that they would, on the other hand, bestow on the other even what was under the land, unless he was better than the man who sold it." The two claimants came back the next day, and the seller was convicted of being a ruffian who had neglected the sacrifices, which it was his bounden duty to sacrifice to the gods on that land[1]; but the other was found to be a decent man and a most devout worshipper of the gods. Accordingly, the opinion of Apollonius prevailed, and the better of the two men quitted the court as one on whom the gods had bestowed this boon.

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[1] Or render: the gods of the underworld.

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CAP. XL

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῆς δίκης ὧδε ἔσχε, προσελθὼν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ Ἰνδῷ, "τήμερον," εἶπεν, "ἡ τρίτη τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐν αἷς ἐποιοῦ με, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ξένον, τῆς δ' ἐπιούσης ἕως χρὴ ἐξελαύνειν ἑπόμενον τῷ νόμῳ." "ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ νόμος," εἶπεν, "ἤδη διαλέγεταί σοι, καὶ γὰρ τῇ αὔριον μένειν ἔξεστιν, ἐπειδὴ μετὰ μεσημβρίαν ἀφίκου." "χαίρω," ἔφη, "τῷ ξενίῳ, καὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖς καὶ σοφίζεσθαι τὸν νόμον δι' ἐμέ." "εἰ γὰρ καὶ λῦσαι αὐτὸν ἠδυνάμην," εἶπε, "τό γε ὑπὲρ σοῦ. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό μοι εἰπέ, Ἀπολλώνιε, αἱ κάμηλοι, ἐφ' ὧν ὀχεῖσθαί σέ φασιν, οὐκ ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἄγουσιν ὑμᾶς;" "ἐκεῖθεν," ἔφη, "δόντος γε αὐτὰς Οὐαρδάνου." "ἔτ' οὖν ὑμᾶς ἀπάγειν δυνήσονται, τοσαῦτα ἤδη στάδια ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἥκουσαι;" ἐσιώπησε μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὁ δὲ Δάμις, "οὔπω συνίησιν," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς ἀποδημίας ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐν οἷς λοιπόν ἐσμεν, ἀλλ' ὡς πανταχοῦ σέ τε καὶ Οὐαρδάνην ἔξων παιδιὰν ἡγεῖται τὸ ἐς Ἰνδοὺς παρελθεῖν. τό τοι τῶν καμήλων οὐ διομολογεῖται πρὸς σέ, ὃν ἔχει τρόπον· διάκεινται γὰρ οὕτω κακῶς, ὡς αὐταὶ μᾶλλον ὑφ' ἡμῶν φέρεσθαι, καὶ δεῖ ἑτέρων. ἂν γὰρ ὀκλάσωσιν ἐν ἐρήμῳ που τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, ἡμεῖς μέν," ἔφη, "καθεδούμεθα τοὺς γῦπάς τε καὶ τοὺς λύκους ἀποσοβοῦντες τῶν καμήλων, ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀποσοβήσει, προσαπολούμεθα

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CHAP XL
The king gives the travellers fresh camels

WHEN the law-suit had been thus disposed of, Apollonius approached the Indian, and said: "This is the third day, O king, that you have made me your guest; and at dawn to-morrow I must quit your land in accordance with the law." "But," said the other, "the law does not yet speak to you thus, for you can remain on the morrow, since you came after midday." "I am delighted," said Apollonius, "with your hospitality, and indeed you seem to me to be straining the law for my sake." "Yes indeed, and I would I could break it," said the king, "in your behalf; but tell me this, Apollonius, did not the camels bring you from Babylon which they say you were riding?" "They did," he said, "and Vardan gave them us." "Will they then be able to carry you on, after they have come already so many stades from Babylon?" Apollonius made no answer, but Damis said: "O king, our friend here does not understand anything about our journey, nor about the races among which we shall find ourselves in future; but he regards our passage into India as mere child's play, under the impression that he will everywhere have you and Vardan to help him. I assure you, the true condition of the camels has not been acknowledged to you; for they are in such an evil state that we could carry them rather than they us, and we must have others. For if they collapse anywhere in the wilderness of India, we," he continued, "shall have to sit down and drive off the vultures and wolves from the camels, and as no one will drive them off from

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CAP. XL γάρ." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς, "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "τοῦτο ἰάσομαι, ὑμῖν τε γὰρ ἑτέρας δώσω—τεττάρων, οἶμαι, δεῖσθε—καὶ ὁ σατράπης δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ πέμψει ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἑτέρας τέτταρας. ἔστι δέ μοι ἀγέλη καμήλων ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰνδῷ, λευκαὶ πᾶσαι." "ἡγεμόνα δέ," εἶπεν ὁ Δάμις, "οὐκ ἄν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, δοίης;" "καὶ κάμηλόν γε," ἔφη, "τῷ ἡγεμόνι δώσω καὶ ἐφόδια, ἐπιστελῶ δὲ καὶ Ἰάρχᾳ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν σοφῶν, ἵν' Ἀπολλώνιον μὲν ὡς μηδὲν κακίω ἑαυτοῦ δέξηται, ὑμᾶς δὲ ὡς φιλοσόφους τε καὶ ὀπαδοὺς ἀνδρὸς θείου." καὶ χρυσίον δὲ ἐδίδου ὁ Ἰνδὸς καὶ ψήφους καὶ ὀθόνας καὶ μυρία τοιαῦτα· ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος χρυσίον μὲν ἔφη ἱκανὸν ἑαυτῷ εἶναι δόντος γε Οὐαρδάνου τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἀφανῶς αὐτό, τὰς δὲ ὀθόνας λαμβάνειν, ἐπειδὴ ἐοίκασι τρίβωνι τῶν ἀρχαίων τε καὶ πάνυ Ἀττικῶν. μίαν δέ τινα τῶν ψήφων ἀνελόμενος, "ὦ βελτίστη," εἶπεν, "ὡς ἐς καιρόν σε καὶ οὐκ ἀθεεὶ εὕρηκα," ἰσχύν, οἶμαί, τινα ἐν αὐτῇ καθεωρακὼς ἀπόρρητόν τε καὶ θείαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Δάμιν χρυσίον μὲν οὐδ' αὐτοὶ προσίεντο, τῶν ψήφων δὲ ἱκανῶς ἐδράττοντο, ὡς θεοῖς ἀναθήσοντες, ὅτε ἐπανέλθοιεν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἤθη.

XLI

CAP. XLI Καταμείνασι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν, οὐ γὰρ μεθίετο σφῶν ὁ Ἰνδός, δίδωσι τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἰάρχαν ἐπιστολὴν γεγραμμένην ὧδε·

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us, we shall perish too." The king answered accordingly and said: "I will remedy this, for I will give you other camels, and you need four I think, and the satrap ruling the Indus will send back four others to Babylon. But I have a herd of camels on the Indus, all of them white." "And," said Damis, "will you not also give us a guide, O king?" "Yes, of course," he answered, "and I will give a camel to the guide and provisions, and I will write a letter to Iarchas, the oldest of the sages, praying him to welcome Apollonius as not inferior to himself, and to welcome you also as philosophers and followers of a divine man." And forthwith the Indian gave them gold and precious stones and linen and a thousand other such things. And Apollonius said that he had enough gold already, because Vardan had given it to the guide on the sly; but that he would accept the linen robes, because they were like the cloaks worn by the ancient and genuine inhabitants of Attica. And he took up one of the stones and said: "O rare stone, how opportunely have I found you, and how providentially!" detecting in it, I imagine, some secret and divine virtue. Neither would the companions of Damis accept for themselves the gold; nevertheless they took good handfuls of the gems, in order to dedicate them to the gods, whenever they should regain their own country.

CHAP. XL

And a letter to Iarchas

His gift of gems

XLI

So they remained the next day as well, for the Indian would not let them go, and he gave them a letter for Iarchas, written in the following terms:—

CHAP. XLI

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CAP. XLI "Βασιλεὺς Φραώτης Ἰάρχᾳ διδασκάλῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν χαίρειν.

Ἀπολλώνιος ἀνὴρ σοφώτατος σοφωτέρους ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ ἡγεῖται καὶ μαθησόμενος ἥκει τὰ ὑμέτερα. πέμπετε οὖν αὐτὸν εἰδότα ὁπόσα ἴστε· ὡς ἀπολεῖται οὐδὲν τῶν μαθημάτων ὑμῖν, καὶ γὰρ λέγει ἄριστα ἀνθρώπων καὶ μέμνηται. ἰδέτω δὲ καὶ τὸν θρόνον, ἐφ' οὗ καθίσαντί μοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἔδωκας, Ἰάρχα πάτερ. καὶ οἱ ἑπόμενοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἄξιοι ἐπαίνου, ὅτι τοιοῦδε ἀνδρὸς ἥττηνται εὐτύχει καὶ εὐτυχεῖτε."

XLII

CAP. XLII Ἐξελάσαντες δὲ τῶν Ταξίλων καὶ δύο ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν διελθόντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ πεδίον, ἐν ᾧ λέγεται πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀγωνίσασθαι Πῶρος, καὶ πύλας ἐν αὐτῷ ἰδεῖν φασι ξυγκλειούσας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ τροπαίων ἕνεκα ᾠκοδομημένας. ἀνακεῖσθαι γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐφεστηκότα τετραρρύμοις ἅρμασιν, οἷος ἐπὶ τοῖς Δαρείου σατράπαις ἐν Ἰσσοῖς ἕστηκε. διαλείπουσαι δ' οὐ πολὺ ἀλλήλων δύο ἐξῳκοδομῆσθαι λέγονται πύλαι, καὶ φέρειν ἡ μὲν Πῶρον, ἡ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον, ξυμβεβηκότε, οἶμαι, μετὰ τὴν μάχην, ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀσπαζομένῳ ἔοικεν, ὁ δὲ προσκυνοῦντι.

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CHAP. XLI

Letter of King Phraotes to Iarchas recommending Apollonius

"King Phraotes to Iarchas his master and to his companions, all hail!

Apollonius, wisest of men, yet accounts you still wiser than himself, and is come to learn your lore. Send him away therefore when he knows all that you know yourselves, assured that nothing of your teachings will perish, for in discourse and memory he excels all men. And let him also see the throne, on which I sat, when you, Father Iarchas, bestowed on me the kingdom. And his followers too deserve commendation for their devotion to such a master. Farewell to yourself and your companions."

XLII

CHAP. XLII

They leave Taxila. The triumphal arch of Alexander

And they rode out of Taxila, and after a journey of two days reached the plain, in which Porus is said to have engaged Alexander: and they say they saw gates therein that enclosed nothing, but had been erected to carry trophies. For there was set up on them a statue of Alexander standing in a four-poled chariot,[1] as he looked when at Issa he confronted the Satraps of Darius. And at a short distance from one another there are said to have been built two gates, carrying the one a statue of Porus, and the other one of Alexander, of both, as I imagine, reconciled to one another after the battle; for the one is in the attitude of one man greeting another, and the other of one doing homage.

[1] *i.e.* with eight horses.

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XLIII

CAP. XLIII Ποταμὸν δὲ Ὑδραώτην ὑπερβάντες καὶ πλείω ἔθνη ἀμείψαντες ἐγένοντο πρὸς τῷ Ὑφάσιδι, στάδια δὲ ἀπέχοντες τούτου τριάκοντα βωμοῖς τε ἐνέτυχον, οἷς ἐπεγέγραπτο ΠΑΤΡΙ ΑΜΜΩΝΙ ΚΑΙ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΙ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΜΟΘΡΑΙΞΙ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΝΔΩΙ ΗΛΙΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΛΦΩΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ, φασὶ δὲ καὶ στήλην ἀνακεῖσθαι χαλκῆν, ᾗ ἐπιγεγράφθαι ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ ΕΣΤΗ. τοὺς μὲν δὴ βωμοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἡγώμεθα τὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς τέρμα τιμῶντος, τὴν δὲ στήλην τοὺς μετὰ τὸν Ὕφασιν Ἰνδοὺς ἀναθεῖναι δοκῶ μοι λαμπρυνομένους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλέξανδρον μὴ προελθεῖν πρόσω.

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XLIII

CHAP. XLIII

Altars of Alexander on the river Hyphas

AND having crossed the river Hydraotes and passed by several tribes, they reached the Hyphasis, and thirty stades away from this they came on altars bearing this inscription: "To Father Ammon and Heracles his brother, and to Athena Providence and to Zeus of Olympus and to the Cabeiri of Samothrace, and to the Indian Sun and to the Delphian Apollo."

And they say there was also a brass column dedicated, and inscribed as follows:

"Alexander stayed his steps at this point." The altars we may suppose to be due to Alexander who so honoured the limit of his Empire; but I fancy the Indians beyond the Hyphasis erected the column, by way of expressing their pride at Alexander's having got no further.

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BOOK III

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Γ'

I

CAP. I Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ὑφάσιδος καὶ ὁπόσος τὴν Ἰνδικὴν διαστείχει καὶ ὅ τι περὶ αὐτὸν θαῦμα, τάδε χρὴ γιγνώσκειν· αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου βλύζουσι μὲν ἐκ πεδίου, ναυσίποροι αὐτόθεν, προϊοῦσαι δὲ καὶ ναυσὶν ἤδη ἄποροί εἰσιν. ἀκρωνυχίαι γὰρ πετρῶν παραλλὰξ ὑπανίσχουσι τοῦ ὕδατος, περὶ ἃς ἀνάγκη τὸ ῥεῦμα ἑλίττεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν τὸν ποταμὸν ἄπλουν. εὖρος δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν Ἴστρον, ποταμῶν δὲ οὗτος δοκεῖ μέγιστος, ὁπόσοι δι' Εὐρώπης ῥέουσι. δένδρα δέ οἱ προσόμοια φύει παρὰ τὰς ὄχθας, καί τι καὶ μύρον ἐκδίδοται τῶν δένδρων, ὃ ποιοῦνται Ἰνδοὶ γαμικὸν χρίσμα, καὶ εἰ μὴ τῷ μύρῳ τούτῳ ῥάνωσι τοὺς νυμφίους οἱ ξυνιόντες ἐς τὸν γάμον, ἀτελὴς δοκεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἐς χάριν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ξυναρμοσθείς. ἀνεῖσθαι δὲ τῇ θεῷ ταύτῃ λέγουσιν αὐτό τε τὸ περὶ τῷ ποταμῷ νέμος καὶ τοὺς ἰχθῦς τοὺς ταώς, οὓς οὗτος μόνος ποταμῶν τρέφει, πεποίηνται δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁμωνύμους τοῦ ὄρνιθος, ἐπεὶ κυάνεοι μὲν αὐτοῖς οἱ λόφοι,

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BOOK III

I

CHAP. I

The river Hyphasis

IT is now time to notice the river Hyphasis, and to ask what is its size as it traverses India, and what remarkable features it possesses. The springs of this river well forth out of the plain, and close to its source its streams are navigable, but as they advance they soon become impossible for boats, because spits of rock alternating with one another, rise up just above the surface; round these the current winds of necessity, so rendering the river unnavigable. And in breadth it approaches to the river Ister, and this is allowed to be the greatest of all the rivers which flow through Europe. Now the woods along the bank closely resemble those of the river in question, and a balm also is distilled from the trees, out of which the Indians make a nuptial ointment; and unless the people attending the wedding have besprinkled the young couple with this balm, the union is not considered complete nor compatible with Aphrodite bestowing her grace upon it. Now they say that the grove in the neighbourhood of the river is dedicated to this goddess, as also the fishes called peacock fish which are bred in this river alone, and which have been given the same name as the bird, because their fins

A nuptial ointment

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CAP. I στικταὶ δὲ αἱ φολίδες, χρυσᾶ δὲ τὰ οὐραῖα καί ὁπότε βούλοιντο, ἀνακλώμενα. ἔστι δέ τι θηρίον ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τούτῳ σκώληκι εἰκασμένον λευκῷ. τοῦτο οἱ τήκοντες ἔλαιον ποιοῦνται, πῦρ δὲ ἄρα τοῦ ἐλαίου τούτου ἐκδίδοται, καὶ στέγει αὐτὸ πλὴν ὑέλου οὐδέν. ἁλίσκεται δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ μόνῳ τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο πρὸς τειχῶν ἅλωσιν. ἐπειδὰν γὰρ θίγῃ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἡ πιμελή, πῦρ ἐκκαλεῖται κρεῖττον σβεστηρίων, ὁπόσα ἀνθρώποις πρὸς τὰ πυρφόρα εὕρηται.

II

CAP. II Καὶ τοὺς ὄνους δὲ τοὺς ἀγρίους ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι τούτοις ἁλίσκεσθαί φασιν, εἶναι δὲ τοῖς θηρίοις τούτοις ἐπὶ μετώπου κέρας, ᾧ ταυρηδόν τε καὶ οὐκ ἀγεννῶς μάχονται, καὶ ἀποφαίνειν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἔκπωμα τὸ κέρας τοῦτο, οὐ γὰρ οὔτε νοσῆσαι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ὁ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πιών, οὔτε ἂν τρωθεὶς ἀλγῆσαι, πυρός τε διεξελθεῖν ἂν καὶ μηδ' ἂν φαρμάκοις ἁλῶναι ὁπόσα ἐπὶ κάκῳ πίνεται, βασιλέων δὲ τὸ ἔκπωμα εἶναι καὶ βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἀνεῖσθαι τὴν θήραν. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ τὸ μὲν θηρίον ἑωρακέναι φησὶ καὶ ἄγασθαι αὐτὸ τῆς φύσεως, ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ Δάμιδος, εἰ τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ τοῦ ἐκπώματος προσδέχοιτο, "προσδέξομαι," εἶπεν, "ἢν ἀθάνατον μάθω τὸν βασιλέα τῶν δεῦρο Ἰνδῶν ὄντα, τὸν γὰρ ἐμοί τε καὶ τῷ δεῖνι ὀρέγοντα πῶμα

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are blue, and their scales spotty, and their tails golden, and because they can fold and spread the latter at will. CHAP. I

There is also a creature in this river which resembles a white worm. By melting this down they make an oil, and from this oil, it appears, there is given off a flame such that nothing but glass can contain it. And this creature may be caught for the king alone who utilises it for the capture of cities; for as soon as the fat in question touches the battlements, a fire is kindled which defies all the ordinary means devised by men against combustibles. The fiery worm

II

And they say that the wild asses are also to be captured in these marshes, and these creatures have a horn upon the forehead, with which they butt like a bull and make a noble fight of it; the Indians make this horn into a cup, for they declare that no one can ever fall sick on the day on which he has drunk out of it, nor will any one who has done so be the worse for being wounded, and he will be able to pass through fire unscathed, and he is even immune from poisonous draughts which others would drink to their harm. Accordingly, this goblet is reserved for kings, and the king alone may indulge in the chase of this creature. And Apollonius says that he saw this animal, and admired its natural features; but when Damis asked him if he believed the story about the goblet, he answered: "I will believe it, if I find the king of the Indians hereabout to be immortal; for surely a man who can offer me or anyone else a CHAP. II

The unicorn ass, and the magic cup made from his horn

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CAP. II ἄνοσόν τε καὶ οὕτως ὑγιές, πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς αὐτὸν ἐπεγχεῖν ἑαυτῷ τούτου καὶ ὁσημέραι πίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ κέρατος τούτου μέχρι κραιπάλης; οὐ γὰρ διαβαλεῖ τις, οἶμαι, τὸ τούτῳ μεθύειν."

III

CAP. III Ἐνταῦθα καὶ γυναίῳ φασὶν ἐντετυχηκέναι τὰ μὲν ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐς μαζοὺς μέλανι, τὰ δὲ ἐκ μαζῶν ἐς πόδας λευκῷ πάντα, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ὡς δεῖμα φυγεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον ξυνάψαι τε τῷ γυναίῳ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ξυνεῖναι ὅ τι εἴη· ἱεροῦται δὲ ἄρα τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ Ἰνδὴ τοιαύτη, καὶ τίκτεται τῇ θεῷ γυνὴ ποικίλη, καθάπερ ὁ Ἆπις Αἰγυπτίοις.

IV

CAP. IV Ἐντεῦθέν φασιν ὑπερβαλεῖν τοῦ Καυκάσου τὸ κατατεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν, εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸ ξυνηρεφὲς ἴδαις ἀρωμάτων. τοὺς μὲν δὴ πρώνας τοῦ ὄρους τὸ κινυάμωμον φέρειν, προσεοικέναι δὲ αὐτὸ νέοις κλήμασι, βάσανον δὲ τοῦ ἀρώματος τὴν αἶγα εἶναι· κινναμώμου γὰρ εἴ τις αἰγὶ ὀρέξειε, κνυζήσεται πρὸς τὴν χεῖρα, καθάπερ κύων, ἀπιόντι τε ὁμαρτήσει τὴν ῥῖνα ἐς αὐτὸ ἐρείσασα, κἂν ὁ αἰπόλος ἀπάγῃ, θρηνήσει καθάπερ λωτοῦ ἀποσπωμένη. ἐν δὲ τοῖς κρημνοῖς τοῦ

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draught potent against disease and so wholesome, will he not be much more likely to imbibe it himself, and take a drink out of this horn every day even at the risk of intoxication? For no one, I conceive, would blame him for exceeding in such cups." CHAP. II

III

At this place they say that they also fell in with a woman who was black from her head to her bosom, but was altogether white from her bosom down to her feet; and the rest of the party fled from her believing her to be a monster, but Apollonius clasped the woman by the hand and understood what she was; for in fact such a woman in India is consecrated to Aphrodite, and a woman is born piebald in honour of this goddess, just as is Apis among the Egyptians. CHAP. III A piebald woman

IV

They say that from this point they crossed the part of the Caucasus which stretches down to the Red Sea; and this range is thickly overgrown with aromatic shrubs. The spurs then of the mountain bear the cinnamon tree, which resembles the young tendrils of the vine, and the goat gives sure indication of this aromatic shrub; for if you hold out a bit of cinnamon to a goat, she will whine and whimper after your hand like a dog, and will follow you when you go away, pressing her nose against it; and if the goat-herd drags her away, she will moan as if she were being torn away from the lotus. But on the steeps of CHAP. IV The cinnamon of the Caucasus

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CAP. IV

ὄρους λίβανοί τε ὑψηλοὶ πεφύκασι καὶ πολλὰ εἴδη ἕτερα, καὶ τὰ δένδρα αἱ πεπέριδες, ὧν γεωργοὶ πίθηκοι, καὶ οὐδὲ ᾧ εἴκασται τοῦτο, παρεῖταί σφισιν, ὃν δὲ εἴρηται τρόπον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω· τὸ δένδρον ἡ πέπερις εἴκασται μὲν τῷ παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἄγνῳ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸν κόρυμβον τοῦ καρποῦ, φύεται δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀποτόμοις οὐκ ἐφικτὸς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὗ λέγεται πιθήκων οἰκεῖν δῆμος ἐν μυχοῖς τοῦ ὄρους καὶ ὅ τι αὐτοῦ κοῖλον, οὓς πολλοῦ ἀξίους οἱ Ἰνδοὶ νομίζοντες, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πέπερι ἀποτρυγῶσι, τοὺς λέοντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐρύκουσι κυσί τε καὶ ὅπλοις. ἐπιτίθεται δὲ πιθήκῳ λέων νοσῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ φαρμάκου, τὴν γὰρ νόσον αὐτῷ τὰ κρέα ἴσχει ταῦτα, γεγηρακὼς δὲ ὑπὲρ σίτου, τῆς γὰρ τῶν ἐλάφων καὶ συῶν θήρας ἔξωροι γεγονότες τοὺς πιθήκους λαφύσσουσιν ἐς τοῦτο χρώμενοι τῇ λοιπῇ ῥώμῃ. οὐ μὴν οἱ ἄνθρωποι περιορῶσιν, ἀλλ' εὐεργέτας ἡγούμενοι τὰ θηρία ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς λέοντας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν αἰχμὴν αἴρονται. τὰ γὰρ πραττόμενα περὶ τὰς πεπέριδας ὧδε ἔχει· προσελθόντες οἱ Ἰνδοὶ τοῖς κάτω δένδρεσι, τὸν καρπὸν ἀποθερίσαντες, ἄλως ποιοῦνται μικρὰς περὶ τὰ δένδρα, καὶ τὸ πέπερι περὶ αὐτὰς ξυμφοροῦσιν οἷον ῥιπτοῦντες, ὡς ἄτιμόν τι καὶ μὴ ἐν σπουδῇ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οἱ δὲ ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀβάτων ἀφεωρακότες ταῦτα, νυκτὸς γενομένης ὑποκρίνονται τὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς βοστρύχους τῶν δένδρων περισπῶντες ῥιπτοῦσι

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this mountain there grow very lofty frankincense trees, as well as many other species, for example the pepper trees which are cultivated by the apes. Nor did they neglect to record the look and appearance of this tree, and I will repeat exactly their account of it. The pepper tree resembles in general the willow of the Greeks, and particularly in regard to the berry of the fruit; and it grows in steep ravines where it cannot be got at by men, and where a community of apes is said to live in the recesses of the mountain and in any of its glens; and these apes are held in great esteem by the Indians, because they harvest the pepper for them, and they drive the lions off them with dogs and weapons. For the lion, when he is sick, attacks the ape in order to get a remedy, for the flesh of the ape stays the course of his disease; and he attacks it when he is grown old to get a meal, for the lions when they are past hunting stags and wild boars gobble up the apes, and husband for their pursuit whatever strength they have left. The inhabitants of the country, however, are not disposed to allow this, because they regard these animals as their benefactors, and so make war against the lions in behalf of them. For this is the way they go to work in collecting the pepper; the Indians go up to the lower trees and pluck off the fruit, and they make little round shallow pits around the trees, into which they collect the pepper, carelessly tossing it in, as if it had no value and was of no serious use to mankind. Then the monkeys mark their actions from above out of their fastnesses, and when the night comes on they imitate the action of the Indians, and twisting off the twigs of the trees, they bring and throw them into the pits in question; then the

CHAP. IV

The pepper tree

Its fruit procured for men by the apes

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CAP. IV φέροντες ἐς τὰς ἅλως, οἱ Ἰνδοὶ δὲ ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ σωροὺς ἀναιροῦνται τοῦ ἀρώματος οὐδὲ πονήσαντες οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ ῥᾴθυμοί τε καὶ καθεύδοντες

V

CAP. V Ὑπεράραντες δὲ τοῦ ὄρους πεδίον ἰδεῖν φασι λεῖον κατατετμημένον ἐς τάφρους πλήρεις ὕδατος. εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς μὲν ἐπικαρσίους, τὰς δὲ ὀρθάς, διηγμένας ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Γάγγου, τῆς τε χώρας ὅρια οὔσας, τοῖς τε πεδίοις ἐπαγομένας, ὁπότε ἡ γῆ διψῴη. τὴν δὲ γῆν ταύτην ἀρίστην φασὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς εἶναι καὶ μεγίστην τῶν ἐκεῖ λήξεων, πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερῶν ὁδοῦ μῆκος ἐπὶ τὸν Γάγγην, ὀκτωκαίδεκα δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν πιθήκων ὄρος, ᾧ ξυμπαρατείνει. πεδιὰς πᾶσα ἡ χώρα μέλαινά τε καὶ πάντων εὔφορος. ἰδεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ στάχυας ἀνεστῶτας, ὅσον οἱ δόνακες, ἰδεῖν δὲ κυάμους τριπλασίους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τὸ μέγεθος, σήσαμόν τε καὶ κέγχρον ὑπερφυᾶ πάντα. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ κάρυα φύεσθαί φασιν, ὧν πολλὰ πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἀνακεῖσθαι τοῖς δεῦρο θαύματος ἕνεκα. τὰς δὲ ἀμπέλους φύεσθαι μὲν μικράς, καθάπερ αἱ Λυδῶν τε καὶ Μαιόνων, ποτίμους δὲ εἶναι καὶ ἀνθοσμίας ὁμοῦ τῷ ἀποτρυγᾶν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ δένδρῳ φασὶν ἐντετυχηκέναι προσεοικότι τῇ δάφνῃ, φύεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ κάλυκα εἰκασμένην τῇ μεγίστῃ ῥόᾳ, καὶ μῆλον ἐγκεῖσθαι τῇ κάλυκι κυάνεον μέν, ὥσπερ τῶν ὑακίνθων αἱ κάλυκες, πάντων δὲ ἥδιστον, ὁπόσα ἐξ ὡρῶν ἥκει.

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Indians at daybreak carry away the heaps of the spice which they have thus got without any trouble, and indeed during the repose of slumber. CHAP. IV

V

AFTER crossing the top of the mountain, they say they saw a smooth plain seamed with cuts and ditches full of water, some of which were carried crosswise, whilst others were straight; these are derived from the river Ganges, and serve both for boundaries, and also are distributed over the plain, when the soil is dry. But they say that this soil is the best in India, and constitutes the greatest of the territorial divisions of that country, extending in length towards the Ganges a journey of fifteen days and of eighteen from the sea to the mountain of the apes along which it skirts. The whole plain is a dead level, black and fertile of everything; for you can see on it standing corn as high as reeds, and you can also see beans three times as large as the Egyptian kind, as well as sesame and millet of enormous size. And they say that nuts also grow there, of which many are treasured up in our temples here as objects of curiosity. But the vines which grow there are small, like those of the Lydians and Maeones; their vintage however is not only drinkable, but has a fine bouquet from the first. They also say that they came upon a tree there resembling the laurel, upon which there grew a cup or husk resembling a very large pomegranate; and inside the cup there was a kernel as blue as the cups of the hyacinth, but sweeter to the taste than any of the fruits the seasons bring.

CHAP. V

The irrigated plain of the Ganges

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VI

CAP. VI Καταβαίνοντες δὲ τὸ ὄρος δρακόντων θήρᾳ περιτυχεῖν φασι, περὶ ἧς ἀνάγκη λέξαι· καὶ γὰρ σφόδρα εὔηθες ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ λαγὼ καὶ ὅπως ἁλίσκεται καὶ ἁλώσεται, πολλὰ εἰρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐς φροντίδα βαλλομένοις ταῦτα, ἡμᾶς δὲ παρελθεῖν λόγον γενναίας τε καὶ δαιμονίου θήρας μηδὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ παραλειφθέντα, ἐς ὃν ταῦτα ἔγραψα· δρακόντων μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἀπείροις μήκεσι κατέζωσται πᾶσα ἡ Ἰνδικὴ χώρα καὶ μεστὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἕλη, μεστὰ δὲ ὄρη, κενὸς δὲ οὐδεὶς λόφος. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἔλειοι νωθροί τέ εἰσι καὶ τριακοντάπηχυ μῆκος ἔχουσι, καὶ κράνος αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀνέστηκεν, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ ταῖς δρακαίναις ὅμοιοι, μέλανες δὲ ἱκανῶς τὸν νῶτον καὶ ἧττον φολιδωτοὶ τῶν ἄλλων. καὶ σοφώτερον ἥπται τοῦ λόγου περὶ αὐτῶν Ὅμηρος ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ ποιηταί, τὸν γὰρ δράκοντα τὸν ἐν Αὐλίδι τὸν πρὸς τῇ πηγῇ οἰκοῦντα περὶ νῶτα δαφοινὸν εἴρηκεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ποιηταὶ τὸν ὁμοήθη τούτῳ τὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς Νεμέας ἄλσει φασὶ καὶ λοφιὰν ἔχειν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν περὶ τοὺς ἑλείους εὕροιμεν.

VII

CAP. VII Οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τὰς ὑπωρείας τε καὶ τοὺς λόφους ἵενται μὲν ἐς τὰ πεδία ἐπὶ θήρᾳ, πλεονεκτοῦσι δὲ τῶν ἑλείων πάντα, καὶ γὰρ ἐς πλέον τοῦ μήκους ἐλαύνουσι, καὶ ταχύτεροι τῶν ὀξυτάτων ποταμῶν φέρονται, καὶ διαφεύγει αὐτοὺς οὐδέν· τούτοις καὶ

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VI

CHAP. VI

The several sorts of dragon in India

Now as they descended the mountain, they say they came in for a dragon hunt, which I must needs describe. For it is utterly absurd for those who are amateurs of hare-hunting to spin yarns about the hare, as to how it is caught or ought to be caught, and yet that we should omit to describe a chase as bold as it is wonderful, and which the sage, of whom I have written this account, was careful to set on record: The whole of India is girt with dragons of enormous size; for not only the marshes are full of them, but the mountains as well, and there is not a single ridge without one. Now the marsh kind are sluggish in their habits and are thirty cubits long, and they have no crest standing up on their heads, but in this respect resemble the she-dragons. Their backs however are very black, with fewer scales on them than the other kinds; and Homer *Iliad* II. 308 has described them with deeper insight than have most poets, for he says that the dragon that lived hard by the spring in Aulis had a tawny back; but other poets declare that the congener of this one in the grove of Nemea also had a crest, a feature which we could not verify in regard to the marsh dragons.

VII

CHAP. VII

And the dragons along the foothills and the mountain crests make their way into the plains after their quarry, and get the better all round of those in the marshes; for indeed they reach a greater length, and move faster than the swiftest rivers, so

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CAP. VII λοφιὰ φύεται, νέοις μὲν ὑπανίσχουσα τὸ μέτριον, τελειουμένοις δὲ συναυξανομένη τε καὶ συνανιοῦσα ἐς πολύ, ὅτε δὴ πυρσοί τε καὶ πριονωτοὶ γίγνονται. οὗτοι καὶ γενειάσκουσι καὶ τὸν αὐχένα ὑψοῦ αἴρουσι, καὶ τὴν φολίδα στίλβουσι δίκην ἀργύρου, αἱ δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν κόραι λίθος ἐστὶ διάπυρος, ἰσχὺν δ' αὐτῶν ἀμήχανον εἶναί φασιν ἐς πολλὰ τῶν ἀποθέτων. γίγνεται δὲ τοῖς θηρῶσιν ὁ πεδινὸς εὕρημα, ἐπειδὰν τῶν ἐλεφάντων τινὰ ἐπισπάσηται, τουτὶ γὰρ ἀπόλλυσιν ἄμφω τὰ θηρία. καὶ κέρδος τοῖς ἑλοῦσι δράκοντας ὀφθαλμοί τε γίγνονται καὶ δορὰ καὶ ὀδόντες. εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὅμοιοι τοῖς τῶν μεγίστων συῶν, λεπτότεροι δὲ καὶ διάστροφοι καὶ τὴν αἰχμὴν ἄτριπτοι, καθάπερ οἱ τῶν μεγάλων ἰχθύων.

VIII

CAP. VIII Οἱ δὲ ὄρειοι δράκοντες τὴν μὲν φολίδα χρυσοῖ φαίνονται, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεδινούς, γένεια δὲ αὐτοῖς βοστρυχώδη, χρυσᾶ κἀκεῖνα, καὶ κατωφρύωνται μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ πεδινοί, ὄμμα τε ὑποκάθηται τῇ ὀφρύι δεινὸν καὶ ἀναιδὲς δεδορκός, ὑπόχαλκόν τε ἠχὼ φέρουσιν, ἐπειδὰν τῇ γῇ ὑποκυμαίνωσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν λόφων πυρσῶν ὄντων πῦρ αὐτοῖς ἅπτει λαμπαδίου πλέον. οὗτοι καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας αἱροῦσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οὕτως ἁλί-

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that nothing escapes them. These actually have a crest, of moderate extent and height when they are young; but as they reach their full size, it grows with them and extends to a considerable height, at which time also they turn red and get serrated backs. This kind also have beards, and lift their necks on high, while their scales glitter like silver; and the pupils of their eyes consist of a fiery stone, and they say that this has an uncanny power for many secret purposes. The plain specimen is a real prize of the hunters whenever it draws into its folds an elephant; for the destruction of both creatures is the result, and those who capture the dragons are rewarded by getting the eyes and skin and teeth. In most respects the teeth resemble the largest swine's, but they are slighter in build and flexible, and are as sharp and indestructible as those of the largest fishes.

CHAP. VII

Their eyes contain mystic gems

VIII

Now the dragons of the mountains have scales of a golden colour, and in length excel those of the plain, and they have bushy beards, which also are of a golden hue; and their eyebrows are more prominent than those of the plain, and their eye is sunk deep under the eyebrow, and emits a terrible and ruthless glance. And they give off a noise like the clashing of brass whenever they are burrowing under the earth, and from their crests, which are all fiery red, there flashes a fire brighter than a torch. They also can catch the elephants, though they are themselves caught by the Indians in the following

CHAP. VIII

Method of catching dragons by means of spells

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CAP. VIII σκονται· κοκκοβαφεῖ πέπλῳ χρυσᾶ ἐνείραντες γράμματα τίθενται πρὸ τῆς χειᾶς, ὕπνον ἐγγοητεύσαντες τοῖς γράμμασιν, ὑφ' οὗ νικᾶται τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ δράκων ἀτρέπτους ὄντας, καὶ πολλὰ τῆς ἀπορρήτου σοφίας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ᾄδουσιν, οἷς ἄγεταί τε καὶ τὸν αὐχένα ὑπερβαλὼν τῆς χειᾶς ἐπικαθεύδει τοῖς γράμμασι· προσπεσόντες οὖν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ κειμένῳ πελέκεις ἐναράττουσι, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες λῄζονται τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ λίθους. ἀποκεῖσθαι δέ φασιν ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὀρείων δρακόντων κεφαλαῖς λίθους τὸ μὲν εἶδος ἀνθηρὰς καὶ πάντα ἀπαυγαζούσας χρώματα, τὴν δὲ ἰσχὺν ἀρρήτους κατὰ τὸν δακτύλιον, ὃν γενέσθαι φασὶ τῷ Γύγῃ. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν αὐτῷ πελέκει καὶ αὐτῇ τέχνῃ συλλαβὼν ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ χειὰν φέρων ᾤχετο, μονονοὺ σείων τὸ ὄρος. οὗτοι καὶ τὰ ὄρη τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν οἰκεῖν λέγονται, σύριγμα δὲ δεινόν φασιν ἀκούεσθαι τούτων, καὶ κατιόντας αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τήν θάλατταν πλεῖν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ πελάγους. περὶ δὲ ἐτῶν μήκους τοῦ θηρίου τούτου γνῶναί τε ἄπορον καὶ εἰπεῖν ἄπιστον. τοσαῦτα περὶ δρακόντων οἶδα.

IX

CAP. IX Τὴν δὲ πόλιν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει μεγίστην οὖσαν φασὶ μὲν καλεῖσθαι Πάρακα, δρακόντων δὲ ἀνακεῖσθαι κεφαλὰς ἐν μέσῃ πλείστας, γυμναζομένων τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ Ἰνδῶν τὴν θήραν ταύτην ἐκ νέων.

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manner. They embroider golden runes on a scarlet cloak, which they lay in front of the animal's burrow after charming the runes to cause sleep; for this is the only way to overcome the eyes of the dragon, which are otherwise inflexible, and much mysterious lore is sung by them to overcome him. These runes induce the dragon to stretch his neck out of his burrow and fall asleep over them: then the Indians fall upon him as he lies there, and despatch him with blows of their axes, and having cut off the head they despoil it of its gems. And they say that in the heads of the mountain dragons there are stored away stones of flowery colour, which flash out all kinds of hues, and possess a mystical power such as resided in the ring, which they say belonged to Gyges. But often the Indian, in spite of his axe and his cunning, is caught by the dragon, who carries him off into his burrow, and almost shakes the mountains as he disappears. These are also said to inhabit the mountains in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea, and they say that they hear them hissing terribly and that they see them go down to the shore and swim far out into the sea. It was impossible however to ascertain the number of years that this creature lives, nor would my statements be believed. This is all I know about dragons.

CHAP. VIII

IX

CHAP. IX

The city Paraca

THEY tell us that the city under the mountain is of great size and is called Paraca, and that in the centre of it are enshrined a great many heads of dragons, for the Indians who inhabit it are trained from their boyhood in this form of sport. And they

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CAP. IX λέγονται δὲ καὶ ζῴων ξυνιέναι φθεγγομένων τε καὶ βουλευομένων, σιτούμενοι δράκοντος οἱ μὲν καρδίαν, οἱ δὲ ἧπαρ. προϊόντες δὲ αὐλοῦ μὲν ἀκοῦσαι δόξαι νομέως δή τινος ἀγέλην τάττοντος, ἐλάφους δὲ ἄρα βουκολεῖσθαι λευκάς, ἀμέλγουσι δὲ Ἰνδοὶ ταύτας εὐτραφὲς ἡγούμενοι τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῶν γάλα.

X

CAP. X Ἐντεῦθεν ἡμερῶν τεττάρων ὁδὸν πορευόμενοι δι' εὐδαίμονος καὶ ἐνεργοῦ τῆς χώρας προσελθεῖν φασι τῇ τῶν σοφῶν τύρσει. τὸν δὲ ἡγεμόνα κελεύσαντα συνοκλάσαι τὴν κάμηλον ἀποπηδῆσαι αὐτῆς περιδεᾶ καὶ ἱδρῶτος πλέων. τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον ξυνεῖναι μὲν οὗ ἥκοι, γελάσαντα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δέει, "δοκεῖ μοι," φάναι, "οὗτος, εἰ καὶ κατέπλευσεν ἐς λιμένα μακρόν τι ἀναμετρήσας πέλαγος, ἀχθεσθῆναι ἂν τῇ γῇ καὶ δεῖσαι τὸ ἐν ὅρμῳ εἶναι." καὶ ἅμα εἰπὼν ταῦτα προσέταξε τῇ καμήλῳ συνιζῆσαι, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐθὰς λοιπὸν ἦν τῶν τοιούτων, περίφοβον δὲ ἄρα ἐποίει τὸν ἡγεμόνα τὸ πλησίον τῶν σοφῶν ἥκειν, Ἰνδοὶ γὰρ δεδίασι τούτους μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν σφῶν αὐτῶν βασιλέα, ὅτι καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτός, ὑφ' ᾧ ἐστιν ἡ χώρα, περὶ πάντων, ἃ λεκτέα τε αὐτῷ καὶ πρακτέα, ἐρωτᾷ τούσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐς θεοῦ πέμποντες, οἱ δὲ σημαίνουσι μέν, ὅ τι λῷον αὐτῷ πράττειν, ὅ τι δὲ μὴ λῷον, ἀπαγορεύουσί τε καὶ ἀποσημαίνουσι.

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are also said to acquire an understanding of the language and ideas of animals by feeding either on the heart or the liver of the dragon. CHAP IX

And as they advanced they thought they heard the pipe of some shepherd marshalling his flock, but it turned out to be a man looking after a herd of white hinds, for the Indians use these for milking, and find their milk very nutritious.

X

CHAP. X

Castle of the sages.

Terror of the guide

From this point their road led for four days across a rich and well cultivated country, till they approached the castle of the sages, when their guide bade his camel crouch down, and leapt off it in such an agony of fear that he was bathed in perspiration. Apollonius however quite understood where he was come to, and smiling at the panic of the Indian, said: "It seems to me that this fellow, were he a mariner who had reached harbour after a long sea voyage, would worry at being on land and tremble at being in dock." And as he said this he ordered his camel to kneel down, for indeed he was by now well accustomed to do so. And it seems that what scared the guide so much was that he was now close to the sages; for the Indians fear these people more than they do their own king, because the very king to whom the land is subject consults them about everything that he has to say or do, just as people who send to an oracle of a god; and the sages indicate to him what it is expedient for him to do, and what is inexpedient, and dissuade and warn him off with signs.

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XI

CAP. XI

Καταλύσειν δὲ μέλλοντες ἐν τῇ κώμῃ τῇ πλησίον—ἀπέχει δὲ τοῦ ὄχθου τῶν σοφῶν οὔπω στάδιον—ἰδεῖν φασι νεανίαν δρόμῳ ἥκοντα, μελάντατον Ἰνδῶν πάντων, ὑποστίλβειν δὲ αὐτῷ μηνοειδῶς τὸ μεσόφρυον. τουτὶ δὲ ἀκούω χρόνοις ὕστερον καὶ περὶ Μένωνα τὸν Ἡρώδου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ τρόφιμον, ἀπ' Αἰθιόπων δὲ ἦν, ἐν μειρακίῳ δόξαι, προϊόντος δὲ ἐς ἄνδρας ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν αὐγὴν ταύτην καὶ συναφανισθῆναι τῇ ὥρᾳ, τὸν δὲ Ἰνδὸν χρυσῆν μὲν φέρειν φασὶν ἄγκυραν, ἣν νομίζουσιν Ἰνδοὶ κηρύκειον ἐπὶ τῷ πάντα ἴσχειν.

XII

CAP. XII

Προσδραμόντα δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ φωνῇ Ἑλλάδι προσειπεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὔπω θαυμαστὸν δόξαι διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ πάντας ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων φθέγγεσθαι, τὸ δὲ "ὁ δεῖνα χαῖρε" τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παρασχεῖν ἔκπληξιν, τῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ θάρσος ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀφικτο, βλέψας γὰρ ἐς τὸν Δάμιν, "παρὰ ἄνδρας," ἔφη, "σοφοὺς ἀτεχνῶς ἥκομεν, ἐοίκασι γὰρ προγιγνώσκειν." καὶ ἅμα ἤρετο τὸν Ἰνδόν, ὅ τι χρὴ πράττειν, ποθῶν ἤδη τὴν ξυνουσίαν, ὁ δὲ Ἰνδός,

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XI

CHAP. XI

The messenger of the sages described

AND they were about to halt in the neighbouring village, which is hardly distant a single stade from the eminence occupied by the sages, when they saw a youth run up to them, the blackest Indian they ever saw; and between his eyebrows was a crescent-shaped spot which shone slightly. But I learn that at a later time the same feature was remarked in the case of Menon the nursling of Herod the Sophist, who was an Ethiop; it showed while he was a youth, but as he grew up to man's estate its splendour waned and finally disappeared with his youth. But the Indian also wore, they say, a golden anchor, which is affected by Indians as a herald's badge, because it holds all things fast.

XII

CHAP. XII

THEN he ran up to Apollonius and addressed him in the Greek tongue; and so far this did not seem so remarkable, because all the inhabitants of the village spoke the Greek tongue. But when he addressed him by name and said "Hail so and so," the rest of the party were filled with astonishment, though our sage only felt the more confidence in his mission: for he looked to Damis and said: "We have reached men who are unfeignedly wise, for they seem to have the gift of foreknowledge." And he at once asked the Indian what he must do, because he was already eager for an interview: and the Indian replied:

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CAP. XII " τούτους μέν," ἔφη, " καταλύειν χρὴ ἐνταῦθα, σὲ δὲ ἥκειν ὡς ἔχεις, κελεύουσι γὰρ αὐτοί."

XIII

CAP. XIII Τὸ μὲν δὴ αὐτοὶ Πυθογόρειον ἤδη τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐφάνη, καὶ ἠκολούθει χαίρων.

Τὸν δὲ ὄχθον, ἐφ' οὗ οἱ σοφοὶ ἀνῳκισμένοι εἰσίν, ὕψος μὲν εἶναι κατὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίων φασὶν ἀκρόπολιν, ἀνίστασθαι δὲ ἐκ πεδίου ἄνω, εὐφυᾶ δὲ ὁμοίως πέτραν ὀχυροῦν αὐτὸν κύκλῳ περιήκουσαν, ἧς πολλαχοῦ δίχηλα ὁρᾶσθαι ἴχνη καὶ γενειάδων τύπους καὶ προσώπων καί που καὶ νῶτα ἰδεῖν ἀπωλισθηκόσιν ὅμοια, τὸν γὰρ Διόνυσον, ὅτε ξὺν Ἡρακλεῖ ἀπεπειρᾶτο τοῦ χωρίου, προσβαλεῖν μὲν αὐτῷ φασι κελεῦσαι τοὺς Πᾶνας, ὡς πρὸς τὸν σεισμὸν ἱκανούς, ἐμβροντηθέντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν σοφῶν πεσεῖν ἄλλον ἄλλως, καὶ τὰς πέτρας οἷον ἐντυπωθῆναι τὰ τῆς διαμαρτίας σχήματα. περὶ δὲ τῷ ὄχθῳ νεφέλην ἰδεῖν φασιν, ἐν ᾗ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς οἰκεῖν φανερούς τε καὶ ἀφανεῖς καὶ ὅ τι βούλονται. πύλας δὲ εἰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλας εἶναι τῷ ὄχθῳ, οὐκ εἰδέναι. τὸ γὰρ περὶ αὐτὸν νέφος οὔτε ἀκλείστῳ ξυγχωρεῖν οὔτ' αὖ ξυγκεκλεισμένῳ φαίνεσθαι.

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"Your party must halt here, but you must come on just as you are, for the Masters themselves issue this command." CHAP. XII

XIII

THE word *Masters* at once had a Pythagorean ring for the ears of Apollonius and he gladly followed the messenger. CHAP. XIII

Now the hill the summit of which is inhabited by the sages is, according to the account of our travellers, of about the same height as the Acropolis of Athens; and it rises straight up from the plain, though its natural position equally secures it from attack, for the rock surrounds it on all sides. On many parts of this rock you see traces of cloven feet and outlines of beards and of faces, and here and there impressions of backs as of persons who had slipt and rolled down. For they say that Dionysus, when he was trying to storm the place together with Hercules, ordered the Pans to attack it, thinking that they would be strong enough to stand the shock; but they were thunderstruck by the sages and fell one, one way, and another, another; and the rocks as it were took the print of the various postures in which they fell and failed. And they say that they saw a cloud floating round the eminence on which the Indians live and render themselves visible or invisible at will. Whether there were any other gates to the eminence they say they did not know; for the cloud around it did not anywhere allow them to be seen, whether there was an opening in the rampart, or whether on the other hand it was a close-shut fortress. Situation of the castle

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XIV

CAP. XIV

Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναβῆναι μὲν κατὰ τὸ νότιον μάλιστα τοῦ ὄχθου τῷ Ἰνδῷ ἑπόμενος, ἰδεῖν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν φρέαρ ὀργυιῶν τεττάρων, οὗ τὴν αὐγὴν ἐπὶ τὸ στόμιον ἀναπέμπεσθαι κυανωτάτην οὖσαν, καὶ ὁπότε ἡ μεσημβρία τοῦ ἡλίου σταίη περὶ αὐτό, ἀνιμᾶσθαι τὴν αὐγὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκτῖνος καὶ χωρεῖν ἄνω παρεχομένην εἶδος θερμῆς ἴριδος. μαθεῖν δὲ ὕστερον περὶ τοῦ φρέατος, ὡς σανδαρακίνη μὲν εἴη ἡ ὑπ' αὐτῷ γῆ, ἀπόρρητον δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἡγοῖντο, καὶ οὔτε πίνοι τις αὐτὸ οὔτε ἀνασπῴη, ὅρκιον δὲ νομίζοιτο τῇ πέριξ Ἰνδικῇ πάσῃ. πλησίον δὲ τούτου κρατῆρα εἶναι πυρός, οὗ φλόγα ἀναπέμπεσθαι μολυβδώδη, καπνὸν δὲ οὐδένα ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἄττειν, οὐδὲ ὀσμὴν οὐδεμίαν, οὐδὲ ὑπερχυθῆναί ποτε ὁ κρατὴρ οὗτος, ἀλλ' ἀναδίδοσθαι τοσοῦτος, ὡς μὴ ὑπερβλύσαι τοῦ βόθρου. ἐνταῦθα Ἰνδοὶ καθαίρονται τῶν ἀκουσίων, ὅθεν οἱ σοφοὶ τὸ μὲν φρέαρ ἐλέγχου καλοῦσι, τὸ δὲ πῦρ ξυγγνώμης. καὶ διττὼ ἑωρακέναι φασὶ πίθω λίθου μέλανος ὄμβρων τε καὶ ἀνέμων ὄντε. ὁ μὲν δὴ τῶν ὄμβρων, εἰ αὐχμῷ ἡ Ἰνδικὴ πιέζοιτο, ἀνοιχθεὶς νεφέλας ἀναπέμπει καὶ ὑγραίνει τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν, εἰ δὲ ὄμβροι πλεονεκτοῖεν, ἴσχει αὐτοὺς ξυγκλειόμενος, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀνέμων πίθος ταὐτόν, οἶμαι, τῷ τοῦ Αἰόλου ἀσκῷ πράττει, παρανοιγνύντες γὰρ τὸν πίθον ἕνα τῶν ἀνέμων ἀνιᾶσιν ἐμπνεῖν ὥρᾳ,

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XIV

APOLLONIUS says that he himself ascended mostly on the south side of the ridge, following the Indian, and that the first thing he saw was a well four fathoms deep, above the mouth of which there rose a sheen of deep blue light; and at midday when the sun was stationary about it, the sheen of light was always drawn up on high by the rays, and in its ascent assumed the look of a glowing rainbow. But he learnt afterwards that the soil underneath the well was composed of realgar, but that they regarded the water as holy and mysterious, and no one either drank it or drew it up, but it was regarded by the whole land of India all around as binding in oaths. And near this there was a crater, he says, of fire, which sent up a lead-coloured flame, though it emitted no smoke or any smell, nor did this crater ever overflow, but emitted just matter enough not to bubble over the edges of the pit. It is here that the Indians purify themselves of involuntary sins, wherefore the sages call the well, the well of testing, and the fire, the fire of pardon. And they say that they saw there two jars of black stone, of the rains and of the winds respectively. The jar of the rains, they say, is opened in case the land of India is suffering from drought, and sends up clouds to moisten the whole country; but if the rains should be in excess they are stopped by the jar being shut up. But the jar of the winds plays, I imagine, the same rôle as the bag of Aeolus: for when they open this jar ever so little, they let out one of the winds, which creates a seasonable breeze by which the

The well of testing

The jars of wind and rain

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CAP. XIV κἀντεῦθεν ἡ γῆ ἔρρωται. θεῶν δὲ ἀγάλμασιν ἐντυχεῖν φασιν, εἰ μὲν Ἰνδοῖς ἢ Αἰγυπτίοις, θαῦμα οὐδέν, τὰ δέ γε ἀρχαιότατα τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι, τό τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δηλίου καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου τοῦ Λιμναίου καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμυκλαίου, καὶ ὁπόσα ὧδε ἀρχαῖα, ταῦτα ἱδρύεσθαί τε τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τούτους καὶ νομίζειν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἤθεσι. φασὶ δ' οἰκεῖν τὰ μέσα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, καὶ τὸν ὄχθον ὀμφαλὸν ποιοῦνται τοῦ λόφου τούτου, πῦρ τε ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ὀργιάζουσιν, ὃ φασιν ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτίνων αὐτοὶ ἕλκειν· τούτῳ καὶ τὸν ὕμνον ἡμέραν ἅπασαν ἐς μεσημβρίαν ᾄδουσιν.

XV

CAP. XV Ὁποῖοι μὲν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ ὅπως οἰκοῦντες τὸν ὄχθον, αὐτὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ δίεισιν· ἐν μιᾷ γὰρ τῶν πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους ὁμιλιῶν, "εἶδον," φησίν, "Ἰνδοὺς Βραχμᾶνας οἰκοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀτειχίστως τετειχισμένους, καὶ οὐδὲν κεκτημένους ἢ τὰ πάντων." ταυτὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος μὲν σοφώτερον ἔγραψεν, ὁ δέ γε Δάμις φησὶ χαμευνίᾳ μὲν αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι, τὴν γῆν δὲ ὑποστρωννύναι πόας, ἃς ἂν αὐτοὶ αἱρῶνται, καὶ μετεωροποροῦντας δὴ ἰδεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐς πήχεις δύο, οὐ θαυματοποιίας ἕνεκα, τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον τοῦτο παραιτεῖσθαι

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country is refreshed. And they say that they came upon statues of Gods, and they were not nearly so much astonished at finding Indian or Egyptian Gods as they were by finding the most ancient of the Greek Gods, a statue of Athene Polias and of Apollo of Delos and of Dionysus of Limnae and another of him of Amyclae, and others of similar age. These were set up by these Indians and worshipped with Greek rites. And they say that they are inhabiting the heart of India, and they regard the mound as the navel of this hill, and on it they worship fire with mysterious rites, deriving the fire, according to their own account, from the rays of the sun; and to the Sun they sing a hymn every day at midday.

CHAP. XIV
Greek statues of the Gods worshipped by the sages

XV

APOLLONIUS himself describes the character of these sages and of their settlement upon the hill; for in one of his addresses to the Egyptians he says, "I saw Indian Brahmans living upon the earth and yet not on it, and fortified without fortifications, and possessing nothing, yet having the riches of all men." He may indeed be thought to have here written with too much subtlety; but we have anyhow the account of Damis to the effect that they made a practice of sleeping on the ground, and that they strewed the ground with such grass as they might themselves prefer; and, what is more, he says that he saw them levitating themselves two cubits high from the ground, not for the sake of miraculous display, for they disdain any such ambition; but they

CHAP. XV
Levitation of the Sages

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CAP. XV τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλ' ὁπόσα τῷ Ἡλίῳ ξυναποβαίνοντες τῆς γῆς δρῶσιν, ὡς πρόσφορα τῷ θεῷ πράττοντας. τό τοι πῦρ, ὃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκτῖνος ἐπισπῶνται, καίτοι σωματοειδὲς ὄν, οὔτε ἐπὶ βωμοῦ καίειν αὐτοὺς οὔτε ἐν ἰπνοῖς φυλάττειν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὰς αὐγάς, αἳ ἐξ ἡλίου τε ἀνακλῶνται καὶ ὕδατος, οὕτω μετέωρόν τε ὁρᾶσθαι αὐτὸ καὶ σαλεῦον ἐν τῷ αἰθέρι. τὸν μὲν οὖν δὴ Ἥλιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὡρῶν, ἃς ἐπιτροπεύει αὐτός, ἵν' ἐς καιρὸν τῇ γῇ ἴωσι καὶ ἡ Ἰνδικὴ εὖ πράττῃ, νύκτωρ δὲ λιπαροῦσι τὴν ἀκτῖνα μὴ ἄχθεσθαι τῇ νυκτί, μένειν δέ, ὡς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἤχθη. τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὸ "ἐν τῇ γῇ τε εἶναι τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ γῇ." τὸ δὲ "ἀτειχίστους τετειχισμένους" δηλοῖ τὸν ἀέρα, ὑφ' ᾧ ζῶσιν, ὑπαίθριοι γὰρ δοκοῦντες αὐλίζεσθαι σκιάν τε ὑπεραίρουσιν αὑτῶν, καὶ ὄντος οὐ ψεκάζονται, καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ ἡλίῳ εἰσίν, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοὶ βούλωνται. τὸ δὲ "μηδὲν κεκτημένους τὰ πάντων ἔχειν" ὧδε ὁ Δάμις ἐξηγεῖται· πηγαί, ὁπόσαι τοῖς βάκχοις παρὰ τῆς γῆς ἀναθρώσκουσιν, ἐπειδὰν ὁ Διόνυσος αὐτούς τε καὶ τὴν γῆν σείσῃ, φοιτῶσι καὶ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τούτοις ἐστιωμένοις τε καὶ ἐστιῶσιν· εἰκότως οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοὺς μηδὲν μὲν ἐκ παρασκευῆς, αὐτοσχεδίως δέ, ἃ βούλονται, πορίζομένους, ἔχειν, φησίν, ἃ μὴ ἔχουσιν. κομᾶν δὲ

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regard any rites they perform, in thus quitting earth and walking with the Sun, as acts of homage acceptable to the God. Moreover, they neither burn upon an altar nor keep in stoves the fire which they extract from the sun's rays, although it is a material fire; but like the rays of sunlight when they are refracted in water, so this fire is seen raised aloft in the air and dancing in the ether. And further they pray to the Sun who governs the seasons by his might, that the latter may succeed duly in the land, so that India may prosper; but of a night they intreat the ray of light not to take the night amiss, but to stay with them just as they have brought it down. Such then was the meaning of the phrase of Apollonius, that "the Brahmans are upon earth and yet not upon earth." And his phrase "fortified without fortifications or walls," refers to the air or vapour under which they bivouac, for though they seem to live in the open air, yet they raise up a shadow and veil themselves in it, so that they are not made wet when it rains and they enjoy the sunlight whenever they choose. And the phrase "without possessing anything they had the riches of all men," is thus explained by Damis: All the springs which the Bacchanals see leaping up from the ground under their feet, whenever Dionysus stirs them and earth in a common convulsion, spring up in plenty for these Indians also when they are entertaining or being entertained. Apollonius therefore was right in saying that people provided as they are with all they want offhand and without having prepared anything, possess what they do not possess. And on principle they grow their hair long, as the

CHAP. XV

Their extract of sunlight

Their water-springs,

and costume

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CAP. XV ἐπιτηδεύουσιν, ὥσπερ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάλαι καὶ Θούριοι Ταραντῖνοί τε καὶ Μήλιοι καὶ ὁπόσοις τὰ Λακωνικὰ ἦν ἐν λόγῳ, μίτραν τε ἀναδοῦνται λευκήν, καὶ γυμνὸν αὐτοῖς βάδισμα καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐσχηματίζοντο παραπλησίως ταῖς ἐξωμίσιν. ἡ δὲ ὕλη τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἔριον αὐτοφυὲς ἡ γῆ φύει, λευκὸν μὲν ὥσπερ τὸ Παμφύλων, μαλακώτερον δὲ τίκτει, ἡ δὲ πιμελὴ οἷα ἔλαιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λείβεται. τοῦτο ἱερὰν ἐσθῆτα ποιοῦνται καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος παρὰ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τούτους ἀνασπᾷ αὐτό, οὐ μεθίεται ἡ γῆ τοῦ ἐρίου. τὴν δὲ ἰσχὺν τοῦ δακτυλίου καὶ τῆς ῥάβδου, ἃ φορεῖν αὐτοὺς ἄμφω, δύνασθαι μὲν πάντα, δύω δὲ ἀρρήτω τετιμῆσθαι.

XVI

CAP. XVI Προσιόντα δὲ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σοφοὶ προσήγοντο, ἀσπαζόμενοι ταῖς χερσίν, ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας ἐκάθητο μὲν ἐπὶ δίφρου ὑψηλοῦ—χαλκοῦ δὲ μέλανος ἦν καὶ πεποίκιλτο χρυσοῖς ἀγάλμασιν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δίφροι χαλκοῖ μέν, ἄσημοι δὲ ἦσαν, ὑψηλοὶ δὲ ἧττον, ὑπεκάθηντο γὰρ τῷ Ἰάρχᾳ —τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον ἰδὼν φωνῇ τε ἡσπάσατο Ἑλλάδι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ γράμματα ἀπῄτει. θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὴν πρόγνωσιν καὶ γράμμα γε ἓν ἔφη λείπειν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, δέλτα εἰπών, παρῆλθε γὰρ αὐτὸν γράφοντα· καὶ ἐφάνη

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Lacedaemonians did of old and the people of Thurium and Tarentum, as well as the Melians and all who set store by the fashions of Sparta; and they bind a white turban on their heads, and their feet are naked for walking, and they cut their garments to resemble the *exomis*.[1] But the material of which they make their raiment is a wool that springs wild from the ground, white like that of the Pamphylians, though it is of softer growth, and a grease like olive oil distils from off it. This is what they make their sacred vesture of, and if anyone else except these Indians tries to pluck it up, the earth refuses to surrender its wool. And they all carry both a ring and a staff of which the peculiar virtues can effect all things, and the one and the other, so we learn, are prized as secrets. CHAP. XV

XVI

CHAP. XVI

Apollonius' first audience

When Apollonius approached, the rest of the sages welcomed him and shook hands; but Iarchas had sat down on a high stool—and this was of black copper and chased with golden figures, while the seats of the others were of copper, but plain and not so high, for they sat lower down than Iarchas—and when he saw Apollonius, Iarchas greeted him in the Greek tongue and asked for the Indian's letter. And as Apollonius showed astonishment at his gift of prescience, he took pains to add that a single letter was missing in the epistle, namely a *delta*, which had escaped the writer; and this was found

[1] An overmantle leaving one arm and shoulder bare. Buddhist monks still wear a similar garment. The so-called wool was asbestos.

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CAP. XVI τοῦτο ὧδε ἔχον. ἀναγνοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολήν, "πῶς," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, περὶ ἡμῶν φρονεῖτε;" "πῶς," εἶπεν, "ἢ ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ ὑμῶν ἕνεκα ἥκειν με ὁδόν, ἣν μήπω τις τῶν ὅθεν περ ἐγὼ ἀνθρώπων;" "τί δὲ ἡμᾶς πλέον οἴει σαυτοῦ γιγνώσκειν;" "ἐγὼ μέν," εἶπε, "σοφώτερά τε ἡγοῦμαι τὰ ὑμέτερα καὶ πολλῷ θειότερα. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν πλέον ὧν οἶδα παρ' ὑμῖν εὕροιμι, μεμαθηκὼς ἂν εἴην καὶ τὸ μηκέτ' ἔχειν ὅ τι μάθοιμι." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἰνδός, "οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι," ἔφη, "τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους ἐρωτῶσι, ποταποί τε ἥκουσι καὶ ἐφ' ὅ τι, ἡμῖν δὲ σοφίας ἐπίδειξιν πρώτην ἔχει τὸ μὴ ἀγνοῆσαι τὸν ἥκοντα. ἔλεγχε δὲ πρῶτον τοῦτο." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα πατρόθεν τε διῄει τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ μητρόθεν, καὶ τὰ ἐν Αἰγαῖς πάντα, καὶ ὡς προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ ὁ Δάμις, καί, εἰ δή τι ἐσπούδασαν ὁδοιποροῦντες ἢ σπουδάζοντος ἑτέρου εἶδον, πάντα ταῦθ' ὥσπερ κοινωνήσας αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀποδημίας ὁ Ἰνδὸς ἀπνευστί τε καὶ σαφῶς εἶρεν. ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ ὁπόθεν εἰδείη, ἐπερομένου, "καὶ σὺ μέτοχος," ἔφη, "τῆς σοφίας ταύτης ἥκεις, ἀλλ' οὔπω πάσης." "διδάξῃ οὖν με," ἔφη, "τὴν σοφίαν πᾶσαν;" "καὶ ἀφθόνως γέ," εἶπε, "τουτὶ γὰρ σοφώτερον τοῦ βασκαίνειν τε καὶ κρύπτειν τὰ σπουδῆς ἄξια, καὶ ἄλλως, Ἀπολλώνιε, μεστόν σε

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to be the case. Then having read the epistle, he said: "What do you think of us, O Apollonius?" "Why," replied the latter, "how can you ask, when it is sufficiently shown by the fact that I have taken a journey to see you which was never till now accomplished by any of the inhabitants of my country." "And what do you think we know more than yourself?" "I," replied the other, "consider that your lore is profounder and much more divine than our own; and if I add nothing to my present stock of knowledge while I am with you, I shall at least have learned that I have nothing more to learn." Thereupon the Indian replied and said: "Other people ask those who arrive among them, who they are that come, and why, but the first display we make of our wisdom consists in showing that we are not ignorant who it is that comes. And you may test this point to begin with." And to suit his word he forthwith recounted the whole story of Apollonius' family both on his father's and his mother's side, and he related all his life in Aegae, and how Damis had joined him, and any conversations that they had had on the road, and anything they had found out through the conversation of others with them. All this, just as if he had shared their voyage with them, the Indian recounted straight off, quite clearly and without pausing for breath. And when Apollonius was astounded and asked him how he came to know it all, he replied: "And you too are come to share in this wisdom, but you are not yet an adept." "Will you teach me, then," said the other, "all this wisdom?" "Aye, and gladly, for that is a wiser course than grudging and hiding matters of interest; and moreover, O Apollonius, I

CHAP XVI

Prescience of the Brahmans

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CAP. XVI ὁρῶ τῆς μνημοσύνης, ἣν ἡμεῖς μάλιστα θεῶν ἀγαπῶμεν." "ἦ γὰρ καθεώρακας," εἶπεν, "ὅπως πέφυκα;" "ἡμεῖς," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, πάντα ὁρῶμεν τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς εἴδη, ξυμβόλοις αὐτὰ μυρίοις ἐξιχνεύοντες. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μεσημβρία πλησίον καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τοῖς θεοῖς χρὴ παρασκευάσαι, νῦν μὲν ταῦτ' ἐκπονῶμεν, μετὰ ταῦτα δέ, ὁπόσα βούλει, διαλεγώμεθα, παρατύγχανε δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς δρωμένοις." "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ἀδικοίην ἂν τὸν Καύκασον καὶ τὸν Ἰνδόν, οὓς ὑπερβὰς δι' ὑμᾶς ἥκω, εἰ μὴ πάντων ἐμφοροίμην ὧν δρᾶτε." "Ἐμφοροῦ," ἔφη, "καὶ ἴωμεν."

XVII

CAP. XVII Ἐλθόντες οὖν ἐπὶ πηγήν τινα ὕδατος, ἣν φησιν ὁ Δάμις ἰδὼν ὕστερον ἐοικέναι τῇ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς Δίρκῃ, πρῶτα μὲν ἐγυμνώθησαν, εἶτα ἐχρίσαντο τὰς κεφαλὰς ἠλεκτρώδει φαρμάκῳ, τὸ δὲ οὕτω τι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἔθαλπεν, ὡς ἀτμίζειν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸν ἱδρῶτα χωρεῖν ἀστακτί, καθάπερ τῶν πυρὶ λουομένων, εἶτα ἔρριψαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ λουσάμενοι ὧδε πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐβάδιζον, ἐστεφανωμένοι καὶ μεστοὶ τοῦ ὕμνου. περιστάντες δὲ ἐν χοροῦ σχήματι καὶ κορυφαῖον ποιησάμενοι τὸν Ἰάρχαν ὀρθαῖς ταῖς ῥάβδοις τὴν γῆν ἔπληξαν, ἡ δὲ κυρτωθεῖσα δίκην κύματος

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perceive that you are well endowed with memory, a goddess whom we love more than any other of the divine beings." "Why," said the other, "have you really discerned by your penetration my exact disposition?" "We," said the other, "O Apollonius, can see all spiritual traits, for we trace and detect them by a thousand signs. But as it is nearly midday, and we must get ready our offerings for the Gods, let us now employ ourselves with that, and afterwards let us converse as much as you like; but you must take part in all our religious rites." "By Zeus," said Apollonius, "I should be wronging the Caucasus and the Indus, both of which I have crossed in order to reach you, if I did not feast myself on your rites to the full." "Do so," said the other, "and let us depart." CHAP. XVI

XVII

ACCORDINGLY they betook themselves to a spring of water, which Damis, who saw it subsequently, says resembles that of Dirce in Boeotia; and first they stripped, and then they anointed their heads with an amber-like drug, which imparted such a warmth to these Indians, that their bodies steamed and the sweat ran off them as profusely as if they were washing themselves by a fire; next they threw themselves into the water and, having so taken their bath, they betook themselves to the temple with wreaths upon their heads and full of sacred song. And they stood round in the form of a chorus, and having chosen Iarchas as conductor they struck the earth, uplifting their rods, and the earth arched itself CHAP. XVII

The Sages bathe

Their worship and levitation

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CAP. XVII ἀνέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ἐς δίπηχυ τοῦ ἀέρος. οἱ δὲ ᾖδον ᾠδήν, ὁποῖος ὁ παιὰν ὁ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους, ὃν Ἀθήνησι τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἄδουσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν κατῆραν, καλέσας ὁ Ἰάρχας τὸ μειράκιον τὸ τὴν ἄγκυραν φέρον, "ἐπιμελήθητι," ἔφη, "τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου ἑταίρων." ὁ δὲ πολλῷ θᾶττον ἢ οἱ ταχεῖς τῶν ὀρνίθων πορευθείς τε καὶ ἐπανελθών, "ἐπιμεμέλημαι" ἔφη. θεραπεύσαντες οὖν τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνεπαύοντο ἐν τοῖς θάκοις, ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας πρὸς τὸ μειράκιον, "ἔκφερε," εἶπε, "τῷ σοφῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τὸν Φραώτου θρόνον, ἵν' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ διαλέγοιτο."

XVIII

CAP. XVIII Ὡς δὲ ἐκάθισεν, "ἐρώτα," ἔφη, "ὅ τι βούλει, παρ' ἄνδρας γὰρ ἥκεις πάντα εἰδότας." ἤρετο οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἴσασιν, οἰόμενος αὐτόν, ὥσπερ Ἕλληνες, χαλεπὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ ἑαυτὸν γνῶναι, ὁ δὲ ἐπιστρέψας παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου δόξαν, "ἡμεῖς," ἔφη, "πάντα γιγνώσκομεν, ἐπειδὴ πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς γιγνώσκομεν, οὐ γὰρ ἂν προσέλθοι τις ἡμῶν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ ταύτῃ μὴ πρῶτον εἰδὼς ἑαυτόν." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἀναμνησθεὶς ὧν τοῦ Φράώτου ἤκουσε, καὶ ὅπως ὁ φιλοσοφήσειν μέλλων ἑαυτὸν βασανίσας ἐπιχειρεῖ, τούτῳ ξυνεχώρησε τῷ λόγῳ, τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπέπειστο. πάλιν οὖν ἤρετο, τίνας αὐτοὺς

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like a billow of the sea and sent them up two cubits high into the air. But they sang a song resembling the paean of Sophocles which they sing at Athens in honour of Asclepius. But when they had alighted upon the ground, Iarchas called the stripling who carried the anchor and said: "Do you look after the companions of Apollonius." And he went off swifter than the quickest of the birds, and coming back again said: "I have looked after them." Having fulfilled then the most of their religious rites, they sat down to rest upon their seats, but Iarchas said to the stripling: "Bring out the throne of Phraotes for the wise Apollonius that he may sit upon it to converse with us." CHAP. XVII

XVIII

CHAP. XVIII
The Sages discuss self knowledge

And when he had taken his seat, he said: "Ask whatever you like, for you find yourself among people who know everything." Apollonius then asked him whether they knew themselves also, thinking that he, like the Greeks, would regard self-knowledge as a difficult matter. But the other, contrary to Apollonius' expectations, corrected him and said: "We know everything, just because we begin by knowing ourselves; for no one of us would be admitted to this philosophy unless he first knew himself." And Apollonius remembered what he had heard Phraotes say, and how he who would become a philosopher must examine himself before he undertakes the task; and he therefore acquiesced in this answer, for he was convinced of its truth in his own case also. He accordingly asked a fresh question,

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CAP. XVIII ἠγοῖντο, ὁ δέ, "θεούς," εἶπεν, ἐπερομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ, διὰ τί, "ὅτι," ἔφη, "ἀγαθοί ἐσμεν ἄνθρωποι." τοῦτο τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τοσαύτης ἔδοξεν εὐπαιδευσίας εἶναι μεστόν, ὡς εἰπεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λόγοις.

XIX

CAP. XIX Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὴν ἐρώτησιν, "περὶ ψυχῆς δέ," εἶπε, "πῶς φρονεῖτε;" "ὡς γε," εἶπε, "Πυθαγόρας μὲν ὑμῖν, ἡμεῖς δὲ Αἰγυπτίοις παρεδώκαμεν." "εἴποις ἂν οὖν," ἔφη, "καθάπερ ὁ Πυθαγόρας Εὔφορβον ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφηνεν, ὅτι καὶ σύ, πρὶν ἐς τοῦθ' ἥκειν τὸ σῶμα, Τρώων τις ἢ Ἀχαιῶν ἦσθα ἢ ὁ δεῖνα;" ὁ δὲ Ἰνδός, "Τροία μὲν ἀπώλετο," εἶπεν, "ὑπὸ τῶν πλεύσάντων Ἀχαιῶν τότε, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἀπολωλέκασιν οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῇ λόγοι· μόνους γὰρ ἄνδρας ἡγούμενοι τοὺς ἐς Τροίαν στρατεύσαντας, ἀμελεῖτε πλειόνων τε καὶ θειοτέρων ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἥ τε ὑμετέρα γῆ καὶ ἡ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ ἡ Ἰνδῶν ἤνεγκεν. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἤρου με περὶ τοῦ προτέρου σώματος, εἰπέ μοι, τίνα θαυμασιώτερον ἡγῇ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν τε καὶ ὑπὲρ Τροίας ἐλθόντων;" "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "Ἀχιλλέα τὸν Πηλέως τε καὶ Θέτιδος, οὗτος γὰρ δὴ κάλλιστός τε εἶναι τῷ Ὁμήρῳ ὕμνηται καὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μέγας,

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namely, who they considered themselves to be; and the other answered "We consider ourselves to be Gods." Apollonius asked afresh: "Why?" "Because," said the other, "we are good men." This reply struck Apollonius as so instinct with trained good sense, that he subsequently mentioned it to Domitian in his defence of himself. CHAP. XVIII

XIX

HE therefore resumed his questions and said: "And what view do you take of the soul?" "That," replied the other, "which Pythagoras imparted to you, and which we imparted to the Egyptians." "Would you then say," said Apollonius, "that, as Pythagoras declared himself to be Euphorbus, so you yourself, before you entered your present body, were one of the Trojans or Achaeans or someone else?" And the Indian replied: "Those Achaean sailors were the ruin of Troy, and your talking so much about it is the ruin of you Greeks. For you imagine that the campaigners against Troy were the only heroes that ever were, and you forget other heroes both more numerous and more divine, whom your own country and that of the Egyptians and that of the Indians have produced. Since then you have asked me about my earlier incarnation, tell me, whom you regard as the most remarkable of the assailants or defenders of Troy." "I," replied Apollonius, "regard Achilles, the son of Peleus and Thetis, as such, for he and no other is celebrated by Homer as excelling all the Achaeans in personal CHAP. XIX The transmigration of souls

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CAP. XIX ἔργα τε αὐτοῦ μεγάλα ᾄδει. καὶ μεγάλων ἀξιοῖ τοὺς Αἴαντάς τε καὶ Νιρέας, οἳ μετ' ἐκεῖνον καλοί τε αὐτῷ καὶ γενναῖοι ᾄδονται." "πρὸς τοῦτον," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ τὸν πρόγονον θεώρει τὸν ἐμόν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ πρόγονον σῶμα, τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ Πυθαγόρας Εὐφορβον ἡγεῖτο.

XX

CAP. XX "Ἦν τοίνυν," ἔφη, "χρόνος, ὅτ' Αἰθίοπες μὲν ᾤκουν ἐνταῦθα, γένος Ἰνδικόν, Αἰθιοπία δ' οὔπω ἦν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ Μερόην τε καὶ Καταδούπους ὥριστο Αἴγυπτος, αὐτὴ καὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Νείλου παρεχομένη καὶ ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς ξυναπολήγουσα. ὃν μὲν δὴ χρόνον ᾤκουν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Αἰθίοπες ὑποκείμενοι βασιλεῖ Γάγγῃ, ἥ τε γῆ αὐτοὺς ἱκανῶς ἔφερβε καὶ οἱ θεοὶ σφῶν ἐπεμελοῦντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέκτειναν τὸν βασιλέα τοῦτον, οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰνδοῖς καθαροὶ ἔδοξαν, οὔτε ἡ γῆ ξυνεχώρει αὐτοῖς ἵστασθαι, τήν τε γὰρ σποράν, ἣν ἐς αὐτὴν ἐποιοῦντο, πρὶν ἐς κάλυκα ἥκειν, ἔφθειρε, τούς τε τῶν γυναικῶν τόκους ἀτελεῖς ἐποίει, καὶ τὰς ἀγέλας πονήρως ἔβοσκε, πόλιν τε ὅποι βάλοιντο, ὑπεδίδου ἡ γῆ καὶ ὑπεχώρει κάτω. καὶ γάρ τι καὶ φάσμα τοῦ Γάγγου προϊόντας αὐτοὺς ἤλαυνεν ἐνταραττόμενον τῷ ὁμίλῳ, ὃ οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκε, πρίν γε δὴ τοὺς αὐθέντας καὶ τοὺς τὸ αἷμα χερσὶ πράξαντας τῇ

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beauty and size, and he sings of mighty deeds of his. And he also rates very highly such men as Ajax and Nireus, who were only second to him in beauty and courage, and are celebrated as such in his poems." "With him," said the other, "O Apollonius, I would have you compare my own ancestor, or rather my ancestral body, for that was the light in which Pythagoras regarded Euphorbus. CHAP. XIX

XX

CHAP. XX

Tale of the expulsion of the Ethiopians from India

"THERE was then," he said, "a time when the Ethiopians, an Indian race, dwelt in this country, and when Ethiopia as yet was not: but Egypt stretched its border beyond Meroe and the cataracts, and on the one side included in itself the fountains of the Nile, and on the other was only bounded by the mouths of the river. Well, at that time of which I speak, the Ethiopians lived here, and were subject to King Ganges, and the land was sufficient for their sustenance, and the gods watched over them; but when they slew this king, neither did the rest of the Indians regard them as pure, nor did the land permit them to remain upon it; for it spoiled the seed which they sowed in it before it came into ear, and it inflicted miscarriages on their women, and it gave a miserable feed to their flocks; and wherever they tried to found a city, it would give way and sink down under their feet. Nay more, the ghost of Ganges drove them forward on their path, a haunting terror to their multitude, and it did not quit them until they atoned to earth by sacrificing

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CAP. XX γῇ καθιέρευσαν. ἦν δὲ ἄρα ὁ Γάγγης οὗτος δεκάπηχυς μὲν τὸ μῆκος, τὴν δὲ ὥραν οἷος οὔπω τις ἀνθρώπων, ποταμοῦ δὲ Γάγγου παῖς· τὸν δὲ πατέρα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐπικλύζοντα αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἔτρεψε, καὶ διήλλαξεν αὐτὸν τῇ γῇ, ὅθεν ἡ γῇ ζῶντι μὲν ἄφθονα ἔφερεν, ἀποθανόντι δὲ ἐτιμώρει. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα Ὅμηρος ἄγει μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἑλένης ἐς Τροίαν, φησὶ δὲ αὐτὸν δώδεκα μὲν πόλεις ἐκ θαλάττης ἠρηκέναι, πεζῇ δὲ ἕνδεκα, γυναῖκά τε ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀφαιρεθέντα ἐς μῆνιν ἀπενεχθῆναι, ὅτε δὴ ἀτεράμονα καὶ ὠμὸν δόξαι, σκεψώμεθα τὸν Ἰνδὸν πρὸς ταῦτα· πόλεων μὲν τοίνυν ἑξήκοντα οἰκιστὴς ἐγένετο, αἵπερ εἰσὶ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν τῇδε—τὸ δὲ πορθεῖν πόλεις ὅστις εὐκλεέστερον ἡγεῖται τοῦ ἀνοικίζειν πόλιν οὐκ ἔστι—Σκύθας δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Καύκασόν ποτε στρατεύσαντας ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν γῆν ἀπεώσατο. τὸ δὲ ἐλευθεροῦντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γῆν ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν φαίνεσθαι πολλῷ βέλτιον τοῦ δουλείαν ἐπάγειν πόλει, καὶ ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ γυναικός, ἣν εἰκὸς μηδὲ ἄκουσαν ἡρπάσθαι. ξυμμαχίας δὲ αὐτῷ γενομένης πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς χώρας, ἧς νῦν Φραώτης ἄρχει, κἀκείνου παρανομώτατά τε καὶ ἀσελγέστατα γυναῖκα ἀφελομένου αὐτόν, οὐ παρέλυσε τοὺς ὅρκους, οὕτω βεβαίως ὁμωμοκέναι φήσας, ὡς μηδὲ ὁπότε ἠδικεῖτο λυπεῖν αὐτόν.

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the murderers who had shed the king's blood with their hands. Now this Ganges it seems, was ten cubits high, and in personal beauty excelled any man the world had yet seen, and he was the son of the river Ganges; and when his own father inundated India, he himself turned the flood into the Red Sea, and effected a reconciliation between his father and the land, with the result that the latter brought forth fruits in abundance for him when living, and also avenged him after death. And since Homer brings Achilles to Troy in Helen's behalf, and relates how he took twelve cities by sea and eleven on land, and how he was carried away by wrath because he had been robbed of a woman by the king, on which occasion, in my opinion, he shewed himself merciless and cruel, let us contrast the Indian in similar circumstances. He on the contrary set himself to found sixty cities, which are the most considerable of those hereabouts—and I would like to know who would regard the destruction of cities as a better title to fame than the rebuilding of them—and he also repulsed the Scythians who once invaded this land across the Caucasus. Surely it is better to prove yourself a good man by liberating your country than to bring slavery upon a city, and that too on behalf of a woman who probably was never really carried off against her will. And as he had formed an alliance with the king of the country, over which Phraotes now rules, although that other had violated every law and principle of morality by carrying off his wife, he yet did not break his oath, and so stable, he said, was his pledged word, that, in spite of the injury he had suffered, he would not do anything to harm that other.

CHAP. XX

King Ganges

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XXI

CAP. XXI

"Καὶ πλείω διῄειν ἂν τοῦ ἀνδρός, εἰ μὴ ἐς ἔπαινον ὤκνουν ἑαυτοῦ καθίστασθαι, εἰμὶ γάρ σοι ἐκεῖνος, τουτὶ δὲ ἐδήλωσα γεγονὼς ἔτη τέτταρα· ἑπτὰ γάρ ποτε ἀδαμάντινα τοῦ Γάγγου τούτου ξίφη ἐς γῆν πήξαντος, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν δεῖμα ἐμπελάζειν τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ τῶν θεῶν θύειν μὲν κελευόντων ἥκοντας, οὗ πέπηγε ταῦτα, τὸ δὲ χωρίον οὐκ ἐξηγουμένων, ἐν ᾧ ἐπεπήγει, παῖς ἐγὼ κομιδῇ τυγχάνων ἤγαγον τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς ἐπὶ τάφρον καὶ ὀρύττειν προσέταξα, ἐκεῖ φήσας κατατεθεῖσθαι αὐτά.

XXII

CAP. XXII

"Καὶ μήπω θαυμάσῃς τοὐμόν, εἰ ἐξ Ἰνδοῦ ἐς Ἰνδὸν διεδόθην· οὗτος γὰρ," δείξας τι μειράκιον εἴκοσί που γεγονὸς ἔτη, "πέφυκε μὲν πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ὑπὲρ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἔρρωται δέ, ὡς ὁρᾷς, καὶ κατεσκεύασται γενναίως τὸ σῶμα, καρτερεῖ δὲ πῦρ καὶ τομὴν πᾶσαν, καὶ τοιόσδε ὢν ἀπεχθάνεται τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ." "τί οὖν," εἶπεν, "ὦ Ἰάρχα, τὸ μειρακίου πάθος; δεινὸν γὰρ λέγεις, εἰ ξυντεταγμένος οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως μὴ ἀσπάζεται τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, μηδὲ ἐρᾷ τοῦ μανθάνειν, καὶ ταῦτα ὑμῖν ξυνών." "οὐ ξύνεστιν," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ λέοντες, ἄκων

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XXI

CHAP. XXI

Ganges reincarnated in Phraotes

"AND I could enumerate many more merits of this great man, if I did not shrink from pronouncing a panegyric upon myself; for I may tell you I am the person in question, as I clearly proved when I was four years old. For this Ganges on one occasion fixed seven swords made of adamant in the earth, to prevent any monster approaching our country; now the gods ordered us to offer a sacrifice if we came where he had implanted these weapons, though without indicating the spot where he had fixed them. I was a mere child, and yet I led the interpreters of their will to a trench, and told them to dig there, for it was there I said that they had been laid.

XXII

CHAP. XXII

A reincarnation of Palamedes

"AND you must not be surprised at my transformation from one Indian to another; for here is one," and he pointed to a stripling of about twenty years of age, "who in natural aptitude for philosophy excels everyone, and he enjoys good health as you see, and is furnished with an excellent constitution; moreover he can endure fire and all sorts of cutting and wounding, yet in spite of all these advantages he detests philosophy." "What then," said Apollonius, "O Iarchas, is the matter with the youth? For it is a terrible thing you tell me, if one so well adapted by nature to the pursuit refuses to embrace philosophy, and has no love for learning, and that although he lives with you." "He does not live

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CAP. XXII εἴληπται, καὶ καθεῖρκται μέν, ὑποβλέπει δὲ ἡμῶν τιθασευόντων αὐτὸν καὶ καταψώντων. γέγονε μὲν οὖν τὸ μειράκιον τοῦτο Παλαμήδης ὁ ἐν Τροίᾳ, κέχρηται δὲ ἐναντιωτάτοις Ὀδυσσεῖ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ, τῷ μὲν ξυνθέντι ἐπ' αὐτὸν τέχνας, ὑφ' ὧν κατελιθώθη, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ ἔπους αὐτὸν ἀξιώσαντι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μήθ' ἡ σοφία αὐτόν τι, ἣν εἶχεν, ὤνησε, μήτε Ὁμήρου ἐπαινέτου ἔτυχεν, ὑφ' οὗ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν μὴ πάνυ σπουδαίων ἐς ὄνομα ἤχθησαν, Ὀδυσσέως τε ἥττητο ἀδικῶν οὐδέν, διαβέβληται πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν καὶ ὀλοφύρεται τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πάθος. ἔστι δὲ οὗτος Παλαμήδης, ὃς καὶ γράφει μὴ μαθὼν γράμματα."

XXIII

CAP. XXIII Τοιαῦτα διαλεγομένων προσελθὼν τῷ Ἰάρχᾳ ἄγγελος, "ὁ βασιλεύς," ἔφη, "περὶ δείλην πρώτην ἀφίξεται, ξυνεσόμενος ὑμῖν περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων." ὁ δέ, "ἡκέτω," εἶπε, "καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ βελτίων ἀπέλθοι γνοὺς ἄνδρα Ἕλληνα." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα πάλιν τοῦ προτέρου λόγου εἴχετο. ἤρετο οὖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, "σὺ δ' ἂν εἴποις," ἔφη, "τὸ πρῶτον σῶμα καὶ ὅστις πρὸ τοῦ νῦν ἦσθα;" ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, "ἐπειδὴ ἄδοξον ἦν μοι ἐκεῖνο, ὀλίγα αὐτοῦ μέμνημαι." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἰάρχας,

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with us," replied the other, "but he has been caught like a lion against his will and confined here, but he looks askance at us when we try to domesticate him and caress him. The truth is this stripling was once Palamedes of Troy, and he found his bitterest enemies in Odysseus and Homer; for the one laid an ambush against him of people by whom he was stoned to death, while the other denied him any place in his Epic; and because neither the wisdom with which he was endowed was of any use to him, nor did he meet with any praise from Homer, to whom nevertheless many people of no great importance owe their renown, and because he was outwitted by Odysseus in spite of his innocence, he has conceived an aversion to philosophy, and deplores his ill-luck. And he is Palamedes, for indeed he can write without having learned his letters." CHAP. XXII

XXIII

CHAP. XXIII

Apollonius relates his former life

WHILE they were thus conversing, a messenger approached Iarchas and said: "The King will come early in the afternoon to consult you about his own business." And Iarchas replied: "Let him come, for he too will go away all the better for making the acquaintance of a man of Hellas." And after saying this, he went on with his former discourse. He accordingly asked Apollonius the question: "Will you tell us," he said, "about your earlier incarnation, and who you were before the present life?" And he replied: "Since it was an ignoble episode, I do not remember much about it." Iarchas therefore took him up and said: "Then you

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CAP. XXIII "εἶτα ἄδοξον," ἔφη, "ἠγῇ τὸ γενέσθαι κυβερνήτης Αἰγυπτίας νεώς; τουτὶ γάρ σε ὁρῶ γεγονότα." "ἀληθῆ μέν," εἶπεν, "λέγεις, ὦ Ἰάρχα, τουτὶ γὰρ ἀτεχνῶς ἐγενόμην, ἡγοῦμαι δ' αὐτὸ οὐκ ἄδοξον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταβεβλημένον, καὶ τοσούτου μὲν ἄξιον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅσου περ τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ τὸ στρατοῦ ἡγεῖσθαι, κακῶς δὲ ἀκοῦον ὑπὸ τῶν καθαπτομένων τῆς θαλάττης. τὸ γοῦν γενναιότατον τῶν ἐμοὶ πραχθέντων οὐδὲ ἐπαίνου τις ἠξίωσε τότε." "τί δὲ δὴ γενναῖον εἰργάσθαι φήσεις ἢ τὸ περιβεβληκέναι Μαλέαν τε καὶ Σούνιον χαλινώσας ἐκφερομένην τὴν ναῦν, καὶ τὸ κατὰ πρύμναν τε καὶ πρῷραν τῶν ἀνέμων, ὁπόθεν ἐκδοθήσονται, σαφῶς διεγνωκέναι, ἑρμάτων τε ὑπερᾶραι τὸ σκάφος ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ κοίλῃ, οὗπερ πολλὰ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων ἀναπέπηγεν;"

XXIV

CAP. XXIV Ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος "ἐπεί με," εἶπεν, "ἐς κυβερνητικὸν ἐμβιβάζεις λόγον, ἄκουε, ὃ δοκῶ μοι τότε ὑγιῶς πρᾶξαι· τὴν θάλαττάν ποτε τῶν Φοινίκων λῃσταὶ ὑπεκάθηντο, καὶ ἐφοίτων περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀναμανθάνοντες τίς τί ἄγοι. κατιδόντες οὖν ἐμπορίαν λαμπρὰν τῆς νεώς, οἱ τῶν λῃστῶν πρόξενοι διελέγοντό μοι ἀπολαβόντες με, πόσον τι μεθέξοιμι τοῦ ναύλου, ἐγὼ δὲ χιλίων ἔφην, ἐπειδὴ τέτταρες

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think it ignoble to have been the pilot of an Egyptian vessel, for I perceive that this is what you were?" "What you say," said Apollonius, "is true, Iarchas; for that is really what I was; but I consider this profession not only inglorious but also detestable, and though of as much value to humanity as that of a prince or the leader of an army, nevertheless it bears an evil repute by reason of those who follow the sea; at any rate the most noble of the deeds which I performed no one at the time saw fit to praise." "Well, and what would you claim for yourself in the way of noble achievement? Is it your having doubled the capes of Malea and Sunium, by checking your ship when it was drifting out of its course, and your having discerned so accurately the quarters from which the winds would blow both fore and aft, or your getting your boat past the reefs in the hollows of Euboea, where any number of spits stick up in the sea?" CHAP. XXIII

XXIV

But Apollonius replied: "Since you tempt me to talk about pilotage, I would have you hear what I consider to have been my soundest exploit at that time. Pirates at one time infested the Phoenician Sea, and were hanging about the cities to pick up information about the cargoes which different people had. The agents of the pirates spied out accordingly a rich cargo which I had on board my ship, and having taken me aside in conversation, asked me what was my share in the freight; and I told them that it was a thousand drachmas, for there were four people in CHAP. XXIV

The tale of the Phoenician pirates

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CAP. XXIV ἐκυβέρνων τὴν ναῦν. 'οἰκία δέ,' ἔφασαν 'ἔστι σοι;' 'καλύβη πονηρά,' ἔφην, 'περὶ τὴν νῆσον τὴν Φάρον, οὗ πάλαι ποτὲ ὁ Πρωτεὺς ᾤκει.' 'βούλοιο ἂν οὖν,' ἤροντό με, 'γενέσθαι σοι γῆν μὲν ἀντὶ θαλάττης, οἰκίαν δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς καλύβης, τὸ δὲ ναῦλον δεκάκις τοῦτο, κακῶν τε ἐξελθεῖν μυρίων, ἃ ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνοιδούσης ἐγχρίπτει τοῖς κυβερνῶσιν;' βούλεσθαι μὲν εἶπον, οὐ μὴν ἁρπαγῶν γε ἐμαυτὸν ἀξιοῦν, ὁπότε σοφώτερος ἐμαυτοῦ γέγονα καὶ στεφάνων ἠξίωμαι παρὰ τῆς τέχνης. προϊόντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ βαλάντιά μοι δραχμῶν μυρίων δώσειν φασκόντων, εἰ γενοίμην αὐτοῖς, ὃ ἐβούλοντο, λέγειν ἤδη παρεκελευσάμην ὡς μηδὲν ἐλλείψων τοῦ πᾶς ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι σφίσι· λέγουσι δὴ μελεδωνοὶ μὲν εἶναι λῃστῶν, δεῖσθαι δέ μου μὴ ἀφελέσθαι αὐτοὺς τὸ τὴν ναῦν ἐλεῖν, μηδὲ ἐς ἄστυ ἐκπλεῦσαι, ὁπότε ἐκεῖθεν ἄραιμι, ἀλλ' ὑφορμίσασθαι τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ, τὰς ναῦς γὰρ τὰς λῃστρικὰς ἐν περιβολῇ ἑστάναι, καὶ ὀμνύναι μοι ἐβούλοντο μήτ' αὐτόν με ἀποκτενεῖν, καὶ ἀνήσειν δὲ τὸν θάνατον οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ παραιτῶμαι. ἐγὼ δὲ νουθετεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐμαυτῷ ἡγούμην, δείσας μὴ ἀπογνόντες ἐμβάλωσι μετεώρῳ τῇ νηὶ καὶ ἀπολώμεθά που τοῦ πελάγους, ὡς δὲ ὑπουργῆσαι ὑπεσχόμην, ἃ ἐβούλοντο, ὀμνύναι ἔφην αὐτοὺς δεῖν ἢ μὴν ἀληθεύσειν

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command of the ship. 'And,' said they, 'have you a house?' 'A wretched hut,' I replied, 'on the Island of Pharos, where once upon a time Proteus used to live.' 'Would you like then,' they went on, 'to acquire a landed estate instead of the sea, and a decent house instead of your hut, and ten times as much for the cargo as you are going to get now? And to get rid of a thousand misfortunes which beset pilots owing to the roughness of the sea?' I replied that I would gladly do so, but that I did not aspire to become a pirate just at a time when I had made myself more expert than I ever had been, and had won crowns for my skill in my profession. However they persevered and promised to give me a purse of ten thousand drachmas, if I would be their man and do what they wanted. Accordingly I egged them on to talk by promising not to fail them, but to assist them in every way. Then they admitted that they were agents of the pirates, and besought me not to deprive them of a chance of capturing the ship, and instead of sailing away to the city whenever I weighed anchor thence, they arranged that I should cast anchor under the promontory, under the lee of which the pirate ships were riding; and they were willing to swear that they would not only not kill myself, but would spare the life of any for whom I interceded. I for my part did not consider it safe to reprehend them, for I was afraid that if they were driven to despair, they would attack my ship on the high seas and then we should all be lost somewhere at sea; accordingly I promised to assist their enterprise, but I insisted upon their taking oath to keep their promise truly. They accordingly made oath, for our interview took place in a temple, and then I

CHAP. XXIV

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CAP. XXIV ταῦτα. ὁμοσάντων τοίνυν, καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἱερῷ διελέγοντο, 'χωρεῖτε,' ἔφην, 'ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν λῃστῶν πλοῖα, ἡμεῖς γὰρ νύκτωρ ἀφήσομεν.' καὶ πιθανώτερος ἐδόκουν ἔτι περὶ τοῦ νομίσματος διαλεγόμενος, ὡς δόκιμον ἀπαριθμηθείη μοι καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἢ τὴν ναῦν ἕλωσιν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐχώρουν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἧκα ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ὑπεράρας τοῦ ἀκρωτηρίου." "ταῦτ' οὖν," εἶπεν ὁ Ἰάρχας, "Ἀπολλώνιε, δικαιοσύνης ἤγῃ ἔργα;" "καὶ πρός γε," ἔφη, "φιλανθρωπίας, τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀποδόσθαι ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων, μηδ' ἀπεμπολῆσαι τὰ τῶν ἐμπόρων, χρημάτων τε κρείττω γενέσθαι ναύτην ὄντα, πολλὰς ἀρετὰς οἶμαι ξυνειληφέναι."

XXV

CAP. XXV Γελάσας οὖν ὁ Ἰνδός, "ἔοικας," ἔφη, "τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν δικαιοσύνην ἡγεῖσθαι, τουτὶ δὲ οἶμαι καὶ πάντας Ἕλληνας· ὡς γὰρ ἐγώ ποτε Αἰγυπτίων δεῦρο ἀφικομένων ἤκουσα, φοιτῶσι μὲν ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἡγεμόνες γυμνὸν ἠρμένοι τὸν πέλεκυν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὔπω γιγνώσκοντες, εἰ φαύλων ἄρξουσιν, ὑμεῖς δέ, εἰ μὴ πωλοῖεν τὰς δίκας οὗτοι, φατὲ αὐτοὺς δικαίους εἶναι. τουτὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀνδραπόδων καπήλους ἀκούω ἐκεῖ πράττειν, εἰ γὰρ ἀφίκοιντο κατάγοντες ὑμῖν ἀνδράποδα Καρικὰ καὶ τὸ ἦθος αὐτῶν ἐφερμηνεύοιεν ὑμῖν, ἔπαινον ποιοῦνται τῶν ἀνδραπόδων τὸ μὴ κλέπτειν αὐτά.

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said: 'You betake yourselves to the ships of the pirates at once, for we will sail away by night.' And they found me all the more plausible from the way I bargained about the money, for I stipulated that it must all be paid me in current cash, though not before they had captured the ship. They therefore went off, but I put straight out to sea after doubling the promontory." "This then," said Iarchas, "O Apollonius, you consider the behaviour of a just man?" "Why yes," said Apollonius, "and of a humane one too! for I consider it was a rare combination of the virtues for one who was a mere sailor to refuse to sacrifice men's lives, or to betray the interests of merchants, so rising superior to all bribes of money." CHAP. XXIV Discussion of justice

XXV

THEREUPON the Indian smiled and said: "You seem to think that mere abstention from injustice constitutes justice, and I am of opinion that all the Greeks do the same. For as I once learned from the Egyptians that come hither, governors from Rome are in the habit of visiting your country, brandishing their axes naked over your heads, before they know whether they have cowards to rule or not; but you acknowledge them to be just if they merely do not sell justice. And I have heard that the slave merchants yonder do exactly the same; for when they come to you with convoys of Carian slaves and are anxious to recommend their characters to you, they make it a great merit of the slaves that they do not steal. In the same way do you recommend on CHAP. XXV Criticisms of Greek morality

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CAP. XXV τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄρχοντας, οἷς ὑποκεῖσθαί φατε, τοιούτων ἀξιοῦτε, καὶ λαμπρύνοντες αὐτοὺς ἐπαίνοις, οἷς περ τὰ ἀνδράποδα, ζηλωτοὺς πέμπετε, ὡς οἴεσθε, οἱ δέ γε σοφώτατοι ποιηταὶ ὑμῶν οὐδ' εἰ βούλεσθε δίκαιοί τε καὶ χρηστοὶ εἶναι, ξυγχωροῦσιν ὑμῖν γενέσθαι. τὸν γὰρ Μίνω τὸν ὠμότητι ὑπερβαλόμενον πάντας, καὶ δουλωσάμενον ταῖς ναυσὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τε καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ δικαιοσύνης σκήπτρῳ τιμῶντες, ἐν Ἅιδου καθίζουσι διαιτᾶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, τὸν δ' αὖ Τάνταλον, ἐπειδὴ χρηστός τε ἦν καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀθανασίας μετεδίδου, ποτοῦ τε εἴργουσι καὶ σίτου, εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ λίθους αὐτῷ ἐπικρεμάσαντες δεινὰ ἐφυβρίζουσι θείῳ τε καὶ ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρί, οὓς ἐβουλόμην ἂν μᾶλλον λίμνῃ αὐτῷ περιβλύσαι νέκταρος, ἐπειδὴ φιλανθρώπως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀφθόνως προὔπινε." καὶ ἅμα λέγων ταῦτα ἐπεδείκνυ ἄγαλμα ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, ᾧ ἐπεγέγραπτο ΤΑΝΤΑΛΟΣ. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα τετράπηχυ ἦν, ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἐῴκει πεντηκοντούτῃ, καὶ τρόπον Ἀργολικὸν ἔσταλτο, παρήλλαττε δὲ τὴν χλαμύδα, ὥσπερ οἱ Θετταλοί, φιάλην τε προὔπινεν ἀποχρῶσαν, ἐνὶ διψῶντι, ἐν ᾗ στάλαγμα ἐκάχλαζεν ἀκηράτου πώματος οὐχ ὑπερβλύζον τῆς φιάλης. ὅ τι μὲν οὖν ἡγοῦνται αὐτὸ καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πίνουσι, δηλώσω αὐτίκα. πλὴν ἀλλὰ ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ τὸν Τάνταλον μὴ τῇ γλώττῃ ἐφέντα, κοινωνί-

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such grounds the rulers whose sway you acknowledge, CHAP. XXV
and after decorating them with such praises as you lavish upon slaves, you send them away, objects, as you imagine, of universal admiration. Nay more, your cleverest poets will not give you leave to be just and good, even if you want to. For here was Minos, Minos
a man who exceeded all men in cruelty, and who enslaved with his navies the inhabitants of continent and islands alike, and yet they honour him by placing in his hand a sceptre of justice and give him a throne in Hades to be umpire of spirits; while at the same time they deny food and drink to Tantalus, merely Mytho-Tantalus
because he was a good man and inclined to share with his friends the immortality bestowed on him by the Gods. And some of them hang stones over him, and rain insults of a terrible kind upon this divine and good man; and I would much rather that they had represented him as swimming in a lake of nectar, for he pledged men in that drink humanely and ungrudgingly." And as he spoke he pointed out a statue which stood upon his left hand, on which was inscribed the name "Tantalus." Now this statue was four cubits high, and represented a man of fifty years who was clad in the fashion of Argolis, though he parted his cloak in the way the Thessalians do, and he held a cup sufficient at least for one thirsty man and drank your health therefrom, and in the goblet there was a liquor, an unmixed draught which frothed and foamed, though without bubbling over the edge of the cup. Now I will presently explain what they consider this cup to be, and for what reason they drink from it. In any case, however, we must suppose that Tantalus was assailed by the poets because he gave rein to his tongue, and because he

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CAP. XXV σαντα δὲ ἀνθρώποις τοῦ νέκταρος ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐλαύνεσθαι, θεοῖς δὲ μὴ διαβεβλῆσθαι αὐτόν, οὐ γὰρ ἄν, εἰ θεοῖς ἀπήχθετο, κριθῆναί ποτε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀγαθόν, θεοφιλεστάτων ὄντων καὶ μηδὲν ἔξω τοῦ θείου πραττόντων.

XXVI

CAP. XXVI Διατρίβοντας δὲ αὐτοὺς περὶ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον θόρυβος ἐκ τῆς κώμης προσέβαλεν, ἀφῖκτο δὲ ἄρα ὁ βασιλεὺς μηδικώτερον κατεσκευασμένος καὶ ὄγκου μεστός. ἀχθεσθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἰάρχας, "εἰ δὲ Φραώτης," ἔφη, "καταλύων ἐτύγχανεν, εἶδες ἂν ὥσπερ ἐν μυστηρίῳ σιωπῆς μεστὰ πάντα." ἐκ τούτου μὲν δὴ ξυνῆκεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὡς βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ὀλίγῳ μέρει, φιλοσοφίᾳ δὲ πάσῃ τοῦ Φραώτου λείποιτο, ῥᾳθύμους δὲ ἰδὼν τοὺς σοφοὺς καὶ μηδὲν παρασκευάζοντας, ὧν δεῖ τῷ βασιλεῖ μετὰ μεσημβρίαν ἥκοντι, "ποῖ," ἔφη, "ὁ βασιλεὺς διαιτήσεται;" "ἐνταῦθα," ἔφασαν, "ὧν γὰρ ἕνεκα ἥκει, νύκτωρ διαλεγόμεθα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ βελτίων ὁ καιρὸς πρὸς βουλάς." "καὶ τραπεζα," ἔφη, "παρακείσεται ἥκοντι;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπον, "παχεῖά τε καὶ πάντα ἔχουσα, ὁπόσα ἐνταῦθα." "παχέως οὖν," ἔφη, "διαιτᾶσθε;" "ἡμεῖς μέν," ἔφασαν, "λεπτῶς, πλείονα γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐξὸν σιτίζεσθαι μικροῖς χαίρομεν, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πολλῶν

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shared the nectar with mankind; but we must not suppose that he was really the victim of the gods' dislike, for, had he been hateful to them, he would never have been judged by the Indians to be a good man, for they are most religious people and never transgress any divine command. CHAP. XXV

XXVI

CHAP. XXVI

Visit of the pompous king

WHILE they were still discussing this topic, a hubbub down below in the village struck their ears, for it seems the king had arrived equipped in the height of Median fashion and full of pomp. Iarchas then, not too well pleased, remarked: "If it were Phraotes who was halting here, you would find a dead silence prevailing everywhere as if you were attending a mystery." From this remark Apollonius realised that the king in question was not only inferior to Phraotes in a few details, but in the whole of philosophy; and as he saw that the sages did not bestir themselves to make any preparations or provide for the king's wants, though he was come at midday, he said: "Where is the king going to stay?" "Here," they replied, "for we shall discuss by night the objects for which he is come, since that is the best time for taking counsel." "And will a table be laid for him when he comes," said Apollonius. "Why, of course," they answered, "a rich table too, furnished with everything which this place provides." "Then," said he, "you live richly?" "We," they answered, "live in a slender manner, for although we might eat as much as we like, we are contented with little; but the king requires a great

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CAP. XXVI δεῖ, βούλεται γάρ. σιτήσεται δὲ ἔμψυχον μὲν οὐδέν, οὐ γὰρ θέμις ἐνταῦθα, τραγήματα δὲ καὶ ῥίζας καὶ ὡραῖα, ὁπόσα νῦν ἡ Ἰνδικὴ ἔχει, ὁπόσα τε αἱ ἐς νέωτα ὧραι δώσουσιν."

XXVII

CAP. XXVII "Ἀλλ' ἰδού," ἔφη, "οὗτος." προῄει δὲ ἄρα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀδελφῷ τε καὶ υἱῷ ἅμα, χρυσῷ τε ἀστράπτων καὶ ψήφοις. ὑπανισταμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, κατεῖχεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰάρχας ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ, μηδὲ γὰρ αὐτοῖς πάτριον εἶναι τοῦτο. τούτοις ὁ Δάμις αὐτὸς μὲν οὔ φησι παρατυχεῖν διὰ τὸ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐν τῇ κώμῃ διαιτᾶσθαι, Ἀπολλωνίου δὲ ἀκηκοὼς ἐγγράψαι αὐτὰ ἐς τὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον. φησὶ τοίνυν καθημένοις μὲν αὐτοῖς τὸν βασιλέα προτείνοντα τὴν χεῖρα οἷον εὔχεσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπινεύειν, ὥσπερ ξυντιθεμένους οἷς ᾔτει, τὸν δὲ ὑπερήδεσθαι τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ, καθάπερ ἐς θεοῦ ἥκοντα. τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν υἱὸν κάλλιστον μειράκιον ὄντα μηδὲν ὁρᾶσθαι βέλτιον ἢ εἰ ἀνδράποδα τουτωνὶ τῶν ἀκολούθων ἦσαν. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξαναστῆναι τὸν Ἰνδὸν καὶ φωνὴν ἱέντα κελεύειν αὐτὸν σίτου ἅπτεσθαι, προσδεξαμένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἀσμένως, τρίποδες μὲν ἐξεπορεύθησαν Πυθικοὶ τέτταρες αὐτόματοι, καθάπερ οἱ Ὁμήρειοι προϊόντες, οἰνοχόοι δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς χαλκοῦ μέλανος, οἷοι παρ' Ἕλλησιν οἱ Γανυμήδεις τε καὶ

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deal, for that is his pleasure. But he will not eat any living creature, for that is wrong to do here, but only dried fruits and roots and the seasonable produce of the Indian land at this time of year, and whatever else the new year's seasons will provide." CHAP. XXVI

XXVII

"BUT see," said he, "here he is." And just then the king advanced together with his brother and his son, ablaze with gold and jewels. And Apollonius was about to rise and retire, when Iarchas checked him from leaving his throne, and explained to him that it was not their custom for him to do so. Damis himself says that he was not present on this occasion, because on that day he was staying in the village, but he heard from Apollonius what happened and wrote it in his book. He says then that when they had sat down, the king extended his hand as if in prayer to the sages, and they nodded their assent as if they were conceding his request; and he was transported with joy at the promise, just as if he had come to the oracle of a God. But the brother of the king and his son, who was a very pretty boy, were not more considered than if they had been the slaves of the others, that were mere retainers. After that the Indian rose from his place, and in a formal speech bade the king take food, and he accepted the invitation and that most cordially. Thereupon four tripods stepped forth like those of the Pythian temple, but of their own accord, like those which advanced in Homer's poem, and upon them were cupbearers of black brass resembling the figures of CHAP. XXVII

The Sages entertain the king

Iliad 18. 375

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CAP. XXVII οἱ Πέλοπες. ἡ γῆ δὲ ὑπεστόρνυ πόας μαλακωτέρας ἢ αἱ εὐναί. τραγήματα δὲ καὶ ἄρτοι καὶ λάχανα καὶ τρωκτὰ ὡραῖα, πάντα ἐν κόσμῳ ἐφοίτα διακείμενα ἥδιον ἢ εἰ ὀψοποιοὶ αὐτὰ παρεσκεύαζον, τῶν δὲ τριπόδων οἱ μὲν δύο οἴνου ἐπέρρεον, τοῖν δυοῖν δὲ ὁ μὲν ὕδατος θερμοῦ κρήνην παρεῖχεν, ὁ δὲ αὖ ψυχροῦ. αἱ δ' ἐξ Ἰνδῶν φοιτῶσαι λίθοι παρ' Ἕλλησι μὲν ἐς ὅρμους τε καὶ δακτυλίους ἐμβιβάζονται διὰ σμικρότητα, παρὰ δὲ Ἰνδοῖς οἰνοχόαι τε ψυκτῆρές τε γίγνονται διὰ μέγεθος καὶ κρατῆρες ἡλίκοι ἐμπλῆσαι τέτταρας ὥρᾳ ἔτους διψῶντας. τοὺς δὲ οἰνοχόους τοὺς χαλκοῦς ἀρύεσθαι μέν φησι ξυμμέτρως τοῦ τε οἴνου καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, περιελαύνειν δὲ τὰς κύλικας, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πότοις. κατακεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐν ξυσσιτίῳ μέν, οὐ μὴν πρόκριτόν γε τὸν βασιλέα, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ παρ' Ἕλλησί τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις πολλοῦ ἄξιον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτυχέ γε, οὗ ἕκαστος ὥρμησεν.

XXVIII

CAP. XXVIII Ἐπεὶ δὲ προῆει ὁ πότος, "προπίνω σοι," ὁ Ἰάρχας εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἄνδρα Ἕλληνα," τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ὑποκεκλιμένον αὐτῷ δείξας καὶ τῇ χειρὶ προσημαίνων, ὅτι γενναῖός τε εἴη καὶ θεῖος. ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς, "ἤκουσα" ἔφη, "προσήκειν Φραώτῃ

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Ganymede and of Pelops among the Greeks. And the earth strewed beneath them grass softer than any mattress. And dried fruits and bread and vegetables and the dessert of the season all came in, served in order, and set before them more agreeably than if cooks and waiters had provided it; now two of the tripods flowed with wine, but the other two supplied, the one of them a jet of warm water and the other of cold. Now the precious stones imported from India are employed in Greece for necklaces and rings because they are so small, but among the Indians they are turned into decanters and wine coolers, because they are so large, and into goblets of such size that from a single one of them four persons can slake their thirst at midsummer. But the cup-bearers of bronze drew a mixture, he says, of wine and water made in due proportions; and they pushed cups round, just as they do in drinking bouts. The sages, however, reclined as we do in a common banquet, not that any special honour was paid to the king, although great importance would be attached to him among Greeks and Romans, but each took the first place that he chanced to reach. CHAP. XXVII

XXVIII

And when the wine had circulated, Iarchas said: "I pledge you to drink the health, O king, of a Hellene," and he pointed to Apollonius, who was reclining just below him, and he made a gesture with his hand to indicate that he was a noble man and divine. But the king said: "I have heard that CHAP. XXVIII The king's low opinion of philosophy

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CAP. XXVIII

τοῦτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ καταλύοντας." "ὀρθῶς," ἔφη, "καὶ ἀληθῶς ἤκουσας, ἐκεῖνος γὰρ κἀνταῦθα ξενίζει αὐτόν." "τί," ἔφη, "ἐπιτηδεύοντα;" "τί δ' ἄλλο γε," εἶπεν, "ἢ ἅπερ ἐκεῖνος;" "οὐδέν," ἔφη, "ξένον εἴρηκας ἀσπαζόμενον ἐπιτήδευσιν, ἢ μηδὲ ἐκείνῳ ξυνεχώρησε γενναίῳ γενέσθαι." ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἰάρχας, "σωφρονέστερον," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, περὶ φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ Φραώτου γίγνωσκε, τὸν μὲν γὰρ χρόνον, ὃν μειράκιον ἦσθα, ξυνεχώρει σοι ἡ νεότης τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς ἄνδρας ἐξαλλάττεις ἤδη, φειδώμεθα τῶν ἀνοήτων τε καὶ εὐκόλων." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἑρμηνεύοντος τοῦ Ἰάρχα, "σοὶ δὲ τί," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ μὴ φιλοσοφῆσαι δέδωκεν;" "ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρετὴν πᾶσαν καὶ τὸ εἶναί με τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ Ἡλίῳ." ὁ δὲ ἐπιστομίζων αὐτοῦ τὸν τῦφον "εἰ ἐφιλοσόφεις," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἂν ταῦτα ᾤου." "σὺ δέ, ἐπειδὴ φιλοσοφεῖς, ὦ βέλτιστε," ἔφη, "τί περὶ σαυτοῦ οἴει;" "τό γε ἀνήρ," ἔφη, "ἀγαθὸς δοκεῖν, εἰ φιλοσοφοίην." ἀνατείνας οὖν τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν, "νὴ τὸν Ἥλιον," ἔφη, "Φραώτου μεστὸς ἥκεις." ὁ δὲ ἕρμαιόν γε ἐποιήσατο τὸν λόγον καὶ ὑπολαβών, "οὐ μάτην ἀποδεδήμηταί μοι," εἶπεν "εἰ Φραώτου μεστὸς γέγονα· εἰ δὲ κἀκείνῳ νῦν

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he and the persons who are halting in the village belong to Phraotes." CHAP. XXVIII

"Quite right," he answered, "and true is what you heard: for it is Phraotes who entertains him here also." "What," asked the king, "is his mode of life and pursuit?" "Why, what else," replied Iarchas, "except that of that king himself?" "It is no great compliment you have paid him," answered the king, "by saying that he has embraced a mode of life which has denied even to Phraotes the chance of being a noble man." Thereupon Iarchas remarked: "You must judge more reasonably, O king, both about philosophy and about Phraotes: for as long as you were a stripling, your youth excused in you such extravagances. But now that you have already reached man's estate, let us avoid foolish and facile utterances." But Apollonius, who found an interpreter in Iarchas, said: "And what have you gained, O king, by refusing to be a philosopher?" "What have I gained? Why, the whole of virtue and the identification of myself with the Sun." Then the other, by way of checking his pride and muzzling him, said: "If you were a philosopher, you would not entertain such fancies." "And you," replied the king, "since you are a philosopher, what is your fancy about yourself, my fine fellow?" "That I may pass," replied Apollonius, "for being a good man, if only I can be a philosopher." Thereupon the king stretched out his hand to heaven and exclaimed: "By the Sun, you come here full of Phraotes." But the other hailed this remark as a godsend, and catching him up said: "I have not taken this long journey in vain, if I am become full of Phraotes. But if you should meet him presently,

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CAP. XXVIII ἐντύχοις, πάνυ φήσεις αὐτὸν ἐμοῦ μεστὸν εἶναι, καὶ γράφειν δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς σὲ ἐβούλετο, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἔφασκεν ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν εἶναί σε, παρῃτησάμην τὸν ὄχλον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἐκείνῳ τις ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἐπέστειλεν."

XXIX

CAP. XXIX Ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη παροινία τοῦ βασιλέως ἐνταῦθα ἔληξεν· ἀκούσας γὰρ ἐπαινεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Φραώτου, τῆς τε ὑποψίας ἐπελάθετο καὶ ὑφεὶς τοῦ τόνου, "χαῖρε," ἔφη, "ἀγαθὲ ξένε." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "καὶ σύ, βασιλεῦ," εἶπεν, "ἔοικας γὰρ νῦν ἥκοντι." "τίς σε," ἔφη, "πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἤγαγεν;" "οὗτοι," εἶπεν, "οἱ θεοί τε καὶ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες." "περὶ ἐμοῦ δέ," ἔφη, "ὦ ξένε, τίς λόγος ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν;" "ὅσος γε," εἶπε, "καὶ περὶ Ἑλλήνων ἐνταῦθα." "οὐδέν," ἔφη, "τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἔγωγε λόγου ἀξιῶ." "ἀπαγγελῶ ταῦτα," εἶπε, "καὶ στεφανώσουσί σε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ."

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CAP. XXX Καὶ προσκλιθεὶς τῷ Ἰάρχᾳ, "τοῦτον μέν," ἔφη, "μεθύειν ἔα, σὺ δέ μοι εἰπὲ τοῦ χάριν τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν τούτους, ἀδελφόν, ὡς φατέ, καὶ υἱὸν ὄντας οὐκ ἀξιοῦτε κοινῆς τραπέζης, οὐδὲ ἄλλης τιμῆς, οὐδεμιᾶς;" "ὅτι," ἔφη, "βασιλεύσειν ποτὲ ἡγοῦνται,

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you will certainly say that he is full of me; and he wished to write to you in my behalf, but since he declared that you were a good man, I begged him not to take the trouble of writing, seeing that in his case no one sent a letter commending me." CHAP. XXVIII

XXIX

THIS put a stop to the incipient folly of the king; for having heard that he himself was praised by Phraotes, he not only dropped his suspicions, but lowering his tone he said: "Welcome, goodly stranger." But Apollonius answered: "And my welcome to you also, O king, for you appear to have only just arrived." "And who," asked the other, "attracted you to us?" "These gentlemen here, who are both Gods and wise men." "And about myself, O stranger," said the king, "what is said among Hellenes?" "Why, as much," said Apollonius, "as is said about the Hellenes here." "As for myself, I find nothing in the Hellenes," said the other, "that is worth speaking of." "I will tell them that," said Apollonius, "and they will crown you at Olympia." CHAP. XXIX And of Hellas

XXX

AND stooping towards Iarchas he said: "Let him go on like a drunkard, but do you tell me why do you not invite to the same table as yourself nor hold worthy of other recognition those who accompany this man, though they are his brother and son, as you tell me?" "Because," said Iarchas, "they reckon to be kings CHAP. XXX The number of the Sages in no way symbolical

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CAP. XXX δεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑπερορωμένους παιδεύεσθαι τὸ μὴ ὑπερορᾶν." ὀκτωκαίδεκα δὲ ὁρῶν τοὺς σοφοὺς πάλιν τὸν Ἰάρχαν ἤρετο, τί βούλοιτο αὐτοῖς τὸ εἶναι τοσούτους; "οὔτε γὰρ τῶν τετραγώνων ὁ ἀριθμός, οὔτε τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων τε καὶ τιμωμένων, καθάπερ ὁ τῶν δέκα καὶ ὁ τῶν δώδεκα καὶ ὁ ἑκκαίδεκα καὶ ὁπόσοι τοιοίδε." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἰνδός, "οὔτε ἡμεῖς," ἔφη, "ἀριθμῷ δουλεύομεν οὔτε ἀριθμὸς ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ σοφίας τε καὶ ἀρετῆς προτιμώμεθα, καὶ ὁτὲ μὲν πλείους τῶν νῦν ὄντων ἐσμέν, ὁτὲ δὲ ἐλάττους. τόν τοι πάππον τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ ἀκούω καταλεχθῆναι μὲν ἐς ἑβδομήκοντα σοφοὺς ἄνδρας, νεώτατον αὐτὸν ὄντα, προελθόντα δὲ ἐς τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη καταλειφθῆναι μόνον ἐνταῦθα, τῷ μήτ' ἐκείνων τινὰ λείπεσθαι ἔτι, μήτε εἶναί ποι τότε τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἢ φιλόσοφον ἢ γενναίαν φύσιν. Αἰγυπτίων τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς εὐδαιμονεστάτοις γραψάντων αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ μόνος ἐτῶν τεττάρων ἐξηγήσατο τούτου τοῦ θρόνου, παρήνει παύσασθαι ὀνειδίζοντας Ἰνδοῖς σοφῶν ὀλιγανδρίαν. ἡμεῖς δέ, ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ τὰ Ἠλείων πάτρια Αἰγυπτίων ἀκούοντες καὶ τοὺς Ἑλλανοδίκας, οἳ προΐστανται τῶν Ὀλυμπίων, δέκα ὄντας, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι κείμενον, κλήρῳ γὰρ ξυγχωροῦσι τὴν αἵρεσιν, ὃς προνοεῖ οὐδέν, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ τῶν φαυλοτέρων τις αἱρεθείη ὑπὸ τοῦ κλήρου. εἰ δέ γε ἀριστίνδην ἢ καὶ κατὰ ψῆφον ᾑροῦντο τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὐκ ἂν ἡμάρτανον; παρα-

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one day themselves, and by being made themselves to suffer disdain they must be taught not to disdain others." And remarking that the sages were eighteen in number, he again asked Iarchas, what was the meaning of their being just so many and no more. "For," he said, "the number eighteen is not a square number, nor is it one of the numbers held in esteem and honour, as are the numbers ten and twelve and sixteen and so forth." Thereupon the Indian took him up and said: "Neither are we beholden to number nor number to us, but we owe our superior honour to wisdom and virtue; and sometimes we are more in number than we now are, and sometimes fewer. And indeed I have heard that when my grandfather was enrolled among these wise men, the youngest of them all, they were seventy in number, but when he reached his 130th year, he was left here all alone, because not one of them survived him at that time, nor was there to be found anywhere in India a nature that was either philosophic or noble. The Egyptians accordingly wrote and congratulated him warmly on being left alone for four years in his tenure of this throne, but he begged them to cease reproaching the Indians for the paucity of their sages. Now we, O Apollonius, have heard from the Egyptians of the custom of the Eleans, and that the Hellanodicæ, who preside over the Olympic games, are ten in number; but we do not approve of the rule imposed in the case of these men; for they leave the choice of them to the lot, and the lot has no discernment, for a worse man might be as easily chosen by lot as a better one. On the other hand, would they not make a mistake, if they had made merit the qualification

CHAP. XXX

Limitation in number not congruous with choice by merit

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CAP. XXX πλησίως· ὁ γὰρ τῶν δέκα ἀριθμὸς ἀπαραίτητος ὢν ἢ πλειόνων ὄντων ἀνδρῶν δικαίων ἀφῃρεῖτο ἂν ἐνίους τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τιμᾶσθαι, ἢ οὐκ ὄντων δικαίων δέκα οὐδεὶς δόξει· ὅθεν πολλῷ σοφώτερον ἐφρόνουν ἂν Ἠλεῖοι ἀριθμῷ μὲν ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι ὄντες, δικαιότητι δὲ οἱ αὐτοί.'

XXXI

CAP. XXXI Ταῦτα σπουδάζοντας αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκκρούειν ἐπειρᾶτο, διείργων αὐτοὺς παντὸς λόγου καὶ ἀεί τι ἔμπληκτον καὶ ἀμαθὲς λέγων. πάλιν οὖν ἤρετο ὑπὲρ τοῦ σπουδάζοιεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "διαλεγόμεθα μὲν ὑπὲρ μεγάλων καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκιμωτάτων, σὺ δ' ἂν μικρὰ ταῦτα ἡγοῖο, φῂς γὰρ διαβεβλῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ Ἑλλήνων." "διαβέβλημαι μὲν ἀληθῶς," εἶπεν, "ἀκοῦσαι δ' ὅμως βούλομαι, δοκεῖτε γάρ μοι λέγειν ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων, τῶν Ξέρξου δούλων." ὁ δέ, "ὑπὲρ ἄλλων μέν," ἔφη, "διαλεγόμεθα, ἐπεὶ δ' ἀτόπως τε καὶ ψευδῶς Ἀθηναίων ἐπεμνήσθης, ἐκεῖνός μοι εἰπέ· εἰσί σοι, βασιλεῦ, δοῦλοι;" "δισμύριοι," ἔφη, "καὶ οὐδὲ ἐώνημαί γε αὐτῶν οὐδένα, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν οἰκογενεῖς πάντες." πάλιν οὖν ἤρετο ἑρμηνεύοντος τοῦ Ἰάρχα, πότερ' αὐτὸς ἀποδιδράσκοι τοὺς αὐτοῦ δούλους ἢ οἱ δοῦλοι ἐκεῖνον, ὁ δὲ

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and chosen them by vote? Yes, a parallel one, for if you are on no account to exceed the number ten, there may be more than ten just men, and you will deprive some of the rank which their merits entitle them to, while if on the other hand there are not so many as ten, then restriction of the number is as good as none. Wherefore the Eleans would be much wiser-minded, if they allowed the number to fluctuate, merely insisting on justice as a qualification for all alike." CHAP. XXX

XXXI

CHAP. XXXI

Apollonius vindicates Greeks from the slur put upon them by the king

WHILE they were thus conversing, the king kept trying to interrupt them, constantly breaking off their every sentence by his silly and ignorant remarks. He accordingly again asked them what they were conversing about, and Apollonius replied: "We are discussing matters important and held in great repute among the Hellenes; though you would think of them but slightly, for you say that you detest everything Hellenic." "I do certainly detest them," he said, "but nevertheless I want to hear; for I imagine you are talking about those Athenians, the slaves of Xerxes." But Apollonius replied: "Nay, we are discussing other things; but since you have alluded to the Athenians in a manner both absurd and false, answer me this question: Have you, O king, any slaves?" "Twenty thousand," said the other, "and not a single one of them did I buy myself, but they were all born in my household." Thereupon Apollonius, using Iarchas as his interpreter, asked him afresh whether he was in the habit of running away from his slaves or his slaves from

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CAP. XXXI

ὑβρίζων αὐτόν, "τὸ μὲν ἐρώτημα," ἔφη, "ἀνδραποδῶδες, ὅμως δ' οὖν ἀποκρίνομαι τὸν ἀποδιδράσκοντα δοῦλόν τε εἶναι καὶ ἄλλως κακόν, δεσπότην δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἀποδρᾶναι τοῦτον, ὃν ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ στρεβλοῦν τε καὶ ξαίνειν." "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, δοῦλος εἶναι Ἀθηναίων Ξέρξης ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀποπέφανται καὶ ὡς κακὸς δοῦλος ἀποδρᾶναι αὐτούς, ἡττηθεὶς γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῇ περὶ τὰ στενά, καὶ δείσας περὶ ταῖς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ σχεδίαις ἐν μιᾷ νηὶ ἔφυγε." "καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐνέπρησεν," ἔφη, "τὰς Ἀθήνας ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσίν." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "τούτου μέν," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦ τολμήματος ἔδωκε δίκας, ὡς οὔπω τις ἕτερος· οὓς γὰρ ἀπολωλεκέναι ᾤετο, τούτους ἀποδρὰς ᾤχετο. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὰ Ξέρξου θεωρῶν ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ διανοίᾳ, καθ' ἣν ἐστράτευσεν, ἠγοίμην ἂν αὐτὸν ἀξίως δοξασθῆναι ἐνίοις, ὅτι Ζεὺς εἴη, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ φυγῇ κακοδαιμονέστατον ἀνθρώπων ὑπείληφα· εἰ γὰρ ἐν χερσὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπέθανε, τίς μὲν ἂν λόγων λαμπροτέρων ἠξιώθη; τῷ δ' ἂν μείζω τάφον ἐπεσημήναντο Ἕλληνες; ἀγωνία δ' ἐνόπλιος καὶ ἀγωνία μουσικὴ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐτέθη; εἰ γὰρ Μελικέρται καὶ Παλαίμονες καὶ Πέλοψ ὁ ἐπηλύτης Λυδός, οἱ μὲν ἔτι πρὸς μαζῷ ἀποθανόντες, ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν τε καὶ τὴν Ἀργολίδα καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ δουλωσάμενος, ἐς θείαν μνήμην ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων

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him. And the king by way of insult answered him : CHAP. XXXI
"Your very question is worthy of a slave, nevertheless I will answer it : a man who runs away is not only a slave but a bad one to boot, and his master would never run away from him, when he can if he likes both torture and card him." "In that case," said Apollonius, "O king, Xerxes has been proved out of your mouth to have been a slave of the Athenians, and like a bad slave to have run away from them ; for when he was defeated by them in the naval action in the Straits, he was so anxious about his bridge of boats over the Hellespont that he fled in a single ship." "Yes, but he anyhow burned Athens with his own hands," said the king. And Apollonius answered : "And for that act of audacity, O king, he was punished as never yet was any other man. For he had to run away from those whom he imagined he had destroyed ; and when I contemplate the ambitions with which Xerxes set out on his campaign, I can conceive that some were justified in exalting him and saying that he was Zeus ; but when I contemplate his flight, I arrive at the conviction that he was the most illstarred of men. For if he had fallen at the hands of the Hellenes, no one would have earned a brighter fame than he. For to whom would the Hellenes have raised and dedicated a loftier tomb? What jousts of armed men, what contests of musicians would not have been instituted in honour of him? For if men like Melicertes and Palaemon and Pelops the Lydian immigrant, the two former of whom died in childhood at the breast, while Pelops enslaved Arcadia and Argolis and the land within the Isthmus,—if these were commemorated by the Greeks as Gods, what would not

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CAP. XXXI ἤρθησαν, τι οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ Ξέρξῃ ἐγένετο ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν ἀσπαζομένων τε ἀρετὰς φύσει καὶ ἔπαινον αὐτῶν ἡγουμένων τὸ ἐπαινεῖν οὓς νικῶσιν ;"

XXXII

CAP. XXXII Ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου λέγοντος ἐς δάκρυα ἀπήχθη ὁ βασιλεύς, καί, "ὦ φίλτατε," εἶπεν, "οἵους ἄνδρας ἑρμηνεύεις μοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι." "πόθεν οὖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, χαλεπῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶχες ;" "διαβάλλουσιν," εἶπεν, "ὦ ξένε, τὸ Ἑλλήνων γένος οἱ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου φοιτῶντες ἐνταῦθα, σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἱερούς τε καὶ σοφοὺς ἀποφαίνοντες καὶ νομοθέτας θυσιῶν τε καὶ τελετῶν, ὁπόσας νομίζουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐκείνους δὲ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς εἶναι φάσκοντες, ἀλλ' ὑβριστάς τε καὶ ξύγκλυδας καὶ ἀναρχίαν πᾶσαν καὶ μυθολόγους καὶ τερατολόγους, καὶ πένητας μέν, ἐνδεικνυμένους δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ ὡς σεμνόν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ξυγγνώμης τοῦ κλέπτειν, σοῦ δὲ ἀκούων ταῦτα καὶ ὅπως φιλότιμοί τε καὶ χρηστοί εἰσι, σπένδομαί τε λοιπὸν τοῖς Ἕλλησι, καὶ δίδωμι αὐτοῖς ἐπαινεῖσθαί τε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ εὔχεσθαί με ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων ὅ τι δύναμαι καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀπιστεῖσθαι." ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας, "κἀγώ," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγίγνωσκον, ὅτι σοι τὰ ὦτα διέφθορεν ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τούτων, διῄειν δὲ ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων οὐδέν, ἔστ' ἂν ξυμβούλου[1] τοιούτου τύχῃς, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ βελτίων γέγονας ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς

[1] So Olearius : Kaiser ξυμβόλου.

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have been done for Xerxes by men who are by nature enthusiastic admirers of the virtues, and who consider that they praise themselves in praising those whom they have defeated?" CHAP. XXXI

XXXII

CHAP. XXXII

The king recants, and blames Egyptian slanderers

THESE words of Apollonius caused the king to burst into tears, and he said: "Dearest friend, in what an heroic light do you represent these Hellenes to me." "Why then, O king, were you so hard upon them?" "The visitors who come hither from Egypt, O guest," replied the king, "malign the race of Hellenes, and while declaring that they themselves are holy men and wise, and the true law-givers who fixed all the sacrifices and rites of initiation which are in vogue among the Greeks, they deny to the latter any and every sort of good quality, declaring them to be ruffians, and a mixed herd addicted to every sort of anarchy, and lovers of legend and miracle mongers, and though indeed poor, yet making their poverty not a title of dignity, but a mere excuse for stealing. But now that I have heard this from you and understand how fond of honour and how worthy the Hellenes are, I am reconciled for the future to them and I engage both that they shall have my praise and that I will pray all I can for them, and will never set trust in another Egyptian." But Iarchas remarked: "I too, O king, was aware that your mind had been poisoned by these Egyptians; but I would not take the part of the Hellenes until you met some such counsellor as this. But since you have been put right by a wise man, let us

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CAP. XXXII σοφοῦ, νῦν μὲν ἡμῖν ἡ Ταντάλου φιλοτησία πινέσθω καὶ καθεύδωμεν δι' ἃ χρὴ νύκτωρ σπουδάσαι, λόγων δὲ Ἑλληνικῶν, πλεῖστοι δ' οὗτοι τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπους, ἐμπλήσω σε λοιπὸν ἐγὼ χαίροντα, ὁπότε ἀφίκοιο." καὶ ἅμα ἐξῆρχε τοῖς ξυμπόταις πρῶτος ἐς τὴν φιάλην κύπτων, ἡ δὲ ἐπότιζεν ἱκανῶς πάντας, τὸ γὰρ νᾶμα ἀφθόνως ἐπεδίδου, καθάπερ δὴ τοῖς πηγαίοις ἀναδιδομένοις, ἔπιέ τε καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὑπὲρ γὰρ φιλότητος Ἰνδοῖς τὸ ποτὸν τοῦτο εὕρηται. ποιοῦνται δὲ αὐτοῦ οἰνοχόον Τάνταλον, ἐπειδὴ φιλικώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἔδοξεν.

XXXIII

CAP. XXXIII Πιόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐδέξατο ἡ γῆ εὐναῖς, ἃς αὐτὴ ὑπεστόρνυ. ἐπεὶ δὲ νὺξ μέση ἐγένετο, πρῶτον μὲν ἀναστάντες τὴν ἀκτῖνα μετέωροι ὕμνησαν, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ, εἶτα τῷ βασιλεῖ ξυνεγένοντο, ὁπόσα ἐδεῖτο. παρατυχεῖν μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον οἷς ἐσπούδασεν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὔ φησιν ὁ Δάμις, οἴεσθαι δ' αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπορρήτων τὴν ξυνουσίαν πεποιῆσθαι. θύσας οὖν ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ προσῆλθε τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ ἐκάλει ἐπὶ ξένια ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, ζηλωτὸν ἀποπέμψειν φάσκων ἐς Ἕλληνας, ὁ δὲ ἐπῄνει μὲν ταῦτα, οὐ μὴν ἐπιδώσειν γε ἑαυτὸν ἔφασκεν ἀνδρὶ μηδὲν ὁμοίῳ, καὶ ἄλλως

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now proceed to quaff the good cheer provided by Tantalus, and let us sleep over the serious issues which we have to discuss to-night. But at another time I will fill you full with Hellenic arguments, and no other race is so rich in them, and you will delight in them whenever you come hither." And forthwith he set an example to his fellow-guests by stooping the first of them all to the goblet, which indeed furnished an ample draught for all; for the stream refilled itself plenteously, as if with spring waters welling up from the ground; and Apollonius also drank, for this cup is instituted by the Indians as a cup of friendship; and they feign that Tantalus is the wine-bearer who supplies it, because he is considered to have been the most friendly of men. CHAP. XXXII

XXXIII

CHAP. XXXIII

Apollonius refuses the king's offer of hospitality

And when they had drunk, the earth received them on the couches which she had spread for them; but when it was midnight they rose up and first they sang a hymn to the ray of light, suspended aloft in the air as they had been at midday; and then they attended the king, as long as he desired. Damis, however, says that Apollonius was not present at the king's conversation with them, because he thought that the interview had to do with secrets of state. Having then at daybreak offered his sacrifice, the king approached Apollonius and offered him the hospitality of his palace, declaring that he would send him back to Greece an object of envy to all. But he commended him for his kindness, nevertheless he excused himself from

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CAP. XXXIII πλείω χρόνον ἀποδημῶν τοῦ εἰκότος αἰσχύνεσθαι τοὺς οἴκοι φίλους ὑπερορᾶσθαι δοκοῦντας. ἀντιβολεῖν δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως φάσκοντος, καὶ ἀνελευθέρως ἤδη προσκειμένου, "βασιλεύς," ἔφη, "ταπεινότερον αὐτοῦ περὶ ὧν αἰτεῖ διαλεγόμενος ἐπιβουλεύει." προσελθὼν οὖν ὁ Ἰάρχας, "ἀδικεῖς," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸν ἱερὸν οἶκον, ἀπάγων ἐνθένδε ἄνδρα ἄκοντα, καὶ ἄλλως τῶν προγιγνωσκόντων οὗτος ὢν οἶδε τὴν ξυνουσίαν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς σὲ μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἐσομένην, ἴσως δὲ οὐδ' αὐτῷ σοι χρηστόν τι ἔξουσαν."

XXXIV

CAP. XXXIV Ὁ μὲν δὴ κατῄει ἐς τὴν κώμην, ὁ γὰρ θεσμὸς τῶν σοφῶν οὐ ξυνεχώρει τῷ βασιλεῖ ξυνεῖναί σφισιν ὑπὲρ μίαν ἡμέραν, ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον, "καὶ Δάμιν," εἶπε, "τῶν δεῦρο ἀπορρήτων ἀξιοῦμεν καὶ ἡκέτω, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐπιμελοῦ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ." Ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο, ξυνιζήσαντες, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ξυνεχώρουν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐρωτᾶν, ἤρετό τε ἐκ τίνων ξυγκεῖσθαι τὸν κόσμον ἡγοῖντο, οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν, "ἐκ στοιχείων." "μῶν," ἔφη, "τεττάρων;" "οὐ τεττάρων," ἔφη ὁ Ἰάρχας, "ἀλλὰ πέντε." "καὶ τί ἄν," ἔφη, "πέμπτον γένοιτο παρὰ τὸ ὕδωρ τε καὶ τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸ

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inflicting himself upon one with whom he was on no sort of equality; moreover, he said that he had been longer abroad than he liked, and that he scrupled to give his friends at home cause to think they were being neglected. The king thereupon said that he entreated him, and assumed such an undignified attitude in urging his request, that Apollonius said: "A king who insists upon his request in such terms at the expense of his dignity, is laying a trap." Thereupon Iarchas intervened and said: "You wrong, O king, this sacred abode by trying to drag away from it a man against his will; and moreover, being one of those who can read the future, he is aware that his staying with you would not conduce to his own good, and would probably not be in any way profitable to yourself." CHAP. XXXIII

XXXIV

CHAP. XXXIV

The Sages teach that the cosmos is alive

THE king accordingly went down into the village, for the law of the sages did not allow a king to be with them more than one day; but Iarchas said to the messenger: "We admit Damis also hither to our mysteries; so let him come, but do you look after the rest of them in the village." And when Damis arrived, they sat down together, as they were wont to do, and they allowed Apollonius to ask questions; and he asked them of what they thought the cosmos was composed; but they answered: "Of elements." "Are there then four?" he asked. "Not four," said Iarchas, "but five." "And how can there be a fifth," said Apollonius, "alongside of water and air

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CAP. XXXIV

πῦρ;" "ὁ αἰθήρ," εἶπεν, "ὃν ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ γένεσιν θεῶν εἶναι, τὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ἀέρος ἔλκοντα θνητὰ πάντα, τὰ δὲ τοῦ αἰθέρος ἀθάνατά τε καὶ θεῖα." πάλιν ἤρετο, τί τῶν στοιχείων πρῶτον γένοιτο, ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας, "ὁμοῦ," ἔφη, "πάντα, τὸ γὰρ ζῷον κατὰ μέρος οὐ τίκτεται." "ζῷον," ἔφη, "ἡγῶμαι τὸν κόσμον;" "ἦν γε," ἔφη, "ὑγιῶς γιγνώσκῃς, αὐτὸς γὰρ ζῳογονεῖ πάντα." "θῆλυν," εἶπεν, "αὐτὸν καλῶμεν ἢ τῆς ἄρσενός τε καὶ ἀντικειμένης φύσεως;" "ἀμφοῖν," ἔφη, "αὐτὸς γὰρ αὑτῷ ξυγγιγνόμενος τὰ μητρός τε καὶ πατρὸς ἐς τὴν ζῳογονίαν πράττει, ἔρωτά τε ἑαυτοῦ ἴσχει θερμότερον ἢ ἕτερόν τι ἑτέρου, ὃς ἁρμόττει αὐτὸν καὶ ξυνίστησιν· ἀπεικὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἑαυτῷ ξυμφύεσθαι. καὶ ὥσπερ χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν ἔργον πεποίηται ἡ τοῦ ζῴου κίνησις καὶ ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ νοῦς, ὑφ' οὗ ὁρμᾷ, οὕτως ἡγώμεθα καὶ τὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου διὰ τὸν ἐκείνου νοῦν ἐπιτήδεια παρέχειν αὑτὰ τοῖς τικτομένοις τε καὶ κυουμένοις πᾶσι. καὶ γὰρ τὰ πάθη τὰ ἐξ αὐχμῶν φοιτῶντα κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνου φοιτᾷ νοῦν, ἐπειδὰν ἐκπεσοῦσα ἡ δίκη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀτίμως πράττῃ, ποιμαίνεταί τε χειρὶ οὐ μιᾷ τόδε τὸ ζῷον, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς τε καὶ ἀρρήτοις, αἷς χρῆται, ἀχαλίνωτον μὲν διὰ μέγεθος, εὐήνιον δὲ κινεῖται καὶ εὐάγωγον.

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and earth and fire?" "There is the ether," replied the other, "which we must regard as the stuff of which gods are made; for just as all mortal creatures inhale the air, so do immortal and divine natures inhale the ether." Apollonius again asked which was the first of the elements, and Iarchas answered: "All are simultaneous, for a living creature is not born bit by bit." "Am I," said Apollonius, "to regard the universe as a living creature?" "Yes," said the other, "if you have a sound knowledge of it, for it engenders all living things." "Shall I then," said Apollonius, "call the universe female, or of both the male and the opposite gender?" "Of both genders," said the other, "for by commerce with itself it fulfils the rôle both of mother and father in bringing forth living creatures; and it is possessed by a love for itself more intense than any separate being has for its fellow, a passion which knits it together into harmony. And it is not illogical to suppose that it cleaves unto itself; for as the movement of an animal is obtained by use of its hands and feet, and as there is a soul in it by which it is set in motion, so we must regard the parts of the universe also as adapting themselves through its inherent soul to all creatures which are brought forth or conceived. For example, the sufferings so often caused by drought are visited on us in accordance with the soul of the universe, whenever justice has fallen into disrepute and is disowned by men; and this animal shepherds itself not with a single hand only, but with many mysterious ones, which it has at its disposal; and though from its immense size it is controlled by no other, yet it moves obediently to the rein and is easily guided.

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XXXV

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"Καὶ παράδειγμα μὲν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι ἀρκέσει τῷ λόγῳ μεγίστῳ τε ὄντι καὶ πρόσω ἐννοίας, ὑποκείσθω δὲ ναῦς, οἵαν Αἰγύπτιοι ξυντιθέντες ἐς τὴν θάλατταν τὴν ἡμεδαπὴν ἀφιᾶσιν, ἀγωγίμων Ἰνδικῶν ἀντιδιδόντες Αἰγύπτια· θεσμοῦ γὰρ παλαιοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ὄντος, ὃν βασιλεὺς Ἐρύθρας ἐνόμισεν, ὅτε τῆς θαλάττης ἐκείνης ἦρχε, μακρῷ μὲν πλοίῳ μὴ ἐσπλεῖν ἐς αὐτὴν Αἰγυπτίους, στρογγύλῃ δ' αὖ μιᾷ νηὶ χρῆσθαι, σοφίζονται πλοῖον Αἰγύπτιοι πρὸς πολλὰ τῶν παρ' ἑτέροις, καὶ παραπλευρώσαντες αὐτὸ ἁρμονίαις, ὁπόσαι ναῦν ξυνιστᾶσι, τοίχοις τε ὑπεράραντες καὶ ἱστῷ καὶ πηξάμενοι πλείους οἰκίας, οἵας ἐπὶ τῶν σελμάτων, πολλοὶ μὲν κυβερνῆται τῆς νεὼς ταύτης ὑπὸ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τε καὶ σοφωτάτῳ πλέουσι, πολλοὶ δὲ κατὰ πρῷραν ἄρχοντες ἄριστοί τε καὶ δεξιοὶ ναῦται καὶ πρὸς ἱστία πηδῶντες, ἔστι δέ τι τῆς νεὼς ταύτης καὶ ὁπλιτεῦον, πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς κολπίτας βαρβάρους, οἳ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ἔσπλου κεῖνται, παρατάττεσθαι δεῖ τὴν ναῦν, ὅτε λῃζοιντο αὐτὴν ἐπιπλέοντες. τοῦτο ἡγώμεθα καὶ περὶ τόνδε τὸν κόσμον εἶναι, θεωροῦντες αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ τῆς ναυτιλίας σχῆμα, τὴν μὲν γὰρ δὴ πρώτην καὶ τελεωτάτην ἕδραν ἀποδοτέον θεῷ γενέτορι τοῦδε τοῦ ζῴου,

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CHAP. XXXV

Comparison of the world to a ship

"And the subject is so vast and so far transcends our mental powers, that I do not know any example adequate to illustrate it; but we will take that of a ship, such as the Egyptians construct for our seas and launch for the exchange of Egyptian goods against Indian wares. For there is an ancient law in regard to the Red Sea, which the king Erythras laid down, when he held sway over that sea, to the effect that the Egyptians should not enter it with a vessel of war, and indeed should employ only a single merchant ship. This regulation obliged the Egyptians to contrive a ship equivalent to several at once of those which other races have; and they ribbed the sides of this ship with bolts such as hold a ship together, and they raised its bulwarks and its mast to a great height, and they constructed several compartments, such as are built upon the timber balks which run athwart a ship, and they set several pilots in this boat and subordinated them to the oldest and wisest of their number, to conduct the voyage; and there were several officers on the prow and excellent and handy sailors to man the sails; and in the crew of this ship there was a detachment of armed men, for it is necessary to equip the ship and protect it against the savages of the Gulf that live on the right hand as you enter it, in case they should ever attack and plunder it on the high seas. Let us apply this imagery to the universe, and regard it in the light of a naval construction; for then you must apportion the first and supreme position to God the begetter of this animal, and subordinate posts to the gods

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CAP. XXXV τὴν δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ θεοῖς, οἳ τὰ μέρη αὐτοῦ κυβερνῶσι, καὶ τῶν γε ποιητῶν ἀποδεχώμεθα, ἐπειδὰν πολλοὺς μὲν φάσκωσιν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ θεοὺς εἶναι, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐν θαλάττῃ, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐν πηγαῖς τε καὶ νάμασι, πολλοὺς δὲ περὶ γῆν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν τινας. τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν τόπον, εἴπερ ἐστίν, ἐπειδὴ φρικώδη αὐτὸν καὶ φθαρτικὸν ᾄδουσιν, ἀποτάττωμεν τοῦ κόσμου."

XXXVI

CAP. XXXVI Ταῦτα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ διελθόντος, ἐκπεσεῖν ὁ Δάμις ἑαυτοῦ φησιν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως, καὶ ἀναβοῆσαι μέγα, μὴ γὰρ ἄν ποτε νομίσαι ἄνδρα Ἰνδὸν ἐς τοῦτο ἐλάσαι γλώττης Ἑλλάδος, μηδ' ἄν, εἴπερ τὴν γλῶτταν ἠπίστατο, τοσῇδε εὐροίᾳ καὶ ὥρᾳ διελθεῖν ταῦτα. ἐπαινεῖ δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ βλέμμα καὶ μειδίαμα καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀθεεὶ δοκεῖν ἐκφέρειν τὰς δόξας. τόν τοι Ἀπολλώνιον εὐσχημόνως τε καὶ ἀψοφητὶ τοῖς λόγοις χρώμενον ὅμως ἐπιδοῦναι μετὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν τοῦτον, καὶ ὅπου καθήμενος διαλέγοιτο, θαμὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἔπραττε, προσεοικέναι τῷ Ἰάρχᾳ.

XXXVII

CAP. XXXVII Ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς τῇ φωνῇ τὰ εἰρημένα, πάλιν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἤρετο, πότερα τὴν θάλατταν μείζω ἡγοῖντο ἢ τὴν γῆν, ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας,

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who govern its parts; and we may well assent to the statements of the poets, when they say that there are many gods in heaven and many in the sea, and many in the fountains and streams, and many round about the earth, and that there are some even under the earth. But we shall do well to separate from the universe the region under the earth, if there is one, because the poets represent it as an abode of terror and corruption." CHAP. XXXV

XXXVI

As the Indian concluded this discourse, Damis says that he was transported with admiration and applauded loudly; for he could never have thought that a native of India could show such mastery of the Greek tongue, nor even that, supposing he understood that language, he could have used it with so much ease and elegance. And he praises the look and smile of Iarchas, and the inspired air with which he expressed his ideas, admitting that Apollonius, although he had a delivery as graceful as it was free from bombast, nevertheless gained a great deal by contact with this Indian, and he says that whenever he sat down to discuss a theme, as he very often did, he resembled Iarchas. CHAP. XXXVI Damis applauds Iarchas

XXXVII

As the rest of the company praised no less the contents of Iarchas' speech than the tone in which he spoke, Apollonius resumed by asking him, which they considered the bigger, the sea or the land; and CHAP. XXXVII Relation of sea to earth

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CAP. XXXVII "εἰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν," ἔφη, "ἡ γῆ ἐξετάζοιτο, μείζων ἔσται, τὴν γὰρ θάλατταν αὕτη ἔχει, εἰ δὲ πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν θεωροῖτο, ἥττω τὴν γῆν ἀποφαινοίμεθα ἄν, καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνην τὸ ὕδωρ φέρει."

XXXVIII

CAP. XXXVIII Μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν λόγων τούτων ἐφίσταται τοῖς σοφοῖς ὁ ἄγγελος Ἰνδοὺς ἄγων σωτηρίας δεομένους. καὶ παρῆγε γύναιον ἱκετεῦον ὑπὲρ παιδός, ὃν ἔφασκε μὲν ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονέναι, δαιμονᾶν δὲ δύο ἔτη, τὸ δὲ ἦθος τοῦ δαίμονος εἴρωνα εἶναι καὶ ψεύστην. ἐρομένου δέ τινος τῶν σοφῶν, ὁπόθεν λέγοι ταῦτα, "τοῦ παιδὸς τούτου," ἔφη, "τὴν ὄψιν εὐπρεπεστέρου ὄντος ὁ δαίμων ἐρᾷ, καὶ οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ αὐτῷ νοῦν ἔχειν, οὐδὲ ἐς διδασκάλου βαδίσαι ἐᾷ ἢ τοξότου, οὐδὲ οἴκοι εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰ ἔρημα τῶν χωρίων ἐκτρέπει, καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν φωνὴν ὁ παῖς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ βαρὺ φθέγγεται καὶ κοῖλον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄνδρες, βλέπει δὲ ἑτέροις ὀφθαλμοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ. κἀγὼ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις κλάω τε καὶ ἐμαυτὴν δρύπτω καὶ νουθετῶ τὸν υἱόν, ὁπόσα εἰκός, ὁ δὲ οὐκ οἶδέ με. διανοουμένης δέ μου τὴν ἐνταῦθα ὁδόν, τουτὶ δὲ πέρυσι διενοήθην, ἐξηγόρευσεν ὁ δαίμων ἑαυτὸν ὑποκριτῇ χρώμενος τῷ παιδί, καὶ δῆτα ἔλεγεν εἶναι μὲν εἴδωλον ἀνδρός, ὃς πολέμῳ ποτὲ ἀπέθανεν, ἀποθανεῖν δὲ ἐρῶν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικός, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ

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Iarchas replied: "If the land be compared with the sea, it will be found to be bigger, for it includes the sea in itself; but if it be considered in relation to the entire mass of water, we can show that the earth is the lesser of the two, for it is upheld by the water." CHAP. XXXVII

XXXVIII

CHAP. XXXVIII

Apollonius heals a demoniac boy

THIS discussion was interrupted by the appearance among the sages of the messenger bringing in certain Indians who were in want of succour. And he brought forward a poor woman who interceded in behalf of her child, who was, she said, a boy of sixteen years of age, but had been for two years possessed by a devil. Now the character of the devil was that of a mocker and a liar. Here one of the sages asked, why she said this, and she replied: "This child of mine is extremely good-looking, and therefore the devil is amorous of him and will not allow him to retain his reason, nor will he permit him to go to school, or to learn archery, nor even to remain at home, but drives him out into desert places. And the boy does not even retain his own voice, but speaks in a deep hollow tone, as men do; and he looks at you with other eyes rather than with his own. As for myself I weep over all this, and I tear my cheeks, and I rebuke my son so far as I well may; but he does not know me. And I made up my mind to repair hither, indeed I planned to do so a year ago; only the demon discovered himself, using my child as a mask, and what he told me was this, that he was the ghost of a man, who fell long ago in battle, but that at death he was passionately

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CAP. XXXVIII γυνὴ περὶ τὴν εὐνὴν ὕβρισε τριταίου κειμένου γαμηθεῖσα ἑτέρῳ, μισῆσαι μὲν ἐκ τούτου τὸ γυναικῶν ἐρᾶν, μεταρρυῆναι δὲ ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον. ὑπισχνεῖτο δέ, εἰ μὴ διαβάλλοιμι αὐτὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δώσειν τῷ παιδὶ πολλὰ ἐσθλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ἔπαθόν τι πρὸς ταῦτα, ὁ δὲ διάγει με πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκον ἔχει μόνος, οὐδὲν μέτριον οὐδὲ ἀληθὲς φρονῶν." ἤρετο οὖν ὁ σοφὸς πάλιν, εἰ πλησίον εἴη ὁ παῖς, ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη, πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀφικέσθαι αὐτὸν πρᾶξαι, "ὁ δ' ἀπειλεῖ κρημνοὺς καὶ βάραθρα καὶ ἀποκτενεῖν μοι τὸν υἱόν, εἰ δικαζοίμην αὐτῷ δεῦρο." "θάρσει," ἔφη ὁ σοφός, "οὐ γὰρ ἀποκτενεῖ αὐτὸν ἀναγνοὺς ταῦτα," καί τινα ἐπιστολὴν ἀνασπάσας τοῦ κόλπου ἔδωκε τῇ γυναικί, ἐπέσταλτο δὲ ἄρα ἡ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸ εἴδωλον ξὺν ἀπειλῇ καὶ ἐκπλήξει.

XXXIX

CAP. XXXIX Καὶ μὴν καὶ χωλεύων τις ἀφίκετο, γεγονὼς μὲν ἤδη τριάκοντα ἔτη, λεόντων δὲ θηρατὴς δεινός, ἐμπεπτωκότος δὲ αὐτῷ λέοντος ὠλισθήκει τὸν γλουτὸν καὶ τοῦ σκέλους ἑτέρως εἶχεν. ἀλλ' αἱ χεῖρες αὐτῷ καταψῶσαι τὸν γλουτόν, ἐς ὀρθὸν τοῦ βαδίσματος ὁ νεανίας ἦλθε. καὶ ὀφθαλμῶ δέ τις ἐρρυηκὼς ἀπῆλθε πᾶν ἔχων τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς φῶς, καὶ

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attached to his wife. Now he had been dead for only three days when his wife insulted their union by marrying another man, and the consequence was that he had come to detest the love of women, and had transferred himself wholly into this boy. But he promised, if I would only not denounce him to yourselves, to endow the child with many noble blessings. As for myself, I was influenced by these promises; but he has put me off and off for such a long time now, that he has got sole control of my household, yet has no honest or true intentions." Here the sage asked afresh, if the boy was at hand; and she said not, for, although she had done all she could to get him to come with her, the demon had threatened her with steep places and precipices and declared that he would kill her son, "in case," she added, "I haled him hither for trial." "Take courage," said the sage, "for he will not slay him when he has read this." And so saying he drew a letter out of his bosom and gave it to the woman; and the letter, it appears, was addressed to the ghost and contained threats of an alarming kind. CHAP. XXXVIII

XXXIX

CHAP. XXXIX

A lame man healed

Cure of a blind man

THERE also arrived a man who was lame. He already thirty years old was a keen hunter of lions; but a lion had sprung upon him and dislocated his hip so that he limped with one leg. However when they massaged with their hands his hip, the youth immediately recovered his upright gait. And another man had had his eyes put out, and he went away having recovered the sight of both of them.

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CAP. XXXIX ἄλλος τὴν χεῖρα ἀδρανὴς ὤν, ἐγκρατὴς ᾧχετο. γυνὴ δέ τις ἑπτὰ ἤδη γαστέρας δυστοκοῦσα δεομένου ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τἀνδρὸς ὧδε ἰάθη· τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκέλευσεν, ἐπειδὰν τίκτῃ ἡ γυνή, λαγὼν ὑπὸ κόλπῳ ζῶντα ἐσφέρεσθαι οὗ τίκτει, καὶ περιελθόντα αὐτὴν ἀφεῖναι ὁμοῦ τὸν λαγών, συνεκδοθῆναι γὰρ ἂν τῷ ἐμβρύῳ τὴν μήτραν, εἰ μὴ ὁ λαγὼς αὐτίκα ἐξενεχθείη θύραζε.

XL

CAP. XL Πατρὸς δ' αὖ τινος εἰπόντος, ὡς γένοιντο μὲν αὐτῷ παῖδες, ἀποθάνοιεν δὲ ὁμοῦ τῷ ἄρξασθαι οἴνου πίνειν, ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν ὁ Ἰάρχας, "καὶ βελτίους ἀποθανόντες ἐγένοντο, οὐ γὰρ ἂν διέφυγον τὸ μὴ μανῆναι, θερμοτέρων, ὡς φαίνεται, σπερμάτων φύντες. οἴνου μὲν οὖν ἀφεκτέον τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν, ὡς δὲ μηδὲ ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν ποτὲ οἴνου καταστῶσιν, εἴ σοι πάλιν παιδίον γένοιτο, γέγονε δὲ ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν, ὡς ὁρῶ, τὴν γλαῦκα τὴν ὄρνιν χρὴ ἐπιφυλάττειν, οὗ νεοττεύει, καὶ τὰ ᾠὰ σπάσαντα δοῦναι μασᾶσθαι τῷ βρέφει συμμέτρως ἔψοντα, εἰ γὰρ βρώσεταί τι τούτων, πρὶν οἴνου γεύσεται, μῖσος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν οἶνον ἐμφύσεται, καὶ σωφρονέστατα διακείσεται, μόνου ξυγκεκραμένος τοῦ ἐν τῇ φύσει θερμοῦ."

Τούτων οὖν ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκ-

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Yet another man had his hand paralysed, but left their presence in full possession of the limb. And a certain woman had suffered in labour already seven times, but was healed in the following way through the intercession of her husband. He bade the man, whenever his wife should be about to bring forth her next child, to enter her chamber carrying in his bosom a live hare; then he was to walk once round her and at the same moment to release the hare; for that the womb would be expelled together with the fœtus, unless the hare was at once driven out.

CHAP. XXXIX
Of a paralytic
Of a woman by means of a live hare

XL

And again a certain man who was a father said that he had had several sons, but that they had died the moment they began to drink wine. Iarchas took him up and said: "Yes, and it is just as well they did die, for they would inevitably have gone mad, having inherited, as it appears, from their parents too warm a temperament. Your children," he added, "must therefore abstain from wine, but in order that they may be never led even to desire wine, supposing you should have another boy, and I perceive you had one only six days ago, you must carefully watch the hen owl and find where it builds its nest; then you must snatch its eggs and give them to the child to chew after boiling them properly; for if it is fed upon these, before it tastes wine, a distaste for wine will be bred in it, and it will keep sober by your excluding from its temperament any but natural warmth."

CHAP. XL
Of sons who died through drinking wine

With such lore as this then they surfeited

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CAP. XL πληττόμενοι, τῆς ἐς πάντα σοφίας παμπόλλους ὁσημέραι λόγους ἠρώτων, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠρωτῶντο.

XLI

CAP. XLI Τῆς μὲν οὖν διαλεκτικῆς ξυνουσίας ἄμφω μετεῖχον, τὰς δὲ ἀπορρήτους σπουδάς, αἷς ἀστρικὴν ἢ μαντείαν κατενόουν καὶ τὴν πρόγνωσιν ἐσπούδαζον, θυσιῶν τε ἥπτοντο καὶ κλήσεων, αἷς θεοὶ χαίρουσι, μόνον φησὶν ὁ Δάμις τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ξυμφιλοσοφεῖν τῷ Ἰάρχᾳ, καὶ ξυγγράψαι μὲν ἐκεῖθεν περὶ μαντείας ἀστέρων βίβλους τέτταρας, ὧν καὶ Μοιραγένης ἐπεμνήσθη, ξυγγράψαι δὲ περὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ὡς ἄν τις ἑκάστῳ θεῷ προσφόρως τε καὶ κεχαρισμένως θύοι. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην μαντικὴν πᾶσαν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἡγοῦμαι φύσιν, καὶ οὐδ' εἰ κέκτηταί τις οἶδα, τὸ δὲ περὶ θυσιῶν ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν ἱεροῖς εὗρον, ἐν πολλαῖς δὲ πόλεσι, πολλοῖς δὲ ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν οἴκοις, καί τοι,[1] ἄν τις ἑρμηνεύοι αὐτό, σεμνῶς ξυντεταγμένον καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἠχὼ τοῦ ἀνδρός. φησὶ δὲ ὁ Δάμις καὶ δακτυλίους ἑπτὰ τὸν Ἰάρχαν

[1] Kayser reads: καὶ τί ἄν, which is unintelligible.

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themselves, and they were astonished at the many-sided wisdom of the company, and day after day they asked all sorts of questions, and were themselves asked many in turn. CHAP. XL

XLI

CHAP. XLI

Both Apollonius and Damis then took part in the interviews devoted to abstract discussions; not so with the conversations devoted to occult themes, in which they pondered the nature of astronomy or divination, and considered the question of foreknowledge, and handled the problems of sacrifice and of the invocations in which the gods take pleasure. In these Damis says that Apollonius alone partook of the philosophic discussion together with Iarchas, and that he embodied the results in four books concerning divination by the stars, a work which Moiragenes has mentioned. And Damis says that he composed a work on the way to offer sacrifice to the several gods in a manner suitable and pleasing to them. Not only then do I regard the work on the science of the stars and the whole subject of such divination as transcending human nature, but I do not even know if anyone has these gifts; but I found the treatise on sacrifices in several temples, and in several cities, and in the houses of several learned men; moreover if anyone who should translate[1] it, he would find it to be a grave and dignified composition, and one that rings of the author's personality? And Damis says that

Apollonius' work on astral divination mentioned by Moiragenes

His work on sacrifice

[1] In Bk. IV. ch. 19, we are told that this book was written in the Cappadocian tongue. Hence the need of translation.

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CAP. XLI τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ δοῦναι τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐπωνύμους ἀστέρων, οὓς φορεῖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον κατὰ ἕνα πρὸς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἡμερῶν.

XLII

CAP. XLII Περὶ δὲ προγνώσεως λόγου αὐτοῖς ποτε ὄντος, καὶ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου προσκειμένου τῇ σοφίᾳ ταύτῃ, καὶ τὰς πλείους τῶν διαλέξεων ἐς τοῦτο ξυντείνοντος, ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰάρχας, "οἱ μαντικῇ," ἔφη, "χαίροντες, ὦ χρηστὲ Ἀπολλώνιε, θεῖοί τε ὑπ' αὐτῆς γίγνονται καὶ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἀνθρώπων πράττουσι. τὸ γάρ, ἃ χρὴ ἐς θεοῦ ἀφικόμενον εὑρέσθαι, ταῦτα αὖ, ὦ χρηστέ, ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ προιδέσθαι προειπεῖν τε ἑτέροις, ἃ μήπω ἴσασι, πανολβίου τινὸς ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ταὐτὸν ἰσχύοντος τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Δελφικῷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τέχνη τοὺς ἐς θεοῦ φοιτῶντας ἐπὶ τῷ χρήσασθαι καθαροὺς κελεύει βαδίζοντας φοιτᾶν, ἢ "ἔξιθι τοῦ νεὼ" πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐρεῖ, δοκεῖ μοι καὶ τὸν προγνωσόμενον ἄνδρα ὑγιῶς ἑαυτοῦ ἔχειν, καὶ μήτε κηλῖδα προσμεμάχθαι τῇ ψυχῇ μηδεμίαν, μήτε οὐλὰς ἁμαρτημάτων ἐντετυπῶσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ, καθαρῶς δὲ αὐτὸν προφητεύειν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῷ στέρνῳ τρίποδος συνιέντα· γεγωνύτερον γὰρ οὕτω καὶ ἀληθέστερον τὰ λόγια ἐκδώσει. ὅθεν οὐ χρὴ θαυμάζειν, εἰ καὶ σὺ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ξυνείληφας τοσοῦτον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φέρων αἰθέρα."

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Iarchas gave seven rings to Apollonius named after the seven stars, and that Apollonius wore each of these in turn on the day of the week which bore its name. CHAP. XLI

XLII

CHAP. XLII

Iarchas on divination of the future

As to the subject of foreknowledge, they presently had a talk about it, for Apollonius was devoted to this kind of lore, and turned most of their conversations on to it. For this Iarchas praised him and said: "My good friend Apollonius, those who take pleasure in divination, are rendered divine thereby and contribute to the salvation of mankind. For here we have discoveries which we must go to a divine oracle in order to make; yet these, my good friend, we foresee of our unaided selves and foretell to others things which they know not yet. This I regard as the gift of one thoroughly blessed and endowed with the same mysterious power as the Delphic Apollo. Now the ritual insists that those who visit a shrine with a view to obtaining a response, must purify themselves first, otherwise they will be told to "depart from the temple." Consequently I consider that one who would foresee events must be healthy in himself, and must not have his soul stained with any sort of defilement nor his character scarred with the wounds of any sins; so he will pronounce his predictions with purity, because he will understand himself and the sacred tripod in his breast, and with ever louder and clearer tone and truer import will he utter his oracles. Therefore you need not be surprised, if you comprehend the science, seeing that you carry in your soul so much ether."

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XLIII

CAP. XLIII Καὶ χαριεντιζόμενος ἅμα πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν, "σὺ δ' οὐδέν," ἔφη, "προγιγνώσκεις, Ἀσσύριε, καὶ ταῦτα ξυνὼν ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπε, "τά γε ἐμαυτῷ ἀναγκαῖα· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πρώτῳ ἐνέτυχον τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τούτῳ, καὶ σοφίας μοι ἔδοξε πλέως δεινότητός τε καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ τοῦ καρτερεῖν ὀρθῶς, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ μνημοσύνην ἐν αὐτῷ εἶδον, πολυμαθέστατόν τε καὶ φιλομαθίας ἥττω, δαιμόνιόν τί μοι ἐγένετο, καὶ ξυγγενόμενος αὐτῷ σοφὸς μὲν ᾠήθην δόξειν ἐξ ἰδιώτου τε καὶ ἀσόφου, πεπαιδευμένος δὲ ἐκ βαρβάρου, ἑπόμενος δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ξυσπουδάζων ὄψεσθαι μὲν Ἰνδούς, ὄψεσθαι δὲ ὑμᾶς, Ἕλλησί τε ἐπιμίξειν Ἕλλην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενος. τὰ μὲν δὴ ὑμέτερα περὶ μεγάλων ὄντα Δελφοὺς ἠγεῖσθε καὶ Δωδώνην καὶ ὅ τι βούλεσθε, τἀμὰ δέ, ἐπειδὴ Δάμις μὲν ὁ προγιγνώσκων αὐτά, προγιγνώσκει δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μόνου, γραὸς ἔστω ἀγυρτρίας μαντευομένης ὑπὲρ προβατίων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων."

XLIV

CAP. XLIV Ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν δὴ ἐγέλασαν οἱ σοφοὶ πάντες, καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ γέλωτος ἐπανῆγεν ὁ Ἰάρχας

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XLIII

CHAP. XLIII
Damis' premonitions

And with these words he turned to Damis and said playfully: "And you, O Assyrian, have you no foreknowledge of anything, especially as you associate with such a man as this?" "Yes, by Zeus," answered Damis, "at any rate of the things that are necessary for myself; for when I first met with Apollonius here, he at once struck me as full of wisdom and cleverness and sobriety and of true endurance; but when I saw that he also had a good memory, and that he was very learned and entirely devoted to love of learning, he became to me something superhuman; and I came to the conclusion that if I stuck to him I should be held a wise man instead of an ignoramus and a dullard, and an educated man instead of a savage; and I saw that, if I followed him and shared his pursuits, I should visit the Indians and visit you, and that I should be turned into a Hellene by him and be able to mix with the Hellenes. Now of course you set your oracles, as they concern important issues, on a level with those of Delphi and Dodona and of any other shrine you like; as for my own premonitions, since Damis is the person who has them, and since his foreknowledge concerns himself alone, we will suppose that they resemble the guesses of an old beggar wife foretelling what will happen to sheep and such like."

XLIV

CHAP. XLIV

All the sages laughed of course at this sally, and when the laughter had subsided, Iarchas led back the

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CAP. XLIV ἐς τὸν περὶ τῆς μαντικῆς λόγον, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὴν ἀγαθὰ ἔλεγε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰργάσθαι, μέγιστον δὲ τὸ τῆς ἰατρικῆς δῶρον· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε τοὺς σοφοὺς Ἀσκληπιάδας ἐς ἐπιστήμην τούτου παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ παῖς Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀσκληπιὸς γενόμενος, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐκείνου φήμας τε καὶ μαντείας ξυνθεὶς τὰ πρόσφορα ταῖς νόσοις φάρμακα, παισί τε ἑαυτοῦ παρέδωκε, καὶ τοὺς ξυνόντας ἐδιδάξατο, τίνας μὲν δεῖ προσάγειν πόας ὑγροῖς ἕλκεσι, τίνας δὲ αὐχμηροῖς καὶ ξηροῖς, ξυμμετρίας τε ποτίμων φαρμάκων, ὑφ' ὧν ὕδεροι ἀποχετεύονται, καὶ αἷμα ἴσχεται, φθόαι τε παύονται καὶ τὰ οὕτω κοῖλα. καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰοβόλων δὲ ἄκη καὶ τὸ τοῖς ἰοβόλοις αὐτοῖς ἐς πολλὰ τῶν νοσημάτων χρῆσθαι τίς ἀφαιρήσεται τὴν μαντικήν; οὐ γάρ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἄνευ τῆς προγιγνωσκούσης σοφίας θαρσῆσαί ποτε ἄνθρωποι τὰ πάντων ὀλεθριώτατα φαρμάκων ἐγκαταμῖξαι τοῖς σώζουσιν.

XLV

CAP. XLV Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὅδε ὁ λόγος ἀναγέγραπται τῷ Δάμιδι, σπουδασθεὶς ἐκεῖ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς μυθολογουμένων θηρίων τε καὶ πηγῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, μηδ' ἐμοὶ παραλειπέσθω, καὶ γὰρ κέρδος ἂν εἴη μήτε πιστεύειν, μήτε ἀπιστεῖν πᾶσιν. ἤρετο γὰρ δὴ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἔστι τι ζῷον ἐνταῦθα μαρτι-

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CHAP. XLIV
Divination and medicine

argument to the subject of divination, and among the many blessings which that art had conferred upon mankind, he declared the gift of healing to be the most important. "For," said he, "the wise sons of Asclepius would have never attained to this branch of science, if Asclepius had not been the son of Apollo; and as such had not in accordance with the latter's responses and oracles concocted and adapted different drugs to different diseases; these he not only handed on to his own sons, but he taught his companions what herbs must be applied to running wounds, and what to parched and dry wounds, and in what doses to administer liquid drugs for drinking, by means of which dropsical patients are drained, and bleeding is checked, and diseases of decay and the cavities due to their ravages are put an end to. And who," he said, "can deprive the art of divination of the credit of discovering simples which heal the bites of venomous creatures, and in particular of using the virus itself as a cure for many diseases? For I do not think that men without the forecasts of a prophetic wisdom would ever have ventured to mingle with medicines that save life these most deadly of poisons."

XLV

CHAP. XLV
On the mythical animals of India

And inasmuch as the following conversation also has been recorded by Damis as having been held upon this occasion with regard to the mythological animals and fountains and men met with in India, I must not leave it out, for there is much to be gained by neither believing nor yet disbelieving everything. Accordingly Apollonius asked the question, whether

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CAP. XLV χόρας;" ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας, "καὶ τίνα," ἔφη, "φύσιν τοῦ ζῴου τούτου ἤκουσας; εἰκὸς γὰρ καὶ περὶ εἴδους αὐτοῦ τι λέγεσθαι." "λέγεται," εἶπε, "μεγάλα καὶ ἄπιστα, τετράπουν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι αὐτό, τὴν κεφαλὴν δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ εἰκάσθαι, λέοντι δὲ ὡμοιῶσθαι τὸ μέγεθος, τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν τοῦ θηρίου τούτου πηχυαίας ἐκφέρειν καὶ ἀκανθώδεις τὰς τρίχας, ἃς βάλλειν ὥσπερ τοξεύματα ἐς τοὺς θηρῶντας αὐτό." ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὕδατος, ὅ φασιν ἐκ πηγῆς βλύζειν, καὶ περὶ τῆς ψήφου τῆς ἄπερ ἡ μαγνῆτις ποιούσης, ἀνθρώπων τε ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκούντων καὶ πυγμαίων αὖ καὶ σκιαπόδων, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Ἰάρχας, "περὶ μὲν ζῴων ἢ φυτῶν," εἶπεν, "ἢ πηγῶν, ὧν αὐτὸς ἐνταῦθα ἤκων εἶδες, τί ἄν σοι λέγοιμι; σὸν γὰρ ἤδη νῦν ἐξηγεῖσθαι αὐτὰ ἑτέροις· θηρίον δὲ τοξεῦον ἢ χρυσοῦ πηγὰς ὕδατος οὔπω ἐνταῦθα ἤκουσα.

XLVI

CAP. XLVI "Περὶ μέντοι τῆς ψήφου τῆς ἐπισπωμένης τε καὶ ξυνδούσης ἑαυτῇ λίθους ἑτέρας οὐ χρὴ ἀπιστεῖν· ἔστι γάρ σοι καὶ ἰδεῖν τὴν λίθον, καὶ θαυμάσαι τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ πάντα. γίγνεται μὲν γὰρ ἡ μεγίστη κατὰ ὄνυχα δακτύλου τούτου," δείξας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀντίχειρα, "κυίσκεται δὲ ἐν γῇ κοίλῃ βάθος ὀργυιαὶ τέτταρες, τοσοῦτον δὲ αὐτῇ περίεστι τοῦ πνεύ-

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there was there an animal called the man-eater (*martichoras*); and Iarchas replied: "And what have you heard about the make of this animal? For it is probable that there is some account given of its shape." "There are," replied Apollonius, "tall stories current which I cannot believe; for they say that the creature has four feet, and that his head resembles that of a man, but that in size it is comparable to a lion; while the tail of this animal puts out hairs a cubit long and sharp as thorns, which it shoots like arrows at those who hunt it." And he further asked about the golden water which they say bubbles up from a spring, and about the stone which behaves like a magnet, and about the men who live underground and the pigmies also and the shadow-footed men; and Iarchas answered his questions thus: "What have I to tell you about animals or plants or fountains which you have seen yourself on coming here? For by this time you are as competent to describe these to other people as I am; but I never yet heard in this country of an animal that shoots arrows or of springs of golden water. CHAP. XLV

XLVI

"HOWEVER about the stone which attracts and binds to itself other stones you must not be sceptical; for you can see the stone yourself if you like, and admire its properties. For the greatest specimen is exactly of the size of this finger nail," and here he pointed to his own thumb, "and it is conceived in a hollow in the earth at a depth of four fathoms; but it is so highly endowed with spirit, that the earth swells CHAP. XLVI The *Pantarbe* stone

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CAP. XLVI ματος, ὡς ὑποιδεῖν τὴν γῆν καὶ κατὰ πολλὰ ῥήγνυσθαι κνισκομένης ἐν αὐτῇ τῆς λίθου. μαστεῦσαι δὲ αὐτὴν οὐδενὶ ἔξεστιν, ἀποδιδράσκει γάρ, εἰ μὴ μετὰ λόγου ἀνασπῷτο· ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μόνοι τὰ μὲν δράσαντες, τὰ δὲ εἰπόντες ἀναιρούμεθα τὴν παντάρβην· ὄνομα γὰρ αὐτῇ τοῦτο. νύκτωρ μὲν οὖν ἡμέραν ἀναφαίνει, καθάπερ τὸ πῦρ, ἔστι γὰρ πυρσὴ καὶ ἀκτινώδης, εἰ δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὁρῷτο, βάλλει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μαρμαρυγαῖς μυρίαις. τὸ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ φῶς πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἀρρήτου ἰσχύος, πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἐγγὺς ἐσποιεῖ αὐτῇ. τί λέγω τὸ ἐγγύς; ἔστι σοι λίθους, ὁπόσας βούλει, καταποντῶσαί ποι ἢ τῶν ποταμῶν ἢ τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ μηδὲ ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων, ἀλλὰ σποράδας καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἡ δὲ ἐς αὐτὰς καθιμηθεῖσα, ξυλλέγεται πάσας τῇ τοῦ πνεύματος διαδόσει, καὶ ὑποκείσονται αὐτῇ βοτρυδὸν αἱ λίθοι, καθάπερ σμῆνος."

XLVII

CAP. XLVII Καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἔδειξε τὴν λίθον αὐτήν τε καὶ ὁπόσα ἐργάζεται. τοὺς δὲ πυγμαίους οἰκεῖν μὲν ὑπογείους, κεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν Γάγγην, ζῶντας τρόπον ὃς πᾶσιν εἴρηται, σκιάποδας δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἢ μακροκεφάλους ἢ ὁπόσα Σκύλακος ξυγγραφαὶ περὶ τούτων ἄδουσιν, οὔτε ἄλλοσέ ποι βιοτεύειν τῆς γῆς οὔτε μὴν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς.

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and breaks open in many places when the stone is conceived in it. But no one can get hold of it, for it runs away, unless it is scientifically attracted; but we alone can secure, partly by performance of certain rites, and partly by certain forms of words, this *pantarbe*, for such is the name given to it. Now in the night-time it glows like the day just as fire might, for it is red and gives out rays; and if you look at it in the daytime it smites your eyes with a thousand glints and gleams. And the light within it is a spirit of mysterious power, for it absorbs to itself everything in its neighbourhood. And why do I say in its neighbourhood? Why you can sink anywhere in river or in sea as many stones as you like, and these not even near to one another, but here there and everywhere; and then if you let down this stone among them by a string it gathers them all together by the diffusion of its spirit, and the stones yield to its influence and cling to it in a bunch, like a swarm of bees." CHAP. XLVI

XLVII

AND having said this he showed the stone itself and all that it was capable of effecting. And as to the pigmies, he said that they lived underground, and that they lay on the other side of the Ganges and lived in the manner which is related by all. As to men that are shadow-footed or have long heads, and as to the other poetical fancies which the treatise of Scylax recounts about them, he said that they didn't live anywhere on the earth, and least of all in India. CHAP. XLVII The Pigmies

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XLVIII

CAP. XLVIII

Ὃν δ' ὀρύττουσι χρυσὸν οἱ γρῦπες, πέτραι εἰσὶν οἷον σπινθῆρσιν ἐστιγμέναι ταῖς τοῦ χρυσοῦ ῥανίσιν, ἃς λιθοτομεῖ τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο τῇ τοῦ ῥάμφους ἰσχύϊ. τὰ γὰρ θηρία ταῦτα εἶναί τε ἐν Ἰνδοῖς καὶ ἱεροὺς νομίζεσθαι τοῦ Ἡλίου, τέθριππά τε αὐτῶν ὑποζευγνύναι τοῖς ἀγάλμασι τοὺς τὸν Ἥλιον ἐν Ἰνδοῖς γράφοντας, μέγεθός τε καὶ ἀλκὴν εἰκάσθαι αὐτοὺς τοῖς λέουσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ πλεονεξίας τῶν πτερῶν αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων δὲ καὶ δρακόντων ὑπερτέρους εἶναι. πέτονται δὲ οὔπω μέγα, ἀλλ' ὅσον οἱ βραχύποροι ὄρνιθες, μὴ γὰρ ἐπτιλῶσθαι σφᾶς, ὡς ὄρνισι πάτριον, ἀλλ' ὑμέσι τοὺς ταρσοὺς ὑφάνθαι πυρσοῖς, ὡς εἶναι κυκλώσαντας πέτεσθαί τε καὶ ἐκ μετεώρου μάχεσθαι, τὴν τίγριν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνάλωτον εἶναι μόνην, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τάχος αὐτὴν ἐσποιεῖ τοῖς ἀνέμοις.

XLIX

CAP. XLIX

Καὶ τὸν φοίνικα δὲ τὸν ὄρνιν τὸν διὰ πεντακοσίων ἐτῶν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἥκοντα, πέτεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον, εἶναι δὲ ἕνα, ἐκδιδόμενον τῶν ἀκτίνων καὶ χρυσῷ λάμποντα, μέγεθος ἀετοῦ καὶ εἶδος, ἐς καλιάν τε ἰζάνειν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀρώματος ποιουμένην αὐτῷ πρὸς ταῖς τοῦ Νείλου πηγαῖς. ἃ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι περὶ αὐτοῦ ᾄδουσιν, ὡς ἐς Αἴγυπτον φέρεται, καὶ Ἰνδοὶ ξυμμαρτυροῦσι,

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XLVIII

CHAP. XLVIII

The griffins

As to the gold which the griffins dig up, there are rocks which are spotted with drops of gold as with sparks, which this creature can quarry because of the strength of its beak. "For these animals do exist in India," he said, "and are held in veneration as being sacred to the Sun; and the Indian artists, when they represent the Sun, yoke four of them abreast to draw the imaged car; and in size and strength they resemble lions, but having this advantage over them that they have wings, they will attack them, and they get the better of elephants and of dragons. But they have no great power of flying, not more than have birds of short flight; for they are not winged as is proper with birds, but the palms of their feet are webbed with red membranes, such that they are able to revolve them, and make a flight and fight in the air; and the tiger alone is beyond their powers of attack, because in swiftness it is akin to the winds.

XLIX

CHAP. XLIX

The phoenix

"And the phoenix," he said, "is the bird which visits Egypt every five hundred years, but the rest of that time it flies about in India; and it is unique in that it is an emanation of sunlight and shines with gold, in size and appearance like an eagle; and it sits upon the nest which is made by it at the springs of the Nile out of spices. The story of the Egyptians about it, that it comes to Egypt, is testified to by the Indians

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CAP. XLIX προσάδοντες τῷ λόγῳ τὸ τὸν φοίνικα τὸν ἐν τῇ καλιᾷ τηκόμενον προπεμπτηρίους ὕμνους αὐτῷ ᾄδειν. τουτὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς κύκνους φασὶ δρᾶν οἱ σοφώτερον αὐτῶν ἀκούοντες.

L

CAP. L Τοιαίδε μὲν αἱ πρὸς τοὺς σοφοὺς ξυνουσίαι Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐγένοντο μηνῶν τεττάρων ἐκεῖ διατρίψαντι, καὶ ξυλλαβόντι λόγους φανερούς τε καὶ ἀπορρήτους πάντας, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξελαύνειν ἐβούλετο, τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα καὶ τὰς καμήλους πείθουσιν αὐτὸν ἀποπέμψαι τῷ Φραώτῃ μετ' ἐπιστολῆς, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἡγεμόνα ἕτερον καὶ καμήλους δόντες προέπεμπον αὐτόν, εὐδαιμονίζοντες αὐτούς τε κἀκεῖνον. ἀσπασάμενοι δὲ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ θεὸν τοῖς πολλοῖς εἶναι δόξειν οὐ τεθνεῶτα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶντα φήσαντες, αὐτοὶ μὲν ὑπέστρεψαν ἐς τὸ φροντιστήριον, ἐπιστρεφόμενοι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ δηλοῦντες, ὅτι ἄκοντες αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάττονται· ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν τὸν Γάγγην ἔχων, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τὸν Ὕφασιν κατῄει ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἡμερῶν δέκα ὁδὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὄχθου. κατιοῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς πολλαὶ μὲν στρουθοὶ ἐφαίνοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ ἄγριοι βόες, πολλοὶ δὲ ὄνοι καὶ λέοντες καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ τίγρεις, καὶ πιθήκων γένος ἕτερον παρὰ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πεπέρισι, μέλανές τε γὰρ καὶ λάσιοι ἦσαν καὶ τὰ εἴδη κύνειοι καὶ σμικροῖς ἀνθρώποις ἴσοι. διαλεγόμενοι δὲ περὶ τῶν ὁρωμένων, ὁποῖα εἰώθεσαν, ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ἐν ᾗ κατεσκεύαστο ἐμπόρια μικρά, καὶ πλοῖα

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also, but the latter add this touch to the story, that the phoenix which is being consumed in its nest sings funeral strains for itself. And this is also done by the swans according to the account of those who have the wit to hear them. CHAP. XLIX

L

In such conversations with the sages Apollonius spent the four months which he passed there, and he acquired all sorts of lore both profane and mysterious. But when he was minded to go on his way, they persuaded him to send back to Phraotes with a letter his guide and the camels; and they themselves gave him another guide and camels, and sent him forth on his way, congratulating both themselves and him. And having embraced Apollonius and declared that he would be esteemed a god by the many, not merely after his death, but while he was still alive, they turned back to their place of meditation, though ever and anon they turned towards him, and showed by their action that they parted from him against their will. And Apollonius keeping the Ganges on his right hand, but the Hyphasis on his left, went down towards the sea a journey of ten days from the sacred ridge. And as they went down they saw a great many ostriches, and many wild bulls, and many asses and lions and pards and tigers, and another kind of apes than those which inhabit the pepper trees, for these were black and bushy-haired and were dog-like in features and as big as small men. And in the usual discussion of what they saw they reached the sea, where small factories had been built, and passenger CHAP. L Apollonius quits the Brahmans

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CAP. L δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὥρμει πορθμεῖα παραπλήσια τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς. τὴν δὲ θάλατταν τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν εἶναι μὲν κυανωτάτην, ὠνομάσθαι δέ, ὡς εἶπον, ἀπὸ Ἐρύθρα βασιλέως, ὃς ἐπωνόμασεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκείνῳ τῷ πελάγει.

LI

CAP. LI Ἐνταῦθα ἥκων τὰς μὲν καμήλους ἀπέπεμψε τῷ Ἰάρχᾳ μετ' ἐπιστολῆς·

"Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰάρχᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις σοφοῖς χαίρειν.

ἀφικομένῳ μοι πεζῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεδώκατε τὴν θάλατταν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφίας τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν κοινωνήσαντες δεδώκατε καὶ διὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πορεύεσθαι. μεμνήσομαι τούτων καὶ πρὸς Ἕλληνας, κοινωνήσω τε λόγων ὡς παροῦσιν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ μάτην ἔπιον τοῦ Ταντάλου. ἔρρωσθε ἀγαθοὶ φιλόσοφοι."

LII

CAP. LII Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιβὰς νεὼς ἐκομίζετο λείῳ καὶ εὐφόρῳ πνεύματι, θαυμάζων τὸ στόμα τοῦ Τφάσιδος, ὡς φοβερῶς δι' αὐτοῦ ἐκχεῖται· τελευτῶν γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἐς χωρία πετρώδη καὶ στενὰ καὶ κρημνοὺς ἐκπίπτει, δι' ὧν καταρρηγνὺς ἐς τὴν θάλατταν ἑνὶ στόματι χαλεπὸς δοκεῖ τοῖς ἄγαν τῇ γῇ προσκειμένοις.

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ships rode in them resembling those of the Tyrrhenes. CHAP. L
And they say that the sea called Erythra or "red" is of a deep blue colour, but that it was so named from a king Erythras, who gave his own name to the sea in question.

LI

HAVING reached this point, Apollonius sent back CHAP. LI
the camels to Iarchas together with the following letter:

Apollonius' farewell letter to Iarchas

"Apollonius to Iarchas and the other sages greeting.

"I came to you on foot, and yet you presented me with the sea; but by sharing with me the wisdom which is yours, you have made it mine even to travel through the heavens. All this I shall mention to the Hellenes; and I shall communicate my words to you as if you were present, unless I have in vain drunk the draught of Tantalus. Farewell, ye goodly philosophers."

LII

HE then embarked upon the ship and was borne CHAP. LII
away by a smooth and favourable breeze, and he was much struck at the formidable manner in which the Hyphasis discharges itself into the sea at its mouth; for in its later course, as I said before, it falls into rocky and narrow country and over precipices, and breaking its way through these to the sea by a single mouth, presents a formidable danger to those who hug the land too closely.

The mouth of the Hyphasis

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LIII

CAP. LIII Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ στόμα ἰδεῖν φασι, πόλιν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κεῖσθαι Πάταλα περίρρυτον τῷ Ἰνδῷ, ἐς ἣν τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐλθεῖν, ᾧ ναύαρχον ἐπιτετάχθαι Νέαρχον οὐκ ἀγύμναστον τῆς θαλαττίου τάξεως. ἃ δὲ Ὀρθαγόρᾳ περὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς εἴρηται, καὶ ὅτι μήτε ἡ ἄρκτος ἐν αὐτῇ φαίνοιτο, μήτε σημαίνοιντο τὴν μεσημβρίαν οἱ πλέοντες, οἵ τε ἐπίδηλοι τῶν ἀστέρων ἐξαλλάττοιεν τῆς ἑαυτῶν τάξεως, δοκεῖ καὶ Δάμιδι, καὶ χρὴ πιστεύειν ὑγιῶς τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐκεῖ οὐρανὸν εἰρῆσθαι ταῦτα. μνημονεύουσι καὶ νήσου μικρᾶς, ᾗ ὄνομα εἶναι Βίβλον, ἐν ᾗ τὸ τοῦ κογχυλίου μέγεθος καὶ οἱ μύες ὄστρεά τε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα δεκαπλάσια τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὸ μέγεθος ταῖς πέτραις προσπέφυκεν. ἁλίσκεται δὲ καὶ λίθος ἐκεῖ μαργαρὶς ἐν ὀστράκῳ λευκῷ καρδίας τόπον ἔχουσα τῷ ὀστρέῳ.

LIV

CAP. LIV Κατασχεῖν δέ φασι καὶ ἐς Πηγάδας τῆς τῶν Ὠρειτῶν χώρας, οἱ δὲ Ὠρεῖται, χαλκαῖ μὲν αὐτοῖς αἱ πέτραι, χαλκῆ δὲ ἡ ψάμμος, χαλκοῦν δὲ ψῆγμα οἱ ποταμοὶ ἄγουσι. ῥυσῖτιν δὲ ἡγοῦνται τὴν χγῆν διὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν τοῦ χαλκοῦ.

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LIII

CHAP. LIII

The city of Patala

Nearchus and Orthagoras

The isle of Biblus

THEY say, moreover, that they saw the mouth of the Indus, and that there was situated on it the city of Patala round which the Indus flows. It was to this city that the fleet of Alexander came, under the command of Nearchus, a highly trained naval captain. But as for the stories of Orthagoras about the sea called Erythra, to the effect that the constellation of the bear is not to be seen in it, and that the mariners cast no shadows at midday, and that the visible stars there vary from their usual positions, this account is endorsed by Damis; and we must consider it to be sound and based on local observations of the heavens. They also mention a small island, of the name of Biblus, in which there is the large cockle, and where there are mussels and oysters and such like organisms, clinging to the rocks and ten times as big as those which we find in Greece. And there is also taken in this region a pearl in a white shell, wherein it occupies the place of the heart of the oyster.

LIV

CHAP. LIV

The bronze of the Oreitae

AND they say that they also touched at Pegadae in the country of the Oreitae. As for these people, they have rocks of bronze and sand of bronze, and the dust which the rivers bring down is of bronze. But they regard their land as full of gold because the bronze is of such high quality.

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LV

CAP. LV

Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἰχθυοφάγοις ἐντυχεῖν, οἷς πόλιν εἶναι Στόβηρα, διφθέρας δὲ τούτους ἐνῆφθαι μεγίστων ἰχθύων, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἐκείνῃ ἰχθυώδη εἶναι καὶ φαγεῖν ἄτοπα, τοὺς γὰρ ποιμένας βόσκειν αὐτὰ τοῖς ἰχθύσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν Καρίᾳ τοῖς σύκοις. Καρμανοὶ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ γένος ἥμερον εὐιχθυ οὕτω νέμονται θάλατταν, ὡς μηδ' ἀποθέτους ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἰχθῦς, μηδέ, ὥσπερ ὁ Πόντος, ταριχεύειν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγους μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποδίδοσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς ἀσπαίροντας ἀποδιδόναι τῇ θαλάττῃ.

LVI

CAP. LVI

Προσπλεῦσαί φασι καὶ Βαλάροις, ἐμπόριον δὲ εἶναι τὰ Βάλαρα μεστὸν μυρρινῶν τε καὶ φοινίκων, καὶ δάφνας ἐν αὐτῷ ἰδεῖν καὶ πηγαῖς διαρρεῖσθαι τὸ χωρίον. κῆποι δὲ ὁπόσοι τρωκτοὶ καὶ ὁπόσοι ἀνθέων κῆποι, βρύειν αὐτό, καὶ λιμένας μεστοὺς γαλήνης ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι. προκεῖσθαι δὲ τοῦ χωρίου τούτου νῆσον ἱεράν, ἣν καλεῖσθαι Σέληρα, καί, στάδια μὲν ἑκατὸν εἶναι τῷ πορθμῷ, νηρηίδα δὲ οἰκεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ δεινὴν δαίμονα, πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν πλεόντων ἁρπάζειν, καὶ μηδὲ ταῖς ναυσὶ ξυγχωρεῖν πεῖσμα ἐκ τῆς νήσου βάλλεσθαι.

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LV

CHAP. LV
The Ichthyophagi

And they say that they came across the people called the Fish-eaters, whose city is Stobera; and they clothe themselves in the skins of very large fishes, and the cattle there taste like fish and eat extraordinary things; for the shepherds feed them upon fish, just as in Caria the flocks are fed on figs. But the Indians of Carman are a gentle race, who live on the edge of a sea so well stocked with fish, that they neither lay them in by stores, nor salt them as is done in Pontus, but they just sell a few of them and throw back most they catch panting into the sea.

LVI

CHAP. LVI
Balara and the Nereid

They say that they also touched at Balara, which is an emporium full of myrtles and date palms; and there they also saw laurels, and the place was well watered by springs. And there were kitchen gardens there, as well as flower gardens, all growing luxuriantly, and the harbours therein were entirely calm. But off the place there lies a sacred island, which was called Selera, and the passage to it from the mainland was a hundred stades long. Now in this island there lived a Nereid, a dreadful female demon, which would snatch away many mariners and would not even allow ships to fasten a cable to the island.

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LVII

CAP. LVII

Ἄξιον δὲ μηδὲ τὸν περὶ τῆς ἑτέρας μαργαρίτιδος παρελθεῖν λόγον, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ Ἀπολλωνίῳ μειρακιώδης ἔδοξεν, ἀλλὰ πλάττεται ἥδιστος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλαττουργίᾳ θαυμασιώτατος. τὰ γὰρ τετραμμένα τῆς νήσου πρὸς τὸ πέλαγός ἐστι μὲν ἄπειρος πυθμὴν θαλάττης, φέρει δὲ ὄστρεον ἐν ἐλύτρῳ λευκῷ μεστὸν πιμελῆς, οὐδὲ γὰρ λίθον φύει οὐδένα. γαλήνην δὲ ἐπιφυλάξαντες καὶ τὴν θάλατταν αὐτοὶ λεάναντες, τουτὶ δὲ ἡ τοῦ ἐλαίου ἐπιρροὴ πράττει, καταδύεταί τις ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τοῦ ὀστρέου, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατεσκευασμένος, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰς σπογγιὰς κείροντες, ἔστι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πλινθὶς σιδηρᾶ καὶ ἀλάβαστρος μύρου. παριζήσας οὖν ὁ Ἰνδὸς τῷ ὀστρέῳ δέλεαρ αὐτοῦ τὸ μύρον ποιεῖται, τὸ δὲ ἀνοίγνυταί τε καὶ μεθύει ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, κέντρῳ δὲ διελαθὲν ἀποπτύει τὸν ἰχῶρα, ὁ δὲ ἐκδέχεται αὐτὸν τῇ πλινθίδι τύπους ὀρωρυγμένῃ. λιθοῦται δὲ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ῥυθμίζεται, καθάπερ ἡ φύσει μαργαρίς, κἄστιν ἡ μαργαρὶς αἷμα λευκὸν ἐξ ἐρυθρᾶς τῆς θαλάττης. ἐπιτίθεσθαι δὲ τῇ θήρᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ τοὺς Ἀραβίους φασὶν ἀντιπέρας οἰκοῦντας. τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν θηριώδη μὲν τὴν θάλατταν εἶναι πᾶσαν, ἀγελάζεσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ κήτη, τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἔρυμα τούτου κωδωνοφορεῖν κατὰ πρύμναν τε καὶ πρῷραν, τὴν δὲ ἠχὼ ἐκπλήττειν τὰ θηρία, καὶ μὴ ἐᾶν ἐμπελάζειν ταῖς ναυσί.

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LVII

CHAP. LVII

The pearl-fishers

It is just as well not to omit the story of the other kind of pearl: since even Apollonius did not regard it as puerile, and it is anyhow a pretty invention, and there is nothing in the annals of sea fishing so remarkable. For on the side of the island which is turned towards the open sea, the bottom is of great depth, and produces an oyster in a white sheath full of fat, for it does not produce any jewel. The inhabitants watch for a calm day, or they themselves render the sea smooth, and this they do by flooding it with oil; and then a man plunges in in order to hunt the oyster in question, and he is in other respects equipped like those who cut off the sponges from the rocks, but he carries in addition an oblong iron block and an alabaster case of myrrh. The Indian then halts alongside of the oyster and holds out the myrrh before him as a bait; whereupon the oyster opens and drinks itself drunk upon the myrrh. Then it is pierced with a long pin and discharges a peculiar liquid called ichor, which the man catches in the iron block which is hollowed out in regular holes. The liquid so obtained petrifies in regular shapes, just like the natural pearl, which is a white blood furnished by the Red Sea. And they say that the Arabs also who live on the opposite coast devote themselves to catching these creatures. From this point on they found the entire sea full of wild animals, and it was crowded with seals; and the ships, they say, in order to keep off these animals, carry bells at the bow and at the stern, the sound of which frightens away these creatures and prevents them from approaching the ships.

Seals

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LVIII

CAP. LVIII Καταπλεύσαντες δὲ ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Εὐφράτου φασὶν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα δι' αὐτοῦ ἀναπλεῦσαι παρὰ τὸν Οὐαρδάνην, καὶ τυχόντες αὐτοῦ οἵου ἐγίγνωσκον, ἐπὶ τὴν Νῖνον ἐλθεῖν αὖθις, καὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας συνήθως ὑβριζούσης καὶ μηδὲν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐσπουδακυίας, ἐπὶ θάλαττάν τε καταβῆναι τὴν ἐπὶ Σελεύκειαν, νεώς τε ἐπιτυχόντες προσπλεῦσαι Κύπρῳ κατὰ τὴν Πάφον, οὗ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἕδος, ὃ ξυμβολικῶς ἱδρυμένον θαυμάσαι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς ἱερέας ἐς τὴν ὁσίαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ διδαξάμενον, ἐς Ἰωνίαν πλεῦσαι θαυμαζόμενον ἱκανῶς καὶ μεγάλων ἀξιούμενον παρὰ τοῖς τὴν σοφίαν τιμῶσιν.

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LVIII

CHAP. LVIII

Apollonius regains Ionia

And when they had sailed as far as the mouth of the Euphrates, they say that they sailed up by it to Babylon to see Vardan, whom they found just as they had found him before. They then came afresh to Nineveh, and as the people of Antioch displayed their customary insolence and took no interest in any affairs of the Hellenes, they went down to the sea at Seleucia, and finding a ship, they sailed to Cyprus and landed at Paphos, where there is the statue of Aphrodite. Apollonius marvelled at the symbolic construction of the same, and gave the priests much instruction with regard to the ritual of the temple. He then sailed to Ionia, where he excited much admiration and no little esteem among all lovers of wisdom.

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BOOK IV

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Δ'.

I

CAP. I

Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ παρελθόντα ἐς τὴν Ἔφεσον, οὐδὲ οἱ βάναυσοι ἔτι πρὸς ταῖς ἑαυτῶν τέχναις ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ἠκολούθουν ὁ μὲν σοφίας, ὁ δὲ εἴδους, ὁ δὲ διαίτης, ὁ δὲ σχήματος, οἱ δὲ πάντων ὁμοῦ θαυμασταὶ ὄντες, λόγοι τε περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐφοίτων, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κολοφῶνι μαντείου κοινωνὸν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας καὶ ἀτεχνῶς σοφὸν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τὸν ἄνδρα ᾄδοντες, οἱ δὲ ἐκ Διδύμων, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον ἱεροῦ, πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν ὑγιείας δεομένων ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσε προσφοιτᾶν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, τουτὶ γὰρ αὐτός τε βούλεσθαι καὶ δοκεῖν ταῖς Μοίραις. ἐφοίτων καὶ πρεσβεῖαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, ξένον τε αὐτὸν ἡγούμενοι καὶ βίου ξύμβουλον βωμῶν τε ἱδρύσεως καὶ ἀγαλμάτων, ὁ δὲ ἕκαστα τούτων τὰ μὲν ἐπιστέλλων, τὰ δὲ ἀφίξεσθαι φάσκων διωρθοῦτο. πρεσβευσαμένης δὲ καὶ τῆς Σμύρνης καὶ ὅ τι μὲν δέοιτο οὐκ εἰπούσης, ἐκλιπαρούσης δὲ ἀφικέσθαι, ἤρετο τὸν πρεσβευτήν, ὅ τι αὐτοῦ δέοιντο, ὁ δέ, "ἰδεῖν," ἔφη, "καὶ ὀφθῆναι." ὁ δὲ

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BOOK IV

I

CHAP. 1

Apollonius regains Ionia and is welcomed by the oracles of Greece

AND when they saw our sage in Ionia and he had arrived at Ephesus, even the mechanics would not remain at their handicrafts, but followed him, one admiring his wisdom, another his beauty, another his way of life, another his bearing, some of them everything alike about him. Reports also were current about him which originated from various oracles; thus from the oracle at Colophon it was announced that he shared its peculiar wisdom and was absolutely wise, and so forth; from that of Didyma similar rumours emanated, as also from the shrine at Pergamum; for the God urged not a few of those who were in need of health to betake themselves to Apollonius, for this was what he himself approved and was pleasing to the Fates. Deputations also waited upon him from various cities offering him their hospitality, and asking his advice about life in general as well as about the dedication of altars and images; and he regulated their several affairs in some cases by letter, but in others he said would visit them. And the city of Smyrna also sent a deputation, but they would not say what they wanted, though they besought him to visit them; so he asked the legate what they wanted of him, but

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CAP. I Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἀφίξομαι," εἶπε, "δοίητε δέ, ὦ Μοῦσαι, καὶ ἐρασθῆναι ἀλλήλων."

II

CAP. II Τὴν μὲν δὴ διάλεξιν τὴν πρώτην ἀπὸ τῆς κρηπῖδος τοῦ νεὼ πρὸς τοὺς Ἐφεσίους διελέχθη, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ Σωκρατικοί, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀπάγων τε καὶ ἀποσπουδάζων, φιλοσοφίᾳ δὲ μόνῃ ξυμβουλεύων προσέχειν, καὶ σπουδῆς ἐμπιπλάναι τὴν Ἔφεσον μᾶλλον ἢ ῥᾳθυμίας τε καὶ ἀγερωχίας, ὁπόσην εὗρεν· ὀρχηστῶν γὰρ ἥττημένοι καὶ πρὸς πυρρίχαις αὐτοὶ ὄντες, αὐλῶν μὲν πάντα μεστὰ ἦν, μεστὰ δὲ ἀνδρογύνων, μεστὰ δὲ κτύπων· ὁ δὲ καίτοι μεταθεμένων τῶν Ἐφεσίων πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἠξίου περιορᾶν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐξῄρει αὐτὰ καὶ διέβαλλε τοῖς πολλοῖς.

III

CAP. III Τὰς δὲ ἄλλας διαλέξεις περὶ τὰ ἄλση τὰ ἐν τοῖς ξυστοῖς δρόμοις ἐποιεῖτο, διαλεγομένου δέ ποτε περὶ κοινωνίας καὶ διδάσκοντος, ὅτι χρὴ τρέφειν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων τρέφεσθαι, στρουθοὶ μὲν ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν δένδρων σιωπῶντες, εἷς δὲ αὐτῶν προσπετόμενος ἐβόα, παρακελεύεσθαί τι

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he merely said, "to see him and be seen." So Apollonius said: "I will come, but, O ye Muses, grant that we may also like one another." CHAP. I

II

THE first discourse then which he delivered was to the Ephesians from the platform of their temple, and its tone was not that of the Socratic school; for he dissuaded and discouraged them from other pursuits, and urged them to devote themselves to philosophy alone, and to fill Ephesus with real study rather than with idleness and arrogance such as he found around him there; for they were devoted to dancers and taken up with pantomimes, and the whole city was full of pipers, and full of effeminate rascals, and full of noise. So at the risk of estranging the Ephesians, he determined not to wink at such things, but cleared them out and made them odious to most of them. CHAP II Reproves the Ionians

III

HIS other discourses he delivered under the trees which grow hard by the cloisters; and in these he sometimes dealt with the question of communism, and taught that they ought to support and be supported by one another. While he was doing so on one occasion, sparrows were sitting quite silent upon the trees, but one of them suddenly gave a chirp as it flew up, just as if he had some CHAP. III The communistic sparrow

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CAP. III δοκῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἱ δέ, ὡς ἤκουσαν, αὐτοί τε ἀνέκραγον καὶ ἀρθέντες ἐπέτοντο ὑπὸ τῷ ἐνί. ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀπολλώνιος εἴχετο τοῦ λόγου, γιγνώσκων μέν, ἐφ' ὅ τι οἱ στρουθοὶ πέτοιντο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐχ ἑρμηνεύων αὐτό, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέβλεψαν ἐς αὐτοὺς πάντες καὶ ἀνοήτως ἔνιοι τερατῶδες αὐτὸ ἐνόμισαν, παραλλάξας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοῦ λόγου, "παῖς," εἶπεν, "ὤλισθεν ἀπάγων πυροὺς ἐν σκάφῃ, καὶ κακῶς αὐτοὺς ξυλλεξάμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπελήλυθε, πολλοὺς δ' ἐσκεδασμένους ἀπολέλοιπεν ἐν στενωπῷ τῷ δεῖνι, ὁ δὲ στρουθὸς παρατυχὼν οὗτος πρόξενος τοῖς ἄλλοις ἥκει τοῦ ἑρμαίου καὶ ποιεῖται αὐτοὺς ξυσσίτους."

οἱ μὲν δὴ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀκροωμένων δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ᾤχοντο, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας διῄει τὸν λόγον, ὃν περὶ τῆς κοινωνίας προὔθετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκοντο βοῶντές τε καὶ μεστοὶ θαύματος, "οἱ μὲν στρουθοί," εἶπεν, "ὁρᾶτε, ὡς ἐπιμελοῦνταί τε ἀλλήλων καὶ κοινωνίᾳ χαίρουσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ κἂν κοινωνοῦντα ἑτέροις ἴδωμεν, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀσωτίαν καὶ τρυφὴν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡγούμεθα, τοὺς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τρεφομένους παρασίτους τε καὶ κόλακας φαμέν. καὶ τί λοιπὸν ἀλλ' ἢ ξυγκλείσαντας αὐτούς, ὥσπερ τοὺς σιτευομένους τῶν ὀρνίθων, ἐν σκότῳ γαστρίζεσθαι, μέχρις ἂν διαρραγῶμεν παχυνόμενοι;"

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exhortations to give to his fellows; and the latter, on hearing it, themselves set up a chirping and rose and flew off under the guidance of the one. Now Apollonius went on with his argument, for he knew what it was that made the sparrows take wing, but he did not explain the matter to the multitude who were listening to him; but when they all looked up at the birds and some of them in their silliness thought it a miraculous occurrence, Apollonius interrupted his argument and said: "A boy has slipped who was carrying some barley in a bowl, and after carelessly gathering together what was fallen, he has gone off, leaving much of it scattered about in yonder alley, and this sparrow, witnessing the occurrence has come here to acquaint his fellows with the good luck, and to invite them to come and eat it with him." CHAP. III

Most of his audience accordingly ran off to the spot, but Apollonius continued to those who remained with him the discourse he had proposed to himself on the topic of communism; and when they returned talking loudly and full of wonder, he continued thus: "You see how the sparrows care for one another and delight in communism; but we are far from approving of it, nay, should we happen to see anyone sharing his own in common with others, we set him down as a spendthrift and talk about his extravagance and so forth, while as for those who are supported by him, we call them parasites and flatterers. What then is left for us to do, except to shut overselves up like birds that are being fed up and fattened, and gorge ourselves in the dark until we literally burst with fat?"

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IV

CAP. IV

Λοιμοῦ δὲ ὑφέρποντος τὴν Ἔφεσον καὶ οὔπω ἀνοιδούσης τῆς νόσου, ξυνῆκε μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τῆς προσβολῆς, ξυνεὶς δὲ προὔλεγε, πολλαχοῦ τε τῶν διαλέξεων "ὦ γῆ, μένε ὁμοία," καὶ τοιαῦτα ἐπεφθέγγετο ξὺν ἀπειλῇ· "τούσδε σῶζε" καὶ "οὐ παρελεύσῃ ἐνταῦθα." οἱ δ' οὐ προσεῖχον καὶ τερατολογίαν τὰ τοιαῦτα ᾤοντο τοσῷδε μᾶλλον, ὅσῳ καὶ ἐς πάντα τὰ ἱερὰ φοιτῶν ἀποτρέπειν αὐτὸ ἐδόκει καὶ ἀπεύχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνοήτως εἶχον τοῦ πάθους, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐδὲν ᾤετο δεῖν ἐπαρκεῖν ἔτι, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην Ἰωνίαν περιῄει, διορθούμενος τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις καὶ διαλεγόμενος ἀεί τι σωτήριον τοῖς παροῦσιν.

V

CAP. V

Ἀφικνουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Σμύρναν προσαπήντων μὲν οἱ Ἴωνες, καὶ γὰρ ἔτυχον Πανιώνια θύοντες, ἀναγνοὺς δὲ καὶ ψήφισμα Ἰωνικόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ κοινωνῆσαί σφισι τοῦ ξυλλόγου, καὶ ὀνόματι προστυχὼν ἥκιστα Ἰωνικῷ, Λούκουλλος γάρ τις ἐπεγέγραπτο τῇ γνώμῃ, πέμπει ἐπιστολὴν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν, ἐπίπληξιν ποιούμενος περὶ τοῦ βαρβαρισμοῦ τούτου· καὶ γὰρ

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IV

CHAP. IV

Predicts a plague in Ephesus

A PESTILENCE was creeping over Ephesus; but the disease had not yet reached its full violence, before Apollonius understood that it was approaching, and impressed with the danger he foretold it, and interspersed his discourses with such exclamations as "O earth, remain true to thyself!" and he added in a tone of menace such appeals as these: "Do thou preserve these men here," and "Thou shalt not pass hither." But his hearers did not attend to these warnings and thought them mere rodomontade, all the more because they saw him constantly visiting all the temples in order to avert and deprecate the calamity. And since they conducted themselves so foolishly in respect of the scourge, he thought that it was not necessary to do anything more for them, but began a tour of the rest of Ionia, regulating their several affairs, and from time to time recommending in his discourses whatever was salutary for his audiences.

V

CHAP. V

His anger at adoption of Latin names by Greeks

BUT when he came to Smyrna the Ionians went out to meet him, for they were just then celebrating the pan-Ionian sacrifices. And he there read a decree of the Ionians, in which they besought him to take part in their solemn meeting; and in it he met with a name which had not at all an Ionian ring, for a certain Lucullus had signed the resolution. He accordingly sent a letter to their council expressing his astonishment at such an instance of barbarism;

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CAP. V δὴ καὶ Φαβρίκιον καὶ τοιούτους ἑτέρους ἐν τοῖς ἐψηφισμένοις εὗρεν. ὡς μὲν οὖν ἐρρωμένως ἐπέπληξε, δηλοῖ ἡ περὶ τούτου ἐπιστολή.

VI

CAP. VI Παρελθὼν δὲ ἐπ' ἄλλης ἡμέρας ἐς τοὺς Ἴωνας, "τίς," ἔφη, "ὁ κρατὴρ οὗτος;" οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν, "Πανιώνιος." ἀρυσάμενος οὖν καὶ σπείσας, "ὦ θεοί," εἶπεν, "Ἰώνων ἡγεμόνες, δοίητε τῇ καλῇ ἀποικίᾳ ταύτῃ θαλάττῃ ἀσφαλεῖ χρῆσθαι καὶ μηδὲν τῇ γῇ κακὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς προσκωμάσαι, μηδ' Αἰγαίωνα σεισίχθονα τινάξαι ποτὲ τὰς πόλεις." τοιαῦτα ἐπεθείαζε προορῶν, οἶμαι, τὰ χρόνοις ὕστερον περί τε Σμύρναν περί τε Μίλητον περί τε Χίον καὶ Σάμον καὶ πολλὰς τῶν Ἰάδων ξυμβάντα.

VII

CAP. VII Σπουδῇ δὲ ὁρῶν τοὺς Σμυρναίους ἁπάντων ἀπτομένους λόγων, ἐπερρώννυε καὶ σπουδαιοτέρους ἐποίει, φρονεῖν τε ἐκέλευεν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ τῆς πόλεως εἴδει, καὶ γάρ, εἰ καὶ καλλίστη πόλεων, ὁπόσαι ὑπὸ ἡλίῳ εἰσί, καὶ τὸ πέλαγος οἰκειοῦται, ζεφύρου τε πηγὰς ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἀνδράσιν ἐστεφανῶσθαι αὐτὴν ἥδιον ἢ στοαῖς τε καὶ γραφαῖς καὶ χρυσῷ πλείονι τοῦ δέοντος.[1] τὰ μὲν γὰρ

[1] δέοντος should be read instead of ὄντος: "in excess of what they had."

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for he had, it seems, also found the name Fabricius and other such names in the decrees. The letter on this subject shows how sternly he reprimanded them. CHAP. V

VI

CHAP. VI

Predicts earthquakes in Ionia

And on another day he presented himself before the meeting of the Ionians, and asked: "What is this cup?" And they answered: "It is the pan-Ionian cup." Whereupon he took a draught from it and poured a libation, saying: "O ye Gods, who are patrons of the Ionians, may ye grant to this fair colony to enjoy safety at sea, and that no disaster may wreak itself on them by land therefrom, and that Aegeon, the author of earthquakes, may never shake down their cities." These words he uttered under divine impulse, because he foresaw, as I believe, the disasters which afterwards overtook Smyrna and Miletus and Chios and Samos and several of the Iades.

VII

CHAP. VII

Advice to Smyrneans to foster manhood rather than architecture

And remarking the zeal with which the people of Smyrna devoted themselves to all sorts of compositions, he encouraged them and increased their zeal, and urged them to take pride rather in themselves than in the beauty of their city; for although they had the most beautiful of cities under the sun, and although they had a friendly sea at their doors, which held the springs of the zephyr, nevertheless, it was more pleasing for the city to be crowned with men than with porticos and pictures, or even with gold in excess of what they needed. For, he said,

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CAP. VII οἰκοδομήματα ἐπὶ ταὐτοῦ μένειν, οὐδαμοῦ ὁρώμενα πλὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους τῆς γῆς, ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν, ἄνδρας δὲ ἀγαθοὺς πανταχοῦ μὲν ὁρᾶσθαι, πανταχοῦ δὲ φθέγγεσθαι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν, ἧς γεγόνασιν, ἀποφαίνειν τοσαύτην, ὅσοι περ αὐτοὶ γῆν ἐπελθεῖν δύνανται. ἔλεγε δὲ τὰς μὲν πόλεις τὰς οὕτω καλὰς ἐοικέναι τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἀγάλματι, ὃς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τῷ Φειδίᾳ ἐκπεποίηται, καθῆσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸ—οὕτως τῷ δημιουργῷ ἔδοξε—τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ἐπὶ πάντα ἥκοντας μηδὲν ἀπεοικέναι τοῦ Ὁμηρείου Διός, ὃς ἐν πολλαῖς ἰδέαις Ὁμήρῳ πεποίηται θαυμασιώτερον ξυγκείμενος τοῦ ἐλεφαντίνου· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐν γῇ φαίνεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἐς πάντα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὑπονοεῖσθαι.

VIII

CAP. VIII Καὶ μὴν καὶ περι τοῦ πῶς ἂν πόλεις ἀσφαλῶς οἰκοῖντο ξυνεφιλοσόφει τοῖς Σμυρναίοις, διαφερομένους ὁρῶν ἀλλήλοις καὶ μὴ ξυγκειμένους τὰς γνώμας· ἔλεγε γὰρ δὴ τὴν ὀρθῶς οἰκησομένην πόλιν ὁμονοίας στασιαζούσης δεῖσθαι, τούτου δὲ ἀπιθάνως τε καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἀκόλουθον εἰρῆσθαι δόξαντος, ξυνεὶς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὅτι μὴ ἔπονται οἱ πολλοὶ τῷ λόγῳ "λευκὸν μέν," ἔφη, "καὶ μέλαν οὐκ ἄν ποτε ταὐτὸν γένοιτο, οὐδ' ἂν τῷ γλυκεῖ τὸ

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public edifices remain where they are, and are nowhere seen except in that particular part of the earth where they exist, but good men are conspicuous everywhere, and everywhere utter their thoughts; and so they can magnify the city the more to which they belong, in proportion to the numbers in which they are able to visit any part of the earth. And he said that cities which are only beautiful in the same way as Smyrna was, resemble the statue of Zeus wrought in Olympia by Pheidias; for there Zeus sits, just as it pleased the artist that he should, whereas men who visit all regions of the earth may be well compared with the Homeric Zeus, who is represented by Homer under many shapes, and is a more wonderful creation than the image made of ivory; for the latter is only to be seen upon earth, but the former is an ideal presence imagined everywhere in heaven. CHAP. VII

VIII

AND in his discussions, moreover, with the people of Smyrna he wisely taught them also how best to guarantee the security of those who live in cities, for he saw that they were at issue with one another and did not agree in their ideals. He accordingly told them that for a city to be rightly conducted by its inhabitants, you need a mixture of concord with party spirit; and as this utterance seemed inadmissible and hardly logical, Apollonius realising that most of them did not follow his argument, added: "White and black can never be one and the same, nor can bitter be wholesomely blended CHAP. VIII

His ideal of civic patriotism

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CAP. VIII

πικρὸν ὑγιῶς ξυγκραθείη, ὁμόνοια δὲ στασιάσει σωτηρίας ἕνεκα τῶν πόλεων. ὃ δὲ λέγω, τοιοῦτον ἡγώμεθα· στάσις ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ ξίφη καὶ τὸ καταλιθοῦν ἀλλήλους ἄγουσα ἀπέστω πόλεως, ᾗ παιδοτροφίας τε δεῖ καὶ νόμων καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ἐφ' οἷς λόγοι καὶ ἔργα, φιλοτιμία δὲ ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ, καὶ πῶς ἂν ὁ μὲν γνώμης εἴποι βελτίω γνώμην, ὁ δ' ἑτέρου ἄμεινον ἀρχῆς προσταίη, ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύσειεν, ὁ δ' ἐξοικοδομήσαιτο λαμπρότερον τῆς ἑτέρου ἐπιστατείας, ἔρις, οἶμαι, αὕτη ἀγαθὴ καὶ στάσις πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ. τὸ δ' ἄλλον ἄλλο ἐπιτηδεύοντας ἐς τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὄφελος ξυμφέρειν Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν εἴηθες ἐδόκει πάλαι, τὰ γὰρ πολεμικὰ ἐξεπονεῖτό σφισι, καὶ ἐς τοῦτο ἔρρωντο πάντες καὶ τούτου μόνου ἥπτοντο, ἐμοὶ δ' ἄριστον δοκεῖ τὸ πράττειν ἕκαστον, ὅ τι οἶδε καὶ ὅ τι δύναται. εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ δημαγωγίας θαυμασθήσεται, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ σοφίας, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν πλουτεῖν, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ χρηστὸς εἶναι, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμβριθὴς καὶ μὴ ξυγγνώμων τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν, ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ διαβεβλῆσθαι τὰς χεῖρας, εὖ κείσεται ἡ πόλις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑστήξει."

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with sweet; but concord can be so blended with party spirit to secure the safety of cities. And let us consider my meaning to be somewhat as follows: Far be from your city the factiousness which leads men to draw swords and to stone one another; for in a city we need our children to be brought up properly, and we need laws, and we need inhabitants equally versed in discussion and in deeds. But mutual rivalry between men in behalf of the common weal, and with the object that one should give better advice than another, and that one should discharge better than another the duties of a magistrate, and that one should discharge the office of an ambassador or of an aedile more brilliantly than his fellows,—here," he said, "I think you have a worthy rivalry and a real contention among yourselves in behalf of the common weal. But that one person should practise one thing and another another with a view to benefiting the city seemed of old a foolish thing to the Lacedaemonians, because they only cultivated the arts of war, and because they all strengthened themselves for this end and interested themselves in nothing else; but to me it seems best that each man should do what he understands best and what he best can do. For that city will recline in peace, nay, will rather stand up erect, where one man is admired for his popular influence, and another for his wisdom, and another for his liberal expenditure on public objects, and another for his kindliness, and another for his severity and unbending sternness towards malefactors, and another because his hands are pure beyond suspicion."

CHAP. VIII

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IX

CAP. IX Καὶ ἅμα διιὼν ταῦτα ναῦν εἶδε τῶν τριαρμένων ἐκπλέουσαν καὶ τοὺς ναύτας ἄλλον ἄλλως ἐς τὸ ἀνάγεσθαι αὐτὴν πράττοντας. ἐπιστρέφων οὖν τοὺς παρόντας, "ὁρᾶτε," εἶπε, "τὸν τῆς νεὼς δῆμον, ὡς οἱ μὲν τὰς ἐφολκίδας ἐμβεβήκασιν ἐρετικοὶ ὄντες, οἱ δ' ἀγκύρας ἀνιμῶσί τε καὶ ἀναρτῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπέχουσι τὰ ἱστία τῷ ἀνέμῳ, οἱ δὲ ἐκ πρύμνης τε καὶ πρῴρας προορῶσιν; εἰ δὲ ἓν τούτων εἷς ἐλλείψει τι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔργων ἢ ἀμαθῶς τῆς ναυτικῆς ἅψεται, πονήρως πλευσοῦνται καὶ ὁ χειμὼν αὐτοὶ δόξουσιν· εἰ δὲ φιλοτιμήσονται πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιάσουσι μὴ κακίων ἕτερος ἑτέρου δόξαι, καλοὶ μὲν ὅρμοι τῇ νηὶ ταύτῃ, μεστὰ δὲ εὐδίας τε καὶ εὐπλοίας πάντα, Ποσειδῶν δὲ Ἀσφάλειος ἡ περὶ αὐτοῖς εὐβουλία δόξει."

X

CAP. X Τοιούτοις μὲν δὴ λόγοις ξυνεῖχε τὴν Σμύρναν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ νόσος τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἐνέπεσε καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν πρὸς αὐτὴν αὔταρκες, ἐπρεσβεύοντο παρὰ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ἰατρὸν ποιούμενοι αὐτὸν τοῦ πάθους, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν ὁδόν, ἀλλ'

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IX

CHAP. IX

Parable of the ship of state

And as he was thus discoursing, he saw a ship with three masts leaving the harbour, of which the sailors were each discharging their particular duties in working it out to sea. Accordingly by way of reforming his audience he said: "Now look at that ship's crew, how some of them being rowers have embarked in the tug-boats, while others are winding up and making fast the anchors, and others again are spreading the sails to the wind, and others are keeping an outlook at bow and stern. Now if a single member of this community abandoned any one of his particular tasks or went about his naval duties in an inexperienced manner, they would have a bad voyage and would themselves impersonate the storm; but if they vie with one another and are rivals only with the object of one showing himself as good a man as the other, then their ship will make the best of all havens, and all their voyage be one of fair weather and fair sailing, and the precaution they exercise about themselves will prove to be as valuable as if Poseidon our Lord of safety were watching over them."

X

CHAP. X

He scotches the plague demon at Ephesus

With such harangues as these he knit together the people of Smyrna; but when the plague began to rage in Ephesus, and no remedy sufficed to check it, they sent a deputation to Apollonius, asking him to become physician of their infirmity; and he thought that he ought not to postpone his journey,

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CAP. X εἰπὼν "ἴωμεν," ἦν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, τοῦ Πυθαγόρου, οἶμαι, ἐκεῖνο πράττων τὸ ἐν Θουρίοις ὁμοῦ καὶ Μεταποντίοις εἶναι. ξυναγαγὼν οὖν τοὺς Ἐφεσίους, "θαρσεῖτε," ἔφη, "τήμερον γὰρ παύσω τὴν νόσον," καὶ εἰπὼν ἦγεν ἡλικίαν πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον, οὗ τὸ τοῦ Ἀποτροπαίου ἵδρυται. πτωχεύειν δέ τις ἐνταῦθα ἐδόκει γέρων ἐπιμύων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τέχνῃ, καὶ πήραν ἔφερε καὶ ἄρτου ἐν αὐτῇ τρύφος, ῥάκεσί τε ἠμφίεστο καὶ αὐχμηρῶς εἶχε τοῦ προσώπου. περιστήσας οὖν τοὺς Ἐφεσίους αὐτῷ, "βάλλετε τὸν θεοῖς ἐχθρόν," εἶπε, "ξυλλεξάμενοι τῶν λίθων ὡς πλείστους." θαυμαζόντων δὲ τῶν Ἐφεσίων, ὅ τι λέγοι, καὶ δεινὸν ἡγουμένων, εἰ ξένοὺ ἀποκτενοῦσιν ἀθλίως οὕτω πράττοντα, καὶ γὰρ ἱκέτευε καὶ πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἑλέῳ ἔλεγεν, ἐνέκειτο παρακελευόμενος τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἐρείδειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀνιέναι. ὡς δὲ ἀκροβολισμῷ τινες ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ὁ καταμύειν δοκῶν ἀνέβλεψεν ἀθρόον πυρός τε μεστοὺς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔδειξε, ξυνῆκαν οἱ Ἐφέσιοι τοῦ δαίμονος καὶ κατελίθωσαν οὕτως αὐτόν, ὡς κολωνὸν λίθων περὶ αὐτὸν χώσασθαι. διαλιπὼν δὲ ὀλίγον ἐκέλευσεν ἀφελεῖν τοὺς λίθους, καὶ τὸ θηρίον, ὃ ἀπεκτόνασι, γνῶναι. γυμνωθέντος οὖν τοῦ βεβλῆσθαι δοκοῦντος, ὁ μὲν ἠφάνιστο, κύων δὲ τὸ μὲν εἶδος

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but said: "Let us go." And forthwith he was in Ephesus, performing the same feat, I believe, as Pythagoras, who was in Thurii and Metapontum at one and the same moment. He therefore called together the Ephesians, and said: "Take courage, for I will to-day put a stop to the course of the disease." And with these words he led the population entire to the theatre, where the image of the Averting god has been set up. And there he saw what seemed an old mendicant artfully blinking his eyes as if blind, and he carried a wallet and a crust of bread in it; and he was clad in rags and was very squalid of countenance. Apollonius therefore ranged the Ephesians around him and said: "Pick up as many stones as you can and hurl them at this enemy of the gods." Now the Ephesians wondered what he meant, and were shocked at the idea of murdering a stranger so manifestly miserable; for he was begging and praying them to take mercy upon him. Nevertheless Apollonius insisted and egged on the Ephesians to launch themselves on him and not let him go. And as soon as some of them began to take shots and hit him with their stones, the beggar who had seemed to blink and be blind, gave them all a sudden glance and showed that his eyes were full of fire. Then the Ephesians recognised that he was a demon, and they stoned him so thoroughly that their stones were heaped into a great cairn around him. After a little pause Apollonius bade them remove the stones and acquaint themselves with the wild animal which they had slain. When therefore they had exposed the object which they thought they had thrown their missiles at, they found that he had disappeared and instead of him there was a hound

CHAP. X

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CAP. X ὅμοιος τῷ ἐκ Μολοττῶν, μέγεθος δὲ κατὰ τὸν μέγιστον λέοντα, ξυντετριμμένος ὤφθη ὑπὸ τῶν λίθων, καὶ παραπτύων ἀφρόν, ὥσπερ οἱ λυττῶντες. τὸ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀποτροπαίου ἔδος, ἔστι δὲ Ἡρακλῆς, ἵδρυται περὶ τὸ χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ φίσμα ἐβλήθη.

XI

CAP. XI Καθήρας δὲ τοὺς Ἐφεσίους τῆς νόσου καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἱκανῶς ἔχων, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὥρμητο. βαδίσας οὖν ἐς τὸ Πέργαμον καὶ ἡσθεὶς τῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερῷ, τοῖς τε ἱκετεύουσι τὸν θεὸν ὑποθέμενος, ὁπόσα δρῶντες εὐξυμβόλων ὀνειράτων τεύξονται, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἰασάμενος, ἦλθεν ἐς τὴν Ἰλιάδα, καὶ πάσης τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν ἀρχαιολογίας ἐμφορηθεὶς ἐφοίτησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τάφους, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εἰπὼν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἀναίμων τε καὶ καθαρῶν καθαγίσας, τοὺς μὲν ἑταίρους ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν χωρεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ κολωνοῦ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἐννυχεύσειν ἔφη. δεδιττομένων οὖν τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτόν, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οἱ Διοσκορίδαι καὶ οἱ Φαίδιμοι καὶ ἡ τοιάδε ὁμιλία πᾶσα ξυνῆσαν ἤδη τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, τόν τε Ἀχιλλέα φοβερὸν ἔτι φασκόντων φαίνεσθαι, τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ἰλίῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ πεπεῖσθαι, "καὶ μὴν ἐγώ," ἔφη, "τὸν Ἀχιλλέα σφόδρα οἶδα ταῖς ξυνουσίαις χαίροντα, τόν τε γὰρ Νέστορα τὸν ἐκ τῆς Πύλου μάλα

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who resembled in form and look a Molossian dog, but was in size the equal of the largest lion; there he lay before their eyes, pounded to a pulp by their stones and vomiting foam as mad dogs do. Accordingly the statue of the Averting god, namely Hercules, has been set up over the spot where the ghost was slain. CHAP. X

XI

CHAP. XI

In Ilium he resolves to interview the ghost of Achilles

HAVING purged the Ephesians of the plague, and having had enough of the people of Ionia, he started for Hellas. Having made his way then to Pergamum, and being pleased with the temple of Asclepius, he gave hints to the supplicants of the god, what to do in order to obtain favourable dreams; and having healed many of them he came to the land of Ilium. And when his mind was glutted with all the traditions of their past, he went to visit the tombs of the Achaeans, and he delivered himself of many speeches over them, and he offered many sacrifices of a bloodless and pure kind; and then he bade his companions go on board ship, for he himself, he said, must spend a night on the mound of Achilles. Now his companions tried to deter him,—for in fact the sons of Dioscorus and the Phaedimi, and a whole company of such already followed in the train of Apollonius,—alleging that Achilles was still dreadful as a phantom; for such was the conviction about him of the inhabitants of Ilium. "Nevertheless," said Apollonius, "I know Achilles well and that he thoroughly delights in company; for he heartily welcomed Nestor when he came from Pylos, because he always had something

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CAP. XI ἠσπάζετο, ἐπειδὴ ἀεί τι αὐτῷ διῄει χρηστόν, τόν τε Φοίνικα τροφέα καὶ ὀπαδὸν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τιμῶν ὠνόμαζεν,[1] ἐπειδὴ διῆγεν αὐτὸν ὁ Φοῖνιξ λόγοις, καὶ τὸν Πρίαμον δὲ καίτοι πολεμιώτατον αὐτῷ ὄντα πραότατα εἶδεν, ἐπειδὴ διαλεγομένου ἤκουσε, καὶ Ὀδυσσεῖ δὲ ἐν διχοστασίᾳ ξυγγενόμενος οὕτω μέτριος ὤφθη, ὡς καλὸς τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ φοβερὸς δόξαι. τὴν μὲν δὴ ἀσπίδα καὶ τὴν κόρυν τὴν δεινόν, ὥς φασι, νεύουσαν, ἐπὶ τοὺς Τρῶας οἶμαι αὐτῷ εἶναι μεμνημένῳ, ἃ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔπαθεν ἀπιστησάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου, ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε μετέχω τι τοῦ Ἰλίου, διαλέξομαί τε αὐτῷ χαριέστερον ἢ οἱ τότε ἑταῖροι, κἂν ἀποκτείνῃ με, ὥς φατε, μετὰ Μέμνονος δήπου καὶ Κύκνου κείσομαι καὶ ἴσως με ἐν καπέτῳ κοίλῃ, καθάπερ τὸν Ἕκτορα, ἡ Τροία θάψει." τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους ἀναμὶξ παίζας τε καὶ σπουδάσας, προσέβαινε τῷ κολωνῷ μόνος, οἱ δὲ ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν ἑσπέρας ἤδη.

XII

CAP. XII Ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος περὶ ὄρθρον ἥκων, "ποῦ," ἔφη, "Ἀντισθένης ὁ Πάριος;" ἑβδόμην δὲ οὗτος ἡμέραν ἐτύγχανεν ἤδη προσπεφοιτηκὼς αὐτῷ ἐν Ἰλίῳ. ὑπακούσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀντισθένους, "προσήκεις τι," ἔφη, "ὦ νεανία, τῇ Τροίᾳ;" "σφόδρα," εἶπεν, "εἰμὶ γὰρ δὴ ἄνωθεν Τρώς." "ἦ καὶ Πρια-

[1] τιμῶν ὠνόμαζεν Richards : τιμᾷν ἐνόμιζεν Kayser.

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useful to tell him; and he used to honour Phoenix with the title of foster-father and companion and so forth, because Phoenix entertained him with his talk; and he looked most mildly upon Priam also, although he was his bitterest enemy, so soon as he heard him talk; and when in the course of a quarrel he had an interview with Odysseus, he made himself so gracious that Odysseus thought him more handsome than terrible. For, I think that his shield and his plumes that wave so terribly, as they say, are a menace to the Trojans, because he can never forget, what he suffered at their hands, when they played him false over the marriage. But I have nothing in common with Ilium, and I shall talk to him more pleasantly than his former companions; and if he slays me, as you say he will, why then I shall repose with Memnon and Cycnus, and perhaps Troy will bury me 'in a hollow sepulchre' as they did Hector." Such were his words to his companions, half playful and half serious, as he went up alone to the barrow; but they went on board ship, for it was already evening. CHAP. XI Iliad 24. 797

XII

But Apollonius came about dawn to them and said: "Where is Antisthenes of Paros?" And this person had joined their society seven days before in Ilium. And when Antisthenes answered that he was there, he said: "Have you, O young man, any Trojan blood in your veins?" "Certainly I have," he said, "for I am a Trojan by ancestry." "And a descendant of Priam as well?" asked Apollonius. CHAP. XII Antisthenes sent away by order of Achilles

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CAP. XII μίδης;" "νὴ Δί," εἶπεν "ἐκ τούτου γὰρ δὴ ἀγαθός τε οἶμαι κἀξ ἀγαθῶν εἶναι." "εἰκότως οὖν," ἔφη, "ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀπαγορεύει μοι μὴ ξυνεῖναί σοι, κελεύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρεσβεῦσαί με πρὸς τοὺς Θετταλοὺς περὶ ὧν αἰτιᾶται σφᾶς, ὡς ἠρόμην, τί ἂν πρὸς τούτῳ ἕτερον πρὸς χάριν αὐτῷ πράττοιμι, τὸ μειράκιον ἔφη τὸ ἐκ Πάρου μὴ ποιούμενος ξυνέμπορον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας, Πριαμίδης τε γὰρ ἱκανῶς ἐστι καὶ τὸν Ἕκτορα ὑμνῶν οὐ παύεται."

XIII

CAP. XIII Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀντισθένης ἄκων ἀπῆλθεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐπεδίδου, περί τε ἀναγωγὴν ἡ ναῦς εἶχεν, ἐπέρρεον αὐτῇ σμικρᾷ οὔσῃ πλείους ἕτεροι, βουλόμενοι τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ξυμπλεῖν, καὶ γὰρ μετόπωρον ἤδη ἐτύγχανε καὶ ἡ θάλαττα ἧττον βεβαία. πάντες οὖν καὶ χειμῶνος καὶ πυρὸς καὶ τῶν χαλεπωτάτων κρείττω τὸν ἄνδρα ἡγούμενοι ξυνεμβαίνειν ἤθελον, καὶ ἐδέοντο προσδοῦναί σφισι τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ πλοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πλήρωμα πολλαπλάσιον ἦν τῆς νεώς, ναῦν μείζω ἑτέραν ἐπισκεψάμενος, πολλαὶ δὲ περὶ τὸ Αἰάντειον ἦσαν, "ἐνταῦθα," ἔφη, "ἐμβαίνωμεν, καλὸν γὰρ τὸ μετὰ πλειόνων σώζεσθαι." περιβαλὼν οὖν τὸ Τρωικὸν ἀκρωτήριον, ἐκέλευσε

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"Why yes, by Zeus," answered the other, "and that is why I consider myself a good man and of good stock." "That explains then," said the sage, "why Achilles forbids me to associate with you; for after he bade me go as his deputy to the Thessalians in the matter of a complaint which he has against them, and I asked him whether there was anything else which I could do to please him, 'yes,' he said, 'you must take care not to initiate the young man from Paros in your wisdom, for he is too much of a descendant of Priam, and the praise of Hector is never out of his mouth.'" CHAP. XII

XIII

ACCORDINGLY Antisthenes went off though against his will; and when the day broke and the wind off shore increased in strength, and the ship was ready to put to sea, it was invaded in spite of its small dimensions by a number of other people who were anxious to share the voyage with Apollonius; for it was already autumn and the sea was not much to be trusted. They all then regarded Apollonius as one who was master of the tempest and of fire and of perils of all sorts, and so wished to go on board with him, and begged him to allow them to share the voyage with him. But as the company was many times too great for the ship, spying a larger ship,—for there were many in the neighbourhood of the tomb of Ajax,—he said: "Let us go on board this, for it is a good thing to get home safely with as many as may be." He accordingly doubled the promontory of Troy, and then commanded the pilot CHAP. XIII

Sets sail from the tomb of Ajax for Methymna

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CAP. XIII τὸν κυβερνήτην κατασχεῖν ἐς τὴν Αἰολέων, ἢ ἀντιπέρας Λέσβου κεῖται, πρὸς Μήθυμνάν τε μᾶλλον τετραμμένον ποιεῖσθαι τὸν ὅρμον. "ἐνταῦθα γάρ που τὸν Παλαμήδην φησὶν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς κεῖσθαι, οὗ καὶ ἄγαλμα αὐτοῦ εἶναι πηχυαῖον, ἐν πρεσβυτέρῳ, ἢ ὡς Παλαμήδης, τῷ εἴδει." καὶ ἅμα ἐξιὼν τῆς νεώς, "ἐπιμεληθῶμεν," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρός, δι' ὃν σοφία πᾶσα, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ τῶν γε Ἀχαιῶν βελτίους γενοίμεθα, τιμῶντες δι' ἀρετήν, ὃν ἐκεῖνοι δίκῃ οὐδεμιᾷ ἀπέκτειναν." οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐξεπήδων τῆς νεώς, ὁ δὲ ἐνέτυχε τῷ τάφῳ καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα κατορωρυγμένον πρὸς αὐτῷ εὗρεν. ἐπεγέγραπτο δὲ τῇ βάσει τοῦ ἀγάλματος ΘΕΙΩΙ ΠΑΛΑΜΗΔΕΙ. καθιδρύσας οὖν αὐτό, ὡς κἀγὼ εἶδον, καὶ ἱερὸν περὶ αὐτὸ βαλόμενος, ὅσον οἱ τὴν Ἐνοδίαν τιμῶντες, ἔστι γὰρ ὡς δέκα ξυμπότας ἐν αὐτῷ εὐωχεῖσθαι, τοιάνδε εὐχὴν ηὔξατο· "Παλάμηδες, ἐκλάθου τῆς μήνιδος, ἣν ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ποτε ἐμήνισας, καὶ δίδου γίγνεσθαι πολλούς τε καὶ σοφοὺς ἄνδρας. ναὶ Παλάμηδες, δι' ὃν λόγοι, δι' ὃν Μοῦσαι, δι' ὃν ἐγώ."

XIV

CAP. XIV Παρῆλθε καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ὀρφέως ἄδυτον προσορμισάμενος τῇ Λέσβῳ. φασὶ δὲ ἐνταῦθά ποτε

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to shape his course towards the country of the Aeolians, which lies over against Lesbos, and then to turn as close as he could to Methymna, and there to cast anchor. For there it was, he said, that Achilles declared Palamedes lay, where also they would find his image a cubit high, representing however a man older than was ever Palamedes. And at the moment of disembarking from the ship, he said: "Let us show our respect, O ye Greeks, for so good a man to whom we owe all wisdom. For we shall anyhow prove ourselves better men than the Achaeans, if we pay tribute to the excellence of one whom they so unjustly slew." They then had hardly leapt out of the ship, when he hit upon the tomb and found the statue buried beside it. And there were inscribed on the base of the statue the words: "To the divine Palamedes." He accordingly set it up again in its place, as I myself saw; and he raised a shrine around it of the size which the worshippers of the goddess of the crossways, called Enodia, use; for it was large enough for ten persons at once to sit and drink and keep good cheer in; and having done so he offered up the following prayer: "O Palamedes, do thou forget the wrath, wherewith thou wast wroth against the Achaeans, and grant that men may multiply in numbers and wisdom. Yea, O Palamedes, author of all eloquence, author of the Muses, author of myself."

CHAP. XIII

Finds and restores the statue of Palamedes

XIV

He also visited in passing the shrine of Orpheus when he had put in at Lesbos. And they tell that

CHAP. XIV

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CAP. XIV τὸν Ὀρφέα μαντικῇ χαίρειν, ἔστε τὸν Ἀπόλλω ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι αὐτόν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ μήτε ἐς Γρύνειον ἐφοίτων ἔτι ὑπὲρ χρησμῶν ἄνθρωποι μήτε ἐς Κλάρον μήτ' ἔνθα ὁ τρίπους ὁ Ἀπολλώνειος, Ὀρφεὺς δὲ ἔχρα μόνος, ἄρτι ἐκ Θρᾴκης ἡ κεφαλὴ ἥκουσα, ἐφίσταταί οἱ χρησμῳδοῦντι ὁ θεὸς καί, "πέπαυσο," ἔφη, "τῶν ἐμῶν, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ᾄδοντά σε ἱκανῶς ἤνεγκα."

XV

CAP. XV Πλεόντων δὲ αὐτῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ ἐπ' Εὐβοίας πέλαγος, ὃ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ δοκεῖ τῶν χαλεπῶν καὶ δυσμετρήτων εἶναι, ἡ μὲν θάλαττα ὑπτία καὶ τῆς ὥρας κρείττων ἐφαίνετο, λόγοι τε ἐγίγνοντο περί τε νήσων, ἐπειδὴ πολλαῖς τε καὶ ὀνομασταῖς ἐνετύγχανον, περί τε ναυπηγίας καὶ κυβερνητικῆς πρόσφοροι τοῖς πλέουσιν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Δάμις τοὺς μὲν διέβαλλε τῶν λόγων, τοὺς δὲ ὑπετέμνετο, τοὺς δὲ οὐ ξυνεχώρει ἐρωτᾶν, ξυνῆκεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὅτι λόγον ἕτερον σπουδάσαι βούλοιτο, καί, "τί παθών," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, διασπᾷς τὰ ἐρωτώμενα; οὐ γὰρ ναυτιῶν γε, ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλοῦ πονηρῶς ἔχων ἀποστρέφῃ τοὺς λόγους, ἡ γὰρ θάλαττα, ὁρᾷς, ὡς ὑποτέθεικεν ἑαυτὴν τῇ νηὶ καὶ πέμπει. τί οὖν δυσχεραίνεις;" "ὅτι," ἔφη, "λόγου μεγάλου ἐν

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it was here that Orpheus once on a time loved to prophesy, before Apollo had turned his attention to him. For when the latter found that men no longer flocked to Gryneium for the sake of oracles nor to Clarus nor (to Delphi) where is the tripod of Apollo, and that Orpheus was the only oracle, his head having lately come from Thrace, he presented himself before the giver of oracles and said: "Cease to meddle with my affairs, for I have already put up long enough with your vaticinations."

CHAP. XIV
Visits the shrine of Orpheus in Lesbos

XV

AFTER this they continued their voyage along the sea of Euboea, which Homer considered to be one of the most dangerous and difficult to traverse. However the sea was smooth and was much better than you expected in that season; and their conversation turned upon the many and famous islands which they were visiting, and upon ship-building and pilotage and other topics suitable to a voyage. But as Damis found fault with some of the things they said, and cut short many of their remarks, and would not allow some of their questions to be put, Apollonius realised that he was anxious to discuss some other topic and said: "What ails you, Damis, that you break in on the course of our questions in this way? For I am sure that it is not because you are seasick or in any way inconvenienced by the voyage, that you object to our conversation; for you see how smoothly our ship is wafted over her bosom by the submissive sea. Why then are you so uneasy?" "Because," replied the other, "when a

CHAP. XV
Enters the sea of Euboea. Damis curious about Achilles

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CAP. XV μέσῳ ὄντος, ὃν εἰκὸς ἦν ἐρωτᾶν μᾶλλον, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἑώλους τε καὶ ἀρχαίους ἐρωτῶμεν." "καὶ τίς," εἶπεν, "ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἴη ἄν, δι' ὃν τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγῇ περιττούς;" "Ἀχιλλεῖ," ἔφη, "ξυγγενόμενος, ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ πολλὰ ἴσως διακηκοὼς μήπω ἡμῖν γιγνωσκόμενα, οὐ δίει ταῦτα, οὐδὲ τὸ εἶδος ἡμῖν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἀνατυποῖς, περιπλεῖς δὲ τὰς νήσους καὶ ναυπηγεῖς τῷ λόγῳ." "εἰ μὴ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι," ἔφη, "δόξω, πάντα εἰρήσεται."

XVI

CAP. XVI Δεομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ λόγου τούτου καὶ φιλικόως ἐχόντων αὐτοῦ, "ἀλλ' οὐχὶ βόθρον," εἶπεν, "Ὀδυσσέως ὀρυξάμενος, οὐδὲ ἀρνῶν αἵματι ψυχαγωγήσας, ἐς διάλεξιν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἦλθον, ἀλλ' εὐξάμενος, ὁπόσα τοῖς ἥρωσιν Ἰνδοί φασιν εὔχεσθαι, "ὦ Ἀχιλλεῦ," ἔφην, "τεθνάναι σε οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φασίν, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρῶ τῷ λόγῳ, οὐδὲ Πυθαγόρας σοφίας ἐμῆς πρόγονος. εἰ δὴ ἀληθεύομεν, δεῖξον ἡμῖν τὸ σεαυτοῦ εἶδος, καὶ γὰρ ἂν ὄναιο ἄγαν τῶν ἐμῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, εἰ μάρτυσιν αὐτοῖς τοῦ εἶναι χρήσαιο." ἐπὶ τούτοις σεισμὸς μὲν περὶ τὸν κολωνὸν βραχὺς ἐγένετο, πεντάπηχυς δὲ νεανίας ἀνεδόθη Θεττα-

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great topic suggests itself, which we surely ought rather to be asking about, we are asking questions about these threadbare and antiquated subjects." "And what," said Apollonius, "may be this topic which makes you regard all others as superfluous?" "You have," he answered, "had an interview with Achilles, O Apollonius, and probably you have heard him speak at length of many things so far unknown to ourselves; and yet you tell us nothing about these, nor do you describe to us the figure of Achilles, but you fill your conversation with talk of the islands we are sailing round and of ship-building." "If you will not accuse me of bragging," said Apollonius, "you shall hear everything." CHAP. XV

XVI

CHAP. XVI

Apollonius relates his interview with Achilles

THE rest of the company also besought him to tell them all about it, and as they were in a mood to listen to him, he said: "Well, it was not by digging a ditch like Odysseus, nor by tempting souls with the blood of sheep, that I obtained a conversation with Achilles; but I offered up the prayer which the Indians say they use in approaching their heroes. 'O Achilles,' I said, 'most of mankind declare that you are dead, but I cannot agree with them, nor can Pythagoras, my spiritual ancestor. If then we hold the truth, show to us your own form; for you would profit not a little by showing yourself to my eyes, if you should be able to use them to attest your existence.' Thereupon a slight earthquake shook the neighbourhood of the barrow, and a youth issued forth five cubits high, wearing a cloak of

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CAP. XVI

λικὸς τὴν χλαμύδα, τὸ δὲ εἶδος οὐκ ἀλαζών τις ἐφαίνετο, ὡς ἐνίοις ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς δοκεῖ, δεινός τε ὁρώμενος οὐκ ἐξήλλαττε τοῦ φαιδροῦ, τὸ δὲ κάλλος οὔπω μοι δοκεῖ ἐπαινέτου ἀξίου ἐπειλῆφθαι, καίτοι Ὁμήρου πολλὰ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ εἰπόντος, ἀλλὰ ἄρρητον εἶναι καὶ καταλύεσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑμνοῦντος ἢ παραπλησίως ἑαυτῷ ᾄδεσθαι. ὁρώμενὸς δέ, ὁπόσον εἶπον, μείζων ἐγίγνετο καὶ διπλάσιος καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦτο, δωδεκάπηχυς γοῦν ἐφάνη μοι, ὅτε δὴ τελεώτατος ἑαυτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἀεὶ ξυνεπεδίδου τῷ μήκει. τὴν μὲν δὴ κόμην οὐδὲ κείρασθαί ποτε ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ ἄσυλον φυλάξαι τῷ Σπερχειῷ, ποταμῶν γὰρ πρώτῳ Σπερχειῷ χρήσασθαι, τὰ γένεια δ᾽ αὐτῷ πρώτας ἐκβολὰς εἶχε.

προσειπὼν δέ με, "ἀσμένως," εἶπεν, "ἐντετύχηκά σοι, πάλαι δεόμενος ἀνδρὸς τοιοῦδε· Θετταλοὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐναγίσματα χρόνον ἤδη πολὺν ἐκλελοίπασί μοι, καὶ μηνίειν μὲν οὔπω ἀξιῶ, μηνίσαντος γὰρ ἀπολοῦνται μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ἐνταῦθά ποτε Ἕλληνες, ξυμβουλίᾳ δὲ ἐπείκειν χρῶμαι, μὴ ὑβρίζειν σφᾶς ἐς τὰ νόμιμα, μηδὲ κακίους ἐλέγχεσθαι τουτωνὶ τῶν Τρώων, οἳ τοσούσδε ἄνδρας ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἀφαιρεθέντες δημοσίᾳ τε θύουσί μοι καὶ ὡραίων ἀπάρχονται, καὶ ἱκετηρίαν τιθέμενοι σπονδὰς αἰτοῦσιν, ἃς ἐγὼ οὐ δώσω· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιορκηθέντα

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Thessalian fashion; but in appearance he was by no means the braggart figure which some imagine Achilles to have been. Though he was stern to look upon, he had never lost his bright look; and it seems to me that his beauty has never received its meed of praise, even though Homer dwelt at length upon it; for it was really beyond the power of words, and it is easier for the singer to ruin his fame in this respect than to praise him as he deserved. At first sight he was of the size which I have mentioned, but he grew bigger, till he was twice as large and even more than that; at any rate he appeared to me to be twelve cubits high just at that moment when he reached his complete stature, and his beauty grew apace with his length. He told me then that he had never at any time shorn off his hair, but preserved it inviolate for the river Spercheus, for this was the first river he had consulted; but on his cheeks you saw the first down. CHAP. XVI

"And he addressed me and said: 'I am pleased to have met you, since I have long wanted a man like yourself. For the Thessalians for a long time past have failed to present their offerings at my tomb, and I do not yet wish to show my wrath against them; for if I did so, they would perish more thoroughly than ever the Hellenes did on this spot; accordingly I resort to gentle advice, and would warn them not to violate ancient custom, nor to prove themselves worse men than the Trojans here, who though they were robbed of so many of their heroes by myself, yet sacrifice publicly to me, and also give me the tithes of their fruits in season, and olive branch in hand ask for a truce from my hostility. But this I will not grant, Thessalian neglect of his tomb

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CAP. XVI

τούτοις ἐπ' ἐμὲ οὐκ ἐάσει τὸ Ἴλιόν ποτε τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀναλαβεῖν εἶδος, οὐδὲ τυχεῖν ἀκμῆς, ὁπόση περὶ πολλὰς τῶν καθῃρημένων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' οἰκήσουσιν αὐτὸ βελτίους οὐδὲν ἢ εἰ χθὲς ἥλωσαν. ἵν' οὖν μὴ καὶ τὰ Θετταλῶν ἀποφαίνω ὅμοια, πρέσβευε παρὰ τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ ὧν εἶπον." "πρεσβεύσω," ἔφην, "ὁ γὰρ νοῦς τῆς πρεσβείας ἦν μὴ ἀπολέσθαι αὐτούς. ἀλλ' ἐγώ τί σου, Ἀχιλλεῦ, δέομαι." "ξυνίημι," ἔφη, "δῆλος γὰρ εἶ περὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἐρωτήσων· ἐρώτα δὲ λόγους πέντε, οὓς αὐτός τε βούλει καὶ Μοῖραι ξυγχωροῦσιν." ἠρόμην οὖν πρῶτον, εἰ κατὰ τὸν τῶν ποιητῶν λόγον ἔτυχε τάφου. "κεῖμαι μέν," εἶπεν, "ὡς ἔμοιγε ἥδιστον καὶ Πατρόκλῳ ἐγένετο, ξυνέβημεν γὰρ δὴ κομιδῇ νέοι, ξυνέχει δὲ ἄμφω χρυσοῦς ἀμφορεὺς κειμένους, ὡς ἕνα. Μουσῶν δὲ θρῆνοι καὶ Νηρηίδων, οὓς ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γενέσθαι φασί, Μοῦσαι μὲν οὐδ' ἀφίκοντό ποτε ἐνταῦθα, Νηρηίδες δὲ ἔτι φοιτῶσι." μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἠρόμην, εἰ ἡ Πολυξένη ἐπισφαγείη αὐτῷ, ὁ δὲ ἀληθὲς μὲν ἔφη τοῦτο εἶναι, σφαγῆναι δὲ αὐτὴν οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλ' ἑκοῦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα ἐλθοῦσαν καὶ τὸν ἑαυτῆς τε κἀκείνου ἔρωτα μεγάλων ἀξιῶσαι προσπεσοῦσαν ξίφει ὀρθῷ. τρίτον ἠρόμην· "ἡ Ἑλένη, ὦ Ἀχιλλεῦ, ἐς Τροίαν ἦλθεν ἢ Ὁμήρῳ ἔδοξεν ὑποθέσθαι ταῦτα;"

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for the perjuries which they committed against me CHAP. XVI
will not suffer Ilium ever to resume its pristine beauty, nor to regain the prosperity which yet has favoured many a city that was destroyed of old; nay, if they rebuild it, things shall go as hard with them as if their city had been captured only yesterday. In order then to save me from bringing the Thessalian polity to the same condition, you must go as my envoy to their council in behalf of the object I have mentioned.' 'I will be your envoy,' I replied, 'for the object of my embassy were to save them from ruin. But, O Achilles, I would ask something of you.' 'I understand,' said he, 'for it is plain you are going to ask about the Trojan war. So ask me five questions about whatever you like, and that the Fates approve of.' 'I accordingly asked him firstly, if he had obtained burial in accordance with the story of the poets.' 'I lie here,' he answered, 'as was most delightful to myself and Patroclus; for you know we met in mere youth, and a single golden jar holds the remains of both of us, as if we were one. But as for the dirges of the Muses and of the Nereids, which they say are sung over me, the Muses, I may tell you, never once came here at all, though the Nereids still resort to the spot.' Next I asked him, if Polyxena was really slaughtered over his tomb; and he replied that this was true, but that she was slain not by the Achaeans, but that she came of her own free will to the sepulchre, and that so high was the value she set on her own passion for him and his for her, that she threw herself upon an upright sword. The third question I asked was this: 'Did Helen, O Achilles, really come to Troy or was it Homer that was

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CAP. XVI

"πολύν," ἔφη, "χρόνον ἐξηπατώμεθα πρεσβευόμενοί τε παρὰ τοὺς Τρῶας, καὶ ποιούμενοι τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μάχας, ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἰλίῳ οὔσης, ἡ δ' Αἴγυπτόν τε ᾤκει καὶ τὸν Πρωτέως οἶκον ἁρπασθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πάριδος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπιστεύθη τοῦτο, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς Τροίας λοιπὸν ἐμαχόμεθα, ὡς μὴ αἰσχρῶς ἀπέλθοιμεν." ἠψάμην καὶ τετάρτης ἐρωτήσεως καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔφην, εἰ τοσούσδε ὁμοῦ καὶ τοιούσδε ἄνδρας ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἤνεγκεν, ὁπόσους Ὅμηρος ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν ξυντάττει. ὁ δὲ Ἀχιλλεύς, "οὐδὲ οἱ βάρβαροι," ἔφη, "πολὺ ἡμῶν ἐλείποντο, οὕτως ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἀρετῆς ἤνθησε." πέμπτον δ' ἠρόμην· τί παθὼν Ὅμηρος τὸν Παλαμήδην οὐκ οἶδεν, ἢ οἶδε μέν, ἐξαιρεῖ δὲ τοῦ περὶ ὑμῶν λόγου; "εἰ Παλαμήδης," εἶπεν, "ἐς Τροίαν οὐκ ἦλθεν, οὐδὲ Τροία ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνὴρ σοφώτατός τε καὶ μαχιμώτατος ἀπέθανεν, ὡς Ὀδυσσεῖ ἔδοξεν, οὐκ ἐσάγεται αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ ποιήματα Ὅμηρος, ὡς μὴ τὰ ὀνείδη τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ᾄδοι." καὶ ἐπολοφυράμενος αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ὡς μεγίστῳ τε καὶ καλλίστῳ, νεωτάτῳ τε καὶ πολεμικωτάτῳ, σωφροσύνῃ τε ὑπερβαλομένῳ πάντας καὶ πολλὰ ξυμβαλομένῳ ταῖς Μούσαις, "ἀλλὰ σύ," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, σοφοῖς γὰρ πρὸς σοφοὺς ἐπιτήδεια, τοῦ τε τάφου ἐπιμελήθητι, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Παλαμήδους ἀνάλαβε φαύλως ἐρριμμένον· κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι κατὰ Μήθυμναν τὴν ἐν Λέσβῳ." ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι

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pleased to make up the story?' 'For a long time,' he replied, 'we were deceived and tricked into sending envoys to the Trojans and fighting battles in her behalf, in the belief that she was in Ilium, whereas she really was living in Egypt and in the house of Proteus, whither she had been snatched away by Paris. But when we became convinced thereof, we continued to fight to win Troy itself, so as not to disgrace ourselves by retreat.' The fourth question which I ventured upon was this: 'I wonder,' I said, 'that Greece ever produced at any one time so many and such distinguished heroes as Homer says were gathered against Troy.' But Achilles answered: 'Why even the barbarians did not fall far short of us, so abundantly then did excellence flourish all over the earth.' And my fifth question was this: 'Why was it that Homer knew nothing about Palamedes, or if he knew him, then kept him out of your story?' 'If Palamedes,' he answered, 'never came to Troy, then Troy never existed either. But since this wisest and most warlike hero fell in obedience to Odysseus' whim, Homer does not introduce him into his poems, lest he should have to record the shame of Odysseus in his song.' And withal Achilles raised a wail over him as over one who was the greatest and most beautiful of men, the youngest and also the most warlike, one who in sobriety surpassed all others, and had often foregathered with the Muses. 'But you,' he added, 'O Apollonius, since sages have a tender regard for one another, you must care for his tomb and restore the image of Palamedes that has been so contemptuously cast aside; and it lies in Aeolis close to Methymna

CHAP. XVI

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CAP. XVI τὰ περὶ τὸν νεανίαν τὸν ἐκ Πάρου, ἀπῆλθε ξὺν ἀστραπῇ μετρίᾳ, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνες ἤδη ᾠδῆς ἥπτοντο."

XVII

CAP. XVII Τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς νεώς, ἐς δὲ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἐσπλεύσας περὶ μυστηρίων ὥραν, ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι πολυανθρωπότατα Ἑλλήνων πράττουσιν, ἀνῄει ξυντείνας ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, προιὼν δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν φιλοσοφούντων ἐνετύγχανε Φάληράδε κατιοῦσιν, ὧν οἱ μὲν γυμνοὶ ἐθέροντο, καὶ γὰρ τὸ μετόπωρον εὐήλιον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, οἱ δὲ ἐκ βιβλίων ἐσπούδαζον, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ στόματος ἠσκοῦντο, οἱ δὲ ἤριζον. παρῄει δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τεκμηράμενοι πάντες, ὡς εἴη Ἀπολλώνιος, ξυνανεστρέφοντό τε καὶ ἠσπάζοντο χαίροντες, νεανίσκοι δὲ ὁμοῦ δέκα περιτυχόντες αὐτῷ, "νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐκείνην," ἔφασαν ἀνατείναντες τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, "ἡμεῖς ἄρτι ἐς Πειραιᾶ ἐβαδίζομεν πλευσόμενοι ἐς Ἰωνίαν παρὰ σέ." ὁ δὲ ἀπεδέχετο αὐτῶν καὶ ξυγχαίρειν ἔφη φιλοσοφοῦσιν.

XVIII

CAP. XVIII Ἦν μὲν δὴ Ἐπιδαυρίων ἡμέρα. τὰ δὲ Ἐπιδαύρια μετὰ πρόρρησίν τε καὶ ἱερεῖα δεῦρο μυεῖν

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in Lesbos.' With these words and with the closing remarks concerning the youth from Paros, Achilles vanished with a flash of summer lightning, for indeed the cocks were already beginning their chant." CHAP. XVI

XVII

So much for the conversation on board; but having sailed into the Piraeus at the season of the mysteries, when the Athenians keep the most crowded of Hellenic festivals, he went post haste up from the ship into the city; but as he went forward, he fell in with quite a number of students of philosophy on their way down to Phalerum. Some of them were stripped and underwent the heat, for in autumn the sun is hot upon the Athenians; and others were studying books, and some were rehearsing their speeches, and others were disputing. But no one passed him by, for they all guessed that it was Apollonius, and they turned and thronged around him and welcomed him warmly; and ten youths in a body met him, and holding up their hands towards the Acropolis they cried: "By Athene yonder, we were on the point of going down to the Piraeus there to take ship to Ionia in order to visit you." And he welcomed them and said how much he congratulated them on their study of philosophy. CHAP. XVII His welcome in Athens

XVIII

It was then the day of the Epidaurian festival, at which it is still customary for the Athenians to CHAP. XVIII

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CAP. XVIII

Ἀθηναίοις πάτριον ἐπὶ θυσίᾳ δευτέρᾳ, τουτὶ δὲ ἐνόμισαν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἕνεκα, ὅτι δὴ ἐμύησαν αὐτὸν ἥκοντα Ἐπιδαυρόθεν ὀψὲ μυστηρίων. ἀμελήσαντες δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ μυεῖσθαι περὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον εἶχον, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐσπούδαζον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἀπελθεῖν τετελεσμένοι, ὁ δὲ ξυνέσεσθαι μὲν αὐτοῖς αὖθις ἔλεγεν, ἐκέλευσε δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς τότε γίγνεσθαι, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς μυεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἱεροφάντης οὐκ ἐβούλετο παρέχειν τὰ ἱερά, μὴ γὰρ ἄν ποτε μυῆσαι γόητα, μηδὲ τὴν Ἐλευσῖνα ἀνοῖξαι ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ καθαρῷ τὰ δαιμόνια. ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τούτων ἧττων αὐτοῦ γενόμενος, "οὔπω," ἔφη, "τὸ μέγιστον, ὧν ἐγὼ ἐγκληθείην ἄν, εἴρηκας, ὅτι περὶ τῆς τελετῆς πλείω ἢ σὺ γιγνώσκων, ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς παρὰ σοφώτερον ἐμαυτοῦ μυησόμενος ἦλθον." ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ τῶν παρόντων, ὡς ἐρρωμένως καὶ παραπλησίως αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὁ μὲν ἱεροφάντης, ἐπειδὴ ἐξείργων αὐτὸν οὐ φίλα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐδόκει πράττειν, μετέβαλε τοῦ τόνου καί, "μυοῦ," ἔφη, "σοφὸς γάρ τις ἥκειν ἔοικας," ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος "μυήσομαι," ἔφη, "αὖθις, μυήσει δέ με ὁ δεῖνα," προγνώσει χρώμενος ἐς τὸν μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἱεροφάντην, ὃς μετὰ τέτταρα ἔτη τοῦ ἱεροῦ προὔστη.

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CHAP. XVIII

Is refused initiation in Epidaurian mystery

celebrate the mystery at a second sacrifice after both proclamation and victims have been offered; and this custom was instituted in honour of Asclepius, because they still initiated him when on one occasion he arrived from Epidaurus too late for the mysteries. Now most people neglected the initiation and hung around Apollonius, and thought more of doing that than of being perfected in their religion before they went home; but Apollonius said that he would join them later on, and urged them to attend at once to the rites of religion, for that he himself would be initiated. But the hierophant was not disposed to admit him to the rites, for he said that he would never initiate a wizard and charlatan, nor open the Eleusinian rite to a man who dabbled in impure rites. Thereupon Apollonius, fully equal to the occasion, said: "You have not yet mentioned the chief of my offence, which is that knowing, as I do, more about the initiatory rite than you do yourself, I have nevertheless come for initiation to you, as if you were wiser than I am." The bystanders applauded these words, and deemed that he had answered with vigour and like himself; and thereupon the hierophant, since he saw that his exclusion of Apollonius was not by any means popular with the crowd, changed his tone and said: "Be thou initiated, for thou seemest to be some wise man that has come here." But Apollonius replied: "I will be initiated at another time, and it is so and so," mentioning a name, "who will initiate me." Herein he showed his gift of prevision, for he glanced at the hierophant who succeeded the one he addressed, and presided over the temple four years later.

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XIX

CAP. XIX Τὰς δὲ Ἀθήνησι διατριβὰς πλείστας μὲν ὁ Δάμις γενέσθαι φησὶ τῷ ἀνδρί, γράψαι δὲ οὐ πάσας, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀναγκαίας τε καὶ περὶ μεγάλων σπουδασθείσας. τὴν μὲν δὴ πρώτην διάλεξιν, ἐπειδὴ φιλοθύτας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἶδεν, ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν διελέξατο, καὶ ὡς ἄν τις ἐς τὸ ἑκάστῳ τῶν θεῶν οἰκεῖον καὶ πηνίκα δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἢ θύοι ἢ σπένδοι ἢ εὔχοιτο, καὶ βιβλίῳ Ἀπολλωνίου προστυχεῖν ἔστιν, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φωνῇ ἐκδιδάσκει. διῆλθε δὲ ταῦτα Ἀθήνησι πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὲρ σοφίας αὐτοῦ τε κἀκείνων, εἶτ' ἐλέγχων τὸν ἱεροφάντην δι' ἃ βλασφήμως τε καὶ ἀμαθῶς εἶπε· τίς γὰρ ἔτι ᾠήθη τὰ δαιμόνια μὴ καθαρὸν εἶναι τὸν φιλοσοφοῦντα, ὅπως οἱ θεοὶ θεραπευτέοι ;

XX

CAP. XX Διαλεγομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ σπένδειν, παρέτυχε μὲν τῷ λόγῳ μειράκιον τῶν ἁβρῶν οὕτως ἀσελγὲς νομιζόμενον, ὡς γενέσθαι ποτὲ καὶ ἁμαξῶν ᾄσμα, πατρὶς δὲ αὐτῷ Κέρκυρα ἦν καὶ ἐς Ἀλκίνουν ἀνέφερε τὸν ξένον τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως τὸν Φαίακα, καὶ διῄει μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος περὶ τοῦ

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XIX

CHAP. XIX

Lectures the Athenians on Religion

MANY were the discourses which according to Damis the sage delivered at Athens; though he did not write down all of them, but only the more important ones in which he handled great subjects. He took then for the topic of his first discourse the matter of rites and ceremonies, and this because he saw that the Athenians were much addicted to sacrifices; and in it he explained how a religious man could best adapt his sacrifice, his libation, or prayers to any particular divinity, and at what hours of day and night he ought to offer them. And it is possible to obtain a book of Apollonius, in which he gives instructions on these points in his own words. But at Athens he discussed these topics with a view to improving his own wisdom and that of others in the first place, and in the second of convicting the hierophant of blasphemy and ignorance in the remarks he had made; for who could continue to regard as one impure in his religion a man who taught philosophically how the worship of the gods is to be conducted?

XX

CHAP. XX

Heals a demoniac youth who mocked at him

Now while he was discussing the question of libations, there chanced to be present in his audience a young dandy who bore so evil a reputation for licentiousness, that his conduct had once been the subject of coarse street-corner songs. His home was Corcyra, and he traced his pedigree to Alcinous the Phaeacian who entertained Odysseus. Apollonius then

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CAP. XX

σπένδειν, ἐκέλευε δὲ μὴ πίνειν τοῦ ποτηρίου τούτου, φυλάττειν δὲ αὐτὸ τοῖς θεοῖς ἄχραντόν τε καὶ ἄποτον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὦτα ἐκέλευσε τῷ ποτηρίῳ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ σπένδειν κατὰ τὸ οὖς, ἀφ' οὗ μέρους ἥκιστα πίνουσιν ἄνθρωποι, τὸ μειράκιον κατεσκέδασε τοῦ λόγου πλατύν τε καὶ ἀσελγῆ γέλωτα· ὁ δὲ ἀναβλέψας ἐς αὐτό, "οὐ σύ," ἔφη, "ταῦτα ὑβρίζεις, ἀλλ' ὁ δαίμων, ὃς ἐλαύνει σε οὐκ εἰδότα." ἐλελήθει δὲ ἄρα δαιμονῶν τὸ μειράκιον· ἐγέλα τε γὰρ ἐφ' οἷς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος καὶ μετέβαλλεν ἐς τὸ κλάειν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχον, διελέγετό τε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ᾔδε. καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τὴν νεότητα σκιρτῶσαν ᾤοντο ἐκφέρειν αὐτὸ ἐς ταῦτα, ὁ δ' ὑπεκρίνετο ἄρα τῷ δαίμονι καὶ ἐδόκει παροινεῖν, ἃ ἐπαρῴνει τότε, ὁρῶντός τε ἐς αὐτὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, δεδοικότως τε καὶ ὀργίλως φωνὰς ἠφίει τὸ εἴδωλον, ὁπόσαι καομένων τε καὶ στρεβλουμένων εἰσίν, ἀφέξεσθαί τε τοῦ μειρακίου ὤμνυ καὶ μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐμπεσεῖσθαι. τοῦ δὲ οἷον δεσπότου πρὸς ἀνδράποδον ποικίλον πανοῦργόν τε καὶ ἀναιδὲς καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ξὺν ὀργῇ λέγοντος, καὶ κελεύοντος αὐτῷ ξὺν τεκμηρίῳ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, "τὸν δεῖνα," ἔφη, "καταβαλῶ ἀνδριάντα," δείξας τινὰ τῶν περὶ τὴν Βασίλειον στοάν, πρὸς ᾗ ταῦτα ἐπράττετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἀνδριὰς ὑπεκινήθη πρῶτον, εἶτα ἔπεσε, τὸν μὲν θόρυβον

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was talking about libations, and was urging them not CHAP. XX to drink out of a particular cup, but to reserve it for the gods, without ever touching it or drinking out of it. But when he also urged them to have handles on the cup, and to pour the libation over the handle, because that is the part of the cup at which men are least likely to drink, the youth burst out into loud and coarse laughter, and quite drowned his voice. Then Apollonius looked up at him and said: "It is not yourself that perpetrates this insult, but the demon, who drives you on without your knowing it." And in fact the youth was, without knowing it, possessed by a devil; for he would laugh at things that no one else laughed at, and then he would fall to weeping for no reason at all, and he would talk and sing to himself. Now most people thought that it was the boisterous humour of youth which led him into such excesses; but he was really the mouthpiece of a devil, though it only seemed a drunken frolic in which on that occasion he was indulging. Now when Apollonius gazed on him, the ghost in him began to utter cries of fear and rage, such as one hears from people who are being branded or racked; and the ghost swore that he would leave the young man alone and never take possession of any man again. But Apollonius addressed him with anger, as a master might a shifty, rascally, and shameless slave and so on, and he ordered him to quit the young man and show by a visible sign that he had done so. "I will throw down yonder statue," said the devil, and pointed to one of the images which was in the king's portico, for there it was that the scene took place. But when the statue began by moving gently, and then fell down, it would defy anyone to describe

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CAP. XX τὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ὡς ἐκρότησαν ὑπὸ θαύματος, τί ἄν τις γράφοι; τὸ δὲ μειράκιον, ὥσπερ ἀφυπνίσαν, τούς τε ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔτριψε καὶ πρὸς τὰς αὐγὰς τοῦ ἡλίου εἶδεν, αἰδῶ τε ἐπεσπάσατο πάντων ἐς αὐτὸ ἐστραμμένων, ἀσελγές τε οὐκέτι ἐφαίνετο, οὐδὲ ἄτακτον βλέπον, ἀλλ' ἐπανῆλθεν ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν μεῖον οὐδὲν ἢ εἰ φαρμακοποσίᾳ ἐκέχρητο, μεταβαλόν τε τῶν χλανιδίων καὶ ληδίων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης συβάριδος, ἐς ἔρωτα ἦλθεν αὐχμοῦ καὶ τρίβωνος καὶ ἐς τὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἤθη ἀπεδύσατο.

XXI

CAP. XXI Ἐπιπλῆξαι δὲ λέγεται περὶ Διονυσίων Ἀθηναίοις, ἃ ποιεῖταί σφισιν ἐν ὥρᾳ τοῦ ἀνθεστηριῶνος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ μονῳδίας ἀκροασομένους καὶ μελοποιίας παραβάσεών τε καὶ ῥυθμῶν, ὁπόσοι κωμῳδίας τε καὶ τραγῳδίας εἰσίν, ἐς τὸ θέατρον ξυμφοιτᾶν ᾤετο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσεν, ὅτι αὐλοῦ ὑποσημήναντος λυγισμοὺς ὀρχοῦνται, καὶ μεταξὺ τῆς Ὀρφέως ἐποποιίας τε καὶ θεολογίας τὰ μὲν ὡς Ὧραι, τὰ δὲ ὡς Νύμφαι, τὰ δὲ ὡς Βάκχαι πράττουσιν, ἐς ἐπίπληξιν τούτου κατέστη, καί, "παύσασθε," εἶπεν, "ἐξορχούμενοι τοὺς Σαλαμινίους καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους κειμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, εἰ μὲν γὰρ Λακωνικὴ ταῦτα ὄρχησις, εὖγε οἱ στρατιῶται, γυμνάζεσθε γὰρ πολέμῳ καὶ

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the hubbub which arose thereat and the way they clapped their hands with wonder. But the young man rubbed his eyes as if he had just woke up, and he looked towards the rays of the sun, and won the consideration of all who now had turned their attention to him; for he no longer showed himself licentious, nor did he stare madly about, but he had returned to his own self, as thoroughly as if he had been treated with drugs; and he gave up his dainty dress and summery garments and the rest of his sybaritic way of life, and he fell in love with the austerity of philosophers, and donned their cloak, and stripping off his old self modelled his life in future upon that of Apollonius. CHAP. XX

XXI

CHAP. XXI

Rebukes Athenian levity at feast of Dionysus

And he is said to have rebuked the Athenians for their conduct of the festival of Dionysus, which they hold at the season of the month Anthesterion. For when he saw them flocking to the theatre he imagined that they were going to listen to solos and compositions in the way of processional and rhythmic hymns, such as are sung in comedies and tragedies; but when he heard them dancing lascivious jigs to the rondos of a flute, and in the midst of the solemn and sacred music of Orpheus striking attitudes as the Hours, or as nymphs, or as bacchants, he set himself to rebuke their proceedings, and said: "Stop dancing away the reputations of the victors of Salamis as well as of many other good men departed this life. For if indeed this were a Lacedaemonian form of dance, I would say, 'Bravo, soldiers; for you are training yourselves for war, and I will join in your dance';

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CAP. XXI ξυνορχήσομαι, εἰ δὲ ἀπαλὴ καὶ ἐς τὸ θῆλυ σπεύδουσα, τί φῶ περὶ τῶν τροπαίων; οὐ γὰρ κατὰ Μήδων ταῦτα ἢ Περσῶν, καθ' ὑμῶν δὲ ἑστήξει, τῶν ἀναθέντων αὐτὰ εἰ λίποισθε. κροκωτοὶ δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἁλουργία καὶ κοκκοβαφία τοιαύτη πόθεν; οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ Ἀχαρναί γε ὧδε ἐστέλλοντο, οὐδὲ ὁ Κολωνὸς ὧδε ἵππευε. καὶ τί λέγω ταῦτα; γυνὴ ναύαρχος ἐκ Καρίας ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἔπλευσε μετὰ Ξέρξου, καὶ ἦν αὐτῇ γυναικεῖον οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς στολὴ καὶ ὅπλα, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἁβρότεροι τῶν Ξέρξου γυναικῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς στέλλεσθε οἱ γέροντες οἱ νέοι τὸ ἐφηβικόν, οἳ πάλαι μὲν ὤμνυσαν ἐς Ἀγραύλου φοιτῶντες ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανεῖσθαι καὶ ὅπλα θήσεσθαι, νῦν δὲ ἴσως ὀμοῦνται ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος βακχεύσειν καὶ θύρσον λήψεσθαι, κόρυν μὲν οὐδεμίαν φέρον, γυναικομίμῳ δὲ μορφώματι, κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην, αἰσχρῶς διαπρέπον. ἀκούω δὲ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀνέμους γίγνεσθαι, καὶ λῄδια ἀνασείειν λέγεσθε ἔπιπλα μετεώρως αὐτὰ κολποῦντες. ἔδει δὲ ἀλλὰ τούτους γε αἰδεῖσθαι, ξυμμάχους ὄντας καὶ πνεύσαντας ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν μέγα, μηδὲ τὸν Βορέαν κηδεστήν γε ὄντα καὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀνέμους ἄρσενα ποιεῖσθαι θῆλυν, οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς Ὠρειθυίας ἐραστὴς ἄν ποτε ὁ Βορέας ἐγένετο, εἰ κἀκείνην ὀρχουμένην εἶδε."

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but as it is a soft dance and one of effeminate tendency, what am I to say of your national trophies? Not as monuments of shame to the Medians or Persians, but to your own shame they will have been raised, should you degenerate so much from those who set them up. And what do you mean by your saffron robes and your purple and scarlet raiment? For surely the Acharnians never dressed themselves up in this way, nor ever the knights of Colonus rode in such a garb. And why do I say this? A woman commanded a ship from Caria and sailed against you with Xerxes, and about her there was nothing womanly, but she wore the garb and armour of a man; but you are softer than the women of Xerxes' day, and you are dressing yourselves up to your own despite, old and young and tender youth alike, you who of old flocked to the temple of Agraulus in order to swear to die in battle on behalf of the fatherland. And now it seems that the same people are ready to swear to become bacchants and don the thyrsus in behalf of their country; and no one bears a helmet, but disguised as female harlequins, to use the phrase of Euripides, they shine in shame alone. Nay more, I hear that you turn yourselves into winds, and wave your skirts, and pretend that you are ships bellying their sails aloft. But surely you might at least have some respect for the winds that were your allies and once blew mightily to protect you, instead of turning Boreas who was your patron, and who of all the winds is the most masculine, into a woman; for Boreas would never have become the lover of Oreithya, if he had seen her executing, like you, a skirt dance."

CHAP. XXI

Eurip. *Bacchae* 980.

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XXII

CAP. XXII Διωρθοῦτο δὲ κἀκεῖνο Ἀθήνησιν· οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξυνιόντες ἐς θέατρον τὸ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει προσεῖχον σφαγαῖς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐσπουδάζετο ταῦτα ἐκεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν Κορίνθῳ νῦν, χρημάτων τε μεγάλων ἐωνημένοι ἤγοντο μοιχοὶ καὶ πόρνοι καὶ τοιχωρύχοι καὶ βαλαντιοτόμοι καὶ ἀνδραποδισταὶ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔθνη, οἱ δ' ὤπλιζον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκέλευον ξυμπίπτειν. ἐλάβετο δὲ καὶ τούτων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ καλούντων αὐτὸν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἂν ἔφη παρελθεῖν ἐς χωρίον ἀκάθαρτον καὶ λύθρου μεστόν. ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ἐν ἐπιστολῇ. καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔλεγεν "ὅπως ἡ θεὸς οὐ καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἤδη ἐκλείπει τοιοῦτον αἷμα ὑμῶν ἐκχεόντων αὐτῇ. δοκεῖτε γάρ μοι προιόντες, ἐπειδὰν τὰ Παναθήναια πέμπητε, μηδὲ βοῦς ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἑκατόμβας ἀνθρώπων καταθύσειν τῇ θεῷ. σὺ δέ, Διόνυσε, μετὰ τοιοῦτον αἷμα ἐς τὸ θέατρον φοιτᾷς; κἀκεῖ σοι σπένδουσιν οἱ σοφοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι; μετάστηθι καὶ σύ, Διόνυσε· Κιθαιρὼν καθαρώτερος." τοιάδε εὗρον τὰ σπουδαιότατα τῶν φιλοσοφηθέντων Ἀθήνησιν αὐτῷ τότε.

XXIII

CAP. XXIII Ἐπρέσβευσε δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Πυλαίᾳ ξυλλόγους,

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XXII

CHAP. XXII

His criticism of gladiatorial shows in Athens

He also corrected the following abuse at Athens. The Athenians ran in crowds to the theatre beneath the Acropolis to witness human slaughter, and the passion for such sports was stronger there than it is in Corinth to-day; for they would buy for large sums adulterers and fornicators and burglars and cut-purses and kidnappers and such-like rabble, and then they took them and armed them and set them to fight with one another. Apollonius then attacked these practices, and when the Athenians invited him to attend their assembly, he refused to enter a place so impure and reeking with gore. And this he said in an epistle to them; he said that he was surprised "that the goddess had not already quitted the Acropolis, when you shed such blood under her eyes. For I suspect that presently, when you are conducting the pan-Athenaic procession, you will no longer be content with bulls, but will be sacrificing hecatombs of men to the goddess. And thou, O Dionysus, dost thou after such bloodshed frequent their theatre? And do the wise among the Athenians pour libations to thee there? Nay do thou depart, O Dionysus. Holier and purer is thy Cithaeron."

Such were the more serious of the subjects which I have found he treated of at that time in Athens in his philosophic discourses.

XXIII

CHAP. XXIII

And he also went as envoy to the Thessalians in behalf of Achilles at the time of the conferences

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CAP. XXIII

ἐν οἷς οἱ Θετταλοὶ τὰ Ἀμφικτυονικὰ πράττουσιν, οἱ δὲ δείσαντες ἐψηφίσαντο ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ προσήκοντα τῷ τάφῳ. καὶ τὸ Λεωνίδου σῆμα τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου μονονοὺ περιέβαλεν ἀγασθεὶς τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν κολωνὸν βαδίζων, ἐφ' οὗ λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιχωσθῆναι τοῖς τοξεύμασιν, ἤκουσε τῶν ὁμιλητῶν διαφερομένων ἀλλήλοις, ὅ τι εἴη τὸ ὑψηλότατον τῆς Ἑλλάδος, παρεῖχε δὲ ἄρα τὸν λόγον ἡ Οἴτη τὸ ὄρος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς οὖσα, καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "τὸ ὑψηλότατον τοῦτο ἡγοῦμαι, οἱ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας ἀποθανόντες ἀντανήγαγον αὐτὸ τῇ Οἴτῃ καὶ ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς Ὀλύμπους ἦραν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἄγαμαι μὲν καὶ τούσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας, τὸν δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνα Μεγιστίαν καὶ πρὸ τούτων, ἃ γὰρ πεισομένους ἐγίγνωσκε, τούτων ἐπεθύμησε κοινωνῆσαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οὐ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν δείσας, ἀλλὰ τὸ μετὰ τοιῶνδε μὴ τεθνάναι."

XXIV

CAP. XXIV

Ἐπεφοίτησε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἱεροῖς πᾶσι τῷ τε Δωδωναίῳ καὶ τῷ Πυθικῷ καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἀβαῖς, ἐς Ἀμφιάρεώ τε καὶ Τροφωνίου ἐβάδισε καὶ ἐς τὸ Μουσεῖον τὸ ἐν Ἑλικῶνι ἀνέβη. φοιτῶντι δὲ ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ διορθουμένῳ αὐτὰ ξυνεφοίτων μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἠκολούθουν δὲ οἱ γνώρι-

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held in Pylaea, at which the Thessalians transact the Amphictyonic business. And they were so frightened that they passed a resolution for the resumption of the ceremonies at the tomb. As for the monument of Leonidas the Spartan, he almost surrounded it with a shrine, out of admiration for the hero; and as he was coming to the mound where the Lacedaemonians are said to have been overwhelmed by the bolts which the enemy rained upon them, he heard his companions discussing with one another which was the loftiest hill in Hellas, this topic being suggested it seems by the sight of the mountain of Oeta which rose before their eyes; so ascending the mound, he said: "I consider this the loftiest spot of all, for those who fell here in defence of freedom raised it to a level with Oeta and carried it to a height surpassing many mountains like Olympus. It is these men that I admire, and beyond any of them Megistias the Acarnanian; for he knew the death that they were about to die, and deliberately made up his mind to share in it with these heroes, fearing not so much death, as the prospect that he should miss death in such company."

CHAP. XXIII
He visits Thessaly. Eulogy of Leonidas

XXIV

And he also visited all the Greek shrines, namely that of Dodona, and the Pythian temple, and the one at Abae, and he betook himself to those of Amphiareus and of Trophonius, and he went up to the shrine of the Muses on Mount Helicon. And when he visited these temples and corrected the rites, the priests went in his company, and the

CHAP. XXIV
Visits Greek shrines

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CAP. XXIV

μοι, λόγων τε κρατῆρες ἵσταντο καὶ ἠρύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ διψῶντες. ὄντων δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπίων καὶ καλούντων αὐτὸν Ἠλείων ἐπὶ κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος, "δοκεῖτέ μοι," ἔφη, "διαβάλλειν τὴν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων δόξαν πρεσβειῶν δεόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς αὐτόθεν ἥξοντας." γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν μυκησαμένης τῆς περὶ τὸ Λέχαιον θαλάττης, "οὗτος," εἶπεν, "ὁ αὐχὴν τῆς γῆς τετμήσεται, μᾶλλον δὲ οὔ." εἶχε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο πρόρρησιν τῆς μικρὸν ὕστερον περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τομῆς, ἣν μετὰ ἔτη ἑπτὰ Νέρων διενοήθη· τὰ γὰρ βασίλεια ἐκλιπὼν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφίκετο κηρύγμασιν ὑποθήσων ἑαυτὸν Ὀλυμπικοῖς τε καὶ Πυθικοῖς, ἐνίκα δὲ καὶ Ἰσθμοῖ· αἱ δὲ νῖκαι ἦσαν κιθαρῳδίαι καὶ κήρυκες, ἐνίκα δὲ καὶ τραγῳδοὺς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. τότε λέγεται καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καινοτομίας ἅψασθαι, περίπλουν αὐτὸν ἐργαζόμενος καὶ τὸν Αἰγαῖον τῷ Ἀδρίᾳ ξυμβάλλων, ὡς μὴ πᾶσα ναῦς ὑπὲρ Μαλέαν πλέοι, κομίζοιντό τε αἱ πολλαὶ διὰ τοῦ ῥήγματος ξυντέμνουσαι τὰς περιβολὰς τοῦ πλοῦ. πῆ δὲ ἀπέβη τὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου λόγιον; ἡ ὀρυχὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Λεχαίου λαβοῦσα στάδια προὔβη ἴσως τέτταρα ξυνεχῶς ὀρυττόντων, σχεῖν δὲ λέγεται Νέρων τὴν τομὴν οἱ μὲν Αἰγυπτίων

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votaries followed in his steps, and goblets were set up flowing with rational discourse and the thirsty quaffed their wine. And as the Olympic Games were coming on, and the people of Elis invited him to take part in the contest, he answered: "You seem to me to tarnish the glory of the Olympic Games, if you need to send special invitations to those who intend to visit you at their own promptings." And he was at the Isthmus, when the sea was roaring around Lechaeum, and hearing it he said: "This neck of land shall be cut through, or rather it shall not be cut." And herein he uttered a prediction of the cutting of the Isthmus which was attempted soon afterwards, when Nero after seven years projected it. For the latter left his imperial palace and came to Hellas, with the intention of submitting himself to the heralds' commands, in the Olympic and Pythian festivals; and he also won the prize at the Isthmus, his victories being won in the contest of singing to the harp and in that of the heralds. And he also won the prize for tragedians at Olympia. It is said that he then formed the novel project of cutting through the Isthmus, in order to make a canal of it for ships to sail through and not right round, uniting the Aegean with the Adriatic Sea. So instead of every ship having to round Cape Malea, most by passing through the canal so cut could abridge an otherwise circuitous voyage. But mark the upshot of the oracle delivered by Apollonius. They began to dig the canal at Lechaeum, but they had not advanced more than about four stadia of continuous excavation, when Nero stopped the work of cutting it, some say because Egyptian men of science

CHAP. XXIV

Is invited to the Olympic games

Predicts Nero's Isthmian canal

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CAP. XXIV φιλοσοφησάντων αὐτῷ τὰς θαλάττας καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ Λεχαίου πέλαγος ὑπερχυθὲν ἀφανιεῖν εἰπόντων τὴν Αἴγιναν, οἱ δὲ νεώτερα περὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ δείσαντα. τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὸ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τετμήσεσθαι καὶ οὐ τετμήσεσθαι.

XXV

CAP. XXV Ἐν Κορίνθῳ δὲ φιλοσοφῶν ἐτύγχανε τότε Δημήτριος, ἀνὴρ ξυνειληφὼς ἅπαν τὸ ἐν Κυνικῇ κράτος, οὗ Φαβωρῖνος ὕστερον ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λόγων οὐκ ἀγεννῶς ἐπεμνήσθη, παθὼν δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὅπερ φασὶ τὸν Ἀντισθένην πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Σωκράτους σοφίαν παθεῖν, εἵπετο αὐτῷ μαθητιῶν καὶ προσκείμενος τοῖς λόγοις, καὶ τῶν αὐτῷ γνωρίμων τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτέρους ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἔτρεπεν, ὧν καὶ Μένιππος ἦν ὁ Λύκιος, ἔτη μὲν γεγονὼς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, γνώμης δὲ ἱκανῶς ἔχων καὶ τὸ σῶμα εὖ κατεσκευασμένος, ἐῴκει γοῦν ἀθλητῇ καλῷ καὶ ἐλευθερίῳ τὸ εἶδος. ἐρᾶσθαι δὲ τὸν Μένιππον οἱ πολλοὶ ᾤοντο ὑπὸ γυναίου ξένου, τὸ δὲ γύναιον καλή τε ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἱκανῶς ἁβρά, καὶ πλουτεῖν ἔφασκεν, οὐδεν δὲ τούτων ἄρα ἀτεχνῶς ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἐδόκει πάντα. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ Κεγχρεὰς βαδίζοντι αὐτῷ μόνῳ, φάσμα ἐντυχὸν γυνή τε ἐγένετο, καὶ χεῖρα ξυνῆψεν ἐρᾶν αὐτοῦ πάλαι φάσκουσα, Φοίνισσα δὲ εἶναι καὶ οἰκεῖν ἐν

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explained to him the nature of the seas, and declared that the sea above Lechaeum would flood and obliterate the island of Aegina, and others because he apprehended a revolution in the empire. Such then was the meaning of Apollonius' prediction that the Isthmus would be cut through and would not be cut through. CHAP. XXIV

XXV

CHAP. XXV

The story of Menippus and the Lamia

Now there was in Corinth at that time a man named Demetrius, who studied philosophy and had embraced in his system all the masculine vigour of the Cynics. Of him Favorinus in several of his own works subsequently made the most generous mention, and his attitude towards Apollonius was exactly that which they say Antisthenes took up towards the system of Socrates; for he followed him and was anxious to be his disciple, and was devoted to his doctrines, and converted to the side of Apollonius the more esteemed of his own pupils. Among the latter was Menippus a Lycian of twenty-five years of age, well endowed with good judgment, and of a physique so beautifully proportioned that in mien he resembled a fine and gentlemanly athlete. Now this Menippus was supposed by most people to be loved by a foreign woman, who was good-looking and extremely dainty, and said that she was rich; although she was really, as it turned out, none of these things, but was only so in semblance. For as he was walking all alone along the road towards Cenchreæ, he met with an apparition, and it was a woman who clasped his hand and declared that she had been long in love with him, and that she was a

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CAP. XXV προαστείῳ τῆς Κορίνθου, τὸ δεῖνα εἰποῦσα προάστειον, "ἐς ὃ ἑσπέρας," ἔφη, "ἀφικομένῳ σοι ᾠδή τε ὑπάρξει ἐμοῦ ἀδούσης καὶ οἶνος, οἷον οὔπω ἔπιες, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀντεραστὴς ἐνοχλήσει σε, βιώσομαι δὲ καλὴ ξὺν καλῷ." τούτοις ὑπαχθεὶς ὁ νεανίας, τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλην φιλοσοφίαν ἔρρωτο, τῶν δὲ ἐρωτικῶν ἥττητο, ἐφοίτησε περὶ ἑσπέραν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐθάμιζεν, ὥσπερ παιδικοῖς, οὔπω ξυνεὶς τοῦ φάσματος.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἀνδριαντοποιοῦ δίκην ἐς τὸν Μένιππον βλέπων ἐζωγράφει τὸν νεανίαν καὶ ἐθεώρει, καταγνοὺς δὲ αὐτόν, "σὺ μέντοι," εἶπεν, "ὁ καλός τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν καλῶν γυναικῶν θηρευόμενος ὄφιν θάλπεις καὶ σὲ ὄφις." θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Μενίππου, "ὅτι γυνή σοι," ἔφη, "ἐστὶν οὐ γαμετή. τί δέ; ἠγῇ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐρᾶσθαι;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ἐπειδὴ διάκειται προς με ὡς ἐρῶσα." "καὶ γήμαις δ' ἂν αὐτήν;" ἔφη. "χαρίεν γὰρ ἂν εἴη τὸ ἀγαπῶσαν γῆμαι." ἤρετο οὖν, "πηνίκα οἱ γάμοι;" "θερμοί," ἔφη, "καὶ ἴσως αὔριον." ἐπιφυλάξας οὖν τὸν τοῦ συμποσίου καιρὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ ἐπιστὰς τοῖς δαιτυμόσιν ἄρτι ἤκουσι, "ποῦ," ἔφη, "ἡ ἁβρά, δι' ἣν ἥκετε;" "ἐνταῦθα," εἶπεν ὁ Μένιππος καὶ ἅμα ὑπανίστατο ἐρυθριῶν.

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Phoenician woman and lived in a suburb of Corinth, CHAP
and she mentioned the name of the particular XXV
suburb, and said: "When you reach the place this evening, you will hear my voice as I sing to you, and you shall have wine such as you never before drank, and there will be no rival to disturb you; and we two beautiful beings will live together." The youth consented to this, for although he was in general a strenuous philosopher, he was nevertheless susceptible to the tender passion; and he visited her in the evening, and for the future constantly sought her company as his darling, for he did not yet realise that she was a mere apparition.

Then Apollonius looked over Menippus as a sculptor might do, and he sketched an outline of the youth and examined him, and having observed his foibles, he said: "You are a fine youth and are hunted by fine women, but in this case you are cherishing a serpent, and a serpent cherishes you." And when Menippus expressed his surprise, he added: "For this lady is of a kind you cannot marry. Why should you? Do you think that she loves you?" "Indeed I do," said the youth, "since she behaves to me as if she loves me." "And would you then marry her?" said Apollonius. "Why, yes, for it would be delightful to marry a woman who loves you." Thereupon Apollonius asked when the wedding was to be. "Perhaps to-morrow," said the other, "for it brooks no delay." Apollonius therefore waited for the occasion of the wedding breakfast, and then, presenting himself before the guests who had just arrived, he said: "Where is the dainty lady at whose instance ye are come?" "Here she is," replied Menippus, and at the same moment he

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CAP. XXV

"ὁ δὲ ἄργυρος καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς καὶ τὰ λοιπά, οἷς ὁ ἀνδρὼν κεκόσμηται, ποτέρου ὑμῶν;" "τῆς γυναικός," ἔφη, "τἀμὰ γὰρ τοσαῦτα," δείξας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τρίβωνα.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "τοὺς Ταντάλου κήπους," ἔφη, "εἴδετε, ὡς ὄντες οὐκ εἰσί;" "παρ' Ὁμήρῳ γε," ἔφασαν, "οὐ γὰρ ἐς Ἅιδου γε καταβάντες." "τοῦτ'," ἔφη, "καὶ τουτονὶ τὸν κόσμον ἡγεῖσθε, οὐ γὰρ ὕλη ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ὕλης δόξα. ὡς δὲ γιγνώσκοιτε, ὃ λέγω, ἡ χρηστὴ νύμφη μία τῶν ἐμπουσῶν ἐστιν, ἃς λαμίας τε καὶ μορμολυκίας οἱ πολλοὶ ἡγοῦνται. ἐρῶσι δ' αὗται, καὶ ἀφροδισίων μέν, σαρκῶν δὲ μάλιστα ἀνθρωπείων ἐρῶσι καὶ παλεύουσι τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις, οὓς ἂν ἐθέλωσι δαίσασθαι." ἡ δέ, "εὐφήμει," ἔλεγε, "καὶ ἄπαγε," καὶ μυσάττεσθαι ἐδόκει, ἃ ἤκουε, καί που καὶ ἐπέσκωπτε τοὺς φιλοσόφους, ὡς ἀεὶ ληροῦντας. ἐπεὶ μέντοι τὰ ἐκπώματα τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ ὁ δοκῶν ἄργυρος ἀνεμιαῖα ἠλέγχθη, καὶ διέπτη τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἅπαντα, οἰνοχόοι τε καὶ ὀψοποιοὶ καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη θεραπεία πᾶσα ἠφανίσθησαν ἐλεγχόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, δακρύοντι ἐῴκει τὸ φάσμα, καὶ ἐδεῖτο μὴ βασανίζειν αὐτό, μηδὲ ἀναγκάζειν ὁμολογεῖν, ὅ τι εἴη, ἐπικειμένου δὲ καὶ μὴ ἀνιέντος ἔμπουσά τε εἶναι ἔφη καὶ πιαίνειν ἡδοναῖς τὸν

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rose slightly from his seat, blushing. "And to which of you belong the silver and gold and all the rest of the decorations of the banqueting hall?" "To the lady," replied the youth, "for this is all I have of my own," pointing to the philosopher's cloak which he wore. CHAP. XXV

And Apollonius said: "Have you heard of the gardens of Tantalus, how they exist and yet do not exist?" "Yes," they answered, "in the poems of Homer, for we certainly never went down to Hades." "As such," replied Apollonius, "you must regard this adornment, for it is not reality but the semblance of reality. And that you may realise the truth of what I say, this fine bride is one of the vampires, that is to say of those beings whom the many regard as lamias and hobgoblins. These beings fall in love, and they are devoted to the delights of Aphrodite, but especially to the flesh of human beings, and they decoy with such delights those whom they mean to devour in their feasts." And the lady said: "Cease your ill-omened talk and begone"; and she pretended to be disgusted at what she heard, and no doubt she was inclined to rail at philosophers and say that they always talked nonsense. When, however, the goblets of gold and the show of silver were proved as light as air and all fluttered away out of their sight, while the wine-bearers and the cooks and all the retinue of servants vanished before the rebukes of Apollonius, the phantom pretended to weep, and prayed him not to torture her nor to compel her to confess what she really was. But Apollonius insisted and would not let her off, and then she admitted that she was a vampire, and was fattening up Menippus with

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CAP. XXV Μένιππον ἐς βρῶσιν τοῦ σώματος, τὰ γὰρ καλὰ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ νέα σιτεῖσθαι ἐνόμιζεν, ἐπειδὴ ἀκραιφνὲς αὐτοῖς τὸ αἷμα. τοῦτον τὸν λόγον γνωριμώτατον τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου τυγχάνοντα ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐμήκυνα, γιγνώσκουσι μὲν γὰρ πλείους αὐτόν, ἅτε καθ' Ἑλλάδα μέσην πραχθέντα, ξυλλήβδην δὲ αὐτὸν παρειλήφασιν, ὅτι ἕλοι ποτὲ ἐν Κορίνθῳ λάμιαν, ὅ τι μέντοι πράττουσαν καὶ ὅτι ὑπὲρ Μενίππου, οὔπω γιγνώσκουσιν, ἀλλὰ Δάμιδί τε καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων ἐμοὶ εἴρηται.

XXVI

CAP. XXVI Τότε καὶ πρὸς Βάσσον διηνέχθη τὸν ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου, πατραλοίας γὰρ οὗτος καὶ ἐδόκει καὶ ἐπεπίστευτο, σοφίαν δὲ ἑαυτοῦ κατεψεύδετο καὶ χαλινὸς οὐκ ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ γλώττῃ. λοιδορούμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπέσχεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, οἷς τε ἐπέστειλεν οἷς τε διελέχθη κατ' αὐτοῦ. πᾶν γάρ, ὅπερ ὡς ἐς πατραλοίαν ἔλεγεν, ἀληθὲς ἐδόκει, μὴ γὰρ ἄν ποτε τοιόνδε ἄνδρα ἐς λοιδορίαν ἐκπεσεῖν, μηδ' ἂν εἰπεῖν τὸ μὴ ὄν.

XXVII

CAP. XXVII Τὰ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοιαῦτα· ἀνιόντι τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐνέτυχον Λακεδαιμο-

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pleasures before devouring his body, for it was her habit to feed upon young and beautiful bodies, because their blood is pure and strong. I have related at length, because it was necessary to do so, this the best-known story of Apollonius; for many people are aware of it and know that the incident occurred in the centre of Hellas; but they have only heard in a general and vague manner that he once caught and overcame a lamia in Corinth, but they have never learned what she was about, nor that he did it to save Menippus, but I owe my own account to Damis and to the work which he wrote. CHAP. XXV

XXVI

IT was at this time also that he had a difference with Bassus of Corinth; for the latter was regarded as a parricide and believed to be such. But he feigned a wisdom of his own, and no bridle could be set upon his tongue. However, Apollonius put a stop to his reviling himself, both by the letters which he sent him, and the harangues which he delivered against him. For everything which he said about his being a parricide was held to be true; for it was felt that such a man would never have condescended to mere personal abuse, nor to have said what was not true. CHAP. XXVI

His quarrel with the parricide Bassus

XXVII

THE career of our sage in Olympia was as follows: when Apollonius was on his way up to Olympia, CHAP. XXVII

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CAP. XXVII νίων πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ ξυνουσίας, Λακωνικὸν δὲ οὐδὲν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλ' ἀβρότερον αὐτῶν εἶχον καὶ συβάριδος μεστοὶ ἦσαν. ἰδὼν δὲ ἄνδρας λείους τὰ σκέλη, λιπαροὺς τὰς κόμας καὶ μηδὲ γενείοις χρωμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα μαλακούς, τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἐπέστειλεν, ὡς ἐκείνους κήρυγμα ποιήσασθαι δημοσίᾳ, τήν τε πίτταν τῶν βαλανείων ἐξαιροῦντας, καὶ τὰς παρατιλτρίας ἐξελαύνοντας, ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖόν τε καθισταμένους πάντα, ὅθεν παλαῖστραί τε ἀνήβησαν καὶ σπουδαί, καὶ τὰ φιλίτια ἐπανῆλθε, καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ Λακεδαιμων ἑαυτῇ ὁμοία. μαθὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς τὰ οἴκοι διορθουμένους, ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπ' Ὀλυμπίας βραχυτέραν τῆς Λακωνικῆς σκυτάλης. ἔστι δὲ ἥδε·

"Ἀπολλώνιος ἐφόροις χαίρειν.

Ἀνδρῶν μὲν τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν, γενναίων δὲ τὸ καὶ ἁμαρτάνοντας αἰσθέσθαι."

XXVIII

CAP. XXVIII Ἰδὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἔδος τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, "χαῖρε," εἶπεν, "ἀγαθὲ Ζεῦ, σὺ γὰρ οὕτω τι ἀγαθός, ὡς καὶ σαυτοῦ κοινωνῆσαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις." ἐξηγήσατο

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some envoys of the Lacedaemonians met him and asked him to visit their city; there seemed, however, to be no appearance of Sparta about them, for they conducted themselves in a very effeminate manner and reeked of luxury. And seeing them to have smooth legs, and sleek hair, and that they did not even wear beards, nay were even dressed in soft raiment, he sent such a letter to the Ephors that the latter issued a public proclamation and forbade the use of pitch plasters in the baths,[1] and drove out of the city the women who professed to rejuvenate dandies,[2] and they restored the ancient régime in every respect. The consequence was that the wrestling grounds were filled once more with the youth, and the jousts and the common meals were restored, and Lacedaemon became once more like herself. And when he learned that they had set their house in order, he sent them an epistle from Olympia, briefer than any cipher despatch of ancient Sparta; and it ran as follows:—

CHAP. XXVII

Rebukes the laxity of the Spartans

"Apollonius to the Ephors sends salutation.

"It is the duty of men not to fall into sin, but of noble men, to recognise that they are doing so."

XXVIII

And looking at the statue set up at Olympia, he said: "Hail, O thou good Zeus, for thou art so good that thou dost impart thine own nature unto mankind."

CHAP. XXVIII

He explains the statue of Milo

[1] Adhesive plasters were used to remove superfluous hair from the body.

[2] Literally "hair-pluckers."

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CAP. XXVIII δὲ καὶ τὸν χαλκοῦν Μίλωνα καὶ τὸν λόγον τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν σχήματος. ὁ γὰρ Μίλων ἑστάναι μὲν ἐπὶ δίσκου δοκεῖ τὼ πόδε ἄμφω συμβεβηκώς, ῥοὰν δὲ ξυνέχει τῇ ἀριστερᾷ, ἡ δεξιὰ δέ, ὀρθοὶ τῆς χειρὸς ἐκείνης οἱ δάκτυλοι καὶ οἷον διείροντες. οἱ μὲν δὴ κατ' Ὀλυμπίαν τε καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν λόγοι τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἱστοροῦσι τοῦτον ἄτρεπτον γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐκβιβασθῆναί ποτε τοῦ χώρου, ἐν ᾧ ἔστη, δηλοῦσθαι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀπρὶξ τῶν δακτύλων ἐν τῇ ξυνοχῇ τῆς ῥόας, τὸ δὲ μηδ' ἂν σχισθῆναί ποτ' ἀπ' ἀλλήλων αὐτούς, εἴ τις πρὸς ἕνα αὐτῶν ἀμιλλᾷτο, τῷ τὰς διαφυὰς ἐν ὀρθοῖς τοῖς δακτύλοις εὖ ξυνηρμόσθαι, τὴν ταινίαν δέ, ἣν ἀναδεῖται, σωφροσύνης ἡγοῦνται ξύμβολον. ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος σοφῶς μὲν εἶπεν ἐπινενοῆσθαι ταῦτα, σοφώτερα δὲ εἶναι τὰ ἀληθέστερα. "ὡς δὲ γιγνώσκοιτε τὸν νοῦν τοῦ Μίλωνος, Κροτωνιᾶται τὸν ἀθλητὴν τοῦτον ἱερέα ἐστήσαντο τῆς Ἥρας. τὴν μὲν δὴ μίτραν ὅ τι χρὴ νοεῖν, τί ἂν ἐξηγοίμην ἔτι, μνημονεύσας ἱερέως ἀνδρός; ἡ ῥόα δὲ μόνη φυτῶν τῇ Ἥρᾳ φύεται, ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσὶ δίσκος, ἐπὶ ἀσπιδίου βεβηκὼς ὁ ἱερεὺς τῇ Ἥρᾳ εὔχεται, τουτὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ δεξιὰ σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ ἔργον τῶν δακτύλων καὶ τὸ μήπω διεστὼς τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ ἀγαλματοποιίᾳ προσκείσθω."

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And he also gave them an account of the brazen statue of Milo and explained the attitude of this figure. For this Milo is seen standing on a disk with his two feet close together, and in his left hand he grasps a pomegranate, while of his right hand the fingers are extended and pressed together as if to pass through a chink. Now among the people of Olympia and Arcadia the story told about this athlete is, that he was so inflexible that he could never be induced to leave the spot on which he stood; and they infer the grip of the clenched fingers from the way he grasps the pomegranate, and that they could never be separated from one another, however much you struggled with any one of them, because the intervals between the extended fingers are very close; and they say that the fillet with which his head is bound is a symbol of temperance and sobriety. Apollonius while admitting that this account was wisely conceived, said that the truth was still wiser. "In order that you may know," said he, "the meaning of the statue of Milo, the people of Croton made this athlete a priest of Hera. As to the meaning then of his mitre, I need not explain it further than by reminding you that the hero was a priest. But the pomegranate is the only fruit which is grown in honour of Hera; and the disk beneath his feet means that the priest is standing on a small shield to offer his prayer to Hera; and this is also indicated by his right hand. As for the artist's way of rendering the fingers and feet, between which he has left no interval, that you may ascribe to the antique style of the sculpture." CHAP. XXVIII

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XXIX

CAP. XXIX Παρατυγχάνων δὲ τοῖς δρωμένοις ἀπεδέχετο τῶν Ἠλείων, ὡς ἐπεμελοῦντό τε αὐτῶν καὶ ξὺν κόσμῳ ἔδρων, μεῖόν τε οὐδὲν ἢ οἱ ἀγωνιούμενοι τῶν ἀθλητῶν κρίνεσθαι ᾤοντο, καὶ μήθ' ἑκόντες τι μήτ' ἄκοντες ἁμαρτάνειν προὐνοοῦντο. ἐρομένων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἑταίρων, τίνας Ἠλείους περὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἡγοῖτο, "εἰ μὲν σοφούς," ἔφη, "οὐκ οἶδα, σοφιστὰς μέντοι."

XXX

CAP. XXX Ὡς δὲ καὶ διεβέβλητο πρὸς τοὺς οἰομένους ξυγγράφειν, καὶ ἀμαθεῖς ἡγεῖτο τοὺς ἁπτομένους λόγου μείζονος, ὑπάρχει μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶνδε· μειράκιον γὰρ δοκησίσοφον ἐντυχὸν αὐτῷ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν, "συμπροθυμήθητί μοι," ἔφη, "αὔριον, ἀναγνώσομαι γάρ τι." τοῦ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου ἐρομένου, ὅ τι ἀναγνώσοιτο, "λόγος," εἶπε, "ξυντέτακταί μοι ἐς τὸν Δία." καὶ ἅμα ὑπὸ τῷ ἱματίῳ ἐπεδείκνυ αὐτὸν σεμνυνόμενος τῇ παχύτητι τοῦ βιβλίου. "τί οὖν," ἔφη, "ἐπαινέσῃ τοῦ Διός; ἢ τὸν Δία τὸν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὅμοιον;" "καὶ

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CHAP. XXIX
He commends Elis

He was present at the rites, and he commended the solicitude with which the people of Elis administered them, and the good order with which they conducted them, as if they considered themselves to be as much on trial as the athletes who were contending for the prizes, anxious neither willingly nor unwillingly to commit any error. And when his companions asked him what he thought of the Eleans in respect of their management of the Olympic games, he replied: "Whether they are wise, I do not know, but of their cleverness I am quite sure."

XXX

CHAP. XXX
Rebukes a literary puppy

How great a dislike he entertained of people who imagine they can write, and how senseless he considered those to be who essay a literary task beyond their powers, we can learn from the following incident: A young man who thought he had talent met him in the precincts of the temple and said: "Pray honour me with your presence to-morrow, for I am going to recite something." When Apollonius asked him what he was going to recite, he replied: "I have composed a treatise upon Zeus." And as he said these words he showed, with no little pride at its stoutness, a book which he was carrying under his garment. "And," said Apollonius, "what are you going to praise about Zeus? Is it the Zeus of this fane, and are you going to say that there is nothing like him on the whole earth?"

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CAP. XXX

τοῦτο μέν," ἔφη, "πολλὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτου καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἕτερα, καὶ γὰρ αἱ ὧραι καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἀνέμους εἶναι καὶ ἄστρα Διὸς πάντα." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "δοκεῖς μοι," εἶπεν, "ἐγκωμιαστικός τις εἶναι σφόδρα." "διὰ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "καὶ ποδάγρας ἐγκώμιόν τί μοι ξυντέτακται καὶ τοῦ τυφλόν τινα ἢ κωφὸν εἶναι." "ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τοὺς ὑδέρους," εἶπε, "μηδὲ τοὺς κατάρρους ἀποκήρυττε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας, εἰ βούλοιο ἐπαινεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα, βελτίων δὲ ἔσῃ καὶ τοῖς ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἑπόμενος καὶ διιὼν ἐπαίνους τῶν νοσημάτων, ὑφ' ὧν ἀπέθανον, ἧττον γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀνιάσονται πατέρες τε καὶ παῖδες καὶ οἱ ἀγχοῦ τῶν ἀποθανόντων." κεχαλινωμένον δὲ ἰδὼν τὸ μειράκιον ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου, "ὁ ἐγκωμιάζων," εἶπεν, "ὦ ξυγγραφεῦ, πότερον ἃ οἶδεν ἐπαινέσεται ἄμεινον ἢ ἃ οὐκ οἶδεν;" "ἃ οἶδεν," ἔφη, "πῶς γὰρ ἄν τις ἐπαινοῖ, ἃ οὐκ οἶδε;" "τὸν πατέρα οὖν ἤδη ποτὲ τὸν σαυτοῦ ἐπῄνεσας;" "ἐβουλήθην," εἶπεν "ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μέγας τι μοι δοκεῖ καὶ γενναῖος ἀνθρώπων τε ὢν οἶδα κάλλιστος, οἰκόν τε ἱκανὸς οἰκῆσαι καὶ σοφίᾳ ἐς πάντα χρῆσθαι, παρῆκα τὸν ἐς αὐτὸν ἔπαινον, ὡς μὴ αἰσχύνοιρι τὸν πατέρα λόγῳ ἧττονι." δυσχεράνας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, τουτὶ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φορτικοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων

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"Why that, of course," said the other, "and a great deal more that comes before that and also follows it. For I shall say how the seasons and how everything on earth and above the earth, and how the winds and all the stars belong to Zeus." And Apollonius said: "It seems to me that you are a past-master of encomium." "Yes," said the other, "and that is why I have composed an encomium of gout and of blindness and deafness." "And why not of dropsy too," said Apollonius; "for surely you won't rule out influenza from the sphere of your cleverness, since you are minded to praise such things? And while you are about it, you would do as well to attend funerals and detail the praises of the various diseases of which the people died; for so you will somewhat soothe the regrets of the fathers and children and the near relations of the deceased." And as he saw that the effect of his words was to put a bridle on the young man's tongue, he added: "My dear author, which is the author of a panegyric likely best to praise, things which he knows or things which he does not?" "Things which he knows," said the youth. "For how can a man praise things which he does not know?" "I conclude then that you have already written a panegyric of your own father?" "I wanted to," said the other, "but as he appears to me rather a big man and a noble one, and the fairest of men I know, and a very clever housekeeper, and a paragon of wisdom all round, I gave up the attempt to compose a panegyric upon him, lest I should disgrace my father by a discourse which would not do him justice." Thereupon Apollonius was incensed, as he often was against trivial and vulgar people. "Then," said he,

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CAP. XXX ἔπασχεν, "εἶτα," ἔφη, "ὦ κάθαρμα, τὸν μὲν πατέρα τὸν σεαυτοῦ, ὃν ἴσα καὶ σεαυτὸν γιγνώσκεις, οὐκ ἄρ' οἴει πότ' ἂν ἱκανῶς ἐπαινέσαι, τὸν δ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν πατέρα καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων, ὅσα περὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἐστιν, εὐκόλως οὕτως ἐγκωμιάζων οὔθ', ὃν ἐπαινεῖς, δέδιας, οὔτε ξυνίης ἐς λόγον καθιστάμενος μείζονα ἀνθρώπου;"

XXXI

CAP. XXXI Αἱ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ διαλέξεις τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ περὶ τῶν χρησιμωτάτων ἐγίγνοντο, περὶ σοφίας τε καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ καθάπαξ, ὁπόσαι ἀρεταί εἰσι, περὶ τούτων ἀπὸ τῆς κρηπῖδος τοῦ νεὼ διελέγετο, πάντας ἐκπλήττων οὐ ταῖς διανοίαις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἰδέαις τοῦ λόγου. περιστάντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ξένον τε παρὰ τῷ Διὶ ἐποιοῦντο καὶ τῶν οἴκοι νέων πατέρα βίου τε νομοθέτην καὶ γερόντων γέρας. ἐρομένου δὲ Κορινθίου τινὸς κατὰ ἀχθηδόνα, εἰ καὶ θεοφάνια αὐτῷ ἄξουσι, "ναὶ τὼ Σιώ," ἔφη, "ἕτοιμά γε." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἀπήγαγεν αὐτοὺς τῶν τοιούτων, ὡς μὴ φθονοῖτο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερβὰς τὸ Ταύγετον εἶδεν ἐνεργὸν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ τὰ τοῦ Λυκούργου πάτρια εὖ πράττοντα, οὐκ ἀηδὲς ἐνόμισε τὸ καὶ

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"you wretch, you are not sure that you can ever sufficiently praise your own father whom you know as well as you do yourself, and yet you set out in this light-hearted fashion to write an encomium of the father of men and of gods and of the creator of everything around us and above us; and you have no reverence for him whom you praise, nor have you the least idea that you are embarking on a subject which transcends the power of man." CHAP. XXX

XXXI

CHAP. XXXI

He is invited to Sparta

THE conversations which Apollonius held in Olympia turned upon the most profitable topics, such as wisdom and courage and temperance, and in a word upon all the virtues. He discussed these from the platform of the temple, and he astonished everyone not only by the insight he showed but by his forms of expression. And the Lacedaemonians flocked round him and invited him to share their hospitality at their shrine of Zeus, and made him father of their youths at home, and legislator of their lives and the honour of their old men. Now there was a Corinthian who felt piqued at all this, and asked whether they were also going to celebrate a theophany for him. "Yes," said the other, "by Castor and Pollux, everything is ready anyhow." But Apollonius did not encourage them to pay him such honours, for he feared they would arouse envy. And when having crossed the mountain Taÿgetus, he saw a Lacedaemon hard at work before him and all the institutions of Lycurgus in full swing, he felt that it would be a real pleasure to converse with

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CAP. XXXI τοῖς τέλεσι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ξυγγενέσθαι περὶ ὧν ἐρωτᾶν ἐβούλοντο· ἤροντο οὖν ἀφικόμενον, πῶς θεοὶ θεραπευτέοι, ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, "ὡς δεσπόται." πάλιν ἤροντο, πῶς ἥρωες· "ὡς πατέρες." τρίτον δὲ ἐρομένων, πῶς δὲ ἄνθρωποι, "οὐ Λακωνικόν," ἔφη, "τὸ ἐρώτημα." ἤροντο καὶ ὅ τι ἡγοῖτο τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς νόμους, ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, "ἀρίστους διδασκάλους, οἱ διδάσκαλοι δὲ εὐδοκιμήσουσιν, ἢν οἱ μαθηταὶ μὴ ῥᾳθυμῶσιν." ἐρομένων δ' αὐτῶν, τί περὶ ἀνδρείας ξυμβουλεύοι, "καὶ τί;" ἔφη, "τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ χρήσεσθαι."

XXXII

CAP. XXXII Ἐτύγχανε δὲ περὶ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον νεανίας Λακεδαιμόνιος αἰτίαν ἔχων παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἀδικῶν περὶ τὰ ἤθη· Καλλικρατίδα μὲν γὰρ τοῦ περὶ Ἀργινούσας ναυαρχήσαντος ἦν ἔκγονος, ναυκληρίας δὲ ἥρα καὶ οὐ προσεῖχε τοῖς κοινοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐξέπλει καὶ Σικελίαν ναῦς πεποιημένος. ἀκούσας οὖν κρίνεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, δεινὸν ὠήθη περιδεῖν τὸν νεανίαν ὑπαχθέντα ἐς δίκην, καί, "ὦ λῷστε," ἔφη, "τί πεφροντικὼς περίει καί, μεστὸς ἐννοίας;" "ἀγών," εἶπεν, "ἐπήγγελται

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the authorities of the Lacedaemonians about things which they might ask his opinion upon; so they asked him when he arrived, how the gods are to be revered, and he answered: "As your lords and masters." Secondly they asked him: "And how the heroes?" "As fathers," he replied. And their third question was: "How are men to be revered?" And he answered: "Your question is not one which any Spartan should put." They asked him also what he thought of their laws, and he replied that they were most excellent teachers, adding that teachers will gain fame in proportion as their disciples are industrious. And when they asked him what advice he had to give them about courage, he answered: "Why what else, but that you should display it?" CHAP. XXXI

XXXII

CHAP. XXXII

Converts a youthful Spartan from his seafaring life

And about this time it happened that a certain youth of Lacedaemon was charged by his fellow citizens with violating the customs of his country. For though he was descended from Callicratidas who led the navy at the battle of Arginusae, yet he was devoted to seafaring and paid no attention to public affairs; but, instead of doing so, would sail off to Carthage and Sicily in the ships which he had had built. Apollonius then hearing that he was arraigned for this conduct, thought it a pity to desert the youth who had thus fallen under the hand of justice, and said to him: "My excellent fellow, why do you go about so full of anxiety and with such a gloomy air?" "A public prosecution," said the other, "has

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μοι δημόσιος, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς ναυκληρίαις εἰμὶ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ οὐ πράττω." "πατὴρ δέ σοι ναύκληρος ἐγένετο ἢ πάππος;" "ἄπαγε," εἶπε, "γυμνασίαρχοι τε καὶ ἔφοροι καὶ πατρονόμοι πάντες, Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ὁ πρόγονος καὶ τῶν ναυαρχησάντων ἐγένετο." "μῶν," ἔφη, "τὸν ἐν Ἀργινούσαις λέγεις;" "ἐκεῖνον," εἶπε, "τὸν ἐν τῇ ναυαρχίᾳ ἀποθανόντα." "εἶτ' οὐ διέβαλέ σοι," εἶπε, "τὴν θάλατταν ἡ τελευτὴ τοῦ προγόνου;" "μὰ Δί'," εἶπεν, "οὐ γὰρ ναυμαχήσων γε πλέω." "ἀλλ' ἐμπόρων τε καὶ ναυκλήρων κακοδαιμονέστερόν τι ἐρεῖς ἔθνος; πρῶτον μὲν περινοστοῦσι, ζητοῦσιν ἀγορὰν κακῶς πράττουσαν, εἶτα προξένοις καὶ καπήλοις ἀναμιχθέντες πωλοῦσί τε καὶ πωλοῦνται, καὶ τόκοις ἀνοσίοις τὰς αὑτῶν κεφαλὰς ὑποτιθέντες ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον σπεύδουσι, κἂν μὲν εὖ πράττωσιν, εὐπλοεῖ ἡ ναῦς, καὶ πολὺν ποιοῦνται λόγον τοῦ μήτε ἑκόντες ἀνατρέψαι μήτε ἄκοντες, εἰ δὲ ἡ ἐμπορία πρὸς τὰ χρέα μὴ ἀναφέροιτο, μεταβάντες ἐς τὰ ἐφόλκια προσαράττουσι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τὸν ἑτέρων ναῦται βίον θεοῦ ἀνάγκην εἰπόντες ἀθεώτατα καὶ οὐδὲ ἄκοντες αὐτοὶ ἀφείλοντο. εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ τοιοῦτον ἦν τὸ θαλαττουργόν τε καὶ ναυτικὸν ἔθνος, ἀλλὰ τό γε Σπαρτιάτην ὄντα καὶ πατέρων γεγονότα, οἳ μέσην ποτὲ τὴν Σπάρτην ᾤκησαν, ἐν κοίλῃ νηὶ κεῖσθαι λήθην μὲν ἴσχοντα Λυκούργου τε καὶ Ἰφίτου, φόρτου δὲ μνήμονα καὶ ναυτικῆς ἀκριβο-

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been instituted against me, because I go in for sea- CHAP. XXXII faring and take no part in public affairs." "And was your father or your grandfather a mariner?" "Of course not," said the other; "they were all of them chiefs of the gymnasium and Ephors and public guardians; Callicratidas, however, my ancestor, was a real admiral of the fleet." "I suppose," said Apollonius, "you hardly mean him of Arginusae fame?" "Yes, that fell in the naval action leading his fleet." "Then," said Apollonius, "your ancestor's mode of death has not given you any prejudice against a seafaring life?" "No, by Zeus," said the other, "for it is not with a view to conducting battles by sea that I set sail." "Well, and can you mention any rabble of people more wretched and ill-starred than merchants and skippers? In the first place they roam from sea to sea, looking for some market that is badly stocked; and then they sell and are sold, associating with factors and brokers, and they subject their own heads to the most unholy rate of interest in their hurry to get back the principal; and if they do well, their ship has a lucky voyage, and they tell you a long story of how they never wrecked it either willingly or unwillingly; but if their gains do not balance their debts, they jump into their long boats and dash their ships on to the rocks, and make no bones as sailors of robbing others of their substance, pretending in the most blasphemous manner that it is an act of God. And even if the seafaring crowd who go on voyages be not so bad as I make them out to be; yet is there any shame worse than this, for a man who is a citizen of Sparta and the child of forbears who of old lived in the heart of Sparta, to secrete himself in the hold of a ship, oblivious of Lycurgus and of Iphitus, thinking of

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CAP. XXXII λογίας, τίνος αἰσχύνης ἄπεστιν; εἰ γὰρ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τὴν γοῦν Σπάρτην αὐτὴν ἔδει ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, ὡς, ὁπότε μὲν τῆς γῆς εἴχετο, οὐρανομήκη δόξασαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ θαλάττης ἐπεθύμησε, βυθισθεῖσάν τε καὶ ἀφανισθεῖσαν οὐκ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ." τούτοις τὸν νεανίαν οὕτω τι ἐχειρώσατο τοῖς λόγοις, ὡς νεύσαντα αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν κλαίειν, ἐπεὶ τοσοῦτον ἤκουσεν ἀπολελεῖφθαι τῶν πατέρων, ἀποδόσθαι τε τὰς ναῦς, ἐν αἷς ἔζη. καθεστῶτα δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀσπαζόμενον, κατήγαγε παρὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ παρῃτήσατο τῆς δίκης.

XXXIII

CAP. XXXIII Κἀκεῖνο τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι· ἐπιστολὴ ἐκ βασιλέως Λακεδαιμονίοις ἦκεν ἐπίπληξιν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν φέρουσα, ὡς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὑβριζόντων, ἐκ διαβολῶν δὲ τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχοντος ἐπέσταλτο αὐτοῖς ταῦτα. οἱ μὲν δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀπορίᾳ εἴχοντο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἤριζεν, εἴτε χρὴ παραιτουμένους τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εἴτε ὑπερφρονοῦντας ἐπιστέλλειν· πρὸς ταῦτα ξύμβουλον ἐποιοῦντο τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἤθους, ὁ δέ, ὡς εἶδε διεστηκότας, παρῆλθέ τε ἐς τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν καὶ ὧδε ἐβραχυ-

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nought but of cargoes and petty bills of lading? For if he thinks of nothing else, he might at least bear in mind that Sparta herself, so long as she stuck to the land, enjoyed a fame reaching to heaven; but when she began to covet the sea, she sank down and down, and was blotted out at last, not only on the sea but on the land as well." The young man was so overcome by these arguments, that he bowed his head to the earth and wept, because he heard he was so degenerate from his fathers; and he sold the ships by which he lived. And when Apollonius saw that he was restored to his senses and inclined to embrace a career on land, he led him before the Ephors and obtained his acquittal. CHAP. XXXII

XXXIII

CHAP. XXXIII

Advice to Sparta how to answer an Emperor

HERE is another incident that happened in Lacedaemon. A letter came from the Emperor heaping reproaches upon the public assembly of the Lacedaemonians, and declaring that in their licence they abused liberty, and this letter had been addressed to them at the instance of the governor of Greece, who had maligned them. The Lacedaemonians then were at a loss what to do, and Sparta was divided against herself over the issue, whether in their reply to the letter they should try to appease the Emperor's wrath or take a lofty tone towards him. Under the circumstances they sought the counsel of Apollonius and asked him how to pitch the tone of their letter. And he, when he saw them to be divided on the point, came forward in their public assembly and delivered himself of the following short and concise

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CAP. XXXIII λόγησε· "Παλαμήδης εὗρε γράμματα οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ γράφειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ γιγνώσκειν ἃ δεῖ μὴ γράφειν." οὕτω μὲν δὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπῆγε τοῦ μήτε θρασεῖς μήτε δειλοὺς ὀφθῆναι.

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CAP. XXXIV Διατρίψας δ' ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ μετὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν χρόνον, ὡς ἐτελεύτα ὁ χειμών, ἐπὶ Μαλέαν ἦλθεν ἀρχομένου ἦρος, ὡς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφήσων, διανοουμένῳ δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἐγένετο ὄναρ τοιόνδε· ἐδόκει γυναῖκα μεγίστην τε καὶ πρεσβυτάτην περιβάλλειν αὐτὸν. καὶ δεῖσθαί οἱ ξυγγενέσθαι, πρὶν ἐς Ἰταλοὺς πλεῦσαι, Διὸς δὲ εἶναι ἡ τροφὸς ἔλεγε, καὶ ἦν αὐτῇ στέφανος πάντ' ἔχων τὰ ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης. λογισμὸν δὲ αὐτῷ διδοὺς τῆς ὄψεως ξυνῆκεν, ὅτι πλευστέα εἴη ἐς Κρήτην πρότερον, ἣν τροφὸν ἡγούμεθα τοῦ Διός, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ταύτῃ ἐμαιεύθη, ὁ δὲ στέφανος καὶ ἄλλην ἴσως δηλώσαι νῆσον. οὐσῶν δὲ ἐν Μαλέᾳ νεῶν πλειόνων, αἳ ἐς Κρήτην ἀφήσειν ἔμελλον, ἐνέβη ναῦν ἀποχρῶσαν τῷ κοινῷ· κοινὸν δὲ ἐκάλει τούς τε ἑταίρους καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἑταίρων δούλους, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνους παρεώρα. προσπλεύσας δὲ Κυδωνίᾳ, καὶ παραπλεύσας ἐς Κνωσσόν, τὸν μὲν Λαβύρινθον, ὃς ἐκεῖ δείκνυται, ξυνεῖχε δέ, οἶμαί, ποτε τὸν Μινώταυρον, βουλομένων ἰδεῖν τῶν ἑταίρων, ἐκείνοις μὲν ξυνεχώρει τοῦτο, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἂν

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speech: "Palamedes discovered writing not only in order that people might write, but also in order that they might know what they must not write." In this way accordingly he dissuaded the Lacedaemonians from showing themselves to be either too bold or cowardly. CHAP. XXXIII

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CHAP. XXXIV

Is warned in a dream to visit Crete

He stayed in Sparta for some time after the Olympic festival, until the winter was over; and at the beginning of spring proceeded to Malea with the intention of setting out for Rome. But while he was still pondering this project, he had the following dream: It seemed as if a woman both very tall and venerable in years embraced him, and asked him to visit her before he set sail for Italy; and she said that she was the nurse of Zeus, and she wore a wreath that held everything that is on the earth or in the sea. He proceeded to ponder the meaning of the vision, and came to the conclusion that he ought first to sail to Crete, which we regard as the nurse of Zeus, because in that island Zeus was born; although the wreath might perhaps indicate some other island. Now there were several ships at Malea, making ready to set sail to Crete, so he embarked upon one sufficient for his association, to which he gave the title of his companions, and also his companions' servants, for he did not think it right to pass over the latter. And he bent his course for Cydonia, and sailed past that place to Knossus, where a labyrinth is shown, which, I believe, once on a time, contained the Minotaur. As his companions were anxious to see this he allowed them to do so,

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ἔφη θεατὴς γενέσθαι τῆς ἀδικίας τοῦ Μίνω. προῄει δὲ ἐπὶ Γόρτυναν πόθῳ τῆς Ἴδης. ἀνελθὼν οὖν καὶ τοῖς θεολογουμένοις ἐντυχών, ἐπορεύθη καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Λεβηναῖον· ἔστι δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καὶ ὥσπερ ἡ Ἀσία ἐς τὸ Πέργαμον, οὕτως ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ξυνεφοίτα ἡ Κρήτη, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ Λιβύων ἐς αὐτὸ περαιοῦνται· καὶ γὰρ τέτραπται πρὸς τὸ Λιβυκὸν πέλαγος κατὰ γοῦν τὴν Φαιστόν, ἔνθα τὴν πολλὴν ἀνείργει θάλατταν ὁ μικρὸς λίθος. Λεβηναῖον δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν ὠνομάσθαι φασίν, ἐπειδὴ ἀκρωτήριον ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατατείνει λέοντι εἰκασμένον, οἷα πολλὰ αἱ ξυντυχίαι τῶν πετρῶν ἀποφαίνουσι, μῦθόν τε ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ ᾄδουσιν, ὡς λέων εἷς οὗτος γένοιτο τῶν ὑποζυγίων ποτὲ τῇ Ῥέᾳ. ἐνταῦθα διαλεγομένου ποτὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου περὶ μεσημβρίαν, διελέγετο δὲ πολλοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὑφ' ὧν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐθεραπεύετο, σεισμὸς ἀθρόως τῇ Κρήτῃ προσέβαλε, βροντὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐκ νεφῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὑπήχησεν, ἡ θάλαττα δὲ ὑπενόστησε στάδια ἴσως ἑπτά. καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἔδεισαν, μὴ τὸ πέλαγος ὑποχωρῆσαν ἐπισπάσηται τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀπενεχθῶσιν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "θαρσεῖτε," ἔφη, "ἡ γὰρ θάλαττα γῆν ἔτεκε." καὶ οἱ μὲν ᾠήοντο αὐτὸν τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῶν στοιχείων λέγειν, καὶ ὅτι μηδὲν ἂν ἡ θάλαττα νεώτερον ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐργάσαιτο, μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἀφικόμενοί τινες ἐκ τῆς Κυδωνιάτιδος ἤγγειλαν, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τε καὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἣν ἐγένετο ἡ διοσημία, νῆσος ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνεδόθη περὶ τὸν πορθμὸν τὸν

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but refused himself to be a spectator of the injustice of Minos, and continued his course to Gortyna because he longed to visit Ida. He accordingly climbed up, and after visiting the sacred sites he passed on to the shrine of Leben. And this is a shrine of Asclepius, and just as the whole of Asia flocks to Pergamum, so the whole of Crete flocked to this shrine; and many Libyans also cross the sea to visit it, for it faces towards the Libyan sea close to Phaestus, where the little rock keeps out a mighty sea. And they say that this shrine is named that of Leben, because a promontory juts out from it which resembles a lion, for here, as often, a chance arrangement of the rocks suggests an animal form; and they tell a story about this promontory, how it was once one of the lions which were yoked in the chariot of Rhea. Here Apollonius was haranguing on one occasion about midday, and was addressing quite a number of people who were worshipping at the shrine, when an earthquake shook the whole of Crete at once, and a roar of thunder was heard to issue not from the clouds but from the earth, and the sea receded about seven stadia. And most of them were afraid that the sea by receding in this way would drag the temple after it, so that they would be carried away. But Apollonius said: "Be of good courage, for the earth hath borne land and brought it forth." And they thought that he was alluding to the harmony of the elements, and was arguing that the sea would never wreak any violence upon the land; but after a few days some travellers arrived from Cydoniatis and announced that on the very day on which this portent occurred and just at the same hour of midday, an island rose out of the sea in the

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Earthquake at the shrine of Leben

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CAP. XXXIV διαρρέοντα Θήραν τε καὶ Κρήτην. ἐάσαντες οὖν λόγων μῆκος ἔλθωμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν Ῥώμῃ σπουδάς, αἳ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ μετὰ τὰ ἐν Κρήτῃ.

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CAP XXXV Νέρων οὐ ξυνεχώρει φιλοσοφεῖν, ἀλλὰ περίεργον αὐτῷ χρῆμα οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες ἐφαίνοντο καὶ μαντικὴν συσκιάζοντες, καὶ ἤχθη ποτὲ ὁ τρίβων ἐς δικαστήριον, ὡς μαντικῆς σχῆμα. ἐῶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ Μουσώνιος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, ἀνὴρ Ἀπολλωνίου μόνου δεύτερος, ἐδέθη ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ ἐκεῖ μένων ἐκινδύνευσεν, ἀπέθανε δ' ἂν τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ δήσαντι, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα ἔρρωτο.

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CAP. XXXVI Ἐν τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει φιλοσοφίας οὔσης ἔτυχε προσιὼν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, στάδια δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀπέχων ἐνέτυχε Φιλολάῳ τῷ Κιττιεῖ περὶ τὸ νέμος τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἀρικίᾳ. ἦν δὲ ὁ Φιλόλαος τὴν μὲν γλῶτταν ξυγκείμενος, μαλακώτερος δὲ καρτερῆσαί τι. οὗτος ἀναλύων ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης αὐτός τε ἐῴκει φεύγοντι, καὶ ὅτῳ ἐντύχοι φιλοσοφοῦντι παρεκελεύετο τὸ αὐτὸ πράττειν. προσειπὼν οὖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐκέλευεν ἐκστῆναι τῷ καιρῷ, μηδὲ ἐπιφοιτᾶν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διαβεβλημένου τοῦ

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firth between Thera and Crete. However, I must give up all prolixity and hurry on to relate the conversations which he held in Rome, subsequently to his stay in Crete. CHAP. XXXIV

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CHAP. XXXV

Nero imprisons Musonius

NERO was opposed to philosophy, because he suspected its devotees of being addicted to magic, and of being diviners in disguise; and at last the philosopher's mantle brought its wearers before the law courts, as if it were a mere cloak of the divining art. I will not mention other names, but Musonius of Babylon, a man only second to Apollonius, was thrown into prison for the crime of being a sage, and there lay in danger of death; and he would have died for all his gaoler cared, if it had not been for the strength of his constitution

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CHAP. XXXVI

Philolaus warns him against entering Rome

SUCH was the condition in which philosophy stood when Apollonius was approaching Rome; and at a distance of one hundred and twenty stadia from its walls he met Philolaus of Cittium in the neighbourhood of the Grove of Aricia. Now Philolaus was a polished speaker, but too soft to bear any hardships. He had quitted Rome, and was virtually a fugitive, and any philosopher he met with he urged to take the same course. He accordingly addressed himself to Apollonius, and urged him to give way to circumstances, and not to proceed to Rome, where philosophy was in such bad odour; and he related

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CAP. XXXVI φιλοσοφεῖν, καὶ διηγεῖτο τὰ ἐκεῖ πραττόμενα θαμὰ ἐπιστρεφόμενος, μὴ ἐπακροῷτό τις αὐτοῦ κατόπιν. "σὺ δὲ καὶ χορὸν φιλοσόφων ἀναψάμενος," εἶπε, "βαδίζεις φθόνου μεστός, οὐκ εἰδὼς τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους ταῖς πύλαις ὑπὸ Νέρωνος, οἳ ξυλλήψονταί σέ τε καὶ τούτους, πρὶν ἔσω γενέσθαι." "τί δ'," εἶπεν, "ὦ Φιλόλαε, τὸν αὐτοκράτορα σπουδάζειν φασίν;" "ἡνιοχεῖ," ἔφη, "δημοσίᾳ καὶ ᾄδει παριὼν ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων θέατρα καὶ μετὰ τῶν μονομαχούντων ζῇ, μονομαχεῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἀποσφάττει." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "εἶτα," ἔφη, "ὦ βέλτιστε, μεῖζόν τι ἡγῇ θέαμα ἀνδράσι πεπαιδευμένοις ἢ βασιλέα ἰδεῖν ἀσχημονοῦντα; θεοῦ μὲν γὰρ παίγνιον ἄνθρωπος" εἶπε "κατὰ τὴν Πλάτωνος δόξαν, βασιλεὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπου παίγνιον γιγνόμενος καὶ χαριζόμενος τοῖς ὄχλοις τὴν ἑαυτοῦ αἰσχύνην, τίνας οὐκ ἂν παράσχοι λόγους τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσι;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν ὁ Φιλόλαος, "εἴγε μετὰ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου γίγνοιτο, εἰ δὲ ἀπόλοιο ἀναχθεὶς καὶ Νέρων σε ὠμὸν φάγοι μηδὲν ἰδόντα ὧν πράττει, ἐπὶ πολλῷ ἔσται σοι τὸ ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείονι ἢ τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ ἐγένετο, ὁπότε παρὰ τὸν Κύκλωπα ἦλθεν, ἀπώλεσε γὰρ πολλοὺς τῶν ἑταίρων ποθήσας ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἀτόπου καὶ ὠμοῦ θεάματος." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "οἶει γάρ," ἔφη, "τοῦτον ἧττον

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to him what was taking place there, and as he did so he kept turning his head round, lest anybody should be listening behind him to what he said. "And you," he said, "after attaching this band of philosophers to yourself, a thing which will bring you into suspicion and odium, are on your way thither, knowing nothing of the officers set over the gates by Nero, who will arrest you and them before ever you enter or get inside." "And what," said Apollonius, "O Philolaus, are the occupations of the autocrat said to be?" "He drives a chariot," said the other, "in public; and he comes forward on the boards of the Roman theatres and sings songs, and he lives with gladiators, and he himself fights as one and slays his man." Apollonius therefore replied and said: "Then, my dear fellow, do you think that there can be any better spectacle for men of education than to see an emperor thus demeaning himself? For if in Plato's opinion man is the sport of the gods, what a theme we have here provided for philosophers by an emperor who makes himself the sport of man and sets himself to delight the common herd with the spectacle of his own shame?" "Yes, by Zeus," said Philolaus, "if you could do it with impunity; but if you are going to be taken up and lose your life, and if Nero is going to devour you alive before you see anything of what he does, your interview with him will cost you dear, much dearer than it ever cost Ulysses to visit the Cyclops in his home; though he lost many of his comrades in his anxiety to see him, and because he yielded to the temptation of beholding so cruel a monster." But Apollonius said: "So you think that this ruler is less blinded than the Cyclops, if he

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CAP. XXXVI ἐκτετυφλῶσθαι τοῦ Κύκλωπος, εἰ τοιαῦτα ἐργάζεται;" καὶ ὁ Φιλόλαος "πραττέτω μέν," εἶπεν, "ὅ τι βούλεται, σὺ δὲ ἀλλὰ τούτους σῶζε."

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CAP. XXXVII Φωνῇ δὲ ταῦτα μείζονι ἔλεγε καὶ ἐώκει κλάοντι. ἐνταῦθα δείσας ὁ Δάμις περὶ τοῖς νέοις, μὴ χείρους αὐτῶν γένοιντο ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ Φιλολάου πτοίας, ἀπολαβὼν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, "ἀπολεῖ," ἔφη, "τοὺς νέους ὁ λαγὼς οὗτος τρόμων καὶ ἀθυμίας ἀναπιμπλὰς πάντα." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "καὶ μὴν πολλῶν," ἔφη, "ἀγαθῶν ὄντων, ἃ μηδ' εὐξαμένῳ μοι πολλάκις παρὰ τῶν θεῶν γέγονε, μέγιστον ἂν ἔγωγε φαίην ἀπολελαυκέναι τὸ νυνὶ τοῦτο, παραπέπτωκε γὰρ βάσανος τῶν νέων, ἣ σφόδρα ἐλέγξει τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντάς τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἕτερόν τι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦτο πράττοντας." καὶ ἠλέγχθησαν αὐτίκα οἱ μὴ ἐρρωμένοι σφῶν, ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Φιλολάου λόγων ἀπαχθέντες οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν νοσεῖν, οἱ δ' οὐκ εἶναι αὐτοῖς ἐφόδια, οἱ δὲ τῶν οἴκοι ἐρᾶν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ὀνειράτων ἐκπεπλῆχθαι, καὶ περιῆλθεν ἐς ὀκτὼ ὁμιλητὰς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐκ τεττάρων καὶ τριάκοντα, οἳ ξυνεφοίτων αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Νέρωνά τε καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἀποδράντες φυγῇ ᾤχοντο.

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commits such crimes?" And Philolaus answered: "Let him do what he likes, but do you at least save these your companions." CHAP. XXXVI

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CHAP. XXXVII

Most of his followers forsake Apollonius in fear

And these words he uttered in a loud voice and with an air of weeping; whereupon Damis conceived a fear lest the younger men of his party should be unmanned by the craven terrors of Philolaus. So he took aside Apollonius and said: "This hare, with all his panicky fears, will ruin these young men, and fill them with discouragement." But Apollonius said: "Well, of all the blessings which have been vouchsafed to me by the gods, often without my praying for them at all, this present one, I may say, is the greatest that I have ever enjoyed; for chance has thrown in my way a touchstone to test these young men, of a kind to prove most thoroughly which of them are philosophers, and which of them prefer some other line of conduct than that of the philosopher." And in fact the knock-kneed among them were detected in no time, for under the influence of what Philolaus said, some of them declared that they were ill, others that they had no provisions for the journey, others that they were homesick, others that they had been deterred by dreams; and in the result the thirty-four companions of Apollonius who were willing to accompany him to Rome were reduced to eight. And all the rest ran away from Nero and philosophy, both at once, and took to their heels.

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CAP. XXXVIII

Ξυναγαγὼν οὖν τοὺς περιλειφθέντας, ὧν καὶ Μένιππος ἦν ὁ ξυναλλάξας τῇ ἐμπούσῃ καὶ Διοσκορίδης ὁ Αἰγύπτιος καὶ Δάμις, "οὐ λοιδορήσομαι," ἔφη, "τοῖς ἀπολελοιπόσιν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς ἐπαινέσομαι μᾶλλον, ὅτι ἄνδρες ἐστὲ ἐμοὶ ὅμοιοι, οὐδ', εἴ τις Νέρωνα δείσας ἀπῆλθε, δειλὸν ἡγήσομαι τοῦτον, ἀλλ' εἴ τις τοῦ δέους τούτου κρείττων γίγνεται, φιλόσοφος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ προσειρήσεται, καὶ διδάξομαι αὐτόν, ὁπόσα οἶδα. δοκεῖ δή μοι πρῶτον μὲν εὔξασθαι τοῖς θεοῖς, δι' οὓς ταῦτα ἐπὶ νοῦν ἦλθεν ὑμῖν τε κἀκείνοις, ἔπειθ' ἡγεμόνας αὐτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, θεῶν γὰρ χωρὶς οὐδ' ἐν ἄλλῳ ἐσμέν. παριτητέα ἐς πόλιν, ἢ τοσούτων τῆς οἰκουμένης μερῶν ἄρχει· πῶς οὖν ἂν παρέλθοι τις, εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνοι ἡγοῖντο; καὶ ταῦτα τυραννίδος ἐν αὐτῇ καθεστηκυίας οὕτω χαλεπῆς, ὡς μὴ ἐξεῖναι σοφοῖς εἶναι. ἀνόητόν τε μηδενὶ δοκείτω τὸ θαρσεῖν ὁδόν, ἣν πολλοὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων φεύγουσιν, ἐγὼ γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν ἡγοῦμαι φοβερὸν οὕτω γενέσθαι τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπους, ὡς ἐκπλαγῆναί ποτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν σοφόν, εἶτ' οὐδ' ἂν προθείην ἀνδρείας μελέτας, ἐὰν μὴ μετὰ κινδύνων γίγνοιντο. καὶ ἄλλως ἐπελθὼν γῆν, ὅσην οὔπω τις ἀνθρώπων, θηρία μὲν Ἀράβιά τε καὶ Ἰνδικὰ πάμπολλα εἶδον, τὸ δὲ θηρίον τοῦτο, ὃ καλοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τύραννον,

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He addresses exhortations to the eight who remain

He therefore assembled those who were left, among whom were Menippus, who had foregathered with the hobgoblin, and Dioscorides the Egyptian, and Damis, and said to them: "I shall not scold those who have abandoned us, but I shall rather praise you for being men like myself: nor shall I think a man a coward, because he has disappeared out of dread of Nero, but anyone who rises superior to such fear I will hail as a philosopher, and I will teach him all I know. I think then that we ought first of all to pray to the gods who have suggested these different courses to you and to them; and then we ought to solicit their direction and guidance, for we have not any succour to rely upon apart from the gods. We must then march forward to the city which is mistress of so much of the inhabited world; but how can anybody go forward thither, unless the gods are leading him? The more so, because a tyranny has been established in this city so harsh and cruel, that it does not suffer men to be wise. And let not anyone think it foolish so to venture along a path which many philosophers are fleeing from; for in the first place I do not esteem any human agency so formidable, that a wise man can ever be terrified by it; and in the second place, I would not urge upon you the pursuit of bravery, unless it were attended with danger. Moreover, in traversing more of the earth than any man yet has visited, I have seen hosts of Arabian and Indian wild beasts; but as to this wild beast, which the many call a tyrant,

He characterises Nero

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CAP. XXXVIII

οὔτε ὁπόσαι κεφαλαὶ αὐτῷ, οἶδα, οὔτε εἰ γαμψώνυχόν τε καὶ καρχαρόδουν ἐστί. καίτοι πολιτικὸν μὲν εἶναι τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο λέγεται καὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν πόλεων οἰκεῖν, τοσούτῳ δὲ ἀγριώτερον διάκειται τῶν ὀρεινῶν τε καὶ ὑλαίων, ὅσῳ λέοντες μὲν καὶ παρδάλεις ἐνίοτε κολακευόμενοι ἡμεροῦνται καὶ μεταβάλλουσι τοῦ ἤθους, τουτὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν καταψηχόντων ἐπαιρόμενον ἀγριώτερον αὐτοῦ γίγνεται καὶ λαφύσσει πάντα. περὶ μέν γε θηρίων οὐκ ἂν εἴποις, ὅτι τὰς μητέρας ποτὲ τὰς αὑτῶν ἐδαίσαντο, Νέρων δὲ ἐμπεφόρηται τῆς βορᾶς ταύτης. εἰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα γέγονεν ἐπ' Ὀρέστῃ καὶ Ἀλκμαίωνι, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις σχῆμα τοῦ ἔργου πατέρες ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν ἀποθανὼν ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικός, ὁ δὲ ὅρμου πραθείς, οὑτοσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐσποιηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς γέροντι βασιλεῖ·καὶ κληρονομήσας τὸ ἄρχειν, ναυαγίῳ τὴν μητέρα ἀπέκτεινε, πλοῖον ἐπ' αὐτῇ ξυνθείς, ὑφ' οὗ ἀπώλετο πρὸς τῇ γῇ. εἰ δὲ ἐκ τούτων φοβερόν τις ἡγεῖται Νέρωνα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀποπηδᾷ φιλοσοφίας, οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς αὐτῷ νομίζων τὸ ἀπὸ θυμοῦ τι αὐτῷ πράττειν, ἴστω τὸ μὲν φοβερὸν ἐκείνοις ὑπάρχον, ὅσοι περ ἂν σωφροσύνης τε καὶ σοφίας ἅπτωνται, τούτοις γὰρ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὖ ἔχει, τὰ δὲ τῶν ὑβριζόντων ὕθλον ἡγείσθω, καθὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν μεμεθυσμένων, καὶ γὰρ δὴ κἀκείνους γε ἠλιθίους μὲν ἡγούμεθα, φοβεροὺς δὲ οὔ. ἴωμεν οὖν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, εἴγε ἐρρώμεθα, πρὸς γὰρ τὰ Νέρωνος

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I know not either how many heads he has, nor whether he has crooked talons and jagged teeth. In any case, though this monster is said to be a social beast and to inhabit the heart of cities, yet he is so much wilder and fiercer in his disposition than animals of the mountain and forest, that whereas you can sometimes tame and alter the character of lions and leopards by flattering them, this one is only roused to greater cruelty than before by those who stroke him, so that he rends and devours all alike. And again there is no animal anyhow of which you can say that it ever devours its own mother, but Nero is gorged with such quarry. It is true, perhaps, that the same crime was committed in the case of Orestes and Alcmaeon, but they had some excuse for their deeds, in that the father of the one was murdered by his own wife, while the other's had been sold for a necklace; this man, however, has murdered the very mother to whom he owes his adoption by the aged emperor and his inheritance of the empire; for he shipwrecked and so slew her close to land in a vessel built for the express purpose of doing her to death. If, however, anyone is disposed to dread Nero for these reasons, and is led abruptly to forsake philosophy, conceiving that it is not safe for him to thwart his evil temper, let him know that the quality of inspiring fear really belongs to those who are devoted to temperance and wisdom, because they are sure of divine succour. But let him snap his fingers at the threats of the proud and insolent, as he would at those of drunken men; for we regard the latter surely as daft and silly, but not as formidable. Let us then go forward to Rome, if we are good men and true; for to Nero's proclamations

CHAP. XXXVIII

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CAP. XXXVIII κηρυγματα, δι' ὧν ἐξείργει φιλοσοφίαν, ἔστιν ἡμῖν τὸ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους λέγειν·

οὐ γάρ τί μοι Ζεὺς ἦν ὁ κηρύξας τάδε,

οὐδὲ Μοῦσαι καὶ Ἀπόλλων λόγιος. εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν Νέρωνα γιγνώσκειν τὰ ἰαμβεῖα ταῦτα, τραγῳδίᾳ, ὥς φασι, χαίροντα."

ἐνταῦθά τις τὸ Ὁμήρου ἐνθυμηθείς, ὡς, ἐπειδὰν ὁ λόγος ἁρμόσῃ πολεμικοὺς ἄνδρας, μία μὲν κόρυς γίγνονται, μία δὲ ἀσπίς, εὑρεῖν ἄν μοι δοκεῖ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τούσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας γενόμενον· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου λόγων ξυγκροτηθέντες, ἀποθνήσκειν τε ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας ἔρρωντο καὶ βελτίους τῶν ἀποδράντων φαίνεσθαι.

XXXIX

CAP. XXXIX Προσῄεσαν μὲν οὖν ταῖς πύλαις, οἱ δὲ ἐφεστῶτες οὐδὲν ἠρώτων, ἀλλὰ περιήθρουν τὸ σχῆμα καὶ ἐθαύμαζον· ὁ γὰρ τρόπος ἱερὸς ἐδόκει καὶ οὐδὲν ἐοικὼς τοῖς ἀγείρουσι. καταλύουσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν πανδοχείῳ περὶ τὰς πύλας καὶ δεῖπνον αἱρουμένοις, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἑσπέρας ἤδη ἐτύγχανεν, ὡς ἐπὶ κῶμον ἔρχεται μεθύων ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἀγλευκῶς τῆς φωνῆς ἔχων, περιῄει δὲ ἄρα κύκλῳ τὴν Ῥώμην ᾄδων τὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος μέλη καὶ μεμισθωμένος τοῦτο, τὸν δὲ ἀμελῶς ἀκούσαντα ἢ μὴ καταβαλόντα μισθὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως ξυνεκεχώρητο

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in which he banishes philosophy we may well oppose the verse of Sophocles : CHAP. XXXVIII

"'For in no wise was it Zeus who made this proclamation unto me,' Antigone 450

nor the Muses either, nor Apollo the god of eloquence. But it may well be that Nero himself knows this iambic line, for he is, they say, addicted to tragedy."

This occasion reminds one of the saying of Homer, that when warriors are knit together by reason, they become as it were a single plume and helmet, and a single shield; and it seems to me that this very sentiment found its application in regard to these heroes; for they were welded together and encouraged by the words of Apollonius to die in behalf of their philosophy, and strengthened to show themselves superior to those who had run away. Iliad 13. 130

XXXIX

THEY accordingly approached the gates of Rome, and the sentries asked them no questions, although they scanned their dress with some curiosity; for the fashion of it was that of religious ascetics, and did not in the least resemble that of beggars. And they put up at an inn close to the gate, and were taking their supper, for it was already eventide, when a drunken fellow with a far from harsh voice turned up as it were for a revel; and he was one it seems who was in the habit of going round about Rome singing Nero's songs and hired for the purpose, and anyone who neglected to listen to him or refused to pay him for his music, he had the right to arrest for violating Nero's CHAP. XXXIX They enter Rome Nero's harpists

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CHAP. XXXIX αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπάγειν ὡς ἀσεβοῦντα. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ κιθάρα καὶ ἡ πρόσφορος τῷ κιθαρίζειν σκευὴ πᾶσα, καί τινα καὶ νευρὰν τῶν ἐφαψαμένων τε καὶ προεντεταμένων ἀποκειμένην ἐν κοιτίδι εἶχεν, ἣν ἔφασκεν ἐκ τῆς Νέρωνος ἐωνῆσθαι κιθάρας δυοῖν μναῖν καὶ ἀποδώσεσθαι αὐτὴν οὐδενί, ἣν μὴ κιθαρῳδὸς ἢ τῶν ἀρίστων τε καὶ ἀγωνιουμένων Πυθοῖ. ἀναβαλόμενος οὖν, ὅπως εἰώθει, καὶ βραχὺν διεξελθὼν ὕμνον τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐπῆγε μέλη τὰ μὲν ἐξ Ὀρεστείας, τὰ δὲ ἐξ Ἀντιγόνης, τὰ δ' ὁποθενοῦν τῶν τραγῳδουμένων αὐτῷ, καὶ ᾠδὰς ἔκαμπτεν, ὁπόσας Νέρων ἐλύγιζέ τε καὶ κακῶς ἔστρεφεν. ἀργότερον δὲ ἀκροωμένων ὁ μὲν ἀσεβεῖσθαι Νέρωνα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔφασκε καὶ πολεμίους τῆς θείας φωνῆς εἶναι, οἱ δὲ οὐ προσεῖχον. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Μενίππου τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, πῶς ἀκούοι λέγοντος ταῦτα, "πῶς," ἔφη, "ἢ ὡς ὅτε ᾖδεν; ἡμεῖς μέντοι, ὦ Μένιππε, μὴ παροξυνώμεθα πρὸς ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ τὸν μισθὸν τῆς ἐπιδείξεως δόντες ἐάσωμεν αὐτὸν θύειν ταῖς Νέρωνος Μούσαις."

XL

CAP. XL Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπαρῳνήθη. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Τελεσῖνος ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων καλέσας τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, "τί," ἔφη, "τὸ σχῆμα;" ὁ

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majesty. And he carried a harp and all the outfit proper for a harpist, and he also had put away in a casket a second-hand string which others had fastened on their instruments and tuned up before him, and this he said he had purchased off Nero's own lyre for two minas, and that he would sell it to no one who was not a first-rate harpist and fit to contend for the prize at Delphi. He then struck up a prelude, according to his custom, and after performing a short hymn composed by Nero, he added various lays, some out of the story of Orestes, and some from the Antigone, and others from one or another of the tragedies composed by Nero, and he proceeded to drawl out the rondos which Nero was in the habit of murdering by his miserable writhings and modulations. As they listened with some indifference, he proceeded to accuse them of violating Nero's majesty and of being enemies of his divine voice; but they paid no attention to him. Then Menippus asked Apollonius how he appreciated these remarks, whereupon he said: "How do I appreciate them? Why, just as I did his songs. Let us, however, O Menippus, not take too much offence at his remarks, but let us give him something for his performance and dismiss him to sacrifice to the Muses of Nero." CHAP. XXXIX

XL

So ended the episode of this poor drunken fool. But at daybreak Telesinus, one of the consuls, called Apollonius to him, and said: "What is this dress which you wear?" And he answered: "A pure CHAP. XL Interview with Telesinus the Consul

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CAP. XL δέ, "καθαρόν," εἶπε, "καὶ ἀπ᾽ οὐδενὸς θνητοῦ." "τίς δὲ ἡ σοφία;" "θειασμός," ἔφη, "καὶ ὡς ἄν τις θεοῖς εὔχοιτο καὶ θύοι." "ἔστι δέ τις, ὦ φιλόσοφε, ὃς ἀγνοεῖ ταῦτα;" "πολλοί," εἶπεν, "εἰ δὲ καὶ ὀρθῶς τις ἐπίσταται ταῦτα, πολλῷ γένοιτ᾽ ἂν αὐτοῦ βελτίων ἀκούσας σοφωτέρου ἀνδρός, ὅτι, ἃ οἶδεν, εὖ οἶδεν." ταῦτα ἀκούοντα τὸν Τελεσῖνον, καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν ὑποθεραπεύων τὸ θεῖον, ἐσῆλθεν ὁ ἀνὴρ δι᾽ ἃ πάλαι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἤκουε, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἐρωτᾶν, μή τιν᾽ ἔτι λανθάνειν βούλοιτο, ἐπανῆγε δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐς τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ τοῦ θείου, καὶ γὰρ πρὸς διάλεξιν ἐπιτηδείως εἶχε, καὶ ὡς σοφῷ γε εἶπε, "τί εὔχῃ προσιὼν τοῖς βωμοῖς;" "ἔγωγε," ἔφη, "δικαιοσύνην εἶναι, νόμους μὴ καταλύεσθαι, πένεσθαι τοὺς σοφούς, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους πλουτεῖν μέν, ἀδόλως δέ." "εἶτα," εἶπε, "τοσαῦτα αἰτῶν οἴει τεύξεσθαι;" "νὴ Δί᾽," εἶπε, "ξυνείρω γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐς εὐχὴν μίαν καὶ προσιὼν τοῖς βωμοῖς ὧδε εὔχομαι· ὦ θεοί, δοίητέ μοι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα· εἰ μὲν δὴ τῶν χρηστῶν εἰμι ἀνθρώπων, τεύξομαι πλειόνων ἢ εἶπον, εἰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς φαύλοις με οἱ θεοὶ τάττουσι, τἀναντία μοι παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἥξει καὶ οὐ μέμψομαι τοὺς θεούς, εἰ κακῶν ἀξιοῦμαι μὴ χρηστὸς ὤν." ἐξεπέπληκτο μὲν δὴ ὁ Τελεσῖνος

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garment made from no dead matter." "And what is your wisdom?" "An inspiration," answered Apollonius, "which teaches men how to pray and sacrifice to the gods." "And is there anyone, my philosopher, who does not know that already?" "Many," said the sage, "and if there is here and there a man who understands these matters aright, he will be very much improved by hearing from a man wiser than himself that, what he knows, he knows for a certainty." When Telesinus heard this, for he was a man fairly disposed to worship and religion, he recognised the sage from the rumours which he had long before heard about him; and though he did not think he need openly ask him his name, in case he wished to conceal his identity from anyone, he nevertheless led him on to talk afresh about religion, for he was himself an apt reasoner, and feeling that he was addressing a sage, he asked: "What do you pray for when you approach the altars?" "I," said Apollonius, "for my part pray that justice may prevail, that the laws may not be broken, that the wise may continue to be poor, but that others may be rich, as long as they are so without fraud." "Then," said the other, "when you ask for so much, do you think you will get it?" "Yes, by Zeus," said Apollonius, "for I string together all my petitions in a single prayer, and when I reach the altars this is how I pray: O ye gods, bestow on me whatever is due. If therefore I am of the number of worthy men, I shall obtain more than I have said; but if the gods rank me among the wicked, then they will send to me the opposite of what I ask; and I shall not blame the gods, because for my demerit I am judged worthy of evil." Telesinus then was greatly

CHAP. XL

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CAP. XL

ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων τούτων, βουλόμενος δὲ αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι, "φοίτα," ἔφη, "ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα, καὶ γεγράψεται παρ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἱερωμένους δέχεσθαί σε καὶ διορθουμένῳ εἴκειν." "ἢν δὲ μὴ γράψῃς," ἔφη, "οὐ δέξονταί με;" "μὰ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ἐμὴ γάρ," ἔφη, "αὕτη ἀρχή." "χαίρω," ἔφη, "ὅτι γενναῖος ὢν μεγάλου ἄρχεις, βουλοίμην δ' ἄν σε κἀκεῖνο περὶ ἐμοῦ εἰδέναι· ἐγὼ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ μὴ βεβαίως κλειστὰ χαίρω οἰκῶν, καὶ παραιτεῖταί με οὐδεὶς τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ ποιοῦνται κοινωνὸν στέγης· ἀνείσθω δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ξυνεχώρουν αὐτό." καὶ ὁ Τελεσῖνος, "μέγα," ἔφη, "Ῥωμαίων ἐγκώμιον οἱ βάρβαροι προὔλαβον, τοῦτ' γὰρ ἐβουλόμην ἂν καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν λέγεσθαι." ᾤκει μὲν δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἐναλλάττων αὐτὰ καὶ μεθιστάμενος ἐξ ἄλλου ἐς ἄλλο, αἰτίαν δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔχων, "οὐδὲ οἱ θεοί," ἔφη, "πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ οἰκοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ πορεύονται μὲν ἐς Αἰθιοπίαν, πορεύονται δὲ ἐς Ὄλυμπόν τε καὶ Ἄθω, καὶ οἶμαι ἄτοπον τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔθνη περινοστεῖν πάντα, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους μὴ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιφοιτᾶν πᾶσι. καίτοι δεσπόται μὲν ὑπερορῶντες δούλων οὔπω αἰτίαν ἔξουσιν, ἴσως γὰρ ἂν καταφρονοῖεν αὐτῶν, ὡς μὴ σπουδαίων, δοῦλοι δὲ μὴ πάντως τοὺς αὑτῶν δεσπότας θεραπεύοντες, ἀπόλοιντο ἂν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡς κατάρατοί τε καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὰ ἀνδράποδα."

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struck by these words, and wishing to show him a favour, he said: "You may visit all the temples, and written instructions shall be sent by me to the priests who minister in them to admit you and adopt your reforms." "And supposing you did not write," said Apollonius, "would they not admit me?" "No, by Zeus," said he, "for that is my own office and prerogative." "I am glad," said Apollonius," that so generous a man as yourself holds such a high office, but I would like you to know this much too about me: I like to live in such temples as are not too closely shut up, and none of the gods object to my presence, for they invite me to share their habitation. So let this liberty too be accorded to me, inasmuch as even the barbarians always permitted it." And Telesinus said: "The barbarians have more to be proud of in this matter than the Romans, for I would that as much could be said of ourselves." Apollonius accordingly lived in the temples, though he changed them and passed from one to another; and when he was blamed for doing so, he said: "Neither do the gods live all their time in heaven, but they take journeys to Ethiopia, as also to Olympus and to Athos, and I think it a pity that the gods should go roaming around all the nations of men, and yet that men should not be allowed to visit all the gods alike. What is more, though masters would incur no reproach for neglecting slaves, for whom they probably may feel a contempt because they are not good, yet the slaves who did not devote themselves wholly to their masters, would be destroyed by them as cursed wretches and chattels hateful to the gods." CHAP. XL

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XLI

CAP. XLI

Διαλεγομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ οἱ θεοὶ ἐθεραπεύοντο μᾶλλον, καὶ ξυνήεσαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐς ταῦτα, ὡς τὰ ἀγαθὰ πλείω παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἔξοντες, καὶ οὔπω διεβάλλοντο αἱ ξυνουσίαι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διὰ τὸ σπουδάζεσθαί τε δημοσίᾳ λέγεσθαί τε ἐς πάντας, οὐδὲ γὰρ θύραις ἐπεπόλαζεν, οὐδὲ ἐτρίβετο περὶ τοὺς δυνατούς, ἀλλ' ἠσπάζετο μὲν ἐπιφοιτῶντας, διελέγετο δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁπόσα καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

XLII

CAP. XLII

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος διατεθεὶς πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Κορινθιακοῖς λόγοις εἴρηκα, παραγενόμενος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὕστερον ἐθεράπευε μὲν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ἐπηφίει δ' αὐτὸν τῷ Νέρωνι, τέχνη ταῦτα ὑπωπτεύθη τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον αὐτὸς ἐδόκει καθεικέναι ἐς αὐτά, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον, ὁπότε γυμνάσιον μὲν ἐξεποιήθη τῷ Νέρωνι θαυμασιώτατον τῶν ἐκεῖ, λευκὴν δ' ἔθυον ἐν αὐτῷ ἡμέραν Νέρων τε αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ μεγάλη καὶ τὸ ἱππεῦον τῆς Ῥώμης, παρελθὼν δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ γυμνάσιον διεξῆλθε λόγον κατὰ τῶν λουμένων, ὡς ἐκλελυμένων τε καὶ αὐτοὺς χραινόντων, καὶ ἐδείκνυεν, ὅτι περιττὸν ἀνάλωμα εἴη τὰ

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XLI

CHAP. XLI
Religious revival in Rome

THE result of his discourses about religion was that the gods were worshipped with more zeal, and that men flocked to the temples where he was, in the belief that by doing so they would obtain an increase of divine blessings. And our sage's conversations were so far not objected to, because he held them in public and addressed himself to all men alike; for he did not hover about rich men's doors, nor hang about the mighty, though he welcomed them if they resorted to him, and he talked with them just as much as he did to the common people.

XLII

CHAP. XLII
Demetrius assails the public baths

Now Demetrius being attracted to Apollonius, as I have said above in my account of the events at Corinth, betook himself subsequently to Rome, and proceeded to court Apollonius, at the same time that he launched out against Nero. In consequence our sage's profession was looked at askance, and he was thought to have set Demetrius on to proceed thus, and the suspicion was increased on the occasion of Nero's completion of the most magnificent gymnasium in Rome; for the auspicious day was being celebrated therein by Nero himself and the great Senate and all the knights of Rome, when Demetrius made his way into the gymnasium itself and delivered himself of a philippic against people who bathed, declaring that they enfeebled and polluted themselves; and he showed that such institutions were a useless expense. He

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CAP. XLII τοιαῦτα, ἐφ' οἷς ξυνήρατο μὲν αὐτῷ τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτίκα τὸ τὸν Νέρωνα εὐφωνότατα ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ᾄδειν—ᾖδε δὲ ἐν καπηλείῳ πεποιημένῳ ἐς τὸ γυμνάσιον διάζωμα ἔχων γυμνός, ὥσπερ τῶν καπήλων οἱ ἀσελγέστατοι—οὐ μὴν διέφυγεν ὁ Δημήτριος τὸ ἐφ' οἷς εἶπε κινδυνεῦσαι, Τιγελλῖνος γάρ, ὑφ' ᾧ τὸ ξίφος ἦν τοῦ Νέρωνος, ἀπήλαυνεν αὐτὸν τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς τὸ βαλανεῖον κατασκάψαντα οἷς εἶπε, τὸν δ' Ἀπολλώνιον ἀφανῶς ἀνίχνευεν, ὁπότε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιλήψιμόν τι καὶ παραβεβλημένον εἴποι.

XLIII

CAP. XLIII Ὁ δ' οὔτε καταγελῶν φανερὸς ἦν οὔτ' αὖ πεφροντικώς, ὥσπερ οἱ φυλαττόμενοί τινα κίνδυνον, ἀλλ' ἀποχρώντως περὶ τῶν προκειμένων διελέγετο, ξυμφιλοσοφοῦντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Τελεσίνου καὶ ἑτέρων ἀνδρῶν, οἳ καίτοι φιλοσοφίας ἐπικινδύνως πραττούσης οὐκ ἂν ᾤοντο κινδυνεῦσαι ξὺν ἐκείνῳ σπουδάζοντες. ὑπωπτεύετο δέ, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐφ' οἷς καὶ περὶ τῆς διοσημίας εἶπε· γενομένης γάρ ποτε ἐκλείψεως ἡλίου καὶ βροντῆς ἐκδοθείσης, ὅπερ ἥκιστα ἐν ἐκλείψει δοκεῖ ξυμβαίνειν, ἀναβλέψας ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν,

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was only saved from immediate death as the penalty of such language by the fact that Nero was in extra good voice when he sang on that day, and he sang in the tavern which adjoined the gymnasium, naked except for a girdle round his waist, like any low tapster. Demetrius, however, did not wholly escape the risk which he courted by his language; for Tigellinus, to whom Nero had committed the power of life and death, proceeded to banish him from Rome, on the plea that he had ruined and overthrown the bath by the words he used; and he began to dog the steps of Apollonius secretly, in the hope that he would catch him out too in some compromising utterance. CHAP. XLII

XLIII

THE latter, however, showed no disposition to ridicule the government, nor on the other hand did he display any of the anxiety usually felt by those who are on their guard against some danger. He merely continued to discuss in simple and adequate terms the topics laid before him; and Telesinus and other persons continued to study philosophy in his company, for although philosophy was just then in a parlous condition, they did not dream that they would imperil themselves by associating themselves with his studies. Yet he was suspected as I have said, and the suspicion was intensified by words he uttered in connection with a prodigy. For presently when there was an eclipse of the sun and a clap of thunder was heard, a thing which very rarely occurs at the moment of an eclipse, he glanced up to heaven CHAP. XLIII Tigellinus dogs Apollonius

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CAP. XLIII "ἔσται τι," ἔφη, "μέγα καὶ οὐκ ἔσται." ξυμβαλεῖν μὲν δὴ τὸ εἰρημένον οὔπω εἶχον οἱ παρατυχόντες τῷ λόγῳ, τρίτῃ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκλείψεως ἡμέρᾳ ξυνῆκαν τοῦ λόγου πάντες· σιτουμένου γὰρ τοῦ Νέρωνος, ἐμπεσὼν τῇ τραπέζῃ σκηπτὸς διήλασε τῆς κύλικος ἐν χεροῖν οὔσης καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀπεχούσης τοῦ στόματος· τὸ δὴ παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐλθεῖν τοῦ βληθῆναι αὐτὸν πεπράξεσθαί τι εἶπε καὶ μὴ πεπράξεσθαι. ἀκούσας δὲ Τιγελλῖνος τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἐς δέος ἀφίκετο τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς σοφοῦ τὰ δαιμόνια, καὶ ἐς ἐγκλήματα μὲν φανερὰ καθίστασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν, ὡς μὴ κακόν τι ἀφανὲς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λάβοι, διαλεγόμενον δὲ καὶ σιωπῶντα καὶ καθήμενον καὶ βαδίζοντα καὶ ὅ τι φάγοι καὶ παρ' ὅτῳ καὶ εἰ ἔθυσεν ἢ μὴ ἔθυσε, περιήθρει πᾶσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς, ὁπόσοις ἡ ἀρχὴ βλέπει.

XLIV

CAP. XLIV Ἐμπεσόντος δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ νοσήματος, ὃ κατάρρουν οἱ ἰατροὶ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀνίστανται δὲ ἄρα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βῆχες καὶ ἡ φωνὴ τοῖς λαλοῦσι πονήρως ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ πλέα ἦν ἱκετευόντων τοὺς θεούς, ἐπεὶ διῳδήκει τὴν φάρυγγα Νέρων καὶ μελαίνῃ τῇ φωνῇ ἐχρῆτο· ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐρρήγνυτο μὲν πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἄνοιαν, ἐπέπληττε δὲ οὐδενί, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Μένιππον παροξυνόμενον

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and said: "There shall be some great event and there shall not be." Now at the time those who heard these words were unable to comprehend their meaning; but on the third day after the eclipse, everyone understood what was meant; for while Nero sat at meat a thunderbolt fell on the table, and clove asunder the cup which was in his hands and was close to his lips. And the fact that he so narrowly escaped being struck was intended by the words that a great event should happen and yet should not happen. Tigellinus when he heard this story began to dread Apollonius as one who was wise in supernatural matters; and though he felt that he had better not prefer any open charges against him, lest he should incur at his hands some mysterious disaster, nevertheless he used all the eyes with which the government sees, to watch Apollonius, whether he was talking or holding his tongue, or sitting down or walking about, and to mark what he ate, and in whose houses, and whether he offered sacrifice or not. CHAP. XLIII

XLIV

CHAP. XLIV

Tigellinus arrests him

Just then a distemper broke out in Rome, called by the physicians influenza; and it was attended, it seems, by coughings, and the voice of speakers was affected by it. Now the temples were full of people supplicating the gods, because Nero had a swollen throat, and his voice was hoarse. But Apollonius vehemently denounced the folly of the crowd, though without rebuking anyone in particular; nay, he even restrained Menippus, who was irritated by such goings

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CAP. XLIV ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐσωφρόνιζέ τε καὶ κατεῖχε, ξυγγιγνώσκειν κελεύων τοῖς θεοῖς, εἰ μίμοις γελοίοις χαίρουσιν. ἀπαγγελθέντος δὲ τῷ Τιγελλίνῳ τοῦ λόγου τούτου, πέμπει τοὺς ἄξοντας αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον, ὡς ἀπολογήσαιτο μὴ ἀσεβεῖν ἐς Νέρωνα, παρεσκεύαστο δὲ καὶ κατήγορος ἐπ' αὐτὸν πολλοὺς ἀπολωλεκὼς ἤδη καὶ τοιούτων Ὀλυμπιάδων μεστός, καί τι καὶ γραμματεῖον εἶχεν ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν γεγραμμένον τὸ ἔγκλημα, καὶ τοῦτο ὥσπερ ξίφος ἀνασείων ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἠκονῆσθαί τε αὐτὸ ἔλεγε καὶ ἀπολεῖν αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνελίττων Τιγελλῖνος τὸ γραμματεῖον γραμμῆς μὲν ἴχνος ἐν αὐτῷ οὐχ εὗρεν, ἀσήμῳ δέ τινι βιβλίῳ ἐνέτυχεν, ἐς ἔννοιαν ἀπηνέχθη δαίμονος. τουτὶ δὲ καὶ Δομετιανὸς ὕστερον πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγεται παθεῖν. ἀπολαβὼν οὖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἤνεγκεν ἐς τὸ ἀπόρρητον δικαστήριον, ἐν ᾧ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἡ ἀρχὴ αὕτη ἀφανῶς δικάζει, καὶ μεταστησάμενος πάντας ἐνέκειτο ἐρωτῶν, ὅστις εἴη, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος πατρός τε ἐμέμνητο καὶ πατρίδος καὶ ἐφ' ὅ τι τῇ σοφίᾳ χρῷτο, ἔφασκέ τε αὐτῇ χρῆσθαι ἐπί τε τὸ θεοὺς γιγνώσκειν ἐπί τε τὸ ἀνθρώπων ξυνιέναι, τοῦ γὰρ ἑαυτὸν γνῶναι χαλεπώτερον εἶναι τὸ ἄλλον γνῶναι. "τοὺς δαίμονας," εἶπεν, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ τὰς τῶν εἰδώλων φαντασίας πῶς ἐλέγχεις;" "ὥς γε," ἔφη, "τοὺς μιαιφόνους τε καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους." ταυτὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Τιγελλῖνον ἀποσκώπτων ἔλεγεν, ἐπειδὴ

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on, and persuaded him to moderate his indignation, urging him to pardon the gods if they did show pleasure in the mimes of buffoons. This utterance was reported to Tigellinus, who immediately sent police to take him to prison, and summoned him to defend himself from the charge of impiety against Nero. And an accuser was retained against him who had already undone a great many people, and won a number of such Olympic victories. This accuser too held in his hands a scroll of paper on which the charge was written out, and he brandished it like a sword against the sage, and declared that it was so sharp that it would slay and ruin him. But when Tigellinus unrolled the scroll, and did not find upon it the trace of a single word or letter, and his eyes fell on a perfectly blank book, he came to the conclusion that he had to do with a demon; and this is said also subsequently to have been the feeling which Domitian entertained towards Apollonius. Tigellinus then took his victim apart into a secret tribunal, in which this class of magistrate tries in private the most important charges; and having ordered all to leave the court he plied him with questions, asking who he was. Apollonius gave his father's name and that of his country, and explained his motive in practising wisdom, declaring that the sole use he made of it was to gain a knowledge of the gods and an understanding of human affairs, for that the difficulty of knowing another man exceeded that of knowing oneself. "And about the demons," said Tigellinus, "and the apparitions of spectres, how, O Apollonius, do you exorcise them?" "In the same way," he answered, "as I should murderers and impious men." This was a sarcastic allusion to Tigellinus himself,

CHAP. XLIV

Interview with Tigellinus

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CAP. XLIV πάσης ὠμότητος τε καὶ ἀσελγείας διδάσκαλος ἦν τῷ Νέρωνι. "μαντεύσαιο δ' ἄν," ἔφη, "δεηθέντι μοι;" "πῶς," εἶπεν, "ὅ γε μὴ μάντις ὤν;" "καὶ μὴν σέ," ἔφη, "φασὶν εἶναι τὸν εἰπόντα ἔσεσθαί τι μέγα καὶ οὐκ ἔσεσθαι." "ἀληθῶς," εἶπεν, "ἤκουσας, τοῦτο δὲ μὴ μαντικῇ προστίθει, σοφίᾳ δὲ μᾶλλον, ἣν θεὸς φαίνει σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν." "Νέρωνα δέ," ἔφη, "διὰ τί οὐ δέδοικας;" "ὅτι," εἶπεν, "ὁ θεὸς ὁ παρέχων ἐκείνῳ φοβερῷ δοκεῖν κἀμοὶ δέδωκεν ἀφόβῳ εἶναι." "φρονεῖς δὲ πῶς," εἶπε, "περὶ Νέρωνος;" ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "βέλτιον," εἶπεν, "ἢ ὑμεῖς· ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἡγεῖσθε αὐτὸν ἄξιον τοῦ ᾄδειν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄξιον τοῦ σιωπᾶν." ἐκπλαγεὶς οὖν ὁ Τιγελλῖνος, "ἄπιθι," ἔφη, "καταστήσας ἐγγυητὰς τοῦ σώματος." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "καὶ τίς," εἶπεν, "ἐγγυήσεται σῶμα, ὃ μηδεὶς δήσει;" ἔδοξε τῷ Τιγελλίνῳ ταῦτα δαιμόνιά τε εἶναι καὶ πρόσω ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ὥσπερ θεομαχεῖν φυλαττόμενος, "χώρει," ἔφη, "οἷ βούλει, σὺ γὰρ κρείττων ἢ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἄρχεσθαι."

XLV

CAP. XLV Κἀκεῖνο Ἀπολλωνίου θαῦμα· κόρη ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμου τεθνάναι ἐδόκει, καὶ ὁ νυμφίος ἠκολούθει τῇ κλίνῃ βοῶν ὁπόσα ἐπ' ἀτελεῖ γάμῳ, ξυνωλοφύρετο

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for he taught and encouraged in Nero every excess of cruelty and wanton violence. "And," said the other, "could you prophesy, if I asked you to?" "How," said Apollonius, "can I, being no prophet?" "And yet," replied the other, "they say that it is you who predicted that some great event would come to pass and yet not come to pass." "Quite true," said Apollonius, "is what you heard; but you must not put this down to any prophetic gift, but rather to the wisdom which God reveals to wise men." "And," said the other, "why are you not afraid of Nero?" "Because," said Apollonius, "the same God who allows him to seem formidable, has also granted to me to feel no fear." "And what do you think," said the other, "about Nero?" And Apollonius answered: "Much better than you do; for you think it dignified for him to sing, but I think it dignified in him to keep silent." Tigellinus was astonished at this and said: "You may go, but you must give sureties for your person." And Apollonius answered: "And who can go surety for a body that no one can bind?" This answer struck Tigellinus as inspired and above the wit of man; and as he was careful not to fight with a god, he said: "You may go wherever you choose, for you are too powerful to be controlled by me." CHAP. XLIV

XLV

CHAP. XLV

He raises a girl from the dead

HERE too is a miracle which Apollonius worked: A girl had died just in the hour of her marriage, and the bridegroom was following her bier lamenting as was natural his marriage left unfulfilled, and the

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CAP. XLV δὲ καὶ ἡ Ῥώμη, καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν οἰκίας ἡ κόρη τελούσης ἐς ὑπάτους. παρατυχὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ πάθει, "κατάθεσθε," ἔφη, "τὴν κλίνην, ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ κόρῃ δακρύων παύσω." καὶ ἅμα ἤρετο, ὅ τι ὄνομα αὐτῇ εἴη. οἱ μὲν δὴ πολλοὶ ᾤοντο λόγον ἀγορεύσειν αὐτόν, οἷοι τῶν λόγων οἱ ἐπικήδειοί τε καὶ τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις ἐγείροντες, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ προσαψάμενος αὐτῆς καί τι ἀφανῶς ἐπειπών, ἀφύπνισε τὴν κόρην τοῦ δοκοῦντος θανάτου, καὶ φωνήν τε ἡ παῖς ἀφῆκεν, ἐπανῆλθέ τε ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ πατρός, ὥσπερ ἡ Ἄλκηστις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀναβιωθεῖσα. δωρουμένων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ξυγγενῶν τῆς κόρης μυριάδας δεκαπέντε φερνὴν ἔφη ἐπιδιδόναι αὐτὰς τῇ παιδί. καὶ εἴτε σπινθῆρα τῆς ψυχῆς εὗρεν ἐν αὐτῇ, ὃς ἐλελήθει τοὺς θεραπεύοντας—λέγεται γάρ, ὡς ψεκάζοι μὲν ὁ Ζεύς, ἡ δὲ ἀτμίζοι ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου—εἴτ' ἀπεσβηκυῖαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνέθαλψέ τε καὶ ἀνέλαβεν, ἄρρητος ἡ κατάληψις τούτου γέγονεν οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παρατυχοῦσιν.

XLVI

Ἐτύγχανε δὲ περὶ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον καὶ Μου-
CAP. XLVI σώνιος κατειλημμένος ἐν τοῖς δεσμωτηρίοις τοῦ Νέρωνος, ὃν φασι τελεώτατα ἀνθρώπων φιλοσοφῆσαι, καὶ φανερῶς μὲν οὐ διελέγοντο ἀλλήλοις, παραιτησαμένου τοῦ Μουσωνίου τοῦτο, ὡς μὴ ἄμφω κινδυνεύσειαν, ἐπιστολιμαίους δὲ τὰς ξυνου-

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whole of Rome was mourning with him, for the maiden belonged to a consular family. Apollonius then witnessing their grief, said: "Put down the bier, for I will stay the tears that you are shedding for this maiden." And withal he asked what was her name. The crowd accordingly thought that he was about to deliver such an oration as is commonly delivered as much to grace the funeral as to stir up lamentation; but he did nothing of the kind, but merely touching her and whispering in secret some spell over her, at once woke up the maiden from her seeming death; and the girl spoke out loud, and returned to her father's house, just as Alcestis did when she was brought back to life by Hercules. And the relations of the maiden wanted to present him with the sum of 150,000 sesterces, but he said that he would freely present the money to the young lady by way of a dowry. Now whether he detected some spark of life in her, which those who were nursing her had not noticed,—for it is said that although it was raining at the time, a vapour went up from her face—or whether life was really extinct, and he restored it by the warmth of his touch, is a mysterious problem which neither I myself nor those who were present could decide. CHAP. XLV

XLVI

About this time Musonius lay confined in the dungeons of Nero, a man who they say was unsurpassed in philosophic ability by anyone. Now they did not openly converse with one another, because Musonius declined to do so, in order that both their lives might not be endangered; but they carried on CHAP. XLVI Correspondence with Musonius

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CAP. XLVI σίας ἐποιοῦντο, φοιτῶντος ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον τοῦ Μενίππου καὶ τοῦ Δάμιδος. τὰς δὲ οὐχ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων ἐπιστολὰς ἐάσαντες, τὰς ἀναγκαίας παραθησόμεθα κἀξ ὧν ὑπάρχει κατιδεῖν τι μέγα·

Ἀπολλώνιος Μουσωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

Βούλομαι παρὰ σὲ ἀφικόμενος κοινωνῆσαί σοι λόγου καὶ στέγης, ὥς τι ὀνήσαιμί σε· εἴ γε μὴ ἀπιστεῖς, ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ποτε Θησέα ἐξ Ἅιδου ἔλυσε, γράφε, τί βούλει. ἔρρωσο.

Μουσώνιος Ἀπολλωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

Ὧν μὲν ἐνενοήθης, ἀποκείσεταί σοι ἔπαινος, ἀνὴρ δὲ ὁ ὑπομείνας ἀπολογίαν καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖ δείξας ἑαυτόν. ἔρρωσο.

Ἀπολλώνιος Μουσωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὑπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων λυθῆναι μὴ βουληθείς, παρῆλθε μὲν ἐς δικαστήριον, ἀπέθανε δέ. ἔρρωσο.

Μουσώνιος Ἀπολλωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

Σωκράτης ἀπέθανεν, ἐπεὶ μὴ παρεσκεύασεν ἐς ἀπολογίαν ἑαυτόν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογήσομαι. ἔρρωσο.

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a correspondence through Menippus and Damis, who went to and fro the prison. Such of their letters as did not handle great themes I will take no notice of, and only set before my reader the indispensable ones in which we get glimpses of lofty topics: CHAP. XLVI

"Apollonius to Musonius the philosopher, greeting.

"I would fain come unto you, to share your conversation and your lodgings, in the hope of being some use to you; unless indeed you are disinclined to believe that Hercules once released Theseus from hell; write what you would like me to do. Farewell."

"Musonius to Apollonius the philosopher sends greeting.

"For your solicitude on my behalf, I shall never do anything but commend you: but he who has strength of mind to defend himself, and has proved that he has done no wrong, is a true man. Farewell."

"Apollonius to Musonius the philosopher sends greeting.

"Socrates of Athens, because he refused to be released by his own friends, went before the tribunal, and was put to death. Farewell."

"Musonius to Apollonius the philosopher sends greeting.

"Socrates was put to death, because he would not take the trouble to defend himself; but I shall defend myself. Farewell."

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XLVII

CAP. XLVII Ἐξελαύνοντος δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῦ Νέρωνος, καὶ προκηρύξαντος δημοσίᾳ μηδένα ἐμφιλοσοφεῖν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τρέπεται ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐπὶ τὰ ἑσπέρια τῆς γῆς, ἃ φασιν ὁρίζεσθαι ταῖς Στήλαις, τὰς ἀμπώτεις τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ ἐποψόμενος καὶ τὰ Γάδειρα. καὶ γάρ τι καὶ περὶ φιλοσοφίας τῶν ἐκείνῃ ἀνθρώπων ἤκουεν, ὡς ἐς πολὺ τοῦ θείου προηκόντων, ἠκολούθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ γνώριμοι πάντες ἐπαινοῦντες καὶ τὴν ἀποδημίαν καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα.

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XLVII

CHAP. XLVII

Departs for Spain

WHEN Nero took his departure for Greece, after issuing a proclamation that no one should teach philosophy in public at Rome, Apollonius turned his steps to the Western regions of the earth, which they say are bounded by the Pillars, because he wished to visit and behold the ebb and flow of the ocean, and the city of Gadeira. For he had heard something of the love of wisdom entertained by the inhabitants of that country, and of how great an advance they had made in religion; and he was accompanied by all his pupils, who approved no less of the expedition than they did of the sage.

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BOOK V

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Ε′

I

CAP. I Περὶ δὲ τῶν Στηλῶν, ἃς ὅρια τῆς γῆς τὸν Ἡρακλέα φασὶ πήξασθαι, τὰ μὲν μυθώδη ἐῶ, τὰ δ' ἀκοῆς τε καὶ λόγου ἄξια δηλώσω μᾶλλον· Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης ἄκραι σταδίων ἑξήκοντα πορθμὸν ἐπέχουσαι τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἐς τὰ ἔσω πελάγη φέρουσι, καὶ τὴν μὲν τῆς Λιβύης ἄκραν, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ Ἄβιννα, λέοντες ὑπερνέμονται περὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς τῶν ὀρῶν, ἃ ἔσω ὑπερφαίνεται, ξυνάπτουσαν πρὸς Γαιτούλους καὶ Τίγγας ἄμφω θηριώδη καὶ Λιβυκὰ ἔθνη, παρατείνει δὲ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ὠκεανὸν μέχρι μὲν τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Σάληκος ἐννακόσια στάδια, τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν οὐκ ἂν ξυμβάλοι τις ὁπόσα, μετὰ γὰρ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἄβιος ἡ Λιβύη καὶ οὐκέτι ἄνθρωποι. τὸ δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀκρωτήριον, ὃ καλεῖται Κάλπις, δεξιὰ μὲν ἐπέχει τοῦ ἔσπλου, σταδίων ἑξακοσίων μῆκος, λήγει δὲ ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα Γάδειρα.

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BOOK V

I

CHAP. I

Account of the Pillars of Hercules

Now in regard to the Pillars which they say Hercules fixed in the ground as limits of the earth, I shall omit mere fables, and confine myself to recording what is worthy of our hearing and of our narrating. The extremes of Europe and Libya border on a strait sixty stadia wide, through which the ocean is admitted into the inner seas. The extremity of Libya, which bears the name Abinna, furnishes a haunt to lions, who hunt their prey along the brows of the mountains which are to be seen rising inland, and it marches with the Gaetuli and Tingae, both of them wild Libyan tribes; and it extends as you sail into the ocean as far as the mouth of the river Salex, some nine hundred stadia, and beyond that point a further distance which no one can compute, because when you have passed this river Libya is a desert which no longer supports a population. But the promontory of Europe, known as Calpis, stretches along the inlet of the ocean on the right hand side a distance of six hundred stadia, and terminates in the ancient city of Gadeira.

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II

CAP. II Τὰς δὲ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ τροπὰς καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν περὶ Κελτοὺς εἶδον, ὁποῖαι λέγονται, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἐπὶ πολλὰ εἰκάζων, δι' ἣν ἄπειρον οὕτω πέλαγος ἐπιχωρεῖ τε καὶ ἀνασπᾶται, δοκῶ μοι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐπεσκέφθαι τὸ ὄν. ἐν μιᾷ γὰρ τῶν πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς ἐπιστολῶν τὸν Ὠκεανόν φησιν ὑφύδροις ἐλαυνόμενον πνεύμασιν ἐκ πολλῶν χασμάτων, ἃ ὑπ' αὐτῷ τε καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἡ γῆ παρέχεται, χωρεῖν ἐς τὸ ἔξω καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν πάλιν, ἐπειδὰν ὥσπερ ἆσθμα ὑπονοστήσῃ τὸ πνεῦμα. πιστοῦται δὲ αὐτὸ κἀκ τῶν νοσούντων περὶ Γάδειρα· τὸν γὰρ χρόνον, ὃν πλημμυρεῖ τὸ ὕδωρ, οὐκ ἀπολείπουσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν ξυμβαίνειν, εἰ μὴ καὶ πνεῦμα τῇ γῇ ἐπεχώρει. ἃ δὲ περὶ τὴν σελήνην φασὶ φαίνεσθαι τικτομένην τε καὶ πληρουμένην καὶ φθίνουσαν, ταῦτα περὶ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν οἶδα, τὰ γὰρ ἐκείνης ἀνισοῖ μέτρα, ξυμμινύθων αὐτῇ καὶ ξυμπληρούμενος.

III

CAP. III Ἡμέρα δ' ἐκδέχεται νύκτα καὶ νὺξ τὴν ἡμέραν περὶ Κελτοὺς μὲν κατ' ὀλίγον ὑπαπιόντος τοῦ σκότους ἢ τοῦ φωτός, ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα, περὶ Γάδειρα δὲ καὶ Στήλας ἀθρόως λέγονται τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς

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II

CHAP. II
Remarks the Tides

Now I myself have seen among the Celts the ocean tides just as they are described; and after making various conjectures about why so vast a bulk of waters recedes and advances, I have come to the conclusion that Apollonius discerned the real truth. For in one of his letters to the Indians he says that the ocean is driven by submarine influences or spirits out of several chasms which the earth affords both underneath and around it, to advance outwards, and to recede again, whenever the influence or spirit, like the breath of our bodies, gives way and recedes. And this theory is confirmed by the course run by diseases in Gadeira; for at the time of high water the souls of the dying do not quit their bodies, and this would hardly happen, he says, unless the influence or spirit I have spoken of was also advancing towards the land. They also tell you of certain phenomena of the ocean in connection with the phases of the moon, according as it is born and reaches fulness and wanes. These phenomena I verified, for the ocean exactly keeps pace with the size of the moon, decreasing and increasing with her.

III

CHAP. III
Suddenness of sunset and dawn in Gadeira

And whereas the day succeeds the night and night succeeds the day in the land of the Celts by a very slow diminution of the darkness and of the light respectively, as in this country; in the neighbourhood of Gadeira on the contrary and of the Pillars, it is said that the change bursts upon the eyes all at

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CAP. III ἐμπίπτειν, ὥσπερ αἱ ἀστραπαί. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς Μακάρων νήσους ὁρίζεσθαι τῷ Λιβυκῷ τέρματι πρὸς τὸ ἀοίκητον ἀνεχούσας ἀκρωτήριον.

IV

CAP. IV Τὰ δὲ Γάδειρα κεῖται μὲν κατα τὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης τέρμα, περιττοὶ δέ εἰσι τὰ θεῖα· γήρως οὖν βωμὸν ἵδρυνται καὶ τὸν θάνατον μόνοι ἀνθρώπων παιωνίζονται, βωμοὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ καὶ πενίας καὶ τέχνης καὶ Ἡρακλέους Αἰγυπτίου καὶ ἕτεροι τοῦ Θηβαίου· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐγγὺς Ἐρύθειαν ἐλάσαι φασίν, ὅτε δὴ τὸν Γηρυόνην τε καὶ τὰς βοῦς ἐλεῖν, τὸν δὲ σοφίᾳ δόντα γῆν ἀναμετρήσασθαι πᾶσαν ἐς τέρμα. καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἑλληνικοὺς εἶναί φασι τὰ Γάδειρα καὶ παιδεύεσθαι τὸν ἡμεδαπὸν τρόπον· ἀσπάζεσθαι γοῦν Ἀθηναίους Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα, καὶ Μενεσθεῖ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ θύειν, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ τὸν ναύμαχον σοφίας τε καὶ ἀνδρείας ἀγασθέντες χαλκοῦν ἵδρυνται ἔννουν καὶ ὥσπερ χρησμῷ ἐφιστάντα.

V

CAP. V Ἰδεῖν καὶ δένδρα φασὶν ἐνταῦθα, οἷα οὐχ ἑτέρωθι τῆς γῆς, καὶ Γηρυόνεια μὲν καλεῖσθαι αὐτά, δύο

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once, like a flash of lightning. And they also say that the Islands of the Blessed are to be fixed by the limits of Libya where they rise towards the uninhabited promontory. CHAP. III

IV

Now the city of Gadeira is situated at the extreme end of Europe, and its inhabitants are excessively given to religion; so much so that they have set up an altar to old age, and unlike any other race they sing hymns in honour of death; and altars are found there set up to poverty, and to art, and to Hercules of Egypt, and there are others in honour of Hercules the Theban. For they say that the latter advanced against the neighbouring city of Erythea, on which occasion he took captive Geryon and his cows; the other, they say, in his devotion to wisdom measured the whole earth up to its limits. They say moreover that there is a Hellenic culture at Gadeira, and that they educate themselves in our own fashion; anyhow, that they are fonder of the Athenians than of any other Hellenes, and they offer sacrifice to Menestheus the Athenian, and from admiration of Themistocles the naval commander, and to honour him for his wisdom and bravery, they have set up a brazen statue of him in a thoughtful attitude and, as it were, pondering an oracle. CHAP. IV Description of Gadeira Its Hellenism

V

They say also that they saw trees here such as are not found elsewhere upon the earth; and that these CHAP. V

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CAP. V δὲ εἶναι, φύεσθαι δὲ τοῦ σήματος, ὃ ἐπὶ τῷ Γηρυόνῃ ἕστηκε, παραλλάττοντα ἐκ πίτυός τε καὶ πεύκης ἐς εἶδος ἕτερον, λείβεσθαι δὲ αἵματι, καθάπερ τῷ χρυσῷ τὴν Ἠλιάδα αἴγειρον. ἡ δὲ νῆσος, ἐν ᾗ τὸ ἱερόν, ἔστι μὲν ὁπόση ὁ νεώς, πετρῶδες δὲ αὐτῆς οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ βαλβῖδι ξεστῇ εἴκασται. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τιμᾶσθαι μὲν ἄμφω τὼ Ἡρακλέε φασίν, ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτοῖν οὐκ εἶναι, βωμοὺς δὲ τοῦ μὲν Αἰγυπτίου δύο χαλκοῦς καὶ ἀσήμους, ἕνα δὲ τοῦ Θηβαίου—τὰς δὲ ὕδρας τε καὶ τὰς Διομήδους ἵππους καὶ τὰ δώδεκα Ἡρακλέους ἔργα ἐκτετυπῶσθαί φασι κἀνταῦθα—λίθου ὄντα. ἡ Πυγμαλίωνος δὲ ἐλαία ἡ χρυσῆ, ἀνάκειται δὲ κἀκείνη ἐς τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ἀξία μέν, ὥς φασι, καὶ τοῦ θαλλοῦ θαυμάζειν, ᾧ εἴκασται, θαυμάζεσθαι δ' ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ μᾶλλον, βρύειν γὰρ αὐτὸν σμαράγδου λίθου. καὶ Τεύκρου τοῦ Τελαμωνίου ζωστῆρα χρυσοῦν φασι δείκνυσθαι, πῶς δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὠκεανὸν πλεύσαντος ἢ ἐφ' ὅ τι, οὔτε αὐτὸς ὁ Δάμις ξυνιδεῖν φησιν οὔτε ἐκείνων ἀκοῦσαι. τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ στήλας χρυσοῦ μὲν πεποιῆσθαι καὶ ἀργύρου ξυντετηκότοιν ἐς ἓν χρῶμα, εἶναι δὲ αὐτὰς ὑπὲρ πῆχυν τετραγώνου τέχνης, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄκμονες, ἐπιγεγράφθαι δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίοις οὔτε Ἰνδικοῖς γράμμασιν, οὔτε οἵοις ξυμβαλεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὡς οὐδὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἔφραζον, "οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ μοι," ἔφη, "ὁ

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were called trees of Geryon. There were two of them, and they grew upon the mound raised over Geryon: they were a cross between the pitch tree and the pine, and formed a third species; and blood dripped from their bark, just as gold does from the Heliad poplar. Now the island on which the shrine is built is of exactly the same size as the temple, and there is not a rough stone to be found in it, for the whole of it has been given the form of a polished turning-post. In the shrine they say there is maintained a cult both of one and the other Hercules, though there are no images of them; altars however there are, namely, to the Egyptian Hercules two of bronze and perfectly plain, to the Theban, one of stone; on the latter they say are engraved in relief hydras and the mares of Diomede and the twelve labours of Hercules. And as to the golden olive of Pygmalion, it too is preserved in the temple of Hercules, and it excited their admiration by the clever way in which the branch work was imitated; and they were still more astonished at its fruit, for this teemed with emeralds. And they say that the girdle of Teucer of Telamon was also exhibited there of gold, but how he ever sailed as far as the ocean, or why he did so, neither Damis by his own admission could understand nor ascertain from the people of the place. But he says that the pillars in the temple were made of gold and silver smelted together so as to be of one colour, and they were over a cubit high, of square form, resembling anvils; and their capitals were inscribed with letters which were neither Egyptian nor Indian nor of any kind which he could decipher. But Apollonius, since the priests would tell him nothing, remarked: "Hercules

CHAP. V

The trees of Geryon

Altars of Hercules

Girdle of Teucer

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CAP. V

Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος μὴ οὐ λέγειν, ὁπόσα οἶδα· Γῆς καὶ Ὠκεανοῦ ξύνδεσμοι αἵδε αἱ στῆλαί εἰσιν, ἐπεγράψατο δὲ αὐτὰς ἐκεῖνος ἐν Μοιρῶν οἴκῳ, ὡς μήτε νεῖκος τοῖς στοιχείοις ἐγγένοιτο μήτε ἀτιμάσειαν τὴν φιλότητα, ἣν ἀλλήλων ἴσχουσιν."

VI

CAP. VI

Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναπλῶσαι τὸν Βαῖτιν, ὃς δηλοῖ μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ φύσιν· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ πλημμύρῃ τὸ πέλαγος, ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς ὁ ποταμὸς παλίρρους ἴεται, πνεύματος δήπου ἀπωθουμένου αὐτὸν τῆς θαλάττης. τὴν δὲ ἤπειρον τὴν Βαιτικήν, ἧς ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος ὁμώνυμος, ἀρίστην ἠπείρων φασί, πόλεών τε γὰρ εὖ ἔχειν καὶ νομῶν, καὶ διῖχθαι τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἄστη πάντα, γεωργίας τε ξυμπάσης μεστὴν εἶναι καὶ ὡρῶν, οἷαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς αἱ μετοπώριναί τε καὶ μυστηριώτιδες.

VII

CAP. VII

Διαλέξεις δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ παραπεσόντων ὁ Δάμις πλείους μὲν γενέσθαι φησίν, ἀξίας δὲ τοῦ ἀναγράψαι τάσδε· καθημένων ποτὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἀναγελάσας ὁ Μένιππος, ἀναμέμνητο δὲ ἄρα τοῦ Νέρωνος, "τί," ἔφη, "τὸν γενναῖον ἡγώμεθα; τίνας," ἔφη, "ἐστεφανῶσθαι τῶν

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of Egypt does not permit me not to tell all I know. These pillars are ties between earth and ocean, and they were inscribed by Hercules in the house of the Fates, to prevent any discord arising between the elements, and to save their mutual affection for one another from violation." CHAP. V Unknown Inscriptions

VI

THEY tell also of how they sailed up the river Baetis, which throws no little light upon the nature of the ocean. For whenever it is high tide, the river in its course remounts towards its sources, because apparently a current of air drives it away from the sea. And the mainland of Baetica, after which this river is called, is the best by their account of any continent; for it is well furnished with cities and pastures, and the river is brought by canals through all the towns, and it is very highly cultivated with all sorts of crops; and it enjoys a climate similar to that of Attica in the autumn season when the mysteries are celebrated. CHAP. VI Description of Baetica

VII

THE conversations which Apollonius held about things which met his eyes were, according to Damis, many in number, but the following he said deserve to be recorded. On one occasion they were sitting in the temple of Hercules and Menippus gave a laugh, for it happened that Nero had just come into his mind, "And what," he said, "are we to think of this splendid fellow? In which of the CHAP. VII. Discussion of Nero and the Olympic games

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CAP. VII

ἀγώνων; τοὺς δὲ βελτίστους Ἕλληνας οὐ ξὺν ὅλῳ γέλωτι φοιτᾶν ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις;" ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὡς μὲν ἐγώ," ἔφη, "Τελεσίνου ἤκουον, δέδιεν ὁ χρηστὸς Νέρων τὰς Ἠλείων μάστιγας· παρακελευομένων γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν κολάκων νικᾶν τὰ Ὀλύμπια καὶ ἀνακηρύττειν τὴν Ῥώμην, "ἦν γε," ἔφη, "μὴ βασκήνωσιν Ἠλεῖοι, λέγονται γὰρ μαστιγοῦν καὶ φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐμέ," πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνοητότερα τούτων προανεφώνησεν. ἐγὼ δὲ νικήσειν μὲν Νέρωνα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ φημί, τίς γὰρ οὕτω θρασύς, ὡς ἐναντίαν θέσθαι; Ὀλύμπια δὲ οὐ νικήσειν, ἅτε μηδὲ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἄγουσι· πατρίου μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις τοῦ πέρυσιν ἐνιαυτοῦ ὄντος, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Ἠλείους Νέρων ἀναβαλέσθαι αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιδημίαν, ὡς ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ Διὶ θύσοντας· τραγῳδίαν δ' ἐπαγγεῖλαι καὶ κιθαρῳδίαν ἀνδράσιν, οἷς μήτε θέατρόν ἐστι μήτε σκηνὴ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα, στάδιον δὲ αὐτοφυὲς καὶ γυμνὰ πάντα, τὸν δὲ νικᾶν, ἃ χρὴ ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι, καὶ τὴν Αὐγούστου τε καὶ Ἰουλίου σκευὴν ῥίψαντα μεταμφιέννυσθαι νῦν τὴν Ἀμοιβέως καὶ Τερπνοῦ, τί φήσεις; καὶ τὰ μὲν Κρέοντός τε καὶ Οἰδίποδος οὕτως ἐξακριβοῦν, ὡς δεδιέναι, μή πη λάθῃ ἁμαρτὼν θύρας ἢ στολῆς ἢ σκήπτρου, ἑαυτοῦ

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contests has he won wreaths of late? Don't you think that self-respecting Hellenes must shake with laughter when they are on their way to the festivals?" And Apollonius replied: "As I have heard from Telesinus, the worthy Nero is afraid of the whips of the Eleans; for when his flatterers urged him to win at Olympia and to proclaim Rome as the victor, he answered: 'Yes, if the Eleans will only not depreciate me, for they are said to use whips and to look down upon me.' And many worse bits of nonsense than this forecast fell from his lips. I however admit that Nero will conquer *at* Olympia, for who is bold enough to enter the lists against him? But I deny that he will win at *the* Olympic festival, because they are not keeping it at the right season. For custom requires that this should have been held last year, but Nero has ordered the Eleans to put it off until his own visit, in order that they may sacrifice to him rather than to Zeus. And it is said that he has announced a tragedy and a performance on the harp for people who have neither a theatre nor a stage for such entertainments, but only the stadium which nature has provided, and races which are all run by athletes stripped of their clothes. He however is going to take the prize for performances which he ought to have hidden in the dark, for he has thrown off the robes of Augustus and Julius and has dressed himself up in the garb of an Amoebeus and a Terpnus. What can you say of such a record? And then he betrays such a meticulous care in playing the part of Creon and Oedipus, that he is afraid of falling into some error, of coming in by the wrong door, or of wearing the wrong dress, of using the wrong sceptre; but he has so entirely forgotten his own dignity and that of

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CAP. VII δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων οὕτως ἐκπίπτειν, ὡς ἀντὶ τοῦ νομοθετεῖν νόμους ᾄδειν καὶ ἀγείρειν ἔξω θυρῶν, ὧν ἔσω χρὴ καθῆσθαι τὸν βασιλέα χρηματίζοντα ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης; εἰσίν, ὦ Μένιππε, τραγῳδοὶ πλείους, ἐς οὓς Νέρων ἑαυτὸν γράφει· τί οὖν; εἴ τις αὐτῶν μετὰ τὸν Οἰνόμαον ἢ τὸν Κρεσφόντην ἀπελθὼν τοῦ θεάτρου, μεστὸς οὕτω τοῦ προσωπείου γένοιτο, ὡς ἄρχειν μὲν ἑτέρων βούλεσθαι, τύραννον δὲ αὐτὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, τί καὶ φήσεις τοῦτον; ἆρ' οὐκ ἐλλεβόρου δεῖσθαι καὶ φαρμακοποσίας, ὁπόση τοὺς νοῦς ἐκκαθαίρει; εἰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ τυραννεύων ἐς τραγῳδοὺς καὶ τεχνίτας τὰ πράγματα ἑαυτοῦ ἄγοι, λεαίνων τὴν φωνὴν καὶ δεδιὼς τὸν Ἠλεῖον ἢ τὸν Δελφόν, ἢ μὴ δεδιὼς μέν, κακῶς δὲ οὕτως ὑποκρινόμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τέχνην, ὡς [μὴ] μαστιγώσεσθαι νομίζειν πρὸς τούτων, ὧν αὐτὸς ἄρχειν τέτακται, τί τοὺς κακοδαίμονας ἀνθρώπους ἐρεῖς ὑπὸ τοιούτῳ καθάρματι ζῶντας; τοῖς δὲ Ἕλλησι τίνα ἡγῇ, ὦ Μένιππε; πότερα Ξέρξην καταπιμπράντα ἢ Νέρωνα ᾄδοντα; εἰ γὰρ ἐνθυμηθείης τὴν ἀγοράν, ἣν ἐς τὰς ἐκείνου ᾠδὰς ξυμφέρουσι, καὶ ὡς ἐξωθοῦνται τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἔξεστι σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν ἢ σκεῦος ἢ ἀνδράποδον αὐτοῖς πεπᾶσθαι, περὶ γυναίοις τε καὶ παισὶν ὡς δεινὰ πείσονται τὰς ἐπιρρήτους ἡδονὰς ἐξ ἁπάσης οἰκίας ἐκλέγοντος τοῦ Νέρωνος, δίκαι τε ὡς πολλαὶ ἀναφύσονται, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἔα, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς θεάτροις καὶ ταῖς ᾠδαῖς· οὐκ ἦλθες ἀκροασόμενος Νέρωνος, ἢ παρῆσθα μέν, ῥᾳθύμως

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the Romans, that instead of carrying on the work of making laws, he has taken to singing, and strolls like a player outside the gates within which the Emperor ought to take his seat on his throne, deciding the fate of land and sea. There are, O Menippus, several troupes in which Nero has inscribed himself as an actor. What next? Supposing any one of these actors quitted the theatre after playing Oenomaus or Cresphontes, so full of his part as to want to rule others, and imagine himself to be a tyrant, what would you say of him? Surely you would recommend a dose of hellebore and the taking of drugs of a kind to clear the intellect? Well, here is the man himself who wields absolute power, throwing in his lot with actors and artists, cultivating a soft voice and trembling before the people of Elis or of Delphi; or if he does not tremble, yet misrepresenting his art so thoroughly as [not] to anticipate he will be whipped by the people over whom he has been set to rule. What will you say of the unhappy people who have to live under such a scum? And in what light do you think the Hellenes regard him? Is it as a Xerxes burning their houses down or as a Nero singing songs? Think of the supplies they have to collect for his songs, and how they are thrust out of their houses and forbidden to own a decent bit of furniture or slave. Think of how Nero picks out of every other house women and children, to gratify his infamous desires, and of the horrors they will suffer over them, of the crop of prosecutions which will be brought, and without dwelling upon the rest, just fix your attention upon those which will arise out of his theatrical and singing ambitions. This is what you hear: 'You did not come to listen to Nero,' or: 'You were

CHAP. VII

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CAP. VII δὲ ἠκροῶ, ἐγέλας, οὐκ ἐκρότησας, οὐκ ἔθυσας ὑπὲρ τῆς φωνῆς, ἵνα Πυθῶδε λαμπροτέρα ἔλθοι· πολλαί σοι δόξουσι θεατῶν Ἰλιάδες περὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι. τὸ γὰρ τετμήσεσθαι τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἢ οὐ τετμήσεσθαι, τέμνεται δέ, ὥς φασι, νῦν, πάλαι προὔμαθον θεοῦ φήναντος." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Δάμις, "ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, τὸ περὶ τὴν τομὴν ἔργον ὑπερφωνεῖν δοκεῖ τὰ Νέρωνος πάντα, ἡ γὰρ διάνοια ὁρᾷς, ὡς μεγάλη." "δοκεῖ μέν," ἔφη, "κἀμοί, ὦ Δάμι, τὸ δὲ ἀτελὲς αὐτῆς διαβάλλει αὐτόν, ὡς ἀτελῆ μὲν ἄδοντα, ἀτελῆ δὲ ὀρύττοντα. τά τοι Ξέρξου ἀναλεγόμενος ἐπαινῶ τὸν ἄνδρα, οὐχ ὅτι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔζευξεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι διέβη αὐτόν, Νέρωνα δὲ οὔτε πλευσούμενον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ὁρῶ οὔτε ἐς τέρμα τῆς ὀρυχῆς ἥξοντα, δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ φόβου μεστὸς ἀναχωρῆσαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, εἰ μὴ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἀπόλωλεν."

VIII

CAP. VIII Ἀφικομένου δέ τινος ἐς Γάδειρα μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν τοὺς ταχεῖς διαθεόντων δρόμους, καὶ κελεύοντος εὐαγγέλια θύειν τρισολυμπιονίκην Νέρωνα ᾄδοντας, τὰ μὲν Γάδειρα ξυνίει τῆς νίκης καὶ ὅτι ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ

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present, but you listened to him without enthusiasm,' 'You laughed,' or 'You did not clap your hands,' or 'You have not offered a sacrifice in behalf of his voice nor prayed that it may be more splendid than ever at the Pythian festival.' You can imagine that the Greeks will endure whole Iliads of woe at these spectacles. For I have long ago learned by the revelation of heaven that the Isthmus will be cut through or will not be cut through, and just now, they say, it is being cut." Here Damis took him up and said: "As for myself, O Apollonius, I think this scheme of cutting through the Isthmus excels all other undertakings of Nero, for you yourself see how magnificent a project it is." "I admit," he said, "that it is, O Damis; but it will go against him that he never could complete it, that just as he never finished his songs, so he never finished his digging. When I review the career of Xerxes, I am disposed to praise him not because he bridged the Hellespont, but because he got across it; but as for Nero, I perceive that he will neither sail his ships through the Isthmus, nor ever come to an end of his digging; and I believe, unless truth has wholly departed from among men, that he has retired from Hellas in a fit of panic." CHAP. VII

VIII

At this time a swift runner arrived at Gadeira, and ordered them to offer sacrifices for the good tidings, and to sing hymns in honour of Nero who had thrice won the prize at Olympia. In the city of Gadeira indeed they understood the meaning of the victory, and that there had been some famous contest in CHAP. VIII

Spanish impressions of Nero's Olympic victories

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CAP. VIII τις εἴη ἀγὼν εὐδόκιμος, ἐπειδή, ὡς εἶπον, ἐς τὰ Ἑλλήνων σπεύδουσιν, αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἱ πρόσοικοι τοῖς Γαδείροις οὔτε ἐγίγνωσκον ὅ τι εἴη τὰ Ὀλύμπια, οὐδ' ὅ τι ἀγωνία ἢ ἀγών, οὐδὲ ἐφ' ὅτῳ θύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπήγοντο ἐς γελοίους, δόξας πολέμου νίκην ἡγούμενοι ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι ὁ Νέρων ᾠήκοι τινὰς ἀνθρώπους Ὀλυμπίους· οὐδὲ γὰρ τραγῳδίας ποτὲ ἢ κιθαρῳδίας θεαταὶ ἐγεγόνεσαν.

IX

CAP. IX Τοὺς γοῦν οἰκοῦντας τὰ Ἴπολα, πόλις δὲ κἀκείνη Βαιτική, φησὶν ὁ Δάμις παθεῖν τι πρὸς τραγῳδίας ὑποκριτήν, οὗ κἀμὲ ἄξιον ἐπιμνησθῆναι· θυουσῶν γὰρ τῶν πόλεων θαμὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἱ Πυθικαὶ ἤδη ἀπηγγέλλοντο, τραγῳδίας ὑποκριτὴς τῶν οὐκ ἀξιουμένων ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι τῷ Νέρωνι ἐπῄει τὰς ἑσπερίους πόλεις ἀγείρων, καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ χρώμενος ἡδοκίμει παρὰ τοῖς ἧττον βαρβάροις, πρῶτον μὲν δι' αὐτὸ τὸ ἥκειν παρ' ἀνθρώπους, οἳ μήπω τραγῳδίας ἤκουσαν, εἶτ' ἐπειδὴ τὰς Νέρωνος μελῳδίας ἀκριβοῦν ἔφασκε. παρελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὰ Ἴπολα φοβερὸς μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο καὶ ὃν ἐσιώπα χρόνον ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς, καὶ ὁρῶντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι βαδίζοντα μὲν αὐτὸν μέγα, κεχηνότα δὲ τοσοῦτον, ἐφεστῶτα δὲ ὀκρί-

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Arcadia; for, as I said before, the people of Gadeira affect Hellenic civilisation. But the cities in the neighbourhood of Gadeira neither knew what the Olympic festival was, nor what a contest nor an arena meant; nor did they understand what they were sacrificing for, but they indulged in the most ridiculous suppositions, and imagined that it was a victory in war that Nero had won and that he had taken captive some men called Olympians; for they had never been spectators either of a tragedy or of a harp-playing performance. CHAP. VIII

IX

CHAP. IX

Effect of a tragic actor on the people of Ipola

Damis indeed speaks of the singular effect which a tragic actor produced upon the minds of the inhabitants of Ipola, which is a city of Baetica, and I think the story is worthy of being reproduced by me. The cities were multiplying their sacrifices in honour of the Emperor's victories, for those at the Pythian festival were already announced, when an actor of tragedy, who was one of those that had not ventured to contend for the prize against Nero, was on a strolling tour round the cities of the west, and by his histrionic talent he had won no small fame among the less barbarous of the populations, for two reasons, firstly because he found himself among people who had never before heard a tragedy, and secondly because he pretended exactly to reproduce the melodies of Nero. But when he appeared at Ipola, they showed some fear of him before he ever opened his lips upon the stage, and they shrank in dismay at his appearance when they

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CAP. IX βασιν οὕτως ὑψηλοῖς τερατώδη τε τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐσθήματα, οὐκ ἄφοβοι ἦσαν τοῦ σχήματος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξάρας τὴν φωνὴν γεγωνὸν ἐφθέγξατο, φυγῇ οἱ πλεῖστοι ᾤχοντο, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ δαίμονος ἐμβοηθέντες. τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ ἤθη τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων καὶ οὕτως ἀρχαῖα.

X

CAP. X Σπουδὴν δὲ ποιουμένου τοῦ τὴν Βαιτικὴν ἐπιτροπεύοντος ἐς ξυνουσίαν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐλθεῖν, ὁ μὲν ἀηδεῖς ἔφη τὰς ξυνουσίας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ φαίνεσθαι τοῖς μὴ φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ προσέκειτο αἰτῶν τοῦτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ χρηστός τε εἶναι ἐλέγετο καὶ διαβεβλημένος πρὸς τοὺς Νέρωνος μίμους, γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἵν' ἐς τὰ Γάδειρα ἔλθοι, ὁ δὲ ἀφελὼν τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄγκον ξὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις ἦλθεν. ἀσπασάμενοι δὲ ἀλλήλους καὶ μεταστησάμενοι τοὺς παρόντας, ὅ τι μὲν διελέχθησαν, οὐδεὶς οἶδε, τεκμαίρεται δὲ ὁ Δάμις ἐπὶ Νέρωνα ξυμβῆναι σφᾶς. τριῶν γὰρ ἡμερῶν ἰδίᾳ σπουδάσαντες, ὁ μὲν ἀπῄει περιβαλὼν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὁ δέ, "ἔρρωσο," ἔφη, "καὶ μέμνησο τοῦ Βίνδικος." τί δὲ τοῦτο ἦν; ἐπὶ Νέρωνα ἐν Ἀχαίᾳ ᾄδοντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἑσπέρια λέγεται κινῆσαι Βίνδιξ, ἀνὴρ οἷος ἐκτεμεῖν τὰς νευράς, ἃς Νέρων ἀμαθῶς ἔψαλλε, πρὸς γὰρ τὰ στρατόπεδα, οἷς ἐπετέτακτο, λόγον κατ' αὐτοῦ διῆλθεν, ὃν ἐκ πάνυ γενναίας φιλοσοφίας ἐπὶ τύραννον ἄν τις πνεύσειεν· ἔφη γὰρ

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saw him striding across the stage, with his mouth all agape, mounted on buskins extra high, and clad in the most wonderful garments; but when he lifted up his voice and bellowed out loud, most of them took to their heels, as if they had a demon yelling at them. Such and so old-fashioned are the manners of the barbarians of that country. CHAP. IX

X

CHAP. X

Interview with the Governor of Baetica at Gadeira

THE governor of Baetica was very anxious to have a conversation with Apollonius, and though the latter said that his conversation must seem tedious to any but philosophers, the other insisted in his demand. And as he was said to be a worthy person and detested of the mimes of Nero, Apollonius wrote to him a letter asking him to come to Gadeira; and he, divesting himself of all the pomp of authority, came with a few of his most intimate friends. They greeted one another, and no one knows what they said to one another in an interview from which they excluded the rest of the company; but Damis hazards the opinion that they formed a plot together against Nero. For after three days spent in private conversations, the governor went away, after embracing Apollonius, while the latter said: "Farewell, and do not forget Vindex." Now what was the meaning of this? When Nero was singing in Achaea, Vindex is said to have stirred up against him the nations of the West, and he was a man quite capable of cutting out the strings which Nero so ignorantly twanged. For he addressed a speech, inspired by the loftiest sentiments which a man can feel against a tyrant, to the troops which he

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CAP. X Νέρωνα εἶναι πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ κιθαρῳδὸν καὶ κιθαρῳδὸν μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλέα. προφέρειν δὲ αὐτῷ μανίαν μὲν καὶ φιλοχρηματίαν καὶ ὠμότητα καὶ ἀσέλγειαν πᾶσαν, τὸ δὲ ὠμότατον τῶν ἐκείνου μὴ προφέρειν αὐτῷ· τὴν γὰρ μητέρα ἐν δίκῃ ἀπεκτονέναι, ἐπειδὴ τοιοῦτον ἔτεκε. ταῦτ' οὖν ὡς ἔσται προγιγνώσκων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ξυνέταττε τῷ Βίνδικι ὅμορον ἄρχοντα, μονονουχὶ ὅπλα ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥώμης τιθέμενος.

XI

CAP. XI Φλεγμαινόντων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν, τρέπονται τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Λιβύην καὶ Τυρρηνούς, καὶ τὰ μὲν πεζῇ βαδίζοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ πλοίων πορευόμενοι κατίσχουσιν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, οὗ τὸ Λιλύβαιον. παραπλεύσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην τε καὶ πορθμόν, ἔνθα ὁ Τυρρηνὸς Ἀδρίᾳ ξυμβάλλων χαλεπὴν ἐργάζονται τὴν Χάρυβδιν, ἀκοῦσαί φασιν, ὡς Νέρων μὲν πεφεύγοι, τεθνήκοι δὲ Βίνδιξ, ἅπτοιντο δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς οἱ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Ῥώμης, οἱ δὲ ὁπόθεν τύχοι τῶν ἐθνῶν. ἐρομένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν ἑταίρων, οἳ προβήσοιτο ταῦτα καὶ ὅτου λοιπὸν ἡ ἀρχὴ ἔσοιτο, "πολλῶν," εἶπε, "Θηβαίων." τὴν γὰρ ἰσχύν, ᾗ πρὸς ὀλίγον Βιτέλιος τε καὶ Γάλβας καὶ Ὄθων ἐχρήσαντο, Θηβαίοις εἴκασεν, οἳ χρόνον κομιδῇ βραχὺν ἦχθησαν ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα.

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commanded, and he declared in it that Nero was anything rather than a harpist, and a harpist rather than a sovereign. And he taxed him with madness and avarice and cruelty and wantonness of every kind, though he omitted to tax him with the cruellest of his crimes; for he said that he had quite rightly put to death his mother, because she had born such a monster. Apollonius, forecasting how all this must be, had accordingly brought into line with Vindex the governor of a neighbouring province, and so all but took up arms himself in behalf of Rome. CHAP. X

XI

CHAP. XI

Predicts the short reigns of Vitellius, Galba, and Otho

But as matters in the west were in such an inflamed condition Apollonius and his friends returned thence towards Libya and the Tyrrhenian land; and, partly on foot and partly by sea, they made their way to Sicily, where they stopped at Lilybaeum. Then they coasted along to Messina and to the Straits, where the junction of the Tyrrhenian Sea with the Adriatic gives rise to the dangers of Charybdis. Here they say they heard that Nero had taken to flight, though Vindex was dead; and that various claimants were snatching at the throne, some from Rome itself, and others from various countries. Now when his companions asked him what would be the issue of these events, and who would get possession, in the end, of the throne, he answered: "Many Thebans will have it." For he compared the pretenders, namely, Vitellius and Galba and Otho, in view of the short lease of power which they enjoyed, to Thebans, for it was only during a very short time that they held dominion over the Hellenic world.

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CAP. III ἐμπίπτειν, ὥσπερ αἱ ἀστραπαί. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς Μακάρων νήσους ὁρίζεσθαι τῷ Λιβυκῷ τέρματι πρὸς τὸ ἀοίκητον ἀνεχούσας ἀκρωτήριον.

IV

CAP. IV Τὰ δὲ Γάδειρα κεῖται μὲν κατὰ τὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης τέρμα, περιττοὶ δέ εἰσι τὰ θεῖα· γήρως οὖν βωμὸν ἵδρυνται καὶ τὸν θάνατον μόνοι ἀνθρώπων παιωνίζονται, βωμοὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ καὶ πενίας καὶ τέχνης καὶ Ἡρακλέους Αἰγυπτίου καὶ ἕτεροι τοῦ Θηβαίου· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐγγὺς Ἐρύθειαν ἐλάσαι φασίν, ὅτε δὴ τὸν Γηρυόνην τε καὶ τὰς βοῦς ἐλεῖν, τὸν δὲ σοφίᾳ δόντα γῆν ἀναμετρήσασθαι πᾶσαν ἐς τέρμα. καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἑλληνικοὺς εἶναί φασι τὰ Γάδειρα καὶ παιδεύεσθαι τὸν ἡμεδαπὸν τρόπον· ἀσπάζεσθαι γοῦν Ἀθηναίους Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα, καὶ Μενεσθεῖ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ θύειν, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ τὸν ναύμαχον σοφίας τε καὶ ἀνδρείας ἀγασθέντες χαλκοῦν ἵδρυνται ἔννουν καὶ ὥσπερ χρησμῷ ἐφιστάντα.

V

CAP. V Ἰδεῖν καὶ δένδρα φασὶν ἐνταῦθα, οἷα οὐχ ἑτέρωθι τῆς γῆς, καὶ Γηρυόνεια μὲν καλεῖσθαι αὐτά, δύο

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once, like a flash of lightning. And they also say that the Islands of the Blessed are to be fixed by the limits of Libya where they rise towards the uninhabited promontory. CHAP. III

IV

Now the city of Gadeira is situated at the extreme end of Europe, and its inhabitants are excessively given to religion; so much so that they have set up an altar to old age, and unlike any other race they sing hymns in honour of death; and altars are found there set up to poverty, and to art, and to Hercules of Egypt, and there are others in honour of Hercules the Theban. For they say that the latter advanced against the neighbouring city of Erythea, on which occasion he took captive Geryon and his cows; the other, they say, in his devotion to wisdom measured the whole earth up to its limits. They say moreover that there is a Hellenic culture at Gadeira, and that they educate themselves in our own fashion; anyhow, that they are fonder of the Athenians than of any other Hellenes, and they offer sacrifice to Menestheus the Athenian, and from admiration of Themistocles the naval commander, and to honour him for his wisdom and bravery, they have set up a brazen statue of him in a thoughtful attitude and, as it were, pondering an oracle. CHAP. IV Description of Gadeira Its Hellenism

V

They say also that they saw trees here such as are not found elsewhere upon the earth; and that these CHAP. V

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CAP. V δὲ εἶναι, φύεσθαι δὲ τοῦ σήματος, ὃ ἐπὶ τῷ Γηρυόνῃ ἕστηκε, παραλλάττοντα ἐκ πίτυός τε καὶ πεύκης ἐς εἶδος ἕτερον, λείβεσθαι δὲ αἵματι, καθάπερ τῷ χρυσῷ τὴν Ἡλιάδα ἄϊγειρον. ἡ δὲ νῆσος, ἐν ᾗ τὸ ἱερόν, ἔστι μὲν ὁπόση ὁ νεώς, πετρῶδες δὲ αὐτῆς οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ βαλβῖδι ξεστῇ εἴκασται. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τιμᾶσθαι μὲν ἄμφω τὼ Ἡρακλέε φασίν, ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτοῖν οὐκ εἶναι, βωμοὺς δὲ τοῦ μὲν Αἰγυπτίου δύο χαλκοῦς καὶ ἀσήμους, ἕνα δὲ τοῦ Θηβαίου—τὰς δὲ ὕδρας τε καὶ τὰς Διομήδους ἵππους καὶ τὰ δώδεκα Ἡρακλέους ἔργα ἐκτετυπῶσθαί φασι κἀνταῦθα—λίθου ὄντα. ἡ Πυγμαλίωνος δὲ ἐλαία ἡ χρυσῆ, ἀνάκειται δὲ κἀκείνη ἐς τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ἀξία μέν, ὥς φασι, καὶ τοῦ θαλλοῦ θαυμάζειν, ᾧ εἴκασται, θαυμάζεσθαι δ' ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ μᾶλλον, βρύειν γὰρ αὐτὸν σμαράγδου λίθου. καὶ Τεύκρου τοῦ Τελαμωνίου ζωστῆρα χρυσοῦν φασι δείκνυσθαι, πῶς δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὠκεανὸν πλεύσαντος ἢ ἐφ' ὅ τι, οὔτε αὐτὸς ὁ Δάμις ξυνιδεῖν φησιν οὔτε ἐκείνων ἀκοῦσαι. τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ στήλας χρυσοῦ μὲν πεποιῆσθαι καὶ ἀργύρου ξυντετηκότοιν ἐς ἓν χρῶμα, εἶναι δὲ αὐτὰς ὑπὲρ πῆχυν τετραγώνου τέχνης, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄκμονες, ἐπιγεγράφθαι δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίοις οὔτε Ἰνδικοῖς γράμμασιν, οὔτε οἵοις ξυμβαλεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὡς οὐδὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἔφραζον, "οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ μοι," ἔφη, "ὁ

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were called trees of Geryon. There were two of them, and they grew upon the mound raised over Geryon: they were a cross between the pitch tree and the pine, and formed a third species; and blood dripped from their bark, just as gold does from the Heliad poplar. Now the island on which the shrine is built is of exactly the same size as the temple, and there is not a rough stone to be found in it, for the whole of it has been given the form of a polished turning-post. In the shrine they say there is maintained a cult both of one and the other Hercules, though there are no images of them; altars however there are, namely, to the Egyptian Hercules two of bronze and perfectly plain, to the Theban, one of stone; on the latter they say are engraved in relief hydras and the mares of Diomede and the twelve labours of Hercules. And as to the golden olive of Pygmalion, it too is preserved in the temple of Hercules, and it excited their admiration by the clever way in which the branch work was imitated; and they were still more astonished at its fruit, for this teemed with emeralds. And they say that the girdle of Teucer of Telamon was also exhibited there of gold, but how he ever sailed as far as the ocean, or why he did so, neither Damis by his own admission could understand nor ascertain from the people of the place. But he says that the pillars in the temple were made of gold and silver smelted together so as to be of one colour, and they were over a cubit high, of square form, resembling anvils; and their capitals were inscribed with letters which were neither Egyptian nor Indian nor of any kind which he could decipher. But Apollonius, since the priests would tell him nothing, remarked: "Hercules

CHAP. V

The trees of Geryon

Altars of Hercules

Girdle of Teucer

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CAP. V

Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος μὴ οὐ λέγειν, ὁπόσα οἶδα· Γῆς καὶ Ὠκεανοῦ ξύνδεσμοι αἵδε αἱ στῆλαί εἰσιν, ἐπεγράψατο δὲ αὐτὰς ἐκεῖνος ἐν Μοιρῶν οἴκῳ, ὡς μήτε νεῖκος τοῖς στοιχείοις ἐγγένοιτο μήτε ἀτιμάσειαν τὴν φιλότητα, ἣν ἀλλήλων ἴσχουσιν."

VI

CAP. VI

Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναπλῶσαι τὸν Βαῖτιν, ὃς δηλοῖ μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ φύσιν· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ πλημμύρῃ τὸ πέλαγος, ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς ὁ ποταμὸς παλίρρους ἴεται, πνεύματος δήπου ἀπωθουμένου αὐτὸν τῆς θαλάττης. τὴν δὲ ἤπειρον τὴν Βαιτικήν, ἧς ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος ὁμώνυμος, ἀρίστην ἠπείρων φασί, πόλεών τε γὰρ εὖ ἔχειν καὶ νομῶν, καὶ διῆχθαι τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἄστη πάντα, γεωργίας τε ξυμπάσης μεστὴν εἶναι καὶ ὡρῶν, οἷαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς αἱ μετοπώριναί τε καὶ μυστηριώτιδες.

VII

CAP. VII

Διαλέξεις δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ παραπεσόντων ὁ Δάμις πλείους μὲν γενέσθαι φησίν, ἀξίας δὲ τοῦ ἀναγράψαι τάσδε· καθημένων ποτὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἀναγελάσας ὁ Μένιππος, ἀναμέμνητο δὲ ἄρα τοῦ Νέρωνος, "τί," ἔφη, "τὸν γενναῖον ἡγώμεθα; τίνας," ἔφη, "ἐστεφανῶσθαι τῶν

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of Egypt does not permit me not to tell all I know. These pillars are ties between earth and ocean, and they were inscribed by Hercules in the house of the Fates, to prevent any discord arising between the elements, and to save their mutual affection for one another from violation."

CHAP. V
Unknown Inscriptions

VI

THEY tell also of how they sailed up the river Baetis, which throws no little light upon the nature of the ocean. For whenever it is high tide, the river in its course remounts towards its sources, because apparently a current of air drives it away from the sea. And the mainland of Baetica, after which this river is called, is the best by their account of any continent; for it is well furnished with cities and pastures, and the river is brought by canals through all the towns, and it is very highly cultivated with all sorts of crops; and it enjoys a climate similar to that of Attica in the autumn season when the mysteries are celebrated.

CHAP. VI
Description of Baetica

VII

THE conversations which Apollonius held about things which met his eyes were, according to Damis, many in number, but the following he said deserve to be recorded. On one occasion they were sitting in the temple of Hercules and Menippus gave a laugh, for it happened that Nero had just come into his mind, "And what," he said, "are we to think of this splendid fellow? In which of the

CHAP. VII.
Discussion of Nero and the Olympic games

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CAP. VII

ἀγώνων; τοὺς δὲ βελτίστους Ἕλληνας οὐ ξὺν ὅλῳ γέλωτι φοιτᾶν ἐς τὰς πανηγύρεις;" ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὡς μὲν ἐγώ," ἔφη, "Τελεσίνου ἤκουον, δέδιεν ὁ χρηστὸς Νέρων τὰς Ἠλείων μάστιγας· παρακελευομένων γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν κολάκων νικᾶν τὰ Ὀλύμπια καὶ ἀνακηρύττειν τὴν Ῥώμην, "ἦν γε," ἔφη, "μὴ βασκήνωσιν Ἠλεῖοι, λέγονται γὰρ μαστιγοῦν καὶ φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐμέ," πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνοητότερα τούτων προανεφώνησεν. ἐγὼ δὲ νικήσειν μὲν Νέρωνα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ φημί, τίς γὰρ οὕτω θρασύς, ὡς ἐναντίαν θέσθαι; Ὀλύμπια δὲ οὐ νικήσειν, ἅτε μηδὲ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἄγουσι· πατρίου μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις τοῦ πέρυσιν ἐνιαυτοῦ ὄντος, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Ἠλείους Νέρων ἀναβαλέσθαι αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιδημίαν, ὡς ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ Διὶ θύσοντας· τραγῳδίαν δ' ἐπαγγεῖλαι καὶ κιθαρῳδίαν ἀνδράσιν, οἷς μήτε θεάτρου ἐστι μήτε σκηνὴ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα, στάδιον δὲ αὐτοφυὲς καὶ γυμνὰ πάντα, τὸν δὲ νικᾶν, ἃ χρὴ ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι, καὶ τὴν Αὐγούστου τε καὶ Ἰουλίου σκευὴν ῥίψαντα μεταμφιέννυσθαι νῦν τὴν Ἀμοιβέως καὶ Τερπνοῦ, τί φήσεις; καὶ τὰ μὲν Κρέοντός τε καὶ Οἰδίποδος οὕτως ἐξακριβοῦν, ὡς δεδιέναι, μή πη λάθῃ ἁμαρτὼν θύρας ἢ στολῆς ἢ σκήπτρου, ἑαυτοῦ

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contests has he won wreaths of late? Don't you think that self-respecting Hellenes must shake with laughter when they are on their way to the festivals?" And Apollonius replied: "As I have heard from Telesinus, the worthy Nero is afraid of the whips of the Eleans; for when his flatterers urged him to win at Olympia and to proclaim Rome as the victor, he answered: 'Yes, if the Eleans will only not depreciate me, for they are said to use whips and to look down upon me.' And many worse bits of nonsense than this forecast fell from his lips. I however admit that Nero will conquer *at* Olympia, for who is bold enough to enter the lists against him? But I deny that he will win at *the* Olympic festival, because they are not keeping it at the right season. For custom requires that this should have been held last year, but Nero has ordered the Eleans to put it off until his own visit, in order that they may sacrifice to him rather than to Zeus. And it is said that he has announced a tragedy and a performance on the harp for people who have neither a theatre nor a stage for such entertainments, but only the stadium which nature has provided, and races which are all run by athletes stripped of their clothes. He however is going to take the prize for performances which he ought to have hidden in the dark, for he has thrown off the robes of Augustus and Julius and has dressed himself up in the garb of an Amoebeus and a Terpnus. What can you say of such a record? And then he betrays such a meticulous care in playing the part of Creon and Oedipus, that he is afraid of falling into some error, of coming in by the wrong door, or of wearing the wrong dress, of using the wrong sceptre; but he has so entirely forgotten his own dignity and that of

CHAP. VII

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CAP. VII δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων οὕτως ἐκπίπτειν, ὡς ἀντὶ τοῦ νομοθετεῖν νόμους ᾄδειν καὶ ἀγείρειν ἔξω θυρῶν, ὧν ἔσω χρὴ καθῆσθαι τὸν βασιλέα χρηματίζοντα ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης; εἰσίν, ὦ Μένιππε, τραγῳδοὶ πλείους, ἐς οὓς Νέρων ἑαυτὸν γράφει· τί οὖν; εἴ τις αὐτῶν μετὰ τὸν Οἰνόμαον ἢ τὸν Κρεσφόντην ἀπελθὼν τοῦ θεάτρου, μεστὸς οὕτω τοῦ προσωπείου γένοιτο, ὡς ἄρχειν μὲν ἑτέρων βούλεσθαι, τύραννον δὲ αὐτὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, τί καὶ φήσεις τοῦτον; ἆρ' οὐκ ἐλλεβόρου δεῖσθαι καὶ φαρμακοποσίας, ὁπόση τοὺς νοῦς ἐκκαθαίρει; εἰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ τυραννεύων ἐς τραγῳδοὺς καὶ τεχνίτας τὰ πράγματα ἑαυτοῦ ἄγοι, λεαίνων τὴν φωνὴν καὶ δεδιὼς τὸν Ἠλεῖον ἢ τὸν Δελφόν, ἢ μὴ δεδιὼς μέν, κακῶς δὲ οὕτως ὑποκρινόμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τέχνην, ὡς [μὴ] μαστιγώσεσθαι νομίζειν πρὸς τούτων, ὧν αὐτὸς ἄρχειν τέτακται, τί τοὺς κακοδαίμονας ἀνθρώπους ἐρεῖς ὑπὸ τοιούτῳ καθάρματι ζῶντας; τοῖς δὲ Ἕλλησι τίνα ἡγῇ, ὦ Μένιππε; πότερα Ξέρξην καταπιμπράντα ἢ Νέρωνα ᾄδοντα; εἰ γὰρ ἐνθυμηθείης τὴν ἀγοράν, ἣν ἐς τὰς ἐκείνου ᾠδὰς ξυμφέρουσι, καὶ ὡς ἐξωθοῦνται τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἔξεστι σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν ἢ σκεῦος ἢ ἀνδράποδον αὐτοῖς πεπᾶσθαι, περὶ γυναίοις τε καὶ παισὶν ὡς δεινὰ πείσονται τὰς ἐπιρρήτους ἡδονὰς ἐξ ἁπάσης οἰκίας ἐκλέγοντος τοῦ Νέρωνος, δίκαι τε ὡς πολλαὶ ἀναφύσονται, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἔα, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς θεάτροις καὶ ταῖς ᾠδαῖς· οὐκ ἦλθες ἀκροασόμενος Νέρωνος, ἢ παρῆσθα μέν, ῥᾳθύμως

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the Romans, that instead of carrying on the work of making laws, he has taken to singing, and strolls like a player outside the gates within which the Emperor ought to take his seat on his throne, deciding the fate of land and sea. There are, O Menippus, several troupes in which Nero has inscribed himself as an actor. What next? Supposing any one of these actors quitted the theatre after playing Oenomaus or Cresphontes, so full of his part as to want to rule others, and imagine himself to be a tyrant, what would you say of him? Surely you would recommend a dose of hellebore and the taking of drugs of a kind to clear the intellect? Well, here is the man himself who wields absolute power, throwing in his lot with actors and artists, cultivating a soft voice and trembling before the people of Elis or of Delphi; or if he does not tremble, yet misrepresenting his art so thoroughly as [not] to anticipate he will be whipped by the people over whom he has been set to rule. What will you say of the unhappy people who have to live under such a scum? And in what light do you think the Hellenes regard him? Is it as a Xerxes burning their houses down or as a Nero singing songs? Think of the supplies they have to collect for his songs, and how they are thrust out of their houses and forbidden to own a decent bit of furniture or slave. Think of how Nero picks out of every other house women and children, to gratify his infamous desires, and of the horrors they will suffer over them, of the crop of prosecutions which will be brought, and without dwelling upon the rest, just fix your attention upon those which will arise out of his theatrical and singing ambitions. This is what you hear: 'You did not come to listen to Nero,' or: 'You were

CHAP. VII

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CAP. VII δὲ ἠκροῶ, ἐγέλας, οὐκ ἐκρότησας, οὐκ ἔθυσας ὑπὲρ τῆς φωνῆς, ἵνα Πυθῶδε λαμπροτέρα ἔλθοι· πολλαί σοι δόξουσι θεατῶν Ἰλιάδες περὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι. τὸ γὰρ τετμήσεσθαι τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἢ οὐ τετμήσεσθαι, τέμνεται δέ, ὥς φασι, νῦν, πάλαι προὔμαθον θεοῦ φήναντος." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Δάμις, "ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, τὸ περὶ τὴν τομὴν ἔργον ὑπερφωνεῖν δοκεῖ τὰ Νέρωνος πάντα, ἡ γὰρ διάνοια ὁρᾷς, ὡς μεγάλη." "δοκεῖ μέν," ἔφη, "κἀμοί, ὦ Δάμι, τὸ δὲ ἀτελὲς αὐτῆς διαβάλλει αὐτόν, ὡς ἀτελῆ μὲν ᾄδοντα, ἀτελῆ δὲ ὀρύττοντα. τά τοι Ξέρξου ἀναλεγόμενος ἐπαινῶ τὸν ἄνδρα, οὐχ ὅτι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔζευξεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι διέβη αὐτόν, Νέρωνα δὲ οὔτε πλευσούμενον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ὁρῶ οὔτε ἐς τέρμα τῆς ὀρυχῆς ἥξοντα, δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ φόβου μεστὸς ἀναχωρῆσαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, εἰ μὴ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἀπόλωλεν."

VIII

CAP. VIII Ἀφικομένου δέ τινος ἐς Γάδειρα μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν τοὺς ταχεῖς διαθεόντων δρόμους, καὶ κελεύοντος εὐαγγέλια θύειν τρισολυμπιονίκην Νέρωνα ᾄδοντας, τὰ μὲν Γάδειρα ξυνίει τῆς νίκης καὶ ὅτι ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ

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present, but you listened to him without enthusiasm,' CHAP. VII
'You laughed,' or 'You did not clap your hands,' or 'You have not offered a sacrifice in behalf of his voice nor prayed that it may be more splendid than ever at the Pythian festival.' You can imagine that the Greeks will endure whole Iliads of woe at these spectacles. For I have long ago learned by the revelation of heaven that the Isthmus will be cut through or will not be cut through, and just now, they say, it is being cut." Here Damis took him up and said: "As for myself, O Apollonius, I think this scheme of cutting through the Isthmus excels all other undertakings of Nero, for you yourself see how magnificent a project it is." "I admit," he said, "that it is, O Damis; but it will go against him that he never could complete it, that just as he never finished his songs, so he never finished his digging. When I review the career of Xerxes, I am disposed to praise him not because he bridged the Hellespont, but because he got across it; but as for Nero, I perceive that he will neither sail his ships through the Isthmus, nor ever come to an end of his digging; and I believe, unless truth has wholly departed from among men, that he has retired from Hellas in a fit of panic."

VIII

At this time a swift runner arrived at Gadeira, and CHAP. VIII
ordered them to offer sacrifices for the good tidings, and to sing hymns in honour of Nero who had thrice won the prize at Olympia. In the city of Gadeira indeed they understood the meaning of the victory, and that there had been some famous contest in

Spanish impressions of Nero's Olympic victories

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CAP. VIII τις εἴη ἀγὼν εὐδόκιμος, ἐπειδή, ὡς εἶπον, ἐς τὰ Ἑλλήνων σπεύδουσιν, αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἱ πρόσοικοι τοῖς Γαδείροις οὔτε ἐγίγνωσκον ὅ τι εἴη τὰ Ὀλύμπια, οὐδ' ὅ τι ἀγωνία ἢ ἀγών, οὐδὲ ἐφ' ὅτῳ θύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπήγοντο ἐς γελοίους, δόξας πολέμου νίκην ἡγούμενοι ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι ὁ Νέρων ῥήτορας τινὰς ἀνθρώπους Ὀλυμπίους· οὐδὲ γὰρ τραγῳδίας ποτὲ ἢ κιθαρῳδίας θεαταὶ ἐγεγόνεσαν.

IX

CAP. IX Τοὺς γοῦν οἰκοῦντας τὰ Ἴπολα, πόλις δὲ κἀκείνη Βαιτική, φησὶν ὁ Δάμις παθεῖν τι πρὸς τραγῳδίας ὑποκριτήν, οὗ κἀμὲ ἄξιον ἐπιμνησθῆναι· θυουσῶν γὰρ τῶν πόλεων θαμὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἱ Πυθικαὶ ἤδη ἀπηγγέλλοντο, τραγῳδίας ὑποκριτὴς τῶν οὐκ ἀξιουμένων ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι τῷ Νέρωνι ἐπῄει τὰς ἑσπερίους πόλεις ἀγείρων, καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ χρώμενος ἡὐδοκίμει παρὰ τοῖς ἥττον βαρβάροις, πρῶτον μὲν δι' αὐτὸ τὸ ἥκειν παρ' ἀνθρώπους, οἳ μήπω τραγῳδίας ἤκουσαν, εἶτ' ἐπειδὴ τὰς Νέρωνος μελῳδίας ἀκριβοῦν ἔφασκε. παρελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὰ Ἴπολα φοβερὸς μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο καὶ ὃν ἐσιώπα χρόνον ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς, καὶ ὁρῶντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι βαδίζοντα μὲν αὐτὸν μέγα, κεχηνότα δὲ τοσοῦτον, ἐφεστῶτα δὲ ὀκρί-

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Arcadia; for, as I said before, the people of Gadeira affect Hellenic civilisation. But the cities in the neighbourhood of Gadeira neither knew what the Olympic festival was, nor what a contest nor an arena meant; nor did they understand what they were sacrificing for, but they indulged in the most ridiculous suppositions, and imagined that it was a victory in war that Nero had won and that he had taken captive some men called Olympians; for they had never been spectators either of a tragedy or of a harp-playing performance. CHAP. VIII

IX

CHAP. IX

Effect of a tragic actor on the people of Ipola

Damis indeed speaks of the singular effect which a tragic actor produced upon the minds of the inhabitants of Ipola, which is a city of Baetica, and I think the story is worthy of being reproduced by me. The cities were multiplying their sacrifices in honour of the Emperor's victories, for those at the Pythian festival were already announced, when an actor of tragedy, who was one of those that had not ventured to contend for the prize against Nero, was on a strolling tour round the cities of the west, and by his histrionic talent he had won no small fame among the less barbarous of the populations, for two reasons, firstly because he found himself among people who had never before heard a tragedy, and secondly because he pretended exactly to reproduce the melodies of Nero. But when he appeared at Ipola, they showed some fear of him before he ever opened his lips upon the stage, and they shrank in dismay at his appearance when they

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CAP. IX βασιν οὕτως ὑψηλοῖς τερατώδη τε τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐσθήματα, οὐκ ἄφοβοι ἦσαν τοῦ σχήματος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξάρας τὴν φωνὴν γεγωνὸν ἐφθέγξατο, φυγῇ οἱ πλεῖστοι ᾠχοντο, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ δαίμονος ἐμβοηθέντες. τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ ἤθη τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων καὶ οὕτως ἀρχαῖα.

X

CAP. X Σπουδὴν δὲ ποιουμένου τοῦ τὴν Βαιτικὴν ἐπιτροπεύοντος ἐς ξυνουσίαν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐλθεῖν, ὁ μὲν ἀηδεῖς ἔφη τὰς ξυνουσίας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ φαίνεσθαι τοῖς μὴ φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ προσέκειτο αἰτῶν τοῦτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ χρηστός τε εἶναι ἐλέγετο καὶ διαβεβλημένος πρὸς τοὺς Νέρωνος μίμους, γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἵν' ἐς τὰ Γάδειρα ἔλθοι, ὁ δὲ ἀφελὼν τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄγκον ξὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις ἦλθεν. ἀσπασάμενοι δὲ ἀλλήλους καὶ μεταστησάμενοι τοὺς παρόντας, ὅ τι μὲν διελέχθησαν, οὐδεὶς οἶδε, τεκμαίρεται δὲ ὁ Δάμις ἐπὶ Νέρωνα ξυμβῆναι σφᾶς. τριῶν γὰρ ἡμερῶν ἰδίᾳ σπουδάσαντες, ὁ μὲν ἀπῄει περιβαλὼν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὁ δέ, "ἔρρωσο," ἔφη, "καὶ μέμνησο τοῦ Βίνδικος." τί δὲ τοῦτο ἦν; ἐπὶ Νέρωνα ἐν Ἀχαίᾳ ᾄδοντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἑσπέρια λέγεται κινῆσαι Βίνδιξ, ἀνὴρ οἷος ἐκτεμεῖν τὰς νευράς, ἃς Νέρων ἀμαθῶς ἔψαλλε, πρὸς γὰρ τὰ στρατόπεδα, οἷς ἐπετέτακτο, λόγον κατ' αὐτοῦ διῆλθεν, ὃν ἐκ πάνυ γενναίας φιλοσοφίας ἐπὶ τύραννον ἄν τις πνεύσειεν· ἔφη γὰρ

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saw him striding across the stage, with his mouth all agape, mounted on buskins extra high, and clad in the most wonderful garments; but when he lifted up his voice and bellowed out loud, most of them took to their heels, as if they had a demon yelling at them. Such and so old-fashioned are the manners of the barbarians of that country. CHAP. IX

X

CHAP. X

Interview with the Governor of Baetica at Gadeira

THE governor of Baetica was very anxious to have a conversation with Apollonius, and though the latter said that his conversation must seem tedious to any but philosophers, the other insisted in his demand. And as he was said to be a worthy person and detested of the mimes of Nero, Apollonius wrote to him a letter asking him to come to Gadeira; and he, divesting himself of all the pomp of authority, came with a few of his most intimate friends. They greeted one another, and no one knows what they said to one another in an interview from which they excluded the rest of the company; but Damis hazards the opinion that they formed a plot together against Nero. For after three days spent in private conversations, the governor went away, after embracing Apollonius, while the latter said: "Farewell, and do not forget Vindex." Now what was the meaning of this? When Nero was singing in Achaea, Vindex is said to have stirred up against him the nations of the West, and he was a man quite capable of cutting out the strings which Nero so ignorantly twanged. For he addressed a speech, inspired by the loftiest sentiments which a man can feel against a tyrant, to the troops which he

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CAP. X

Νέρωνα εἶναι πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ κιθαρῳδὸν καὶ κιθαρῳδὸν μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλέα. προφέρειν δὲ αὐτῷ μανίαν μὲν καὶ φιλοχρηματίαν καὶ ὠμότητα καὶ ἀσέλγειαν πᾶσαν, τὸ δὲ ὠμότατον τῶν ἐκείνου μὴ προφέρειν αὐτῷ· τὴν γὰρ μητέρα ἐν δίκῃ ἀπεκτονέναι, ἐπειδὴ τοιοῦτον ἔτεκε. ταῦτ' οὖν ὡς ἔσται προγιγνώσκων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ξυνέταττε τῷ Βίνδικι ὅμορον ἄρχοντα, μονονουχὶ ὅπλα ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥώμης τιθέμενος.

XI

CAP. XI

Φλεγμαινόντων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν, τρέπονται τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Λιβύην καὶ Τυρρηνούς, καὶ τὰ μὲν πεζῇ βαδίζοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ πλοίων πορευόμενοι κατίσχουσιν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, οὗ τὸ Λιλύβαιον. παραπλεύσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην τε καὶ πορθμόν, ἔνθα ὁ Τυρρηνὸς Ἀδρίᾳ ξυμβάλλων χαλεπὴν ἐργάζονται τὴν Χάρυβδιν, ἀκοῦσαί φασιν, ὡς Νέρων μὲν πεφεύγοι, τεθνήκοι δὲ Βίνδιξ, ἄπτοιντο δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς οἱ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Ῥώμης, οἱ δὲ ὁπόθεν τύχοι τῶν ἐθνῶν. ἐρομένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν ἑταίρων, οἳ προβήσοιτο ταῦτα καὶ ὅτου λοιπὸν ἡ ἀρχὴ ἔσοιτο, "πολλῶν," εἶπε, "Θηβαίων." τὴν γὰρ ἰσχύν, ἣ πρὸς ὀλίγον Βιτέλιος τε καὶ Γάλβας καὶ Ὄθων ἐχρήσαντο, Θηβαίοις εἴκασεν, οἳ χρόνον κομιδῇ βραχὺν ἤχθησαν ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα.

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commanded, and he declared in it that Nero was anything rather than a harpist, and a harpist rather than a sovereign. And he taxed him with madness and avarice and cruelty and wantonness of every kind, though he omitted to tax him with the cruellest of his crimes; for he said that he had quite rightly put to death his mother, because she had born such a monster. Apollonius, forecasting how all this must be, had accordingly brought into line with Vindex the governor of a neighbouring province, and so all but took up arms himself in behalf of Rome. CHAP. X

XI

CHAP. XI

Predicts the short reigns of Vitellius, Galba, and Otho

But as matters in the west were in such an inflamed condition Apollonius and his friends returned thence towards Libya and the Tyrrhenian land; and, partly on foot and partly by sea, they made their way to Sicily, where they stopped at Lilybaeum. Then they coasted along to Messina and to the Straits, where the junction of the Tyrrhenian Sea with the Adriatic gives rise to the dangers of Charybdis. Here they say they heard that Nero had taken to flight, though Vindex was dead; and that various claimants were snatching at the throne, some from Rome itself, and others from various countries. Now when his companions asked him what would be the issue of these events, and who would get possession, in the end, of the throne, he answered: "Many Thebans will have it." For he compared the pretenders, namely, Vitellius and Galba and Otho, in view of the short lease of power which they enjoyed, to Thebans, for it was only during a very short time that they held dominion over the Hellenic world.

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XII

CAP. XII "Οτι μὲν γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα δαιμονίᾳ κινήσει προεγίγνωσκε, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς γόητα τὸν ἄνδρα ἡγουμένοις οὐχ ὑγιαίνει ὁ λόγος, δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα, σκεψώμεθα δὲ κἀκεῖνα· οἱ γόητες, ἡγοῦμαι δ' αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ κακοδαιμονεστάτους ἀνθρώπων, οἱ μὲν ἐς βασάνους εἰδώλων χωροῦντες, οἳ δ' ἐς θυσίας βαρβάρους, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐπᾷσαί τι ἢ ἀλεῖψαι, μεταποιεῖν φασι τὰ εἱμαρμένα, καὶ πολλοὶ τούτων κατηγορίαις ὑπαχθέντες τὰ τοιαῦτα ὡμολόγησαν σοφοὶ εἶναι. ὁ δὲ εἵπετο μὲν τοῖς ἐκ Μοιρῶν, προὔλεγε δέ, ὡς ἀνάγκη γενέσθαι αὐτά, προεγίγνωσκε δὲ οὐ γοητεύων, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν οἱ θεοὶ ἔφαινον. ἰδὼν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τοὺς τρίποδας καὶ τοὺς οἰνοχόους καὶ ὅσα αὐτόματα ἐσφοιτᾶν εἶπον, οὔθ' ὅπως σοφίζοιντο αὐτά, ἤρετο, οὔτ' ἐδεήθη μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπῄνει μέν, ζηλοῦν δ' οὐκ ἠξίου.

XIII

CAP. XIII Ἀφικομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς Συρακούσας γυνὴ τῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶν τέρας ἀπεκύησεν, οἷον οὔπω ἐμαιεύθη· τρεῖς γὰρ τῷ βρέφει κεφαλαὶ ἦσαν ἐξ οἰκείας ἑκάστη δέρης, τὰ δὲ ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἑνὸς πάντα. οἱ μὲν δὴ παχέως ἐξηγούμενοι τὴν Σικελίαν ἔφασαν, τρινακρία γάρ, ἀπολεῖσθαι, εἰ μὴ ὁμονοήσειέ τε

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XII

CHAP. XII

Apollonius no wizard because he foresaw the future

THAT he was enabled to make such forecasts by some divine impulse, and that it is no sound inference to infer, as some people do, that our hero was a wizard, is clear from what I have already said. But let us consider these facts also: wizards, whom for my part I reckon to be the most unfortunate of mankind, claim to alter the course of destiny, by having recourse either to the torture of lost spirits or to barbaric sacrifices, or to certain incantations or anointings; and many of them when accused of such practices have admitted that they were adepts in such practices. But Apollonius submitted himself to the decrees of the Fates, and only foretold that things must come to pass; and his foreknowledge was gained not by wizardry, but from what the gods revealed to him. And when among the Indians he beheld their tripods and their dumb waiters and other automata, which I described as entering the room of their own accord, he did not ask how they were contrived, nor did he ask to be informed; he only praised them, but did not aspire to imitate them.

XIII

CHAP XIII

A three-headed child born in Syracuse portends the three Roman Pretenders

Now when they reached Syracuse a woman of a leading family was brought to bed of such a monster as never any woman was delivered of before; for her child had three heads, and each head had a neck of its own, but below them there was a single body. Of the vulgar and stupid interpretations of this prodigy, one was that it signified the impending ruin

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CAP. XIII καὶ ξυμπνεύσειεν—ἐστασίαζον δὲ ἄρα πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων πρὸς ἑαυτάς τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ τὸ ἐν κόσμῳ ζῆν ἀπῆν τῆς νήσου—οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν τὸν Τυφῶ, πολυκέφαλον δὲ εἶναι, νεώτερα ἀπειλεῖν τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἴθι," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι, καὶ κάτιδε αὐτό, εἰ οὕτω ξύγκειται." ἐξέκειτο γὰρ δημοσίᾳ τοῖς τερατολογεῖν εἰδόσιν, ἀπαγγείλαντος δὲ τοῦ Δάμιδος, ὡς τρικέφαλον εἴη καὶ ἄρρεν, ξυναγαγὼν τοὺς ἑταίρους, "τρεῖς," ἔφη, "Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορες, οὓς ἐγὼ πρῴην Θηβαίους ἔφην, τελειώσει δὲ οὐδεὶς τὸ ἄρχειν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης, ὁ δὲ περὶ τὰ ὅμορα τῇ Ῥώμῃ δυνηθέντες ἀπολοῦνται, θᾶττον ἀποβαλόντες τὸ προσωπεῖον ἢ οἱ τῶν τραγῳδῶν τύραννοι." καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτίκα ἐς φῶς ἦλθε· Γάλβας μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης ἀπέθανεν ἁψάμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ Βιτέλιος ὀνειροπολήσας τὸ ἄρχειν, Ὄθων δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἑσπερίους Γαλάτας ἀποθανὼν οὐδὲ τάφου λαμπροῦ ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἰδιώτης κεῖται· διέπτη δὲ ἡ τύχη ταῦτα ἐνὶ ἔτει.

XIV

CAP. XIV Πορευθέντες δὲ ἐπὶ Κατάνης, οὗ τὸ ὄρος ἡ Αἴτνη, Καταναίων μὲν ἀκοῦσαί φασιν ἡγουμένων

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of Sicily,—for it has three headlands,—unless the inhabitants composed their feuds and could live together in peace; for as a matter of fact several of the cities were at variance both with themselves and with one another, and such a thing as orderly life was unknown in the island. Another explanation was that Typho, a many-headed monster, was threatening Sicily with his violence. But Apollonius said: "Go, O Damis, and look if the child is really made up as they say." For the thing was exposed to public view for the miracle-mongers to exercise their ingenuity upon it. When Damis reported that it was a three-headed creature and of the male sex, Apollonius got together his companions and said: "It signifies three emperors of Rome, whom yesterday I called Thebans; and not one of them shall enjoy complete dominion, but two of them shall perish after holding sway in Rome itself, and the third after doing so in the countries bordering upon Rome; and they shall shuffle off their masks more quickly than if they were tragic actors playing the part of tyrant." And the truth of his statement was almost immediately revealed; for Galba died in Rome itself, just after he grasped the crown, and Vitellius died after only dreaming of the crown, and Otho died in Western Gaul, and was not even accorded a public funeral, but lies buried like any private person. And Fate's whole episode was past and over within a single year. CHAP XIII

XIV

NEXT they came to Catana, where is Mount Etna; and they say that they heard from the inhabitants of CHAP. XIV

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CAP. XIV

τὸν Τυφῶ δεδέσθαι ἐκεῖ καὶ πῦρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀνίστασθαι, ὃ τύφει τὴν Αἴτνην, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐς πιθανωτέρους ἀφικέσθαι λόγους καὶ προσήκοντας τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσιν. ἄρξαι δ' αὐτῶν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ὧδε ἐρόμενον τοὺς ἑταίρους, "ἔστι τι μυθολογία;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν ὁ Μένιππος, "ἦν γε οἱ ποιηταὶ ἐπαινοῦσι." "τὸν δὲ δὴ Αἴσωπον τί ἠγῇ;" "μυθολόγον," εἶπε, "καὶ λογοποιὸν πάντα." "πότεροι δὲ σοφοὶ τῶν μύθων;" "οἱ τῶν ποιητῶν," εἶπεν, "ἐπειδὴ ὡς γεγονότες ᾄδονται." "οἱ δὲ δὴ Αἰσώπου τί;" "βάτραχοι," ἔφη, "καὶ ὄνοι καὶ λῆροι γραυσὶν οἷοι μασᾶσθαι καὶ παιδίοις." "καὶ μήν," ἔφη, "ἐμοί," ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἐπιτηδειότεροι πρὸς σοφίαν οἱ τοῦ Αἰσώπου φαίνονται· οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς ἥρωας, ὧν ποιητικὴ πᾶσα ἔχεται, καὶ διαφθείρουσι τοὺς ἀκροωμένους, ἐπειδὴ ἔρωτάς τε ἀτόπους οἱ ποιηταὶ ἑρμηνεύουσι καὶ ἀδελφῶν γάμους καὶ διαβολὰς ἐς θεοὺς καὶ βρώσεις παίδων καὶ πανουργίας ἀνελευθέρους καὶ δίκας, καὶ τὸ ὡς γεγονὸς αὐτῶν ἄγει καὶ τὸν ἐρῶντα καὶ τὸν ζηλοτυποῦντα καὶ τὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα πλουτεῖν ἢ τυραννεύειν ἐφ' ἅπερ οἱ μῦθοι, Αἴσωπος δὲ ὑπὸ σοφίας πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ταῦτα ᾀδόντων ἑαυτὸν κατέστησεν,

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CHAP. XIV
A discussion of Aesop

the city a story about Typho being bound on the spot and about fire rising from him, and this fire sends up the smoke[1] of Etna; but they themselves came to more plausible conclusions and more in keeping with philosophy. And they say that Apollonius began the discussion by asking his companions: "Is there such a thing as mythology?" "Yes, by Zeus," answered Menippus, "and I mean by it that which furnishes poets with their themes." "What then do you think of Aesop?" "He is a mythologist and writer of fables and no more." "And which set of myths show any wisdom?" "Those of the poets," he answered, "because they are represented in the poems as having taken place." "And what then do you think of the stories of Aesop?" "Frogs," he answered, "and donkeys and nonsense only fit to be swallowed by old women and children." "And yet for my own part," said Apollonius, "I find them more conducive to wisdom than the others. For those others, of which all poetry is so fond, and which deal with heroes, positively destroy the souls of their hearers, because the poet relates stories of outlandish passion and of incestuous marriages, and repeats calumnies against the gods, of how they ate their own children, and committed crimes of meanness, and quarrelled with one another; and the affectation and pretence of reality leads passionate and jealous people and miserlike and ambitious persons to imitate the stories. Aesop on the other hand had in the first place the wisdom never to identify himself with those who put such stories into verse, but took a line

[1] There is a pun in the Greek between Typhô = Typhon and typho = to smoke.

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CAP. XIV ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῦ τινα ὁδὸν ἐτράπετο, εἶτα, ὥσπερ οἱ τοῖς εὐτελεστέροις βρώμασι καλῶς ἐστιῶντες, ἀπὸ σμικρῶν πραγμάτων διδάσκει μεγάλα, καὶ προθέμενος τὸν λόγον ἐπάγει αὐτῷ τὸ πρᾶττε ἢ μὴ πρᾶττε, εἶτα τοῦ φιλαλήθους μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ποιηταὶ ἥψατο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ βιάζονται πιθανοὺς φαίνεσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν λόγους, ὁ δ' ἐπαγγέλλων λόγον, ὅς ἐστι ψευδής, πᾶς οἶδεν ὅτι, αὐτὸ τὸ μὴ περὶ ἀληθινῶν ἐρεῖν ἀληθεύει. καὶ ὁ μὲν ποιητὴς εἰπὼν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον καταλείπει τῷ ὑγιαίνοντι ἀκροατῇ βασανίζειν αὐτόν, εἰ ἐγένετο, ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν μὲν ψευδῆ λόγον, ἐπαγαγὼν δὲ νουθεσίαν, ὥσπερ ὁ Αἴσωπος, δείκνυσιν ὡς ἐς τὸ χρήσιμον τῆς ἀκροάσεως τῷ ψεύδει κέχρηται. χαρίεν δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ καὶ τὰ ἄλογα ἡδίω ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξια τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἐκ παίδων γὰρ τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις ξυγγενόμενοι καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκνηπιωθέντες, δόξας ἀναλαμβάνομεν περὶ ἑκάστου τῶν ζῴων, τὰ μὲν ὡς βασιλικὰ εἴη, τὰ δὲ ὡς εὐήθη, τὰ δὲ ὡς κομψά, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἀκέραια, καὶ ὁ μὲν ποιητὴς εἰπὼν

πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων[1]

ἢ τοιοῦτό τι ἐπιχορεύσας ἀπῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ Αἴσωπος ἐπιχρησμῳδήσας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον καταλύει τὴν ξυνουσίαν ἐς ὃ προὔθετο.

[1] Eurip. *Alcestis*, last line.

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of his own; and in the second, like those who can dine well off the plainest dishes, he made use of humble incidents to teach great truths, and after serving up a story he adds to it the advice to do a thing or not to do it. Then, too, he was really more attached to truth than the poets are; for the latter do violence to their own stories in order to make them probable; but he by announcing a story which everyone knows not to be true, told the truth by the very fact that he did not claim to be relating real events. And the poet, after telling his story, leaves a healthy-minded reader cudgelling his brains to know whether it really happened; whereas one who, like Aesop, tells a story which is false and does not pretend to be anything else, merely investing it with a good moral, shows that he has made use of the falsehood merely for its utility to his audience. And there is another charm about him, namely, that he puts animals in a pleasing light and makes them interesting to mankind. For after being brought up from childhood with these stories, and after being as it were nursed by them from babyhood, we acquire certain opinions of the several animals and think of some of them as royal animals, of others as silly, of others as witty, of others as innocent. And whereas the poet, after telling us that there are 'many forms of heavenly visitation' or something of the kind, dismisses his chorus and departs, Aesop adds an oracle to his story, and dismisses his hearers just as they reach the conclusion he wished to lead them up to.

CHAP. XIV

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XV

CAP. XV

"Ἐμὲ δέ, ὦ Μένιππε, καὶ μῦθον περὶ τῆς Αἰσώπου σοφίας ἐδιδάξατο ἡ μήτηρ κομιδῇ νήπιον, ὡς εἴη μέν ποτε ποιμὴν ὁ Αἴσωπος, νέμοι δὲ πρὸς ἱερῷ Ἑρμοῦ, σοφίας δὲ ἐρᾴη καὶ εὔχοιτο αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τούτου, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι ταὐτὸν αἰτοῦντες ἐπιφοιτῷεν τῷ Ἑρμῇ, ὁ μὲν χρυσόν, ὁ δ' ἄργυρον, ὁ δὲ κηρύκειον ἐλεφάντινον, ὁ δὲ τῶν οὕτω τι λαμπρῶν ἀνάπτων, ὁ δ' Αἴσωπος ἔχοι μὲν οὕτως, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἔχειν, φείδοιτο δὲ καὶ ὧν εἶχε, γάλακτος δὲ αὐτῷ σπένδοι, ὅσον ὄις ἀμελχθεῖσα ἐδίδου καὶ κηρίον ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν φέροι, ὅσον τὴν χεῖρα ἐμπλῆσαι, ἑστιᾶν δ' αὐτὸν καὶ μύρτοις ᾤετο καὶ παραθεὶς ἂν τῶν ῥόδων ἢ τῶν ἴων κομιδῇ ὀλίγα. "τί γὰρ δεῖ, ὦ Ἑρμῆ," ἔλεγε, "στεφάνους πλέκειν καὶ ἀμελεῖν τῶν προβάτων;" ὡς δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐς ῥητὴν ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς σοφίας διανομήν, ὁ μὲν Ἑρμῆς ἅτε λόγιος καὶ κερδῷος, "σὺ μέν," ἔφη, "φιλοσοφίαν ἔχε," τῷ πλεῖστα δήπουθεν ἀναθέντι, "σὺ δὲ ἐς ῥητόρων ἴθη χώρει," τῷ δεύτερά που χαρισαμένῳ, "σοὶ δὲ ἀστρονομεῖν χώρα, σοὶ δὲ εἶναι μουσικῷ, σοὶ δὲ ἡρῴου ποιητῇ μέτρου, σοὶ δὲ ἰαμβείου." ἐπεὶ δὲ

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XV

CHAP. XV

A legend of Aesop and Hermes

"And as for myself, O Menippus, my mother taught me a story about the wisdom of Aesop when I was a mere child, and told me that he was once a shepherd, and was tending his flocks hard by a temple of Hermes, and that he was a passionate lover of wisdom and prayed to Hermes that he might receive it. Many other people, she said, also resorted to the temple of Hermes asking for the same gift, and one of them would hang on the altar gold, another silver, another a herald's wand of ivory, and others other rich presents of the kind. Now Aesop, she said, was not in a position to own any of these things; but he saved up what he had, and poured a libation of as much milk as a sheep would give at one milking in honour of Hermes, and brought a honeycomb and laid it on the altar, big enough to fill the hand, and he thought too of regaling the god with myrtle berries, or perhaps by laying just a few roses or violets at the altar. 'For,' said he, 'would you, O Hermes, have me weave crowns for you and neglect my sheep?' Now when on the appointed day they arrived for the distribution of the gifts of wisdom, Hermes as the god of wisdom and eloquence and also of gain and profit, said to him who, as you may well suppose, had made the biggest offering: 'Here is philosophy for you'; and to him who had made the next handsomest present, he said: 'Do you take your place among the orators'; and to others he said: 'You shall have the gift of astronomy or you shall be a musician, or you shall be an epic poet and write in heroic metre, or you shall

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CAP. XV καίτοι λογιώτατος ὤν, κατανάλωσεν ἄκων ἅπαντα τὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρη, καὶ ἔλαθεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκπεσὼν τοῦ Αἰσώπου, ἐνθυμεῖται τὰς Ὥρας, ὑφ' ὧν αὐτὸς ἐν κορυφαῖς τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ἐτράφη, ὡς ἐν σπαργάνοις ποτὲ αὐτῷ ὄντι μῦθον διελθοῦσαι περὶ τῆς βοός, ὃν διελέχθη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἡ βοῦς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῆς τε καὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐς ἔρωτα αὐτὸν τῶν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος βοῶν κατέστησαν, καὶ δίδωσιν ἐντεῦθεν τὴν μυθολογίαν τῷ Αἰσώπῳ, λοιπὴν ἐν σοφίας οἴκῳ οὖσαν, "ἔχε," εἰπών, "ἃ πρῶτα ἔμαθον." αἱ μὲν δὴ πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῆς τέχνης ἐνθένδε ἀφίκοντο τῷ Αἰσώπῳ, καὶ τοιόνδε ἀπέβη τὸ τῆς μυθολογίας πρᾶγμα.

XVI

CAP. XVI "Ἴσως δ' ἀνόητον ἔπαθον· ἐπιστρέψαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς διανοηθεὶς ἐς λόγους φυσικωτέρους τε καὶ ἀληθεστέρους ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ τῆς Αἴτνης ᾄδουσιν, αὐτὸς ἐς ἔπαινον μύθων ἀπηνέχθην, οὐ μὴν ἄχαρις ἡ ἐκβολὴ τοῦ λόγου γέγονεν· ὁ γὰρ μῦθος, ὃν παραιτούμεθα, οὐ τῶν Αἰσώπου λόγων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τῶν δραματικωτέρων καὶ ὧν οἱ ποιηταὶ θρυλοῦσιν· ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ Τυφῶ τινα ἢ Ἐγκέλαδον δεδέσθαι φασὶν ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει καὶ δυσθανατοῦντα ἀσθμαίνειν τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο, ἐγὼ δὲ γίγαντας

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be a writer of iambics.' Now although he was a most wise and accomplished god he exhausted, not meaning to do so, all the various departments of wisdom, and then found that he had quite forgotten Aesop. Thereupon he remembered the Hours, by whom he himself had been nurtured on the peaks of Olympus, and bethought him of how once, when he was still in swaddling clothes, they had told him a story about the cow, which had a conversation with the man about herself and about the earth, and so set him aflame after the cows of Apollo. Accordingly he forthwith bestowed upon Aesop the art of fable called mythology, for that was all that was left in the house of wisdom, and said: 'Do you keep what was the first thing I learnt myself.' Aesop then acquired the various forms of his art from that source, and the issue was such as we see in the matter of mythology. CHAP. XV

XVI

"PERHAPS I have done a foolish thing," went on Apollonius, "for it was my intention to recall you to more scientific and truer explanations than the poetical myths given by the vulgar of Etna; and I have let myself be drawn into a eulogy of myths. However, the digression has not been without a charm of its own, for the myth which we repudiate is not one of Aesop's stories, but belongs to the class of dramatic stories which fill the mouths of our poets. For they say that a certain Typho or Enceladus lies bound under the mountain, and in his death agony breathes out this fire that we see. Now I admit that CHAP. XVI

The myth of Etna

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CAP. XVI μὲν γεγονέναι φημί, καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς γῆς ἀναδείκνυσθαι τοιαυτὶ σώματα ῥαγέντων τῶν τάφων, οὐ μὴν ἐς ἀγῶνα ἐλθεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλ' ὑβρίσαι μὲν τάχα ἐς τοὺς νεὼς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἕδη, οὐρανῷ δὲ ἐπιπηδῆσαι καὶ μὴ ξυγχωρεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ εἶναι, μανία μὲν λέγειν, μανία δὲ οἴεσθαι. καὶ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνος ὁ λόγος καίτοι δοκῶν εὐφημότερος εἶναι τιμάσθω, ὡς Ἡφαίστῳ μέλει τοῦ χαλκεύειν ἐν τῇ Αἴτνῃ, καὶ κτυπεῖταί τις ἐνταῦθα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἄκμων, πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα ὄρη πολλαχοῦ τῆς γῆς ἔμπυρα καὶ οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμεν ἐπιφημίζοντες αὐτοῖς γίγαντας καὶ Ἡφαίστους.

XVII

CAP. XVII "Τίς οὖν ἡ τῶν τοιῶνδε ὀρῶν αἰτία; γῇ κρᾶσιν ἀσφάλτου καὶ θείου παρεχομένη τύφεται μὲν καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῆς φύσει, πῦρ δ' οὔπω ἐκδίδωσιν, εἰ δὲ σηραγγώδης τύχοι καὶ ὑποδράμοι αὐτὴν πνεῦμα, φρυκτὸν ἤδη αἴρει. πλεονεκτήσασα δὲ ἡ φλόξ, ὥσπερ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀπορρεῖ τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ ἐς τὰ πεδία ἐκχεῖται, χωρεῖ τε ἐπὶ θάλατταν πῦρ ἀθρόον ἐκβολὰς ποιούμενον, οἷαι τῶν ποταμῶν εἰσι. χῶρος δ' Εὐσεβῶν, περὶ οὓς τὸ πῦρ ἐρρύη, λεγέσθω μὲν κἀνταῦθά τις, ἡγώμεθα δὲ τοῖς ὅσια πράττουσι

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giants have existed, and that gigantic bodies are revealed all over earth when tombs are broken open; nevertheless I deny that they ever came into conflict with the gods; at the most they violated their temples and statues, and to suppose that they scaled the heaven and chased away the gods therefrom,—this it is madness to relate and madness to believe. Nor can I any more respect that other story, though it is more reverent in its tone, to the effect that Hephaestus attends to his forge in Etna, and that there is there an anvil on which he smites with his hammer; for there are many other mountains all over the earth that are on fire, and yet we should never be done with it if we assigned to them giants and gods like Hephaestus. CHAP. XVI

XVII

"WHAT then is the explanation of such mountains? It is this: the earth by affording a mixture of asphalt and sulphur, begins to smoke of its own nature, but it does not yet belch out fire; if however it be cavernous and hollow and there be a spirit or force circulating underneath it, it at once lifts up into the air as it were a beacon-fire; this flame gathers force, and gets hold of all around, and then like water it streams off the mountains and flows out into the plains, and the mass of fire reaches the sea, forming mouths, out of which it issues, like the mouths of rivers. And as for the place of the Pious Ones, around whom the fire flowed, we will allow that such exists even here; but at the same time let us not forget that the whole earth affords secure ground CHAP. XVII Explanation of volcanoes

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CAP. XVII γῆν μὲν πᾶσαν ἀσφαλῆ χῶρον εἶναι, θάλατταν δ' εὔπορον οὐ πλέουσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεῖν πειρωμένοις." ἀεὶ γὰρ τοὺς λόγους ἀνέπαυεν ἐς τὰ χρηστὰ τῶν παραγγελμάτων.

XVIII

CAP. XVIII Ἐμφιλοσοφήσας δὲ τῇ Σικελίᾳ χρόνον, ὃς ἀποχρῶσαν αὐτῷ σπουδὴν εἶχεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκομίζετο περὶ ἀρκτούρου ἐπιτολάς. ἀλύπου δὲ τοῦ πλοῦ γενομένου κατασχὼν ἐς Λευκάδα, "ἀποβῶμεν," ἔφη, "τῆς νεὼς ταύτης, οὐ γὰρ λῷον αὐτῇ ἐς Ἀχαίαν πλεῦσαι." προσέχοντος δὲ οὐδενὸς τῷ λόγῳ πλὴν τῶν γιγνωσκόντων τὸν ἄνδρα, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ Λευκαδίας νεὼς ὁμοῦ τοῖς βουλομένοις ξυμπλεῖν ἐς Λέχαιον κατέσχεν, ἡ δὲ ναῦς ἡ Συρακουσία κατέδυ ἐσπλέουσα τὸν Κρισαῖον κόλπον.

XIX

CAP. XIX Μυηθεὶς δ' Ἀθήνησιν, ἐμύει δ' αὐτὸν ἱεροφάντης, ὃν αὐτὸς τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπεμαντεύσατο, ἐνέτυχε καὶ Δημητρίῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, μετὰ γὰρ τὸ Νέρωνος βαλανεῖον καὶ ἃ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶπε, διῃτᾶτο Ἀθήνησιν ὁ Δημήτριος οὕτω γενναίως, ὡς μηδὲ τὸν χρόνον, ὃν Νέρων περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ὕβριζεν, ἐξελθεῖν τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἐκεῖνος καὶ Μουσωνίῳ ἔφασκεν ἐντετυχηκέναι περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν δεδεμένῳ τε καὶ κεκε-

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for the doers of holiness, and that the sea is safely traversed not only by people in ships but even by people attempting to swim." For in this way he continually ended up his discourses with useful and pious exhortations. CHAP. XVII

XVIII

HE stayed in Sicily and taught philosophy there as long as he had sufficient interest in doing so, and then repaired to Greece about the rising of Arcturus. After a pleasant sail he arrived at Leucas, where he said: "Let us get out of this ship, for it is better not to continue in it our voyage to Achaea." No one took any notice of the utterance except those who knew the sage well, but he himself together with those who desired to make the voyage with him embarked on a Leucadian ship, and reached the port of Lechaeum; meanwhile the Syracusan ship sank as it entered the Crisaean Gulf. CHAP. XVIII

A presentiment of shipwreck

XIX

AT Athens he was initiated and by the same hierophant of whom he had delivered a prophecy to his predecessor; here he met Demetrius the philosopher, for after the episode of Nero's bath and of his speech about it, Demetrius continued to live at Athens, with such noble courage that he did not quit Greece even during the period when Nero was outraging Greece over the games. Demetrius said that he had fallen in with Musonius at the Isthmus, CHAP. XIX

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CAP. XIX λευσμένῳ ὀρύττειν, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπευφημῆσαι τὰ εἰκότα, τὸν δὲ ἔχεσθαι τῆς σμινύης καὶ ἐρρωμένως τῇ γῇ ἐμβάλλειν, ἀνακύψαντα δέ, "λυπῶ σε," φάναι, "ὦ Δημήτριε, τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ὀρύττων τῇ Ἑλλάδι; εἰ δὲ καὶ κιθαρῳδοῦντά με εἶδες, ὥσπερ Νέρωνα, τί ἂν ἔπαθες;" καὶ ἐάσθω τὰ Μουσωνίου πλείω ὄντα καὶ θαυμασιώτερα, ὡς μὴ δοκοίην θρασύνεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἀμελῶς αὐτὰ εἰπόντα.

XX

CAP. XX Χειμάσας δ' ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἱεροῖς πᾶσιν εἴχετο τῆς ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ὁδοῦ περὶ ἔαρ, πολλὰ μὲν ἐπιπλήξας, πολλὰ δὲ συμβουλεύσας ταῖς πόλεσι, πολλῶν δὲ ἐς ἔπαινον καταστάς, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπαίνου ἀπείχετο, ὁπότε τι ὑγιῶς πράσσοιτο, καταβὰς δὲ ἐς Πειραιᾶ ναῦς μέν τις ὥρμει πρὸς ἱστίοις οὖσα καὶ ἐς Ἰωνίαν ἀφήσουσα, ὁ δ' ἔμπορος οὐ ξυνεχώρει ἐμβαίνειν, ἰδιόστολον γὰρ αὐτὴν ἄγειν. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, "τίς ὁ φόρτος;" "θεῶν," ἔφη, "ἀγάλματα ἀπάγω ἐς Ἰωνίαν, τὰ μὲν χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου, τὰ δὲ ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ." "ἱδρυσόμενος ἢ τί;" "ἀποδωσόμενος," ἔφη, "τοῖς βουλομένοις ἱδρύεσθαι." "δέδιας οὖν, ὦ λῷστε, μὴ συλήσωμεν τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ νηί;" "οὐ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "δέδια, τὸ

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where he was fettered and under orders to dig; and that he addressed to him such consolations as he could, but Musonius took his spade and stoutly dug it into the earth, and then looking up, said: "You are distressed, Demetrius, to see me digging through the Isthmus for Greece; but if you saw me playing the harp like Nero, what would you feel then?" But I must pass over the fortunes of Musonius, though they were many and remarkable, else I shall seem impertinent like one who has carelessly repeated them. CHAP. XIX

XX

APOLLONIUS spent the winter in various Hellenic temples, and towards spring he embarked on the road for Egypt, after administering many rebukes indeed, yet giving much good counsel to the cities, many of which won his approval, for he never refused praise when anything was done in a right and sensible way. When he descended to the Piraeus, he found a ship riding there with its sails set, just about to start for Ionia; but the owner would not allow him to embark, for he wished to go on a private cruise. Apollonius asked him what his freight consisted of. "Of gods," he replied, "whose images I am exporting to Ionia, some made of gold and stone, and others of ivory and gold." "And are you going to dedicate them or what?" "I am going to sell them," he replied, "to those who desire to dedicate them." "Then you are afraid, my most excellent man, lest we should steal your images on board ship?" "I am not afraid of that," he answered, "but I do not think CHAP. XX

Rebukes the export of gods

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CAP. XX δὲ πλείοσι ξυμπλεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ ὁμιλίας ἀναπίμπλασθαι φαύλου διαίτης τε, ὁπόση ναυτική, δεινὸν ἡγοῦμαι." "καὶ μήν, ὦ βέλτιστε," εἶπε, "δόκεις γάρ μοί τις Ἀθηναῖος εἶναι, τὰς ναῦς, αἷς ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐχρήσασθε, καίτοι ναυτικῆς ἀταξίας ἐμπεπλησμένας, ἐνέβαινον οἱ θεοὶ ξὺν ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ᾤοντο ὑφ' ὑμῶν χραίνεσθαι, σὺ δὲ ἀμαθῶς οὕτως ἀπωθῇ τῆς νεὼς φιλοσόφους ἄνδρας, οἷς μάλιστα οἱ θεοὶ χαίρουσι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐμποριάν τοὺς θεοὺς πεποιημένος; ἡ δὲ ἀγαλματοποιία ἡ ἀρχαία οὐ τοῦτο ἔπραττεν, οὐδὲ περιῄεσαν τὰς πόλεις ἀποδιδόμενοι τοὺς θεούς, ἀλλ' ἀπάγοντες μόνον τὰς αὑτῶν χεῖρας καὶ ὄργανα λιθουργὰ καὶ ἐλεφαντουργά, ὕλην τε παρατιθέμενοι ἀργόν, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἱεροῖς τὰς δημιουργίας ἐποιοῦντο, σὺ δ' ὥσπερ τὰ Τρκανικά τε καὶ Σκυθικά, ἀπείη δὲ εἰπεῖν τίνα, οὕτω τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τοὺς λιμένας τε καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἄγων οὐδὲν οἴει ἀσεβὲς πράττειν; καὶ μὴν καὶ σπερμολογοῦσιν ἔνιοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐξαψάμενοί τι Δήμητρος ἢ Διονύσου ἄγαλμα, καὶ τρέφεσθαί φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν οὓς φέρουσι, τὸ δ' αὐτοὺς σιτεῖσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ μηδ' ἐμπίπλασθαι τούτου, δεινῆς ἐμπορίας, εἴποιμι δ' ἂν καὶ ἀνοίας, εἰ μηδὲν ἐκ τούτου δέδοικας." τοιαῦτα ἐπιπλήξας ἐπὶ νεὼς ἑτέρας ἔπλει.

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it proper that they should have to share the voyage with so many people and be defiled by such bad company as you get on board ship." "And may I remind you, most worthy man," answered Apollonius, "for you appear to me to be an Athenian, that on the ships which your countrynen employed against the barbarians, although they were full of a disorderly naval crowd, the gods embarked along with them, yet had no suspicion of being polluted thereby; you however in your gross ignorance drive men who are lovers of wisdom out of your ship, in whose company as in that of none others the gods delight, and this although you are trafficking in the gods? But the image-makers of old behaved not in this way, nor did they go round the cities selling their gods. All they did was to export their own hands and their tools for working stone and ivory; others provided the raw materials, while they plied their handicraft in the temples themselves; but you are leading the gods into harbours and market places just as if they were wares [1] of the Hyrcanians and of the Scythians —far be it from me to name these—and do you think you are doing no impiety? It is true that there are babbling buffoons who hang upon their persons images of Demeter or Dionysus, and pretend that they are nurtured by the gods they carry; but as for feeding on the gods themselves as you do, without ever being surfeited on this diet, that is a horrible commerce and one, I should say, savouring of lunacy, even if you have no misgivings of your own about the consequences." Having administered this rebuke he took his passage on another ship. CHAP. XX

[1] Probably temple slaves or prostitutes.

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XXI

CAP. XXI Καταπλεύσας δὲ ἐς τὴν Χίον, καὶ μηδὲ τὸν πόδα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐρείσας μετεπήδησεν ἐς τὴν ναῦν τὴν πλησίον—ἐκήρυττε δ' ἡ ναῦς ἐς Ῥόδον—καὶ οἱ ἑταῖροι δὲ μετεπήδων οὐδὲν εἰπόντες, ἐφιλοσοφεῖτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς μάλιστα τὸ ἕπεσθαι λέγοντί τε καὶ πράττοντι. εὐφόρῳ δὲ περαιωθεὶς πνεύματι τάδε ἐσπούδασεν ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ· προσιόντα αὐτὸν τῷ τοῦ Κολοσσοῦ ἀγάλματι ἤρετο ὁ Δάμις, τί ἡγοῖτο ἐκείνου μεῖζον; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· "ἄνδρα φιλοσοφοῦντα ὑγιῶς τε καὶ ἀδόλως." ἐπεχωρίαζε τότε τῇ Ῥόδῳ Κάνος αὐλητής, ὃς ἄριστα δὴ ἀνθρώπων ἐδόκει αὐλεῖν. καλέσας οὖν αὐτόν, "τί," ἔφη, "ὁ αὐλητὴς ἐργάζεται;" "πᾶν," εἶπεν, "ὅπερ ἂν ὁ ἀκροατὴς βούληται." "καὶ μὴν πολλοί," ἔφη, "τῶν ἀκροωμένων πλουτεῖν βούλονται μᾶλλον ἢ αὐλοῦ ἀκούειν· πλουσίους οὖν ἀποφαίνεις, οὓς ἂν ἐπιθυμοῦντας τούτου αἴσθῃ;" "οὐδαμῶς," εἶπεν, "ὡς ἐβουλόμην ἄν." "τί δ'; εὐειδεῖς ἐργάζῃ τοὺς νεοὺς τῶν ἀκροατῶν; ἐπειδὴ καλοὶ βούλονται δοκεῖν πάντες, περὶ οὓς νεότης ἐστίν." "οὐδὲ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "καίτοι πλεῖστον ἀφροδίτης ἔχων ἐν τῷ αὐλῷ." "τί οὖν ἐστιν," εἶπεν, "ὃ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἡγῇ βούλεσθαι;" "τί δὲ ἄλλο γε," ἢ δ' ὁ Κάνος,

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XXI

CHAP. XXI

Reaches Rhodes. Discussion of flute-playing

AND when he had sailed as far as Chios, without even setting foot on the shore, he leapt across into another ship hard by, which was advertised to go to Rhodes; and without a word his companions jumped after him, for it was an essential part of their philosophic discipline to imitate his every word and action. With a favourable wind he made the passage and held the following conversation in Rhodes. As he approached the image of the Colossus, Damis asked him, if he thought anything could be greater than that; and he replied: "Yes, a man who loves wisdom in a sound and innocent spirit." At that time Canus was living in Rhodes, who was esteemed to be the best of all flute-players of his age. He therefore called him and said: "What is the business of a flute-player?" "To do," replied the other, "everything which his audience wants him to." "Well, but many," replied Apollonius, "in the audience want to be rich rather than to hear a flute played; I gather then that when you find them desiring this, namely to be rich, you turn them into rich men." "Not at all," replied the other, "though I would like to do so." "Well, then, perhaps you make the young people in your audience good-looking? For all who are still enjoying youth wish to be handsome." "Nor that either," replied the other, "although I can play many an air of Aphrodite on my instrument." "What then is it," said Apollonius, "which you think your audience want?" "Why, what else," replied Canus, "except that the mourner

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CAP. XXI "ἢ τὸν λυπούμενον μὲν κοιμίζεσθαι αὐτῷ τὴν λύπην ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐλοῦ, τὸν δὲ χαίροντα ἱλαρώτερον ἑαυτοῦ γίγνεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἐρῶντα θερμότερον, τὸν δὲ φιλοθύτην ἐνθεώτερόν τε καὶ ὑμνώδη;" "τοῦτο οὖν," ἔφη, "ὦ Κάνε, πότερον αὐτὸς ἐργάζεται ὁ αὐλὸς διὰ τὸ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ὀρειχάλκου καὶ ἐλάφων κνήμης ξυγκεῖσθαι, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὄνων, ἢ ἕτερόν ἐστιν, ὃ ταῦτα δύναται;" "ἕτερον," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε· ἡ γὰρ μουσικὴ καὶ οἱ τρόποι καὶ τὸ ἀναμὶξ καὶ τὸ εὐμετάβολον τῆς αὐλήσεως καὶ τὰ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἤθη, ταῦτα τοὺς ἀκροωμένους ἁρμόττει καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐργάζεται σφῶν, ὁποίας βούλονται." "ξυνῆκα," ἔφη, "ὦ Κάνε, ὅ τι σοι ἡ τέχνη πράττει· τὸ γὰρ ποικίλον αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἐς πάντας τρόπους, τοῦτο ἐξασκεῖς τε καὶ παρέχεις τοῖς παρὰ σὲ φοιτῶσιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ εἰρημένοις καὶ ἑτέρων δοκεῖ ὁ αὐλὸς δεῖσθαι· τῆς τε εὐπνοίας καὶ τῆς εὐστομίας καὶ τοῦ εὔχειρα εἶναι τὸν αὐλοῦντα, ἔστι δὲ εὔπνοια μέν, ἢν τορὸν καὶ λευκὸν ᾖ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ μὴ ἐπικτυπῇ ἡ φάρυγξ, τουτὶ γὰρ ἔοικε φθόγγῳ ἀμούσῳ, εὐστομία δέ, ἢν τὰ χείλη ἐνθέμενα τὴν τοῦ αὐλοῦ γλῶτταν μὴ πιμπραμένου τοῦ προσώπου αὐλῇ, τὸν δὲ εὔχειρα αὐλητὴν πολλοῦ ἡγοῦμαι ἄξιον, ἢν μήτε ὁ καρπὸς ἀπαγορεύῃ ἀνακλώμενος μήτε οἱ δάκτυλοι βραδεῖς ὦσιν ἐπιπέτεσθαι τοῖς φθόγγοις, καὶ γὰρ τὸ ταχέως μεταβάλλειν ἐκ τρόπου ἐς τρόπον περὶ τοὺς εὐχειράς ἐστι μᾶλλον. εἰ δὴ ταῦτα πάντα

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may have his sorrow lulled to sleep by the flute, and that they that rejoice may have their cheerfulness enhanced, and the lover may wax warmer in his passion, and that the lover of sacrifice may become more inspired and full of sacred song?" "This then," he said, "O Canus, would you allow to be the effect of the flute itself, because it is constructed of gold or brass and of the shin of a stag, or perhaps of the shin of a donkey, or is it something else which has these effects?" "It is something else," he replied, "O Apollonius; for the music and the modes and the blending of strains and the easy variations of the flute and the characters of the harmonies, it is all this that composes the souls of listeners and brings them to such a state of contentment as they want." "I understand," he replied, "O Canus, what it is that your art performs; for you cultivate and exhibit to those who come to learn of you the changefulness of your music and the variety of its modes. But as for myself, I think that your flute wants other resources in addition to those you have mentioned, namely reserves of breath, and a right use of the lips, and manual skill on the part of the player; and facility of breath consists in its being clear and distinct, unmarred by any husky click in the throat, for that would rob the sound of its musical character. And facility with the lips consists in their taking in the reed of the flute and playing without blowing out the cheeks; and manual skill I consider very important, for the wrist must not weary from being bent, nor must the fingers be slow in fluttering over the notes, and manual skill is especially shown in the swift transition from mode to mode. If then you have

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CAP. XXI παρέχεις, θαρρῶν αὔλει, ὦ Κάνε, μετὰ σοῦ γὰρ ἡ Εὐτέρπη ἔσται."

XXII

CAP. XXII Ἐτύγχανέ τι καὶ μειράκιον νεόπλουτόν τε καὶ ἀπαίδευτον οἰκοδομούμενον οἰκίαν τινὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ, καὶ ξυμφέρον ἐς αὐτὴν γραφάς τε ποικίλας καὶ λίθους ἐξ ἁπάντων ἐθνῶν. ἤρετο οὖν αὐτό, ὁπόσα χρήματα εἴη ἐς διδασκάλους τε καὶ παιδείαν ἀνηλωκός· ὁ δέ, "οὐδὲ δραχμήν," εἶπεν. "ἐς δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν πόσα;" "δώδεκα," ἔφη, "τάλαντα, προσαναλώσαιμι δ' ἂν καὶ ἕτερα τοσαῦτα." "τί δ'," εἶπεν, "ἡ οἰκία βούλεταί σοι;" "δίαιτα," ἔφη, "λαμπρὰ ἔσται τῷ σώματι, καὶ γὰρ δρόμοι ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἄλση καὶ ὀλίγα ἐς ἀγορὰν βαδιοῦμαι, καὶ προσεροῦσί με οἱ ἐσιόντες ἥδιον, ὥσπερ ἐς ἱερὸν φοιτῶντες." "ζηλωτότεροι δέ," εἶπεν, "οἱ ἄνθρωποι πότερον δι' αὐτούς εἰσιν ἢ διὰ τὰ περὶ αὐτοὺς ὄντα;" "διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον," εἶπε, "τὰ γὰρ χρήματα πλεῖστον ἰσχύει." "χρημάτων δ'," ἔφη, "ὦ μειράκιον, ἀμείνων φύλαξ πότερον ὁ πεπαιδευμένος ἔσται ἢ ὁ ἀπαίδευτος;" ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐσιώπησε, "δοκεῖς μοι," εἶπε, "μειράκιον, οὐ σὺ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀλλὰ σὲ ἡ οἰκία κεκτῆσθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐς ἱερὸν παρελθὼν πολλῷ ἂν ἥδιον ἐν αὐτῷ μικρῷ ὄντι ἄγαλμα ἐλέφαντός τε καὶ χρυσοῦ ἴδοιμι ἢ ἐν μεγάλῳ κεραμεοῦν τε καὶ φαῦλον."

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all these facilities, you may play with confidence, O Canus, for the Muse Euterpe will be with you." CHAP. XXI

XXII

CHAP. XXII

Rebukes rich upstart

It happened also that a young man was building a house in Rhodes who was a *nouveau riche* without any education, and he collected in his house rare pictures and gems from different countries. Apollonius then asked him how much money he had spent upon teachers and on education. "Not a farthing," he replied. "And how much upon your house?" "Twelve talents," he replied, "and I mean to spend as much again upon it." "And what," said the other, "is the good of your house to you?" "Why, as a residence, it is splendidly suited to my bodily training, for there are colonnades in it and groves, and I shall seldom need to walk out into the market place, but people will come in and talk to me with all the more pleasure, just as if they were visiting a temple." "And," said Apollonius, "are men to be valued more for themselves or for their belongings?" "For their wealth," said the other, "for wealth has the most influence." "And," said Apollonius, "my good youth, which is the best able to keep his money, an educated person or an uneducated?" And as the other made no answer, he added: "My good boy, it seems to me that it is not you that own the house, but the house that owns you. As for myself I would far rather enter a temple, no matter how small, and behold in it a statue of ivory and gold, than behold one of pottery and bad workmanship in a vastly larger one."

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XXIII

CAP. XXIII Νεανίαν δὲ ἰδὼν πίονα καὶ φρονοῦντα ἐπὶ τῷ πλεῖστα μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἐσθίειν, πλεῖστον δὲ οἶνον πίνειν, "ἀλλ' ἦ σύ," ἔφη, "τυγχάνεις ὢν ὁ γαστριζόμενος;" "καὶ θύω γε," εἶπεν, "ὑπὲρ τούτου." "τί οὖν," ἔφη, "ἀπολέλαυκας τῆς βορᾶς ταύτης;" "τὸ θαυμάζεσθαί με καὶ ἀποβλέπεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἴσως ἀκούεις, ὡς καὶ τὰ σιτία αὐτοῦ παραπλησίως τοῖς ἄθλοις ᾔδετο." "Ἡρακλέους," ἔφη, "ὄντος· σοῦ δὲ τίς, ὦ κάθαρμα, ἀρετή; τὸ γὰρ περίβλεπτον ἐν μόνῳ λείπεταί σοι τῷ ῥαγῆναι."

XXIV

CAP. XXIV Τοιάδε μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ἐσέπλευσεν· ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια καὶ ἀπόντος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἤρα, καὶ ἐπόθουν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὡς εἷς ἕνα, καὶ ἡ Αἴγυπτος δὲ ἡ ἄνω μεστοὶ θεολογίας ὄντες καὶ φοιτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ ἤθη τὰ αὐτῶν ηὔχοντο, ἅτε γὰρ πολλῶν ἀφικνουμένων μὲν ἐνθένδε ἐς Αἴγυπτον, πολλῶν δὲ ἐπιμιγνύντων δεῦρο ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ᾔδετό τε παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ τὰ ὦτα ἐς αὐτὸν Αἰγυπτίοις ὀρθὰ ἦν· προϊόντα γέ τοι ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς ἐς τὸ ἄστυ θεῷ ἴσα ἀπέβλεπον καὶ διεχώρουν τῶν στενωπῶν,

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XXIII

CHAP. XXIII

Rebukes a glutton

And meeting a young man who was young and fat and who prided himself upon eating more than anybody else, and on drinking more wine than others, he remarked: "Then you, it seems, are the glutton." "Yes, and I sacrifice to the gods out of gratitude for the same." "And what pleasure," said Apollonius, "do you get by gorging yourself in this way?" "Why, everyone admires me and stares at me; for you have probably heard of Hercules, how people took as much pains to celebrate what he ate as what labours he performed." "Yes, for he was Hercules," said Apollonius; "but as for yourself, you scum, what good points are there about you? There is nothing left for you but to burst, if you want to be stared at."

XXIV

CHAP. XXIV

His reception in Alexandria

Such were his experiences in Rhodes, and others ensued in Alexandria, so soon as his voyage ended there. Even before he arrived Alexandria was in love with him, and its inhabitants longed to see Apollonius with the unique devotion of one friend for another; and as the people of Upper Egypt are intensely religious they too prayed him to visit their several societies. For owing to the fact that so many come hither and mix with us from Egypt, while an equal number pass hence to visit Egypt, Apollonius was already celebrated among them and the ears of the Egyptians were literally pricked up to hear him. It is no exaggeration to say that, as he advanced from

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CAP. XXIV ὥσπερ τοῖς φέρουσι τὰ ἱερά. παραπεμπομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμόνες, ἄνδρες ἤγοντο τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ δώδεκα λῃσταὶ τὴν αἰτίαν, ὁ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἰδών, "οὐ πάντες," εἶπεν, "ὁ δεῖνα γὰρ καταψευσθεὶς ἄπεισι." καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δημίους, ὑφ' ὧν ἤγοντο, "ὑφεῖναι," ἔφη, "κελεύω τοῦ δρόμου καὶ σχολαιότερον ἥκειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, ὕστατόν τε ἀποκτεῖναι τοῦτον, μετέχει γὰρ οὐδὲν τῆς αἰτιάσεως, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς γε ὅσι' ἂν πράττοιτε φειδόμενοι τούτων βραχὺ μέρος ἡμέρας, οὗς λῷον ἦν μηδ' ἀποκτείνειν·" καὶ ἅμα ἐνδιέτριβεν οἷς ἔλεγεν, οὐκ εἰωθὸς ἑαυτῷ ἀποτείνων μῆκος. τί δ' αὐτῷ ἐνόει τοῦτο, αὐτίκα ἐδείχθη· ὀκτὼ γὰρ ἤδη ἀποτετμημένων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἱππεὺς ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, "Φαρίωνος," ἐβόα, "φείσασθε," μὴ γὰρ εἶναι λῃστὴν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῦ μὲν κατεψεῦσθαι δέει τοῦ στρεβλώσεσθαι, βασανισθέντων δὲ ἑτέρων χρηστὸν ὁμολογῆσθαι ἄνδρα. ἐῶ τὸ πήδημα τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ ὅσον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκρότησαν καὶ ἄλλως θαυμαστικοὶ ὄντες.

XXV

CAP. XXV Ἀνελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ὁ μὲν κόσμος ὁ περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ λόγος θεῖός τε ἐφαί-

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the ship into the city, they gazed upon him as if he was a god, and made way for him in the alleys, as they would for priests carrying the sacraments. As he was being thus escorted with more pomp than if he had been a governor of the country, he met twelve men who were being led to execution on the charge of being bandits; he looked at them and said: "They are not all guilty, for this one," and he gave his name, "has been falsely accused and will escape." And to the executioners by whom they were being led, he said: "I order you to relax your pace and bring them to the ditch a little more leisurely, and to put this one to death last of all, for he is guiltless of the charge; but you would anyhow act with more piety, if you spared them for a brief portion of the day, since it were better not to slay them at all." And withal he dwelt upon this theme at what was for him unusual length. And the reason for his doing so was immediately shown; for when eight of them had had their heads cut off, a man on horseback rode up to the ditch, and shouted: "Spare Pharion; for," he added, "he is no robber, but he gave false evidence against himself from fear of being racked, and others of them in their examination under torture have acknowledged that he is guiltless." I need not describe the exultation of Egypt, nor how the people, who were anyhow ready to admire him, applauded him for this action.

CHAP. XXIV

Predicts the acquittal of a bandit

XXV

And when he had gone up into the temple, he was struck by the orderliness of its arrangements, and

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CAP. XXV

νετο καὶ κατὰ σοφίαν ξυντεθείς, τὸ δὲ τῶν ταύρων αἷμα καὶ οἱ χῆνες καὶ ὁπόσα ἐθύετο, οὐκ ἐπῄνει τὰ τοιάδε, οὐδὲ ἐς δαῖτας θεῶν ἤγεν· ἐρομένου δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ ἱερέως, τί μαθὼν οὐχ οὕτω θύοι, "σὺ μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἀπόκριναί μοι μᾶλλον, τί μαθὼν οὕτω θύεις;" εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ ἱερέως, "καὶ τίς οὕτω δεινός, ὡς διορθοῦσθαι τὰ Αἰγυπτίων;" "πᾶς," ἔφη, "σοφός, ἦν ἀπ' Ἰνδῶν ἥκῃ. καὶ βοῦν," ἔφη, "ἀπανθρακιῶ τήμερον καὶ κοινώνει τοῦ καπνοῦ ἡμῖν, οὐ γὰρ ἀχθέσῃ περὶ τῆς μοίρας, εἰ κἀκείνην οἱ θεοὶ δαίσονται." τηκομένου δὲ τοῦ πλάσματος, "ὅρα," ἔφη, "τὰ ἱερά." "ποῖα;" εἶπεν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, "ὁρῶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐνθάδε." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "οἱ δὲ Ἰαμίδαι," εἶπε, "καὶ οἱ Τελλιάδαι καὶ οἱ Κλυτιάδαι καὶ τὸ τῶν Μελαμποδιδῶν μαντεῖον ἐλήρησαν, ὦ λῷστε, τοσαῦτα μὲν περὶ πυρὸς εἰπόντες, τοσαύτας δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ξυλλεξάμενοι φήμας; ἢ τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πεύκης πῦρ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς κέδρου μαντικὸν ἠγῇ καὶ ἱκανὸν δηλῶσαί τι, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πιοτάτου τε καὶ καθαρωτάτου δακρύου καόμενον οὐ πολλῷ αἱρετώτερον; εἰ δ' ἐμπύρου σοφίας ἦσθα εὐξύνετος, εἶδες ἂν καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλῳ πολλὰ δηλούμενα, ὁπότε ἀνίσχει."

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thought the reason given for everything thoroughly religious and wisely framed. But as for the blood of bulls and the sacrifices of geese and other animals, he disapproved of them nor would he bring them to repasts of the gods. And when a priest asked him what induced him not to sacrifice like the rest: "Nay, you," he replied, "should rather answer me what induces you to sacrifice in this way." The priest replied: "And who is so clever that he can make corrections in the rites of the Egyptians?" "Anyone," he answered, "with a little wisdom, if only he comes from India." "And," he added, "I will roast a bull to ashes this very day, and you shall hold communion with us in the smoke it makes; for you cannot complain, if you only get the same portion which is thought enough of a repast for the gods." And as his image[1] was being melted in the fire he said: "Look at the sacrifice." "What sacrifice," said the Egyptian, "for I do not see anything there." And Apollonius said: "The Iamidae and the Telliadae and the Clytiadae and the oracle of the black-footed ones, have they talked a lot of nonsense, most excellent priest, when they went on at such length about fire, and pretended to gather so many oracles from it? For as to the fire from pine wood and from the cedar, do you think it is really fraught with prophecy and capable of revealing anything, and yet not esteem a fire lit from the richest and purest gum to be much preferable? If then you had really any acquaintance with the lore of fire worship, you would see that many things are revealed in the disc of the sun at the moment of its rising."

CHAP. XXV

Condemns blood offerings

[1] A frankincense model of a bull.

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CAP. XXVI Τούτοις ἐπέκοπτε τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ὡς ἀμαθῆ τῶν θείων. προσκειμένης δὲ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἵπποις καὶ ξυμφοιτώσης μὲν ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἐπὶ τῇ θέᾳ ταύτῃ, μιαιφονούντων δὲ ἀλλήλους, ἐπίπληξιν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν, "ποῖ," ἔφη, "παρατενεῖτε ἀποθνήσκοντες οὐχ ὑπὲρ τέκνων οὐδὲ ἱερῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς χραίνοιτε μὲν τὰ ἱερὰ λύθρου μεστοὶ ἐς ταῦτα ἥκοντες, φθείροισθε δὲ ἔσω τείχους; καὶ Τροίαν μέν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἵππος εἷς διεπόρθησεν, ὃν ἐσοφίσαντο οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τότε, ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δὲ ἅρματα ἔζευκται καὶ ἵπποι, δι' οὓς οὐκ ἔστιν ὑμῖν εὐηνίως ζῆν· ἀπόλλυσθε γοῦν οὐχ ὑπὸ Ἀτρειδῶν, οὐδ' ὑπὸ Αἰακιδῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων, ὃ μηδ' οἱ Τρῶες ἐν τῇ μέθῃ. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν, οὗ πάλης καὶ πυγμῆς καὶ τοῦ παγκρατιάζειν ἆθλα, οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ ἀθλητῶν ἀπέθανεν, ἴσως καὶ ξυγγνώμης ὑπαρχούσης, εἴ τις ὑπερσπουδάζοι περὶ τὸ ὁμόφυλον, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἵππων ἐνταῦθα γυμνὰ μὲν ὑμῖν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ξίφη, βολαὶ δὲ ἕτοιμοι λίθων. ἵτω[1] δὲ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὴν τοιαύτην πόλιν, ἔνθα οἰμωγή τε καὶ ὕβρις

ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων, ῥέει δ' αἵματι γαῖα.

αἰδέσθητε τὸν κοινὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου κρατῆρα

[1] Adding ἵτω with Phillimore.

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CHAP. XXVI

Condemns horse-racing factions

With these words he rebuked and silenced the Egyptian, showing that he was ignorant of religion. But because the Alexandrians are devoted to horses, and flock into the racecourse to see the spectacle, and murder one another in their partisanship, he therefore administered a grave rebuke to them over these matters, and entering the temple, he said: "How long will you persist in meeting your deaths, not in behalf of your families or of your shrines, but because you are determined to pollute the sacred precincts by entering them reeking with gore and to slaughter one another within the walls? And Troy it seems was ravaged and destroyed by a single horse, which the Achaeans of that day had contrived; but your chariots and horses are yoked to your own despite and leave you no chance of living in submission to the reins of law. You are being destroyed therefore not by the sons of Atreus nor by the sons of Ajax, but by one another, a thing that the Trojans would not have done even when they were drunk. At Olympia, however, where there are prizes for wrestling and boxing and for the mixed athletic contests, no one is slain in behalf of the athletes, though it were quite excusable if one should show an excess of zeal in the rivalry of human beings like himself. But here I see you rushing at one another with drawn swords, and ready to hurl stones, all over a horse race. I would like to call down fire upon such a city as this, where amidst the groans and insulting shouts 'of the destroyers and the destroyed the earth runs with blood.' Can you not

Iliad 4. 451

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CAP. XXVI Νεῖλον. ἀλλὰ τί Νείλου μνημονεύω πρὸς ἀνθρώπους αἵματος ἀναβάσεις διαμετροῦντας μᾶλλον ἢ ὕδατος;" καὶ πλείω ἐς τὴν ἐπίπληξιν ταύτην διελέχθη ἕτερα, ὡς διδάσκει ὁ Δάμις.

XXVII

CAP. XXVII Οὐεσπασιανοῦ δὲ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν περινοοῦντος περὶ τὰ ὅμορα τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἔθνη, καὶ προχωροῦντος ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, Δίωνες μὲν καὶ Εὐφρᾶται, περὶ ὧν μικρὸν ὕστερον εἰρήσεται, χαίρειν παρεκελεύοντο· μετὰ γὰρ τὸν πρῶτον αὐτοκράτορα, ὑφ' οὗ τὰ Ῥωμαίων διεκοσμήθη, τυραννίδες οὕτω χαλεπαὶ ἴσχυσαν ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτη, ὡς μηδὲ Κλαύδιον τὰ μέσα τούτων τρισκαίδεκα ἄρξαντα χρηστὸν δόξαι· καίτοι πεντηκοντούτης μὲν ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν παρῆλθεν, ὅτε νοῦς μάλιστα ὑγιαίνει ἀνθρώπων, παιδείας δὲ ξυμπάσης ἐδόκει ἐρᾶν· ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνος τηλικόσδε ὢν πολλὰ μειρακιώδη ἔπαθε καὶ μηλόβοτον γυναίοις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνῆκεν, ὑφ' ὧν οὕτω ῥᾳθύμως ἀπέθανεν, ὡς καίτοι προγιγνώσκων, ἃ ἔμελλε πείσεσθαι, μηδ' ἃ προῄδει, φυλάξασθαι. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ παραπλησίως μὲν Εὐφράτῃ καὶ Δίωνι περὶ τούτων ἔχαιρε, μελέτην δ' αὐτὰ οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο ἐς πάντας, ῥητορικωτέραν ἡγούμενος τὴν

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feel reverence for the Nile, the common mixing bowl of Egypt? But why mention the Nile to men whose gauges measure a rising tide of blood rather than of water?" And many other rebukes of the same kind he addressed to them, as Damis informs us. CHAP. XXVI

XXVII

CHAP. XXVII

Vespasian's arrival at Alexandria

VESPASIAN was harbouring thoughts of seizing the absolute power, and was at this time in the countries bordering upon Egypt; and when he advanced as far as Egypt, people like Dion and Euphrates, of whom I shall have something to say lower down, urged that a welcome should be given to him. For the first autocrat, by whom the Roman state was organised, was succeeded for the space of fifty years by tyrants so harsh and cruel, that not even Claudius, who reigned thirteen years in the interval between them, could be regarded as a good ruler, and that, although he was fifty years of age when he succeeded to the throne, an age when a man's judgment is most likely to be sane, and though he had the reputation of being fond of culture of all kinds; nevertheless he too in spite of his advanced age committed many youthful follies, and gave up the empire to be devoured, as sheep devour a pasture, by silly women, who murdered him, because he was so indolent that, though he knew beforehand what was in store for him, he would not be on his guard even against what he foresaw. Apollonius no less than Euphrates and Dion rejoiced in the new turn of events; but he did not make use of them as a theme in his public utterances,

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CAP. XXVII τοιάνδε ἰδέαν τοῦ λόγου, προσιόντι δὲ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ πρὸ πυλῶν ἀπήντα καὶ τὰ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τέλη καὶ οἱ νομοί, καθ' οὓς Αἴγυπτος τέτμηται, φιλόσοφοί τε ὡσαύτως καὶ σοφία πᾶσα, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος οὐδὲν ἐπολυπραγμόνει τούτων, ἀλλὰ ἐσπούδαζεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. διαλεχθεὶς δὲ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ γενναῖά τε καὶ ἥμερα, καὶ διελθὼν λόγον οὐ μακρόν, "ἐπιδημεῖ," ἔφη, "ὁ Τυανεύς;" "ναί," ἔφασαν, "βελτίους γε ἡμᾶς ἐργασάμενος." "πῶς ἂν οὖν ξυγγένοιτο ἡμῖν;" ἔφη, "σφόδρα γὰρ δέομαι τοῦ ἀνδρός." "ἐντεύξεταί σοι περὶ τὸ ἱερόν," ὁ Δίων εἶπε, "πρὸς ἐμὲ γὰρ δεῦρο ἥκοντα ὡμολόγει ταῦτα." "ἴωμεν," ἔφη ὁ βασιλεύς, "προσευξόμενοι μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς, ξυνεσόμενοι δὲ ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ." ἐντεῦθεν ἀνέφυ λόγος, ὡς ἐνθύμιος μὲν αὐτῷ ἡ ἀρχὴ γένοιτο πολιορκοῦντι τὰ Σόλυμα, μεταπέμποιτο δὲ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ὑπὲρ βουλῆς τούτων, ὁ δὲ παραιτοῖτο ἥκειν ἐς γῆν, ἣν ἐμίαναν οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοῦντες οἷς τε ἔδρασαν οἷς τε ἔπαθον· ὅθεν αὐτὸς ἐλθεῖν ἐς Αἴγυπτον τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν κεκτημένος, διαλεξόμενος δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ὁπόσα δηλώσω.

XXVIII

CAP. XXVIII Θύσας γὰρ καὶ οὕπω χρηματίσας κατ' ἀξίαν ταῖς πόλεσι προσεῖπε τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ ὥσπερ

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because he considered such an argument too much in the style of a rhetor. When the autocrat approached the city, the priests met him before the gates, together with the magistrates of Egypt and the representatives of the different provinces into which Egypt is divided. The philosophers also were present and all their schools. Apollonius however did not put himself forward in this way, but remained conversing in the temple. The autocrat delivered himself of noble and gentle sentiments, and after making a short speech, said: "Is the man of Tyana living here?" "Yes," they replied, "and he has much improved us thereby." "Can he then be induced to give us an interview?" said the emperor, "For I am very much in want of him." "He will meet you," said Dion, "at the temple, for he admitted as much to me when I was on my way here." "Let us go on," said the king, "at once to offer our prayers to the gods, and to meet so noble a man." This is how the story grew up, that it was during his conduct of the siege of Jerusalem that the idea of making himself emperor suggested itself to him; and that he sent for Apollonius to ask his advice on the point; but that the latter declined to enter a country which its inhabitants polluted both by what they did and by what they suffered, which was the reason why Vespasian came in person to Egypt, as well because he now had possession of the throne, as in order to hold with our sage the conversations which I shall relate. CHAP. XXVII

XXVIII

For after he had sacrificed, and before he gave official audiences to the cities, he addressed himself CHAP. XXVIII

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CAP. XXVIII εὐχόμενος αὐτῷ, "ποίησόν με," ἔφη, "βασιλέα." ὁ δέ, "ἐποίησα," εἶπεν, "ἤδη γὰρ εὐξάμενος βασιλέα δίκαιόν τε καὶ γενναῖον καὶ σώφρονα καὶ πολιᾷ κεκοσμημένον καὶ πατέρα παίδων γνησίων, σὲ δήπου παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἤτουν ἐγώ." ὑπερησθεὶς δὲ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ γὰρ ἐβόησε τὸ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πλῆθος ξυντιθέμενοι τῷ λόγῳ, "τί σοι," ἔφη, "Νέρωνος ἀρχὴ ἐφαίνετο;" καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "Νέρων," εἶπε, "κιθάραν μὲν ἴσως ἥδει ἁρμόττεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἤσχυνεν ἀνέσει καὶ ἐπιτάσει." "ξύμμετρον οὖν," ἔφη, "κελεύεις εἶναι τὸν ἄρχοντα;" "οὐκ ἐγώ," εἶπε, "θεὸς δὲ τὴν ἰσότητα μεσότητα ὁρισάμενος. ἀγαθοὶ δὲ τούτων ξύμβουλοι καὶ οἵδε οἱ ἄνδρες," τὸν Δίωνα δείξας καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην μήπω αὐτῷ ἐς διαφορὰν ἥκοντα. τότε δὴ ἀνασχὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς χεῖρας, "ὦ Ζεῦ," ἔφη, "σοφῶν μὲν ἐγὼ ἄρχοιμι, σοφοὶ δὲ ἐμοῦ." καὶ ἐπιστρέψας ἑαυτὸν ἐς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, "ἀρύσασθε," εἶπεν, "ὡς Νείλου καὶ ἐμοῦ."

XXIX

CAP. XXIX Ἡ μὲν δὴ Αἴγυπτος ὧδε ἀνέσχεν, ἀπειρηκότες ἤδη δι' ἃ ἐπιέζοντο. κατιὼν δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ξυνῆψε τῷ

to Apollonius, and, as if making prayer he said to him: "Do thou make me king." And he answered: "I have done so already, for I have already offered a prayer for a king who should be just and noble and temperate, endowed with the wisdom of grey hairs, and the father of legitimate sons; and surely in my prayer I was asking from the gods for none other but thyself." The emperor was delighted with this answer, for the crowd too in the temple shouted their agreement with it. "What then," said the emperor, "did you think of the reign of Nero?" And Apollonius answered: "Nero perhaps understood how to tune a lyre, but he disgraced the empire both by letting the strings go too slack and by drawing them too tight." "Then," said the other, "you would like a ruler to observe the mean?" "Not I," said Apollonius, "but God himself, who has defined equity as consisting in the mean. And these gentlemen here, they too are good advisers in this matter," he added, pointing to Dion and Euphrates, for the latter had not yet quarrelled with him. Thereupon the king held up his hand and said: "O Zeus, may I hold sway over wise men, and wise men hold sway over me." And turning himself round towards the Egyptians he said: "You shall draw as liberally upon me as you do upon the Nile."

CHAP. XXVIII
He converses with Apollonius about kingship

XXIX

THE result then was that the Egyptians regained their prosperity, for they were already exhausted by the oppressions they suffered; but as he went down

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CAP. XXIX

Ἀπολλωνίῳ τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ παραγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, "ἴσως," ἔφη, "μειρακιώδης ἐνίοις δοκῶ βασιλείας ἁπτόμενος περὶ ἔτος ἑξηκοστὸν τοῦ βίου· δώσω οὖν ἀπολογίαν, ὡς ἀπολογοῖο ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις· ἐγὼ γὰρ πλούτου μὲν ἡττηθεὶς οὐδὲ ἐν μειρακίῳ ποτὲ οἶδα, τὰς δὲ ἀρχάς τε καὶ λαμπρότητας, ὁπόσαι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ προσήκουσιν, οὕτω σωφρόνως καὶ μετρίως διεθέμην, ὡς μήτε ὑπέρφρων μήτ' αὖ κατεπτηχὼς δόξαι, νεώτερα δὲ οὐδ' ἐπὶ Νέρωνα ἐνεθυμήθην, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ νόμους, παρ' ἀνδρὸς γοῦν αὐτοκράτορος παραλαβὼν εἶχεν, ὑφιέμην αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν Κλαύδιον, ὃς ὕπατόν τε ἀπέδειξέ με καὶ ξύμβουλον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ὁπότε Νέρωνα ἴδοιμι ἀσχημονοῦντα, δάκρυά μοι ἐξέπιπτεν ἐνθυμουμένῳ τὸν Κλαύδιον, ὑφ' οἵου καθάρματος τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκληρονομήθη. ὁρῶν δὲ μηδ' ὁπότε Νέρων ἐκποδὼν γέγονεν ἐπὶ τὸ λῷον μεθιστάμενα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀτίμως τὴν ἀρχὴν πράττουσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ Βιτελίῳ κεῖσθαι, θαρρῶν ἤδη ἐπ' αὐτὴν εἶμι, πρῶτον μέν, ἐπειδὴ βούλομαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρασχεῖν ἐμαυτὸν πολλοῦ ἄξιον, εἶτα, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται κραιπαλῶντα· Βιτέλιος γὰρ μύρῳ μὲν λοῦται πλεῖον ἢ ἐγὼ ὕδατι, δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ ξίφει πληγεὶς μύρον ἐκδώσειν μᾶλλον ἢ αἷμα, οἴνῳ δὲ οἶνον ξυνάπτων μαίνεται, καὶ κυβεύει μὲν δεδιὼς μή τι αὐτὸν οἱ πεττοὶ

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from the temple he grasped the hand of Apollonius, and taking him with him into the palace, said: "Perhaps some will think me young and foolish because I assume the reins of kingship nigh on the sixtieth year of my life. I will then communicate to you my reasons for doing so, in order that you may justify my actions to others. For I was never the slave of wealth that I know of, even in my youth; and in the matter of the magistracies and honours in the gift of the Roman sovereign, I bore myself with so much soberness and moderation as to avoid being thought either overbearing or, on the other hand, craven and cowardly. Nor did I cherish any but loyal feelings towards Nero; but, inasmuch as he had received the crown, if not in strict accordance with the law, at any rate from an autocrat, I submitted to him for the sake of Claudius, who made me consul and sharer of his counsels. And, by Athene, I never saw Nero demeaning himself without shedding tears, when I thought of Claudius, and contrasted with him the wretch who had inherited the greatest of his possessions. And now when I see that even the disappearance from the scene of Nero has brought no change for the better in the fortunes of humanity, and that the throne has fallen into such dishonour as to be assigned to Vitellius, I boldly advance to take it myself; firstly, because I wish to endear myself to men and win their esteem, and secondly, because the man I have to contend with is a mere drunkard. For Vitellius uses more ointment in his bath than I do water, and I believe that if you ran a sword into him, more ointment would issue from the wound than blood; and his continuous bouts of drinking have made him mad, and one who were he

CHAP. XXIX

And reviews the reigns of his predecessors

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CAP. XXIX σφήλωσιν, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἀρχῆς ἀναρριπτεῖ παίζων, ἑταίραις δὲ ὑποκείμενος ἐπιθόρνυται ταῖς γεγαμημέναις, ἡδίω φάσκων τὰ μετὰ κινδύνων ἐρωτικά. ἐὼ τὰ ἀσελγέστερα, ὡς μὴ τοιαῦτα ἐπὶ σοῦ λέγοιμι· μὴ δὴ περιίδοιμι Ῥωμαίους ὑπὸ τοιούτου ἀρχθέντας, ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνας ποιούμενος τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνὴρ γιγνοίμην ἐμαυτῷ ὅμοιος· ὅθεν ἐκ σοῦ, Ἀπολλώνιε, πεῖσμα ἐγὼ βάλλομαι, φασὶ γὰρ πλεῖστά σε τῶν θεῶν αἰσθάνεσθαι, καὶ ξύμβουλον ποιοῦμαί σε φροντίδων, ἐφ' αἷς ἐστι γῆ καὶ θάλαττα, ἵν' εἰ μὲν εὐμενῆ τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν φαίνοιτο, πράττοιμι ταῦτα, εἰ δὲ ἐναντία καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἐμοῦ μηδὲ Ῥωμαίων, μὴ ἐνοχλοίην τοὺς θεοὺς ἄκοντας."

XXX

CAP. XXX Ἐπιθειάσας δ' ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ λόγῳ, "Ζεῦ," ἔφη, "Καπιτώλιε, σὲ γὰρ τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων βραβευτὴν οἶδα, φύλαττε σεαυτὸν μὲν τούτῳ, σεαυτῷ δὲ τοῦτον· τὸν γὰρ νεών, ὃν χθὲς ἄδικοι χεῖρες ἐνέπρησαν, τόνδε σοὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀναστῆσαι πέπρωται." θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν λόγον, "αὐτά," εἶπεν, "αὐτὰ δηλώσει

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diceing would be full of apprehension lest the pieces should play him false, is yet hazarding the empire in play; and though he is the slave of mistresses, he nevertheless insults married women, and says that he likes to spice his amours with a little danger. His worst excesses I will not mention for I would rather not allude to such matters in your presence. May I then never submit tamely, while the Romans are ruled by such a man as he; let me rather ask the gods to guide me so that I may be true to myself. And this, Apollonius, is why I, as it were, make fast my cable to yourself, for they say that you have the amplest insight into the will of the gods, and why I ask you to share with me in my anxieties and aid me in plans on which rests the safety of sea and land; to the end that, supposing the good-will of heaven show itself on my side, I may fulfill my task; but if heaven opposes and favours neither myself nor the Romans, that I may not trouble the gods against their wills." CHAP. XXIX

XXX

CHAP. XXX

An example of Apollonius' gift of second sight

Apollonius clinched his words with an appeal to heaven: "O Zeus," said he, "of the Capitol, for thou art he whom I know to be the arbiter of the present issue, do thou preserve thyself for this man and this man for thyself. For this man who stands before thee is destined to raise afresh unto thee the temple which only yesterday the hands of malefactors set on fire." And on the emperor expressing astonishment at his words: "The facts themselves," he said, "will reveal, so do thou ask nothing of me; but continue and

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CAP. XXX καὶ μηδὲν ἐμοῦ δέου, πέραινε δέ, ἃ ὀρθῶς ἐβουλεύσω." ξυμβεβήκει δὲ ἄρα κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην Δομετιανὸν μὲν τὸν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ παῖδα παρατετάχθαι πρὸς τὸν Βιτέλιον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πατρός, πολιορκίας δ' αὐτὸν περισχούσης ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, τὸν μὲν διαπεφευγέναι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας, τὸν νεὼν δ' ἐμπεπρῆσθαι, καὶ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ φαίνεσθαι πολλῷ θᾶττον ἢ εἰ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἐπράττετο. τοσαῦτα σπουδάσαντες ὁ μὲν ἀπῆλθε τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰπὼν μὴ ξυγχωρεῖν αὐτῷ τὰ Ἰνδῶν πάτρια κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἄλλο τι παρ' ἃ ἐκεῖνοι πράττουσι πράττειν, ὁ δὲ ἀνέλαμπέ τε ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ οὐ ξυνεχώρει τοῖς πράγμασι διαφεύγειν ἑαυτόν, ἀλλ' ὡς βεβαίων τε καὶ αὐτῷ καθωμολογημένων εἴχετο δι' ἃ ἤκουσεν.

XXXI

CAP. XXXI Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ περὶ ὄρθρον ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἤκων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἤρετο τοὺς δορυφόρους, ὅ τι βασιλεὺς πράττοι, οἱ δὲ ἐγρηγορέναι τε αὐτὸν πάλαι ἔφασαν καὶ πρὸς ἐπιστολαῖς εἶναι. καὶ ἀκούσας τοῦτο ἀπῆλθεν εἰπὼν πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν "ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄρξει." ἐπανελθὼν δὲ περὶ ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα Δίωνα μὲν καὶ Εὐφράτην ἐπὶ θύραις εὗρε, καὶ περὶ τῆς ξυνουσίας φιλοτίμως ἐρωτῶσι διῆλθε τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἣν τοῦ βασιλέως ἤκουσε, τὰς δὲ αὐτοῦ δόξας ἀπεσιώπησεν. ἐσκληθεὶς δὲ

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complete that which thou hast so rightly purposed." Now it happened just then as a matter of fact that in Rome Domitian, the son of Vespasian, was matched with Vitellius in the struggle to gain the empire for his father, and was besieged in the Capitol, with the result that although he escaped the fury of the besiegers, the temple was burnt down; and all this was revealed to Apollonius more quickly than if it had taken place in Egypt. When they had held their conversation, he left the emperor's presence, saying that it was not permitted him by the religion of the Indians to proceed at midday in any other way than the Indians do themselves; at the same time the emperor brightened up, and with fresh enthusiasm, instead of allowing matters to slip through his hands, persevered in his policy, convinced by Apollonius' words that his future was stable and assured to him by heaven. CHAP. XXX

XXXI

CHAP. XXXI

Apollonius wins an audience for Dion and Euphrates

NEXT day at dawn Apollonius came to the palace and asked the guards what the emperor was doing; from whom learning that he had long risen and was engaged on his correspondence, he went off and remarked to Damis: "This man shall be sovereign." About sunrise he returned to find Dion and Euphrates already at the door, in return to whose eager enquiries concerning the interview, he repeated the defence of his policy which he had heard from the emperor, though at the same time he let no word escape him of his own opinions. But on being summoned to enter in advance of them, he

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CAP. XXXI πρῶτος, "ὦ βασιλεῦ," εἶπεν, "Εὐφράτης καὶ Δίων πάλαι σοι γνώριμοι ὄντες πρὸς θύραις εἰσὶν οὐκ ἀφρόντιδες τῶν σῶν· κάλει δὴ κἀκείνους ἐς κοινὸν λόγον, σοφὼ γὰρ τὼ ἄνδρε." "ἀκλείστους," ἔφη, "θύρας παρέχω σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι, σοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ στέρνα ἀνεῳχθαι δοκεῖ τἀμά."

XXXII

CAP. XXXII Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐσεκλήθησαν, "ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ διανοίας," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀπολελόγημαι, χθὲς Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ γενναίῳ." "ἠκούσαμεν," ἦ δ' ὁ Δίων, "τῆς ἀπολογίας, καὶ νοῦν εἶχε." "τήμερον δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ φίλε Δίων, ξυμφιλοσοφήσωμεν ὑπὲρ τῶν βεβουλευμένων, ἵν' ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ κατὰ σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πάντα πράττοιμι· ἐννοῶν γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Τιβέριον, ὡς ἐς τὸ ἀπάνθρωπόν τε καὶ ὠμὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν μετέστησεν, εἶτα τὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ Γάιον, ὡς διονυσομανῶν καὶ λυδίζων τὴν στολὴν καὶ πολέμους νικῶν οὐκ ὄντας ἐς πάντα τὰ Ῥωμαίων αἰσχρῶς ἐβάκχευσεν, εἶτα τὸν χρηστὸν Κλαύδιον, ὡς ὑπὸ γυναίων ἡττηθεὶς ἐπελάθετο τοῦ ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ζῆν, ἀπέθανε γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὥς φασι, Νέρωνος δὲ τί ἂν καθαπτοίμην, εἰπόντος Ἀπολλωνίου βραχὺν καὶ ἀθρόον λόγον περὶ ἀνέσεώς τε καὶ ἐπιτάσεως, αἷς Νέρων τὴν ἀρχὴν ᾔσχυνε; τί δ' ἂν περὶ ὧν Γάλβας ξυνέταττεν, εἴποιμι, ὃς ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς μέσης ἀπέθανεν

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said: "O King, Euphrates and Dion, long your acquaintances, are at your door, being highly anxious for your welfare. I pray you, call them in also to join in our conversation, for they are both of them wise men." "I throw my doors open," he replied, "to wise men; but to you I purpose to open my breast as well." CHAP. XXXI

XXXII

CHAP. XXXII

Vespasian's retrospect

WHEN they had been called in, he continued: "In defence of my own plans, I said, gentlemen, what I had to say, yesterday to Apollonius our esteemed friend." "We have heard that defence," said Dion, "and it was most reasonable." "Well, to-day," he went on, "my dear Dion, let us concert some wise conclusions in support of the counsels adopted by me, of a kind to ensure my general policy being both honourable and salutary to mankind. For I cannot forget how Tiberius was the first to degrade the government into an inhuman and cruel system, of how he was followed by Gaius, who filled with Bacchic frenzy, dressed in Lydian fashion, won sham fights and by his disgraceful revels violated all Roman institutions. There followed the worthy Claudius, and I remember that he was so much the thrall of women as to lose all sense of sovereignty, nay even of self-preservation; for they say he was murdered by them. Nero I hardly need assail, for Apollonius in brief and terse remarks has exposed the faults of over-indulgence and undue severity by which he disgraced his reign. Nor need I dwell on the system of Galba, who was slain in the middle of the forum in the act of adopting those

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CAP. XXXII ἠταιρημένους ἐσποιῶν ἑαυτῷ παῖδας τὸν Ὄθωνα καὶ τὸν Πείσωνα; εἰ δὲ καὶ Βιτελίῳ τῷ πάντων ἀσελγεστάτῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραδοίημεν, ἀναβιώῃ Νέρων· ὁρῶν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὑφ' ὧν εἶπον τυραννίδων διαβεβλημένον τὸ ἄρχειν, ξυμβούλους ὑμᾶς ποιοῦμαι, πῶς ἂν διαθείμην αὐτὸ προσκεκρουκὸς ἤδη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις." πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "αὐλητής," ἔφη, "τῶν πάνυ σοφῶν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητὰς παρὰ τοὺς φαυλοτέρους τῶν αὐλητῶν ἔπεμπε μαθησομένους, πῶς δεῖ μὴ αὐλεῖν· τὸ μὲν δή, πῶς δεῖ μὴ ἄρχειν, μεμάθηκας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παρὰ τούτων, οἳ πονηρῶς ἦρξαν, τὸ δ', ὅπως δεῖ ἄρχειν, σπουδάσωμεν."

XXXIII

CAP. XXXIII Ὁ δ' Εὐφράτης ἀφανῶς μὲν ἤδη ἐβάσκαινε τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, προσκείμενον αὐτῷ τὸν βασιλέα ὁρῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς χρηστηρίοις τοὺς ἐς αὐτὰ ἥκοντας, ἀνοιδήσας δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον τότε καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἐπάρας παρ' ὃ εἰώθει, "οὐ χρή," ἔφη, "κολακεύειν τὰς ὁρμάς, οὐδὲ ἀνοήτως συνεκφέρεσθαι τοῖς παρὰ τὴν ἡνίαν τι πράττουσι, καταρρυθμίζειν δὲ αὐτούς, εἴπερ φιλοσοφοῦμεν· ἃ γὰρ εἰ προσήκει πράττειν, ἔδει βουλευομένους φαίνεσθαι, ταῦθ' ὃν πεπράξεται τρόπον κελεύεις λέγειν οὔπω μαθών, εἰ ὑπὲρ πρα-

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strumpet sons of his Otho and Piso. As for Vitellius, we had rather Nero should come to life again than surrender the empire to him, the most dissolute of all. Perceiving then, my friends, that the throne has fallen into hatred and contempt by reason of the tyrants I have enumerated, I would fain have you advise me how best I can restore it, so that it should not remain what it has become, namely, a stumbling block to mankind." Apollonius replied as follows: "There was a first-rate flute-player, it is said, who used to send his pupils to much worse artists than himself, that they might learn how not to pipe. As then you, my sovereign, have learned from these your good-for-nothing predecessors, how not to rule, let us, then, now turn our attention to the problem, how a sovereign ought to rule." CHAP. XXXII

XXXIII

CHAP. XXXIII

Speech of Euphrates, in favour of restoring a Roman republic

WHILE Apollonius spoke, Euphrates concealed the jealousy he already felt of one whose utterances clearly interested the emperor hardly less than those of an oracular shrine interest those who repair to it for guidance. But now at last his feelings overcame him, and, raising his voice above its usual pitch, he cried: "We must not flatter men's impulses, nor allow ourselves to be carried away against our better judgment by men of unbridled ambition; but we should rather, if we are enamoured of wisdom, recall them to the sober facts of life. Here is a policy about the very expediency of which we should first calmly deliberate, and yet you would have us prescribe a way of executing it, before you know if the measures under discussion are desirable. For myself, I quite

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CAP. XXXIII

κτέων οἱ λόγοι. ἐγὼ δὲ Βιτέλιον μὲν καταλυθῆναι κελεύω, μιαρὸν γὰρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οἶδα καὶ μεθύοντα ἀσελγείᾳ πάσῃ, σὲ δ' ἄνδρα εἰδὼς ἀγαθὸν καὶ γενναιότητι προὔχοντα, οὔ φημι χρῆναι τὰ μὲν Βιτελίου διορθοῦσθαι, τὰ σεαυτοῦ δὲ μήπω εἰδέναι. ὅσα μὲν δὴ αἱ μοναρχίαι ὑβρίζουσιν, οὐκ ἐμοῦ χρὴ μανθάνειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς εἴρηκας, γιγνώσκοις δ' ἄν, ὡς νεότης μὲν ἐπὶ τυραννίδα πηδῶσα προσήκοντα ἑαυτῇ που πράττει, τὸ γὰρ τυραννεύειν οὕτως ἔοικε νέοις, ὡς τὸ μεθύειν, ὡς τὸ ἐρᾶν, καὶ νέος μὲν τυραννεύσας οὔπω κακός, ἢν μὴ[1] μιαιφόνος παρὰ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ ὠμὸς καὶ ἀσελγὴς δόξῃ, γέροντος δὲ ἐπὶ τυραννίδα ἥκοντος, πρώτη αἰτία τὸ τοιαῦτα βούλεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἦν φιλάνθρωπος φαίνηται καὶ κεκοσμημένος, οὐκ ἐκείνου ταῦτα νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ τοῦ κατηρτυκέναι, δόξει δὲ καὶ πάλαι τούτου καὶ νέος ἔτι ἐπιθυμήσας ἁμαρτεῖν, αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται ἁμαρτίαι πρόσκεινται μὲν δυστυχίᾳ, πρόσκεινται δὲ δειλίᾳ· δοκεῖ γάρ τις ἢ καταγνοὺς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τύχης τὸ ἐν νῷ τυραννεῦσαι παρεῖναι, ἢ τυραννησείοντι ἐκστῆναι ἑτέρῳ δείσας δήπου αὐτὸν ὡς ἄνδρα. τὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς δυστυχίας ἐάσθω, τὸ δὲ τῆς δειλίας πῶς παραιτήσῃ, καὶ ταῦτα Νέρωνα δοκῶν δεῖσαι τὸν δειλότατόν τε καὶ

[1] Kayser omits μή, which the sense requires.

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approve of the deposition of Vitellius, whom I know to be a ruffian drunk with every sort of profligacy; nevertheless, although I know you to be a worthy man and of pre-eminent nobility of character, I deny that you ought to undertake the correction of Vitellius without first establishing an ideal for yourself. I need not instruct you in the excesses chargeable to monarchy as such, for you have yourself described them; but this I would have you recognise, that whereas youth leaping into the tyrant's saddle does but obey its own instincts,—for playing the tyrant comes as natural to young men as wine or women, and we cannot reproach a young man merely for making himself a tyrant, unless in pursuit of his rôle he shows himself a murderer, a ruffian and a debauchee,—on the other hand when an old man makes himself a tyrant, the first thing we blame in him is that he ever nursed such an ambition. It is no use his shewing himself an example of humanity and moderation, for of these qualities we shall give the credit not to himself, but to his age and mature training. And men will believe that he nursed the ambition long before, when he was still a stripling, only that he failed to realise it; and such failures are attributed partly to ill luck, partly to pusillanimity. I mean that he will be thought to have renounced his dream of becoming a tyrant, because he distrusted his own star, or that he stood aside and made way for another who entertained the same ambition and whose superior manliness he dreaded. As for the count of ill luck, I may dismiss it; but as for that of cowardice, how can you avoid it? How escape the reproach of having been afraid of Nero, the most

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CAP. XXXIII

ῥᾳθυμότατον ; ἃ γὰρ ἐνεθυμήθη Βίνδιξ ἐπ' αὐτόν, σέ, νὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ἐκάλει πρῶτον. καὶ γὰρ στρατιὰν εἶχες, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, ἣν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἦγες, ἐπιτηδειοτέρα ἦν τιμωρεῖσθαι Νέρωνα· ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ πάλαι ἀφεστᾶσιν οὐ μόνον Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων· οἱ γὰρ βίον ἄμικτον εὑρόντες καὶ οἷς μήτε κοινὴ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τράπεζα μήτε σπονδαὶ μήτε εὐχαὶ μήτε θυσίαι, πλέον ἀφεστᾶσιν ἡμῶν ἢ Σοῦσα καὶ Βάκτρα καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ ταῦτα Ἰνδοί· οὐκοῦν οὐδ' εἰκὸς ἦν τιμωρεῖσθαι τούτους ἀφισταμένους, οὓς βέλτιον ἦν μηδὲ κτᾶσθαι. Νέρωνα δὲ τίς οὐκ ἂν ηὔξατο τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ ἀποκτεῖναι, μονονοὺ πίνοντα τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἷμα καὶ ἐν μέσοις τοῖς φόνοις ᾄδοντα ; καίτοι ἐμοῦ τὰ ὦτα ὀρθὰ ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ σοῦ λόγους, καὶ ὁπότε τις ἐκεῖθεν ἀφίκοιτο τρισμυρίους Ἰουδαίων ἀπολωλέναι φάσκων ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ πεντακισμυρίους κατὰ τὴν ἐφεξῆς μάχην, ἀπολαμβάνων τὸν ἥκοντα ξυμμέτρως ἠρώτων, τί δ' ὁ ἀνήρ ; μὴ μεῖζόν τι τούτων ; ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Βιτέλιον εἴδωλον πεποιημένος τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατεύεις, ἃ μὲν βεβούλευσαι, πρᾶττε, καλὰ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὧδε ἐχέτω· Ῥωμαίοις τὸ δημοκρατεῖσθαι πολλοῦ ἄξιον, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ὄντων αὐτοῖς ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς πολιτείας ἐκτήθη· παῦε μοναρχίαν, περὶ ἧς

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cowardly and supine of rulers? Look at the revolt against him planned by Vindex, you surely were the man of the hour, its natural leader, and not he! For you had an army at your back, and the forces you were leading against the Jews, would they not have been more suitably employed in chastising Nero? For the Jews have long been in revolt not only against the Romans, but against humanity; and a race that has made its own a life apart and irreconcilable, that cannot share with the rest of mankind in the pleasures of the table nor join in their libations or prayers or sacrifices, are separated from ourselves by a greater gulf than divides us from Susa or Bactra or the more distant Indies. What sense then or reason was there in chastising them for revolting from us, whom we had better have never annexed? As for Nero, who would not have prayed with his own hand to slay a man well-nigh drunk with human blood, singing as he sat amidst the hecatombs of his victims? I confess that I ever pricked up my ears when any messenger from yonder brought tidings of yourself, and told us how in one battle you had slain thirty thousand Jews and in the next fifty thousand. In such cases I would take the courier aside and quietly ask him: 'But what of the great man? Will he not rise to higher things than this?' Since then you have discovered in Vitellius an image and ape of Nero, and are turning your arms against him, persist in the policy you have embraced, for it too is a noble one, only let its sequel be noble too. You know how dear to the Romans are popular institutions, and how nearly all their conquests were won under a free polity. Put then an end to monarchy, of which you have repeated to us so evil a record; and bestow

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CAP. XXXIII τοιαῦτα εἴρηκας, καὶ δίδου Ῥωμαίοις μὲν τὸ τοῦ δήμου κράτος, σαυτῷ δὲ τὸ ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῖς ἄρξαι."

XXXIV

CAP. XXXIV Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Εὐφράτου εἰπόντος ὁρῶν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸν Δίωνα προστιθέμενον τῇ γνώμῃ, τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ τῷ νεύματι ἐπεδήλου καὶ οἷς ἐπῄνει λέγοντα, "μή τι," ἔφη, "Δίων, τοῖς εἰρημένοις προστίθης;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπε, "πὴ μὲν ὅμοια, πὴ δὲ ἀνόμοια· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὡς πολλῷ βελτίων ἂν ἦν Νέρωνα καταλύων μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων διορθούμενος, ἡγοῦμαι κἀμοὶ πρὸς σὲ εἰρῆσθαι, σὺ δὲ ἐᾷκεις ἀγῶνα ποιουμένῳ μὴ καταλυθῆναί ποτε αὐτόν· ὁ γὰρ τὴν ταραχὴν τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων εὖ τιθέμενος, ἐρρώννυέ που τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ πάντας, οὓς κακῶς ἔρρωτο. τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Βιτέλλιον ὁρμὴν ἐπαινῶ· τοῦ γὰρ τυραννίδα καθεστηκυῖαν παῦσαι μεῖζον ἡγοῦμαι τὸ μηδὲ ἐᾶσαι φῦναι. δημοκρατίαν δὲ ἀσπάζομαι μέν—καὶ γὰρ εἰ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἥττων ἥδε ἡ πολιτεία, ἀλλὰ τυραννίδων τε καὶ ὀλιγαρχιῶν αἱρετωτέρα τοῖς σώφροσι—δέδια δέ, μὴ χειροήθεις ἤδη Ῥωμαίους αὗται αἱ τυραννίδες πεποιηκυῖαι χαλεπὴν ἐργάσωνται τὴν μεταβολήν, καὶ μὴ δύνωνται μήτε

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upon Romans a popular government, and on yourself the glory of inaugurating for them a reign of liberty."[1] CHAP. XXXIII

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CHAP. XXXIV

Dion doubts the practicability of such a restoration

THROUGHOUT Euphrates' long speech, Apollonius noticed that Dion shared his sentiments, for he manifested his approval both by gestures and the applause with which he hailed his words; so he asked him if he could not add some remarks of his own to what he had just heard. "By Heaven, I can," answered Dion, "and I should agree in part and in part disagree with his remarks; for I think I have myself told you that you would have been much better employed deposing Nero than setting Jewry to rights. But your anxiety appeared to be never to have him deposed, for anyone who composed the disorder of his affairs merely strengthened the fellow against all the victims of his power. I approve however of the campaign against Vitellius; for I consider it a greater achievement to prevent a tyranny from ever growing up, than to put an end to it when it is established. And while I welcome the idea of a democracy—for though this form of polity is inferior to an aristocracy, nevertheless moderate men will prefer it to tyrannies and oligarchies,—I fear lest the servility to which these successive tyrannies have reduced the Romans will render any change difficult to effect; I doubt if they are able to comport themselves as free men or even to lift their

[1] Cp. Tacitus, Hist. i. 16: dignus eram a quo respublica inciperet.

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CAP. XXXIV ἐλευθεριάζειν μήτε πρὸς δημοκρατίαν ἀναβλέπειν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐκ σκότους ἐς ἀθρόον φῶς βλέψαντες· ὅθεν φημὶ δεῖν τὸν μὲν Βιτέλιον ἐξωθεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ ὡς τάχιστά γε καὶ ἄριστα τοῦτο ἔσται, γιγνέσθω, δοκεῖ δέ μοι παρασκευάζεσθαι μὲν ὡς πολεμήσοντα, πόλεμον δὲ αὐτῷ μὴ προκηρύττειν, ἀλλὰ τιμωρίαν, εἰ μὴ μεθεῖτο τῆς ἀρχῆς, κἂν ἕλῃς αὐτόν, τουτὶ δ' ὑπάρξειν ἡγοῦμαί σοι μηδὲ πονήσαντι, δίδου Ῥωμαίοις αἵρεσιν τῆς αὑτῶν πολιτείας, κἂν μὲν αἱρῶνται δημοκρατίαν, ξυγχώρει· τουτὶ γάρ σοι πολλῶν μὲν τυραννίδων, πολλῶν δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδων μεῖζον, καὶ πανταχοῦ μὲν γεγράψῃ τῆς πόλεως, πανταχοῦ δὲ ἑστήξεις χαλκοῦς, ἡμῖν δ' ἀφορμὰς παραδώσεις λόγων, αἷς οὔτε Ἁρμόδιος οὔτε Ἀριστογείτων παραβεβλήσεταί τις. εἰ δὲ μοναρχίαν προσδέχοιντο, τίνι λοιπὸν ἀλλ' ἢ σοὶ ψηφίσασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν πάντας; ἃ γὰρ ἔχων ἤδη τῷ κοινῷ παρήσεις, σοὶ δήπου μᾶλλον ἢ ἑτέρῳ δώσουσιν."

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CAP. XXXV Σιωπὴ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγῶνα ἐπεδήλου τῆς γνώμης, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ' ὥσπερ αὐτοκράτωρ χρηματίζων τε καὶ πράττων ἀπάγεσθαι ἐδόκει τῆς βουλῆς ταύτης, καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "δοκεῖτέ μοι," εἶπεν, "ἁμαρ-

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eyes to a democracy, any more than people who have been kept in the dark are able to look on a sudden blaze of light. I conclude that Vitellius ought to be driven from power, and would fain see this effected as quickly and as well as can be; I think however that though you should be prepared for war, yet you yourself instead of declaring war against him, ought rather to threaten him with condign punishment, in case he refuses to abdicate; and in case you capture him, as I believe you will easily do, then I would fain see you give the people of Rome the right to choose their own polity, and, if they choose a democracy, allow it them. For this will bring you greater glory than many tyrannies and many victories at Olympia. Your name will be inscribed all over the city, and brazen statues of you be erected everywhere; and you will furnish us with a theme for harangues in which neither Harmodius nor Aristogeiton will bear comparison with you. If however they accept monarchy, to whom can they all possibly decree the throne except yourself? For what you already possess, and are about to resign into the hands of the public, they will surely rather confer on yourself than on another."

CHAP. XXXIV

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CHAP. XXXV

Apollonius encourages Vespasian to make himself emperor

THERE followed a spell of silence during which the emperor's countenance betrayed contending emotions; for though he was an absolute ruler both in title and in fact, it looked as if they were trying to divert him from his resolution to remain such; and accordingly Apollonius remarked:

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τάνειν ἀναλύοντες βασιλέα περὶ πραγμάτων ἤδη βεβουλευμένων, ἐς ἀδολεσχίαν καθιστάμενοι μειρακιώδη καὶ ἀργοτέραν τοῦ καιροῦ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ κεκτημένῳ δύναμιν, ὁπόσην οὗτος, καὶ βουλευομένῳ, τί δρῴην ἂν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀγαθόν, ξύμβουλοι τῶν τοιούτων ἐγίγνεσθε, προὔβαινεν ἂν ὁ λόγος ὑμῖν—αἱ γὰρ φιλόσοφοι γνῶμαι τοὺς φιλοσόφους τῶν ἀκροατῶν διορθοῦνται—ἀνδρὶ δὲ ξυμβουλεύοντας ὑπάτῳ καὶ ἄρχειν εἰθισμένῳ, καὶ ᾧ ἕτοιμον, ἐπειδὰν ἐκπέσῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀπολωλέναι, τί δεῖ ἐπιπλήττειν, εἰ μὴ διωθεῖται τὰ παρὰ τῆς τύχης, ἀλλὰ δέχεται μὲν αὐτὰ ἥκοντα, βουλεύεται δέ, ὅπως χρήσεται σωφρόνως οἷς ἔχει; ὥσπερ οὖν, εἰ ἀθλητὴν ὁρῶντες εὐψυχίᾳ τε κατεσκευασμένον καὶ μήκει καὶ τὴν ἁρμονίαν τοῦ σώματος ἐπιτήδειον, ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν βαδίζοντα δι' Ἀρκαδίας, ἤδη προσελθόντες ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἐρρώννυμεν, ἐκελεύομεν δὲ αὐτόν, ἐπειδὰν νικήσῃ τὰ Ὀλύμπια, μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τῆς νίκης, μηδὲ ὑπέχειν τὴν κεφαλὴν τῷ κοτίνῳ, ληρεῖν ἂν ἐδόξαμεν ἢ παίζειν ἐς τοὺς ἑτέρων πόνους, οὕτως ἐνθυμούμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ὁπόση μὲν αἰχμὴ περὶ αὐτόν, ὁπόσος δὲ χαλκὸς ἀστράπτει, πλῆθος δὲ ἵππων ὅσον, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς γενναῖός τε καὶ σώφρων καὶ πρέπων κατασχεῖν ἃ διανοεῖται, πέμπωμεν ἐφ' ἃ ὥρμηκεν αἴσια μὲν φθεγγόμενοι πρὸς αὐτόν, εὐφημότερα δὲ

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"It seems to me you are mistaken in trying to cancel a monarchical policy when it is already a foregone conclusion; and that you indulge a garrulity as childish as it is in such a crisis idle. Were it I that had stepped into such a position of influence as he has, and were I, when taking counsel about what good I could do to the world, treated to such advice as you now give, your arguments would carry some force, for philosophic aphorisms might amend the philosophically-minded of your listeners; but as it is a consul and a man accustomed to rule, whom you pretend to advise, one moreover over whom ruin impends, if he fall from power, need we carp, if instead of rejecting the gifts of fortune, he welcomes them when they come, and only deliberates how to make a discreet use of what is his own? Let us take a similar case. Suppose we saw an athlete well endowed with courage and stature, and by his well-knit frame marked out as a winner in the Olympic contest, suppose we approached him when he was already on his way thither through Arcadia, and, while encouraging him to face his rivals, yet insisted that, in the event of his winning the prize, he must not allow himself to be proclaimed the victor, nor consent to wear the wreath of wild olive,—should we not be set down as imbeciles, mocking at another's labours? Similarly when we regard the eminent man before us, and think of the enormous army at his disposal, of the glint of their brazen arms, of his clouds of cavalry, of his own personal qualities, of his generosity, self-restraint, of his fitness to attain his objects,—ought we not to send him forward on the path that leads to his goal, with favouring encouragement, and with more auspicious

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CAP. XXXV τούτων παρεγγυῶντες. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο ἐνεθυμήθητε, ὅτι δυοῖν παίδοιν πατὴρ οὗτος, οἳ στρατοπέδων ἤδη ἄρχουσιν, οἷς εἰ μὴ παραδώσει τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐχθίστοις χρήσεται, καὶ τί λοιπόν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκπεπολεμῆσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον; τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ὑποδεξάμενος θεραπεύσεται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παίδων, στηρίξεται δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ παῖδες, δορυφόροις δὲ αὐτοῦ χρήσεται, μὰ Δί', οὐ μεμισθωμένοις, οὐδ' ἠναγκασμένοις, οὐδὲ πλαττομένοις εὔνουν πρόσωπον, ἀλλ' ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις τε καὶ φιλτάτοις.

Ἐμοὶ πολιτείας μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς μέλει, ζῶ γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῖς θεοῖς, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγέλην οὐκ ἀξιῶ φθείρεσθαι χήτει βουκόλου δικαίου τε καὶ σώφρονος. ὥσπερ γὰρ εἷς ἀρετῇ προὔχων μεθίστησι τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐς τὸ ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀρχὴν φαίνεσθαι, οὕτως ἡ ἑνὸς ἀρχὴ πάντα ἐς τὸ ξυμφέρον τοῦ κοινοῦ προορῶσα δῆμός ἐστιν. οὐ κατέλυσας, φησί, Νέρωνα. σὺ δέ, Εὐφρᾶτα; Δίων δέ; ἐγὼ δέ; ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν ἐπιπλήττει τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἡγεῖται δειλούς, εἰ φιλοσόφων ἀνδρῶν μυρίας ἤδη καθελόντων τυραννίδας, ἀπελείφθημεν ἡμεῖς τοῦ δόξαι ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας τι πράττειν. καίτοι τό γε ἐπ' ἐμοὶ καὶ παρεταττόμην πρὸς Νέρωνα, πολλὰ μὲν κακοήθως διελεγχθεὶς[1] καὶ τὸν ὠμότατον Τιγελλῖνον ἐπικόψας ἀκούοντα, ἃ δὲ περὶ τὰ ἑσπέρια τῶν χωρίων ὠφέλουν Βίνδικα, Νέρωνι

[1] Kayser reads διαλεχθείς against the sense.

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pledges for his future than these you have recorded? For there is another thing you have forgotten, that he is the father of two sons who are already in command of armies, and whose deepest enmity he will incur if he does not bequeath the empire to them. Is he not confronted by the alternative of embroiling himself in hostilities with his own family? If however he accepts the throne, he will have the devoted service of his own children, they will lean on him and he on them, using them as his body-guard, and, by Zeus, as a bodyguard not hired by money, nor levied by force nor feigning loyalty with their faces only, but attached to him by bonds of natural instinct and true affection. CHAP XXXV

"For myself I care little about constitutions, seeing that my life is governed by the Gods; but I do not like to see the human flock perish for want of a shepherd at once just and moderate. For just as a single man pre-eminent in virtue transforms a democracy into the guise of a government of a single man who is the best; so the government of one man, if it provides all round for the welfare of the community, is popular government. You did not, we are told, help to depose Nero. And did you, Euphrates, or you, Dion? Did I myself? However, no one finds fault with us for that, nor regards us as cowardly, because, after philosophers have destroyed a thousand tyrannies, we have missed the glory of striking a blow for liberty. Not but that, as regards myself, I did take the field against Nero, and in response to several malignant accusations assailed his cut-throat Tigellinus to his face; and the aid I rendered to Vindex in the western half of the empire was, I hardly need say, in the nature of a redoubt raised

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CAP. XXXV δήπου ἐπετείχιζον. ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐμαυτὸν διὰ ταῦτα φήσω καθῃρηκέναι τὸν τύραννον, οὔτε ὑμᾶς, ἐπεὶ μὴ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετε, μαλακωτέρους ἡγήσομαι τοῦ φιλοσοφίᾳ προσήκοντος. ἀνδρὶ μὲν οὖν φιλοσόφῳ τὸ ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐλθὸν εἰρήσεται, ποιήσεται δέ, οἶμαι, λόγον τοῦ μή τι ἀνοήτως ἢ μανικῶς εἰπεῖν· ὑπάτῳ δ' ἐνθυμουμένῳ καταλῦσαι τύραννον πρῶτον μὲν δεῖ βουλῆς πλείονος, ἵν' ἐξ ἀφανοῦς προσβαίη τοῖς πράγμασιν, εἶτ' ἐπιτηδείου σχήματος ἐς τὸ μὴ παρορκεῖν δοκεῖν. εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὃς ἀπέφηνεν αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ ᾧ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλεύσειν τε καὶ πράξειν ὤμοσε, μέλλοι χρήσεσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἀπολογεῖσθαι δήπου τοῖς θεοῖς δεῖ πρότερον, ὡς ξὺν ὁσίᾳ ἐπιορκοῦντα, φίλων τε δεῖ πλειόνων, οὐ γὰρ ἀχαρακώτους γε, οὐδὲ ἀφράκτους χρὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, καὶ χρημάτων ὡς πλείστων, ἵν' ὑποποιήσαιτο τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιτιθέμενος ἀνθρώπῳ τὰ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ κεκτημένῳ. τριβὴ δὲ ὅση περὶ ταῦτα, ὅσοι δὲ χρόνοι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκδέχεσθε, ὅπη βούλεσθε, μὴ γὰρ ἐς ἔλεγχον ἴωμεν ὧν ἐνεθυμήθη μέν, ὡς εἰκός, οὗτος, ἡ τύχη δὲ οὐδὲ ἀγωνισαμένῳ ξυνέλαβε· πρὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνο τί ἐρεῖτε; τὸν γὰρ χθὲς ἄρχοντα καὶ στεφανούμενον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἐν τοῖς δεῦρο ἱεροῖς, χρηματίζοντα δὲ λαμπρῶς καὶ ἀφθόνως,

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against Nero. But I should not on that account claim for myself the honour of having pulled down that tyrant, any more than I should regard yourselves as falling short of the philosopher's ideal of courage and constancy, because you did nothing of the sort. For a man then of philosophic habit it is enough that he should say what he really thinks; but he will, I imagine, take care not to talk like a fool or a madman. For a consul, on the other hand, who designs to depose a tyrant, the first requisite is plenty of deliberation, with a view to conceal his plans till they are ripe for action; and the second is a suitable pretence to save him from the reproach of breaking his oath. For before he dreams of resorting to arms against the man who appointed him general and whose welfare he swore to safeguard in the council chamber and on the field, he must surely in self-defence furnish heaven with proof that he perjures himself in the cause of religion. He will also need many friends, if he is not to approach the enterprise unfenced and unfortified, and also all the money he can get so as to be able to win over the men in power, the more so as he attacks a man who commands the resources of the entire earth. All this demands no end of care, no end of time. And you may take all this as you like, for we are not called upon to sit in judgment on ambitions which he may possibly have entertained, but in which fortune refused to second him, even when he came to fight for them. What answer, however, will you make to the following proposition? Here is one who yesterday assumed the throne, who accepted the crown offered by the cities here in the temples around us, whose rescripts are as brilliant as they are ungrudging: do you bid him CHAP. XXXV

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CAP. XXXV τοῦτον κελεύετε δημοσίᾳ κηρύττειν τήμερον, ὡς ἰδιώτης μὲν εἴη λοιπόν, παρανοῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἦλθεν; ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπιτελῶν τὰ δεδογμένα προθύμους δορυφόρους, οἷς πιστεύων ταῦτ' ἐνεθυμήθη, παραστήσεται, οὕτως ἐς τὸ μεθίστασθαι τῶν δοξάντων ἥκων πολεμίῳ τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπιστουμένῳ χρήσεται."

XXXVI

CAP. XXXVI Ἄσμενος τούτων ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεύς, "εἰ τὴν ψυχήν," ἔφη, "τὴν ἐμὴν ᾤκεις, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω σαφῶς, ἃ ἐνεθυμήθην, ἀπήγγειλας· ἔπομαί δή σοι, θεῖον γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τὸ ἐκ σοῦ πᾶν, καὶ ὁπόσα χρὴ τὸν ἀγαθὸν βασιλέα πράττειν δίδασκε." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "οὐ διδακτά με," ἔφη, "ἐρωτᾷς· βασιλεία γὰρ μέγιστον μὲν τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπους, ἀδίδακτον δέ. ὁπόσα δ' οὖν μοι δοκεῖς πράττων ὑγιῶς ἂν πρᾶξαι, καὶ δὴ φράσω· πλοῦτον ἡγοῦ μὴ τὸν ἀπόθετον—τί γὰρ βελτίων οὗτος τῆς ὁποθενδὴ ξυνενεχθείσης ψάμμου;—μηδὲ τὸν φοιτῶντα παρ' ἀνθρώπων, οἳ τὰς ἐσφορὰς ὀλοφύρονται, κίβδηλον γὰρ ὁ χρυσὸς καὶ μέλαν, ἢν ἐκ δακρύων ἥκῃ· πλούτῳ δ' ἂν ἄριστα βασιλέων χρῷο τοῖς μὲν δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, τοῖς δὲ πολλὰ κεκτημένοις παρέχων ἀσφαλῆ τὸν πλοῦτον. τὸ ἐξεῖναί σοι πᾶν, ὅ τι βούλει, δέδιθι, σωφρονέστερον γὰρ αὐτῷ

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issue a proclamation to-day to the effect that for the future he retires into private life, and only assumed the reigns of government in an access of madness? As, if he carries through the policy on which he is resolved, he will confirm the loyalty of the guards relying on whom he first entertained it; so, if he falters and departs from it, he will find an enemy in everyone whom from that moment he must mistrust." CHAP. XXXV

XXXVI

THE emperor listened gladly to the above and remarked: "If you were the tenant of my breast, you could not more accurately report my inmost thoughts. 'Tis yourself then I will follow, for every word which falls from your lips I regard as inspired; therefore instruct me, I pray, in all the duties of a good king." Apollonius answered: "You ask of me a lore which cannot be imparted by any teacher; for kingship is at once the greatest of human attainments, and not to be taught. However, I will mention you all the things which, if you do them, you will in my opinion do wisely. Look not on that which is laid by as wealth,—for how is it better than so much sand drifted no matter from whence,—nor on what flows into your coffers from populations racked by the taxgatherer, for gold lacks lustre and is mere dross, if it be wrung from men's tears; you will make better use of your wealth than ever sovereign did, if you employ it in succouring the poor, at the same time that you render their wealth secure for the rich. Tremble before the very absoluteness of your prerogative, for so you will exercise it with the greater moderation. Mow

CHAP. XXXVI

Vespasian is pleased with the discourse.

The Sage's view of kingship.

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CAP. XXXVI

χρήσῃ. μὴ τέμνε τῶν ἀσταχύων τοὺς ὑψηλούς τε καὶ ὑπεραίροντας, ἄδικος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους λόγος, ἀλλὰ τὸ δύσνουν ἐξαίρει μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ τὰς ἀκάνθας τῶν ληίων, καὶ φοβερὸς δόκει τοῖς νεώτερα πράττουσι μὴ ἐν τῷ τιμωρεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ τιμωρήσεσθαι. νόμος, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ σοῦ ἀρχέτω· σωφρονέστερον γὰρ νομοθετήσεις, ἢν μὴ ὑπερορᾷς τῶν νόμων. θεοὺς θεράπευε μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον· μεγάλα μὲν γὰρ παρ' αὐτῶν εἴληφας, ὑπὲρ μεγάλων δὲ εὔχῃ. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα, ὡς βασιλεὺς πρᾶττε, τὰ δὲ τῷ σώματι, ὡς ἰδιώτης. περὶ δὲ κύβων καὶ μέθης καὶ ἐρώτων καὶ τοῦ διαβεβλῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα τί ἄν σοι παραινοίην, ὃν φασι μηδὲ ἐφ' ἡλικίας ταῦτα ἐπαινέσαι; παῖδές εἰσί σοι, βασιλεῦ, δύο καὶ γενναῖοι, ὥς φασιν. ἄρχε τούτων μάλιστα, τὰ γὰρ ἐκείνοις ἁμαρτηθέντα σὲ δήπου διαβαλεῖ. ἔστω δέ σοι καὶ ἀπειλὴ πρὸς αὐτούς, ὡς οὐ παραδώσεις τὴν ἀρχήν σφισιν, εἰ μή που καλοί τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ μείνωσιν, ἵνα μὴ κληρονομίαν ἡγῶνται τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς ἆθλα. τὰς δὲ ἐμπολιτευομένας ἡδονὰς τῇ Ῥώμῃ, πολλαὶ δὲ αὗται, δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ξυμμέτρως παύειν, χαλεπὸν γὰρ μεταβαλεῖν δῆμον ἐς τὸ ἀθρόως σῶφρον, ἀλλὰ δεῖ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐμποιεῖν ῥυθμὸν ταῖς γνώμαις, τὰ μὲν φανερῶς, τὰ δὲ ἀφανῶς διορθούμενον. ἀπελευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων, οὓς ἡ ἀρχή σοι δίδωσιν, ἀνέλωμεν τρυφὴν

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not down the loftier stalks which overtop the rest, CHAP. XXXVI
for this maxim of Aristotle's is unjust; but try
rather to pluck disaffection out of men's hearts, as you
would tares out of your cornfields; and inspire awe of
yourself in revolutionists less by actual punishment
than by shewing them that they will not go un-
punished. Let the law govern you as well as them,
O king; for you will be all the wiser as a legislator for
so holding the laws in respect. Reverence the gods
more than ever before, for you have received great
blessings at their hands and have still great ones to
pray for. In what appertains to your prerogative, act as
a sovereign; in what to your own person, as a private
citizen. About dice and drink and dissipation and
the necessity of abhorring these vices, why need I
tender you any advice, who, they say, never approved of
them even in youth. You have, my sovereign, two
sons, both, they say, of generous disposition. Let
them before all obey your authority, for their faults
will be charged to your account. Let your dis-
ciplining of them even proceed to the length of
threatening not to bequeath them your throne,
unless they remain good men and honest; otherwise
they will be prone to regard it not as a reward of
excellence so much as a mere heritage. As for the
pleasures which have made of Rome their home and
residence, and they are many, I would advise you,
my sovereign, to use much discretion in suppressing
them; for it is not easy to convert an entire people
on a sudden to a wisdom and temperance; but you
must feel your way and instil order and rhythm in
their characters step by step, partly by open, partly
by secret correction. Let us put an end to pride and
luxury on the part of the freedmen and slaves whom

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CAP. XXXVI τοσούτῳ ταπεινότερον αὐτοὺς ἐθίσαντες φρονεῖν, ὅσῳ μείζονος δεσπότου εἰσίν. τί λοιπὸν ἀλλ' ἢ περὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἰπεῖν, οἳ ἐς τὰ ἔθνη φοιτῶσιν, οὐ περὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ἐκπέμψεις, ἀριστίνδην γάρ που τὰς ἀρχὰς δώσεις, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν κληρωσομένων τὸ ἄρχειν· τούτων γὰρ τοὺς μὲν προσφόρους τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἃ διέλαχον, φημὶ δεῖν πέμπειν, ὡς ὁ κλῆρος, ἑλληνίζοντας μὲν Ἑλληνικῶν ἄρχειν, ῥωμαΐζοντας δὲ ὁμογλώττων καὶ ξυμφώνων. ὅθεν δὲ τοῦτ' ἐνεθυμήθην, λέξω· κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ διῃτώμην, ἠγεῖτο τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄνθρωπος οὐκ εἰδὼς τὰ Ἑλλήνων, καὶ οὐδ' οἱ Ἕλληνές τι ἐκείνου ξυνίεσαν. ἔσφηλεν οὖν καὶ ἐσφάλη τὰ πλεῖστα, οἱ γὰρ ξύνεδροί τε καὶ κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις γνώμης ἐκαπήλευον τὰς δίκας διαλαβόντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα, ὥσπερ ἀνδράποδον. ταῦτά μοι, βασιλεῦ, παρέστη τήμερον, εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἕτερον ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔλθοι, πάλιν ξυνελευσόμεθα. νυνὶ δὲ τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ πρᾶττε, μὴ ἀργότερος τοῖς ὑπηκόοις δόξῃς."

XXXVII

CAP. XXXVII Ὁ δὲ Εὐφράτης, "τοῖς μὲν δεδογμένοις ξυγχωρῶ," ἔφη, "τί γὰρ ἂν πλέον μεταδιδάσκων πράτ-

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your high position assigns to you, by accustoming them to think all the more humbly of themselves, because their master is so powerful. There remains only one topic to address you on; it concerns the governors sent out to rule the provinces. Of those you will yourself select, I need say nothing, for I am sure you will assign commands by merit; I only refer to those who will acquire them by lot. In their case too, I maintain, those only should be sent out to the various provinces so obtained who are in sympathy, so far as the system of appointing by lot allows of it, with the populations they will rule. I mean, that over Hellenes should be set men who can speak Greek, and Romans over those who speak that language or dialects allied to it. I will tell you what made me think of this. During the period in which I lived in the Peloponnese Hellas was governed by a man who knew as little of the Hellenes and their affairs as they understood of his. What was the result? He was in his mistakes as much sinned against as sinner, for his assessors and those who shared with him judicial authority trafficked in justice, and abused his authority as if he had been not their governor but their slave. This, my sovereign, is all that occurs to me to-day; but if anything else should come into my mind, we can hold another interview. So now apply yourself to the duties of your throne, lest your subjects accuse you of indolence." CHAP. XXXVI

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EUPHRATES declared his assent to all these conclusions, "For," said he, "what can I gain by CHAP. XXXVII

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CAP. XXXVII

τοιμ ; φιλοσοφίαν δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τουτὶ γὰρ λοιπὸν προσειρήσει, τὴν μὲν κατὰ φύσιν ἐπαίνει καὶ ἀσπάζου, τὴν δὲ θεοκλυτεῖν φάσκουσαν παραιτοῦ, καταψευδόμενοι γὰρ τοῦ θείου πολλὰ καὶ ἀνόητα ἡμᾶς ἐπαίρουσιν." ταυτὶ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον αὐτῷ ἐλέγετο, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἀπῄει μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γνωρίμων, διανύσας τὴν σπουδήν· βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου θρασύτερόν τι περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν, ξυνῆκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ διακρουόμενος αὐτόν, "ἐσκαλεῖτε," ἔφη, "τοὺς δεομένους τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀπολαβέτω ἡ βουλὴ τὸ ἑαυτῆς σχῆμα."

Οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ Εὐφράτης ἔλαθε διαβαλὼν ἑαυτόν, καὶ γὰρ βάσκανός τε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὑβριστὴς ἔδοξε, καὶ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας οὐχ ὡς ἐγίγνωσκεν εἰρηκώς, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀντιλογίαν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου δι' ἃ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνῳ ἐδόκει· οὐ μὴν ἀπερρίπτει αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ἐπεδήλου τι ὀργῆς πρὸς ταῦτα. καὶ τὸν Δίωνα οὐκ ἐπῄνει μὲν ξυναράμενον αὐτῷ τῆς γνώμης, οὐ μὴν ἐπαύσατο ἀγαπῶν· ἐπίχαρίς τε γὰρ τὰς διαλέξεις ἐδόκει καὶ τὰς ἔριδας παρητεῖτο, ὥραν τε ἐπέφαινε τοῖς λόγοις, οἷα τοῦ πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀτμοῦ ἐκπνεῖ, προσὴν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἀποσχεδιάζειν ἄριστα ἀνθρώπων. τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἠγάπα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπέκειτο αὐτῷ διιόντι μὲν τὰ ἀρχαῖα, διηγουμένῳ

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continuing to oppose such teaching? But, O my sovereign, I have only one thing left to say, and that is that while you approve and countenance that philosophy which accords with nature, you should have nothing to do with that which affects a secret intercourse with the gods, for we are easily puffed up by the many absurdities this lying philosophy falsely ascribes to providence." The above remark was aimed at Apollonius, who, however, without paying any attention to it, departed with his companions as soon as he had ended his discourse. And Euphrates would have taken further liberties with his character, only the emperor noticed it and put him aside by saying, "Call in those who have business with the government, and let my council resume its usual form."

CHAP. XXXVII

Euphrates seeks to prejudice Vespasian against Apollonius

Thus Euphrates failed to see that he only prejudiced himself, and gained with the emperor the reputation of being a jealous and insolent fellow, who aired these sentiments in favour of democracy, not because he really entertained them, but only by way of contradicting the opinions Apollonius held in regard to the empire. Notwithstanding, the emperor did not cast him off or shew any resentment at his opinions. As for Dion, he did not cease to be fond of him, though he regretted his seconding the opinions of Euphrates. For Dion was a delightful conversationalist and always declined to quarrel. He moreover imparted to his discourses that sort of charm which exhales from the perfumes at a sacrifice; and he had also, better than any living man, the talent of extempore oratory. Apollonius the emperor not merely loved for his own sake, but was ever ready to listen to his accounts of antiquity,

Description of Dion

The emperor's love of Apollonius

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CAP. XXXVII δὲ τὸν Ἰνδὸν Φραώτην, ποταμούς τε ἀναγράφοντι καὶ θηρία, ὑφ' ὧν ἡ Ἰνδικὴ οἰκεῖται, προλέγοντι δὲ καὶ ὁπόσα οἱ θεοὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔφαινον. ἐξελαύνων δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ξυνῳκισμένης τε καὶ νεαζούσης, κοινωνὸν μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐποιεῖτο, τῷ δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκει ταῦτα· Αἴγυπτόν τε γάρ, ὁπόση ἐστίν, οὔπω ἑωρακέναι, τοῖς τε Γυμνοῖς, οὔπω ἀφῖχθαι ἐς λόγον, μάλα ἐσπουδακὼς σοφίᾳ Ἰνδικῇ ἀντικρῖναι Αἰγυπτίαν. "οὐδὲ Νείλου," ἔφη, "ἔπιον, ὅθεν ἄρχεται." ξυνεὶς οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅτι ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίαν στέλλεται, "ἡμῶν δέ," ἔφη, "οὐ μεμνήσῃ;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ἦν βασιλεὺς ἀγαθὸς μένῃς καὶ σεαυτοῦ μνημονεύῃς."

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CAP. XXXVIII Μετὰ ταῦτα θύσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ δωρεὰς ἐπήγγειλεν αὐτῷ δημοσίᾳ. ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ αἰτήσων, "τίνας δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, δωρεὰς δώσεις;" "δέκα," ἔφη, "νῦν, ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην τἀμὰ πάντα." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "φείδεσθαί με χρὴ τῶν σῶν ὡς ἐμῶν καὶ μὴ σπαθᾶν αὐτὰ νῦν ἀποκεισόμενά μοι ἀθρόα· ἀλλ' ἐπιμελήθητι τούτων, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μᾶλλον, ἐοίκασι γὰρ δεομένοις." ἐδείκνυε δὲ ἄρα τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην. ὁ μὲν δὴ βασιλεὺς

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to his descriptions of the Indian Phraotes, and to his graphic stories of the rivers of India, and of the animals that inhabit it; above all to the forecasts and revelations imparted to him by the gods concerning the future of the empire. On quitting Egypt, after settling and rejuvenating the country, he invited Apollonius to share his voyage; but the latter declined, on the ground that he had not yet seen the whole extent of Egypt, and had not yet visited or conversed with the naked sages of that land, whose wisdom he was very anxious to compare with that of India. "Nor," he added, "have I drunk of the sources of the Nile." The emperor understood that he was about to set out for Ethiopia and said: "Will you not bear me in mind?" "I will indeed," replied the sage, "if you continue to be a good sovereign and mindful of yourself." CHAP. XXXVIII

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CHAP. XXXVIII The Emperor's gifts to Euphrates and Dion.

THEREAFTER the emperor offered his sacrifice in the temple and publicly promised him presents. But Apollonius, as if he had a favour to ask, said: "And what presents, O king, will you give me?" "Ten," he replied, "now; and when you come to Rome everything I have." And Apollonius answered: "Then I must husband your riches as if they were my own, and not squander in the present what is hereafter to be reserved to me in its entirety. But I pray you, O king, to attend rather to these gentlemen here, for they look as if they wanted something." And suiting his words, he pointed to Euphrates

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CAP. XXXVIII

ἐκέλευσεν αἰτεῖν θαρροῦντας, ἐρυθριάσας δὲ ὁ Δίων, "διάλλαξόν με, βασιλεῦ," εἶπε, "πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν διδάσκαλον ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀντιλέγειν αὐτῷ ἔδοξα, μήπω πρότερον ἀντειπὼν τῷ ἀνδρί." ἐπαινέσας οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς, "χθές," ἔφη, "τοῦτο ἐγὼ ᾔτησα καὶ ὑπάρχει· ἀλλ' αἴτει ὑπὲρ δωρεᾶς." καὶ ὁ Δίων, "Λασθένης," ἔφη, "ἐστὶ μὲν ἐξ Ἀπαμείας τῆς ἐν τῷ Βιθυνῶν ἔθνει, ξυμφιλοσοφῶν δέ μοι χλαμύδος ἠράσθη καὶ στρατιώτου βίου· τοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ τρίβωνος πάλιν ἐρᾶν φησιν, ἄνες τῆς στρατείας, δεῖται δὲ αὐτὸς ταῦτα. χαριεῖ δὲ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀποφῆναι αὐτὸν ἄνδρα ἀγαθόν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ζῆν, ὡς βούλεται." "ἀνείσθω," ἔφη, "δίδωμι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων, ἐπειδὴ σοφίας ἐρᾷ καὶ σοῦ." καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἐς τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐπεστράφη, τῷ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ ξυνετέτακτο περὶ ὧν ἤτει. τὴν μὲν δὴ ἐπιστολὴν ὤρεγεν, ὡς ἀναγνωσομένῳ καθ' ἑαυτόν, βουληθεὶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς παραδοῦναί τινα κατ' αὐτοῦ λόγον ἀνέγνω δημοσίᾳ πᾶσιν· αἰτῶν δὲ ἐφαίνετο τὰ μὲν ἑαυτῷ, τὰ δὲ ἑτέροις, καὶ τῶν δωρεῶν αἱ μὲν χρήματα ἦσαν, αἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ χρημάτων. γελάσας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "εἶτα ὑπὲρ δημοκρατίας," ἔφη, "ξυνεβούλευες τοσαῦτα μέλλων αἰτήσειν βασιλέα;"

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and his friends. The emperor accordingly pressed them to ask boldly what they desired, whereupon Dion with a blush said: "Reconcile me, O king, with Apollonius my teacher for that I lately ventured to oppose him in argument; for never till now have I ventured to contradict him." The emperor, approving, said: "As long ago as yesterday I asked for this favour, and it is already granted. But do you ask for some gift." "Lasthenes," replied Dion, "of Apamea, a Bithynian city, who was my companion in philosophy, fell in love with the uniform and took to a soldier's life. Now, he says, he longs afresh to wear the sage's cloak, so would you let him off from the service, for that is the extent of his own request; and you will confer on me the privilege of turning him into a saint, and on him the liberty of living as he wishes to." "Let him be released," said the emperor, "but I confer on him the rights of a veteran, since he is equally fond of wisdom and of yourself." Next the emperor turned to Euphrates, who had drawn up a letter embodying his requests, and held it out in expectation that his sovereign would peruse it in private. But the latter was determined to expose him to criticism, so he read it out loud before everyone; and it was found to contain various petitions, some for himself, some for others; and of the presents asked some consisted of cash down and others of credit notes. Whereupon Apollonius with a laugh remarked: "Then your intention of asking a monarch for all this did not prevent you from giving him that good advice in favour of democracy." CHAP. XXXVIII

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CAP. XXXIX Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς διαφορᾶς, ἣ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τε καὶ Εὐφράτῃ ἐγένετο, τοιάδε εὗρον, ἐξελάσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καθήπτοντο ἀλλήλων ἐς τὸ φανερόν, ὁ μὲν Εὐφράτης ξὺν ὀργῇ τε καὶ λοιδορίαις, ὁ δ' αὖ φιλοσόφως καὶ ξὺν ἐλέγχῳ μᾶλλον. ὁπόσα μὲν δὴ Εὐφράτου κατηγόρηκεν, ὡς παρὰ τὸ πρέπον φιλοσοφίᾳ πράττοντος, ἔξεστιν Ἀπολλωνίου μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολῶν, πλείους γάρ· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀφεκτέα τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον διαβαλεῖν προὐθέμην, ἀλλὰ παραδοῦναι τὸν Ἀπολλωνίου βίον τοῖς μήπω εἰδόσι. τὸ μέντοι περὶ τοῦ ξύλου λεγόμενον, λέγεται δὲ ἐπανατείνασθαι μὲν αὐτὸ διαλεγομένῳ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, μὴ καθικέσθαι δέ, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ δεινότητι τοῦ πεπληξομένου προσγράφουσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ λογισμῷ τοῦ πλήξοντος, δι' ὃν ἐγένετο κρείττων ὀργῆς νενικηκυίας ἤδη.

XL

CAP. XL Ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δίωνος φιλοσοφία ῥητορικωτέρα τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἐς τὸ εὐφραῖνον κατεσκευασμένη μᾶλλον, ὅθεν διορθούμενος αὐτόν φησιν, "αὐλῷ καὶ λύρᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγῳ θέλγε," καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῶν πρὸς Δίωνα ἐπιστολῶν ἐπιπλήττει τῇ δημαγωγίᾳ ταύτῃ.

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CHAP. XXXIX

Quarrel between Apollonius and Euphrates.

SUCH I find was the occasion of the quarrel between Apollonius and Euphrates; and after the emperor had departed they openly attacked one another, Euphrates in his anger resorting to coarse insults, which his antagonist met in a philosophical spirit, only refuting him. His accusations, I may remark, of Euphrates to the effect that his conduct violated the decencies of the philosophical life, can be learned from the epistles Apollonius addressed to him, for they are not a few. For myself I herewith dismiss this gentleman; for it is no part of my scheme to say ill of him, but only to furnish with a life of Apollonius those who were as yet ignorant. As to the tale of the stick, which he is said to have brandished against Apollonius when he was discoursing, though without applying it—most people attribute his having so refrained to the commanding dignity of the man he was about to strike; but I prefer to set it down to the good sense of the would-be striker, and to think that it was that which enabled him to overcome an angry impulse which had all but overmastered him.

XL

CHAP. XL

The Sage corrects Dion.

DION'S philosophy struck Apollonius as being too rhetorical and overmuch adapted to please and flatter, and that is why he addressed to him by way of correction the words: "You should use a pipe and a lyre, if you want to tickle men's senses, and not speech." And in many passages of his letters to Dion he censures his use of words to captivate the crowd.

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XI.I

CAP. XLI Τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀφικέσθαι αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα ἔτι, μηδὲ ξυγγενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καίτοι καλοῦντι καὶ πλεῖστα ὑπὲρ τούτου γράφοντι, ὁπόθεν ξυνέβη, δηλῶσαι βούλομαι· Νέρων ἐλευθέραν ἀφῆκε τὴν Ἑλλάδα σωφρονέστερόν τι ἑαυτοῦ γνούς, καὶ ἐπανῆλθον αἱ πόλεις ἐς ἤθη Δωρικὰ καὶ Ἀττικά, πάντα τε ἀνήβησε ξὺν ὁμονοίᾳ τῶν πόλεων, ὃ μηδὲ πάλαι ἡ Ἑλλὰς εἶχεν, Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἀφείλετο αὐτὴν τοῦτο, στάσεις προβαλλόμενος καὶ ἄλλα οὔπω τῆς ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ὀργῆς· ταῦτ' οὖν οὐ μόνον τοῖς παθοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ πικρότερα τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἤθους ἔδοξεν, ὅθεν ἐπέστειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ ὧδε·

Ἀπολλώνιος Οὐεσπασιανῷ βασιλεῖ χαίρειν.

Ἐδουλώσω τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὥς φασί, καὶ πλέον μὲν οἴει τι ἔχειν Ξέρξου, λέληθας δὲ ἔλαττον ἔχων Νέρωνος· Νέρων γὰρ ἔχων αὐτὸ παρῃτήσατο. ἔρρωσο.

Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Διαβεβλημένος οὕτω πρὸς Ἕλληνας, ὡς δουλοῦσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρους ὄντας, τί ἐμοῦ ξυνόντος δέῃ; ἔρρωσο.

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XLI

CHAP. XLI

Vespasian's treatment of Hellas.

I MUST also explain how it came about that he never approached the emperor again, nor visited him after their encounter in Egypt, although the latter invited him and wrote often to him in that sense. The fact is, Nero restored the liberties of Hellas with a wisdom and moderation quite alien to his character; and the cities regained their Doric and Attic characteristics, and a general rejuvenescence accompanied the institution among them of a peace and harmony such as not even ancient Hellas ever enjoyed. Vespasian, however, on his arrival in the country took away her liberty, alleging their factiousness with other pretexts hardly justifying such extreme severity. This policy seemed not only to those who suffered by it, but to Apollonius as well, of a harshness quite out of keeping with a royal temper and character, and accordingly he addressed the following letters to the Emperor:

"Apollonius to the Emperor Vespasian, Greeting.

"You have, they say, enslaved Hellas, and you imagine you have excelled Xerxes. You are mistaken. You have only fallen below Nero. For the latter held our liberties in his hand and respected them. Farewell."

"To the same.

"You have taken such a dislike to the Hellenes, that you have enslaved them although they were free. What then do you want with my company? Farewell."

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CAP. XLI

Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Νέρων τοὺς Ἕλληνας παίζων ἠλευθέρωσε, σὺ δὲ αὐτοὺς σπουδάζων ἐδουλώσω. ἔρρωσο.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ διαβάλλοντα Οὐεσπασιανὸν Ἀπολλωνίῳ τοιάδε ἐγένετο, ἀκούων δ' αὐτὸν εὖ διατιθέμενον τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀρχὴν πᾶσαν, οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἦν χαίρων καὶ ἡγούμενος ἑαυτῷ ἀγαθὸν πράττεσθαι.

XLII

CAP. XLII

Θαυμάσιον Ἀπολλωνίου κἀκεῖνο ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἔδοξε· λέοντα ἥμερον ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος ἠγέ τις, ὥσπερ κύνα, ὁ δὲ οὐ μόνον τὸν ἄγοντα ἤκαλλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις προσέλθοι, καὶ ἤγειρε μὲν πολλαχοῦ τῶν πόλεων, παρῄει δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ καθαρὸς εἶναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ τῶν θυομένων αἷμα ἀνελιχμᾶτο, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰ δερόμενά τε καὶ ῥαχιζόμενα τῶν ἱερείων ἦττεν, ἀλλὰ μελιττούταις διήγετο καὶ ἄρτοις καὶ τραγήμασι καὶ κρεῶν τοῖς ἑφθοῖς, ἐντυχεῖν δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ οἴνου πίνοντι μὴ μεθισταμένῳ τοῦ ἤθους. προσελθὼν δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καθημένῳ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῖς τε γόνασιν αὐτοῦ προσεκνυζᾶτο καὶ ἐλιπάρει παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ ᾤοντο, μισθοῦ ἕνεκα, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "δεῖταί μου," ἔφη, "ὁ λέων ἀναδιδάξαι ὑμᾶς, ὅτου ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν ἔχει· ἔστι τοίνυν Ἄμασις οὗτος, ὁ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου περὶ τὸν Σαΐτην νομόν." ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκουσεν ὁ λέων ταῦτα, ἀνεβρυχήσατο ἐλεεινὸν καὶ θρηνῶδες καὶ ὠλοφύρατο

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"To the same. CHAP. XLI

"Nero freed the Hellenes in play, but you have enslaved them in all seriousness. Farewell."

Such were the grounds of Apollonius' taking a dislike to Vespasian. However, when he heard of the excellence of his subsequent acts of government he made no attempt to conceal his satisfaction, but looked at it in the light of a benefaction conferred on himself.

XLII

CHAP. XLII

The soul of Amasis inhabits a lion.

THE following incident also of Apollonius' stay in Egypt was thought remarkable. There was a man led a tame lion about by a string, as if it had been a dog; and the animal not only fawned upon him, but on anyone who approached it. It went collecting alms all round the towns, and was admitted even in the temples, being a pure animal; for it never licked up the blood of the victims, nor pounced on them when they were being flayed and cut up, but lived upon honeycakes and bread and dried fruits and cooked meat; and you also came on it drinking wine without changing its character. One day it came up to Apollonius when he was sitting in the temples, and whined and fawned at his knees, and begged of him more earnestly than it had ever done of anybody. The bystanders imagined it wanted some solid reward, but Apollonius exclaimed: "This lion is begging me to make you understand that a human soul is within him, the soul namely of Amasis, the king of Egypt in the province of Sais." And when the lion heard that, he gave a piteous and plaintive roar, and crouching down began

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CAP. XLII ξυνοκλάσας, δάκρυα ἰεὶς αὐτά. καταψῶν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "δοκεῖ," ἔφη, "πέμπειν τὸν λέοντα ἐς Λεοντόπολιν ἀνακεισόμενον τῷ ἱερῷ, βασιλέα γὰρ ἐς τὸ βασιλικώτατον τῶν θηρίων μεταβαλόντα οὐκ ἀξιῶ ἀγείρειν, καθάπερ τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων." ἐντεῦθεν οἱ ἱερεῖς ξυνελθόντες ἔθυσαν τῷ Ἀμάσιδι, καὶ κοσμήσαντες τὸ θηρίον στρεπτῷ καὶ ταινίαις παρέπεμπον ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον αὐλοῦντες καὶ ὑμνοῦντες καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ᾄδοντες.

XLIII

CAP. XLIII Ἱκανῶς δὲ ἔχων τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐστέλλετο ἐς Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ ἐς Αἰθιοπίαν ἐς ξυνουσίαν τῶν Γυμνῶν. τὸν μὲν δὴ Μένιππον, ἐπειδὴ τῶν διαλεγομένων ἤδη ἐτύγχανε καὶ παρρησίᾳ χρῆσθαι δεινὸς ἦν, κατέλιπεν αὐτόθι ἔφεδρον τῷ Εὐφράτῃ, καὶ τὸν Διοσκουρίδην ἰδὼν οὐκ ἐρρωμένως πρὸς τὴν ἀποδημίαν διακείμενον παρῃτήσατο τῆς ὁδοῦ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ξυναγαγών, μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς ἀπολιπόντας αὐτὸν περὶ τὴν Ἀρικίαν προσεγένοντο πλείους ἕτεροι, διῄει πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐνθένδε ἀρξάμενος· "Ὀλυμπικῆς προρρήσεως," ἔφη, "δέομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες· Ὀλυμπικὴ δὲ πρόρρησις ἡ τοιάδε εἴη ἄν· Ἠλεῖοι τοὺς ἀθλητάς, ἐπειδὰν ἥκῃ Ὀλύμπια, γυμνάζουσιν ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἤλιδι, καὶ ξυναγαγόντες αὐτοὺς ὁ μὲν Δελφός, ὅτε Πύθια, ὁ δὲ Κορίνθιος, ὅτε Ἴσθμια, "ἴτε," φασίν, "ἐς τὸ στάδιον, καὶ γίγνεσθε ἄνδρες οἷοι νικᾶν," Ἠλεῖοι

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to lament, shedding tears. Thereupon Apollonius stroked him, and said: "I think the lion ought to be sent to Leontopolis and dedicated to the temple there, for I consider it wrong that a king who has been changed into the most kingly of beasts should go about begging, like any human mendicant." In consequence the priests met and offered sacrifice to Amasis; and having decorated the animal with a collar and ribbons, they conveyed him up country into Egypt with pipings, hymns and songs composed in his honour. CHAP. XLII

XLIII

HAVING had enough of Alexandria the sage set out for Egypt and Ethiopia to visit the naked sages. Menippus then, as he was by now a qualified disputant and remarkably outspoken, he left behind to watch Euphrates: and perceiving that Dioscorides had not a strong enough constitution for foreign travel, he dissuaded him from undertaking the journey. The rest of his company he mustered, for though some had left him at Aricia, many others had subsequently joined him, and he explained to them about his impending journey and began as follows:— CHAP. XLIII

The Sage leaves Alexandria.

"I must needs preface in Olympic wise my address to you, my brave friends; and the following is an Olympic exordium. When the Olympic games are coming on, the people of Elis train the athletes for thirty days in their own country. Likewise, when the Pythian games approach, the natives of Delphi; and when the Isthmian, the Corinthians assemble them and say: 'Go now into the arena and prove yourselves men worthy of victory.' The

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CAP. XLIII δέ, ἐπειδὰν ἴωσιν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, διαλέγονται πρὸς τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ὧδε· "εἰ πεπόνηται ὑμῖν ἐπαξίως τοῦ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ῥᾴθυμον μηδὲ ἀγεννὲς εἴργασται, ἴτε θαρροῦντες, οἷς δὲ μὴ ὧδε ἤσκηται, χωρεῖτε οἷ βούλεσθε."

Ξυνῆκαν οἱ ὁμιληταὶ τοῦ λόγου καὶ κατέμειναν ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἴκοσι παρὰ τῷ Μενίππῳ, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δέκα, οἶμαι, ὄντες, εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ οἷον ἐμβατήρια πλοῦ θύσαντες, ἐχώρουν εὐθὺ πυραμίδων ἐπὶ καμήλων ὀχούμενοι, δεξιὸν θέμενοι τὸν Νεῖλον. πολλαχοῦ δὲ διεπλεῖτο αὐτοῖς ὁ ποταμὸς ὑπὲρ ἱστορίας τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντων, οὔτε γὰρ πόλιν οὔτε ἱερὸν οὔθ' ὁπόσα τεμένη κατ' Αἴγυπτον, οὐδὲν τούτων ἄφωνοι παρῆλθον, ἀλλ' ἱερούς τινας ἀεὶ λόγους διδασκόμενοί τε καὶ διδάσκοντες, καὶ ἡ ναῦς, ἣν ἐμβαίη Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐῴκει θεωρίδι.

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Eleans however on their way to Olympia address the athletes thus: 'If ye have laboured so hard as to be entitled to go to Olympia and have banished all sloth and cowardice from your lives, then march boldly on; but as for those who have not so trained themselves, let them depart whithersoever they like.'" CHAP. XLIII

The companions of the sage understood his meaning, and about twenty of them remained with Menippus; but the rest, ten in number, I believe, offered prayer to the gods, and having sacrificed such an offering as men offer when they embark for a voyage, they departed straight for the pyramids, mounted on camels and keeping the Nile on their right hand. In several places they took boats across the river in order to visit every sight on it; for there was not a city, fane or sacred site in Egypt, that they passed by without discussion. For at each they either learned or taught some holy story, so that any ship on which Apollonius embarked resembled the sacred galley of a religious legation.

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PHILOSTRATUS

II

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PHILOSTRATUS

THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

THE EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS AND THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES

II



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PHILOSTRATUS

BOOK VI

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ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

ΤΑ ΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΥΑΝΕΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ

Ζ'

I

CAP. 1 Αἰθιοπία δὲ τῆς μὲν ὑπὸ ἡλίῳ πάσης ἐπέχει τὸ ἑσπέριον κέρας, ὥσπερ Ἰνδοὶ τὸ πρὸς ἕω, κατὰ Μερόην δ' Αἰγύπτῳ ξυνάπτουσα καί τι τῆς ἀμαρτύρου Λιβύης ἐπελθοῦσα τελευτᾷ ἐς θάλατταν, ἣν Ὠκεανὸν οἱ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι, τὸ περὶ γῆν ἅπαν ὧδε ἐπονομάζοντες. ποταμὸν δὲ Νεῖλον Αἰγύπτῳ δίδωσιν, ὃς ἐκ Καταδούπων ἀρχόμενος, ἣν ἐπικλύζει πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον ἀπ' Αἰθιόπων ἄγει. μέγεθος μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀξία παραβεβλῆσθαι πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς ἥδε ἡ χώρα, ὅτι μηδ' ἄλλη μηδεμία, ὁπόσαι κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὀνομασταὶ ἤπειροι, εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον Αἰθιοπίᾳ ξυμβάλοιμεν, τουτὶ δὲ ἡγώμεθα καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν πράττειν, οὔπω ξύμμετροι πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδῶν ἄμφω, τοσαύτῃ ξυντεθεῖσα, ποταμοὶ δὲ ἀμφοῖν ὅμοιοι λογισαμένῳ τὰ

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PHILOSTRATUS

THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

BOOK VI

I

CHAP. I

Comparison of the rivers Indus and Nile

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

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

II

CAP. II Ἀφικόμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ Αἰθιόπων τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων ὅρια, Συκάμινον δὲ αὐτὰ ὀνομάζουσι, χρυσῷ τε ἀσήμῳ ἐνέτυχε καὶ λίνῳ καὶ ἐλέφαντι καὶ ῥίζαις καὶ μύρῳ καὶ ἀρώμασιν ἔκειτο δὲ πάντα

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

II

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

Bartering between Egyptians and Ethiopians

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CAP. II ἀφύλακτα ἐν ὁδῷ σ ιστῇ· καὶ ὅ τι βούλεται ταῦτα, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, νομίζεται γὰρ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι· ἀγορὰν Αἰθίοπες ἀπάγουσιν, ὧν Αἰθιοπία δίδωσιν, οἱ δ' ἀνελόμενοι πᾶσαν ξυμφέρουσιν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χῶρον ἀγορὰν Αἰγυπτίαν ἴσου ἀξίαν ὠνούμενοι τῶν αὐτοῖς ὄντων τὰ οὐκ ὄντα. οἱ δὲ τὰ ὅρια τῶν ἠπείρων οἰκοῦντες οὔπω μέλανες, ἀλλὰ ὁμόφυλοι τὸ χρῶμα, μελαίνονται γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἧττον Αἰθιόπων, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον Αἰγυπτίων. ξυνεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοῦ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἤθους, "οἱ δὲ χρηστοί," ἔφη, "Ἕλληνες, ἢν μὴ ὀβολὸς ὀβολὸν τέκῃ καὶ τὰ ὤνια αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμήσωσι καπηλεύοντες ἢ καθειργνύντες, οὗ φασι ζῆν, ὁ μὲν θυγατέρα σκηπτόμενος ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμων, ὁ δ' υἱὸν ἤδη τελοῦντα ἐς ἄνδρας, ὁ δ' ἐράνου πλήρωσιν, ὁ δ', ὡς οἰκοδομοῖτο οἰκίαν, ὁ δέ, ὡς αἰσχύνοιτο χρηματιστὴς ἧττων τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαι. καλῶς δ' ἄρ' εἶχεν, ἵνα ὁ πλοῦτος ἀτίμως ἔπραττεν ἰσότης τε ἤνθει,

μέλας δ' ἀπέκειτο σίδηρος,

ὁμονοούντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἐδόκει μία."

III

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

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

CHAP. II

Compared with Greek trading

III

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

CHAP. III

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CAP. III ἐχώρει ἐπὶ Μέμνονος, ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτοῖς μειράκιον Αἰγύπτιον, ὑπὲρ οὗ τάδε ἀναγράφει Δάμις· Τιμασίων μὲν τῷ μειρακίῳ τούτῳ ὄνομα ἦν, ἐφήβου δὲ ἄρτι ὑπαπῄει καὶ τὴν ὥραν ἔτι ἔρρωτο. σωφρονοῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ μητρυιὰ ἐρῶσα ἐνέκειτο καὶ χαλεπὸν τὸν πατέρα ἐποίει, ξυντιθεῖσα μὲν οὐδὲν ὥνπερ ἡ Φαίδρα, διαβάλλουσα δ' αὐτὸν ὡς θῆλυν καὶ ἐρασταῖς μᾶλλον ἢ γυναίοις χαίροντα. ὁ δ' ἐκλιπὼν Ναύκρατιν, ἐκεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο, περὶ Μέμφιν διῃτᾶτο, καὶ ναῦν δὲ ἰδιόστολον ἐκέκτητο καὶ ἐναυκλήρει ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ. ἰδὼν οὖν ἀναπλέοντα τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, καταπλέων αὐτὸς ξυνῆκέ τε, ὡς ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν εἴη τὸ πλήρωμα, ξυμβαλλόμενος τοῖς τρίβωσι καὶ τοῖς βιβλίοις, οἷς προσεσπούδαζον, καὶ ἱκέτευε προσδοῦναί οἱ τῆς τοῦ πλοῦ κοινωνίας ἐρῶντι σοφίας, ὁ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος, "σώφρων," ἔφη, "ὁ νεανίσκος, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἀξιούσθω ὧν δεῖται," καὶ διῆλθε τὸν περὶ τῆς μητρυιᾶς λόγον πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγὺς τῶν ἑταίρων ὑφειμένῳ τῷ τόνῳ, προσπλέοντος τοῦ μειρακίου ἔτι. ὡς δὲ ξυνῆσαν αἱ νῆες, μεταβὰς ὁ Τιμασίων, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κυβερνήτην εἰπών τι ὑπὲρ τοῦ φόρτου, προσεῖπε τοὺς ἄνδρας. κελεύσας οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ἱζῆσαι, "μειράκιον," ἔφη, "Αἰγύπτιον,

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

CHAP. III

They meet Timasion who tells his story

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CAP. III

ἔοικας γὰρ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων εἶναί τις, τί σοι φαῦλον ἢ τί χρηστὸν εἴργασται, λέξον, ὡς τῶν μὲν λύσις παρ' ἐμοῦ γένοιτό σοι δι' ἡλικίαν, τῶν δ' αὖ ἐπαινεθεὶς ἐμοί τε ξυμφιλοσοφοίης καὶ τοῖσδε." ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν Τιμασίωνα ἐρυθριῶντα καὶ μεταβάλλοντα τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ στόματος ἐς τὸ λέξαι τι ἢ μή, θαμὰ ἤρειδε τὴν ἐρώτησιν, ὥσπερ οὐδεμιᾷ προγνώσει ἐς αὐτὸν κεχρημένος, ἀναθαρσήσας δὲ ὁ Τιμασίων, "ὦ θεοί," ἔφη, "τίνα ἐμαυτὸν εἴπω; κακὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἰμί, ἀγαθὸν δὲ εἰ χρὴ νομίζεσθαί με, οὐκ οἶδα, τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀδικεῖν οὔπω ἔπαινος." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "βαβαί," ἔφη, "μειράκιον, ὡς ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν μοι διαλέγῃ, ταυτὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἰάρχᾳ δοκεῖ τῷ θείῳ. ἀλλ' εἰπὲ ὅπως ταῦτα δοξάζεις, κἀξ ὅτου; φυλαξαμένῳ γάρ τι ἁμαρτεῖν ἔοικας." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρξαμένου λέγειν, ὡς ἡ μητρυιὰ μὲν ἐπ' αὐτὸν φέροιτο, αὐτὸς δ' ἐρώσῃ ἐκσταίη, βοὴ ἐγένετο, ὡς δαιμονίως αὐτὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου προειπόντος, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Τιμασίων, "ὦ λῷστοι," ἔφη, "τί πεπόνθατε; τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπέχει τὰ εἰρημένα θαύματος, ὅσον, οἶμαι, γέλωτος." καὶ ὁ Δάμις, "ἕτερόν τι," ἔφη, "ἐθαυμάσαμεν, ὃ μήπω γιγνώσκεις. καὶ σὲ δέ, μειράκιον, ἐπαινοῦμεν, ὅτι μηδὲν οἴει

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

CHAP. III

Apollonius commends his continence

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CAP. III λαμπρὸν εἰργάσθαι." "Ἀφροδίτῃ δὲ θύεις, ὦ μειράκιον;" ἤρετο ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων, "νὴ Δί," εἶπεν, "ὁσημέραι γε, πολλὴν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τὴν θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπείοις τε καὶ θείοις πράγμασιν." ὑπερησθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ψηφισώμεθα," ἔφη, "ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐστεφανῶσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ πρὸ Ἱππολύτου τοῦ Θησέως, ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὕβρισε, καὶ διὰ τουτὶ ἴσως οὐδὲ ἀφροδισίων ἥττητο, οὐδὲ ἔρως ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς ἐκώμαζεν, ἀλλ' ἦν τῆς ἀγροικοτέρας τε καὶ ἀτέγκτου μοίρας, οὑτοσὶ δὲ ἡττᾶσθαι τῆς θεοῦ φάσκων, οὐδὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐρῶσαν ἔπαθεν, ἀλλ' ἀπῆλθεν αὐτὴν δείσας τὴν θεόν, εἰ τὸ κακῶς ἐρᾶσθαι μὴ φυλάξοιτο, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ διαβεβλῆσθαι πρὸς ὁντιναδὴ τῶν θεῶν, ὥσπερ πρὸς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὁ Ἱππόλυτος, οὐκ ἀξιῶ σωφροσύνης, σωφρονέστερον γὰρ τὸ περὶ πάντων θεῶν εὖ λέγειν καὶ ταῦτα Ἀθήνησιν, οὗ καὶ ἀγνώστων δαιμόνων βωμοὶ ἵδρυνται." τοσαῦτα ἐς τὸν Τιμασίωνα αὐτῷ ἐσπουδάσθη. πλὴν ἀλλὰ Ἱππόλυτόν γε ἐκάλει αὐτὸν διὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, οἷς τὴν μητρυιὰν εἶδεν. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ γυμναστικῆς ἐπαφροδίτως ἅψασθαι.

IV

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

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

IV

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

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CAP. IV

ἀποθανεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἐν Τροίᾳ, ὅτι μηδὲ ἀφικέσθαι ἐς Τροίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ τελευτῆσαι βασιλεύσαντα Αἰθιόπων γενεὰς πέντε. οἱ δ', ἐπειδὴ μακροβιώτατοι ἀνθρώπων εἰσίν, ὀλοφύρονται τὸν Μέμνονα ὡς κομιδῇ νέον καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ ἀώρῳ κλαίουσι, τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἵδρυται, φασὶ μὲν προσεοικέναι ἀγορᾷ ἀρχαίᾳ, οἷαι τῶν ἀγορῶν ἐν πόλεσί ποτε οἰκηθείσαις λείπονται, στηλῶν παρεχόμεναι τρύφη καὶ τειχῶν ἴχνη καὶ θάκους καὶ φλιὰς ἑρμῶν τε ἀγάλματα, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ χειρῶν διεφθορότα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ χρόνου. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τετράφθαι πρὸς ἀκτῖνα μήπω γενειάσκον, λίθου δὲ εἶναι μέλανος, ξυμβεβηκέναι δὲ τὼ πόδε ἄμφω κατὰ τὴν ἀγαλματοποιίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δαιδάλου, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπερείδειν ὀρθὰς ἐς τὸν θᾶκον, καθῆσθαι γὰρ ἐν ὁρμῇ τοῦ ὑπανίστασθαι. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦτο καὶ τὸν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν νοῦν καὶ ὁπόσα τοῦ στόματος ὡς φθεγξομένου ᾄδουσι, τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἧττον θαυμάσαι φασίν, οὔπω γὰρ ἐνεργὰ φαίνεσθαι, προσβαλούσης δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς ἀκτῖνος, τουτὶ δὲ γίγνεσθαι περὶ ἡλίου ἐπιτολάς, μὴ κατασχεῖν τὸ θαῦμα, φθέγξασθαι μὲν γὰρ παραχρῆμα τῆς ἀκτῖνος ἐλθούσης αὐτῷ ἐπὶ στόμα, φαιδροὺς δὲ ἱστάναι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δόξαι πρὸς τὸ φῶς, οἷα τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ εὐήλιοι. τότε ξυνεῖναι λέγουσιν, ὅτι τῷ Ἡλίῳ

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CHAP. IV

They visit the statue of Memnon

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

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CAP. IV δοκεῖ ὑπανίστασθαι, καθάπερ οἱ τὸ κρεῖττον ὀρθοὶ θεραπεύοντες. θύσαντες οὖν Ἡλίῳ τε Αἰθίοπι καὶ Ἠῴῳ Μέμνονι, τουτὶ γὰρ ἔφραζον οἱ ἱερεῖς, τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴθειν τε καὶ θάλπειν, τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπονομάζοντες, ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ καμήλων ἐς τὰ τῶν Γυμνῶν ἤθη.

V

CAP. V Ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἐντυχόντες ἐσταλμένῳ τρόπον, ὅνπερ οἱ Μεμφῖται, καὶ ἀλύοντι μᾶλλον ἢ ξυντείνοντι ἤροντο οἱ περὶ τὸν Δάμιν, ὅστις εἴη καὶ δι' ὅ τι πλανῷτο, καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων, "ἐμοῦ," ἔφη, "πυνθάνεσθε, ἀλλὰ μὴ τούτου, οὗτος μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἴποι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πάθος αἰδοῖ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς, ᾗ κέχρηται, ἐγὼ δέ, γιγνώσκω γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἐλεῶ, λέξω τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν πάντα· ἀπέκτεινε γὰρ Μεμφίτην τινὰ ἄκων, κελεύουσι δ' οἱ κατὰ Μέμφιν νόμοι τὸν φεύγοντα ἐπ' ἀκουσίῳ, δεῖ δὲ φεύγειν, ἐπὶ τοῖς Γυμνοῖς εἶναι, κἂν ἐκνίψηται τοῦ φόνου, χωρεῖν ἐς ἤθη καθαρὸν ἤδη, βαδισαντα πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ πεφονευμένου σῆμα καὶ σφάξαντά τι ἐκεῖ οὐ μέγα. τὸν δὲ χρόνον, ὃν οὔπω τοῖς Γυμνοῖς ἐνέτυχεν, ἀλᾶσθαι χρὴ περὶ ταυτὶ τὰ ὅρια, ἔστ' ἂν αἰδέσωνται αὐτόν, ὥσπερ

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

V

CHAP. V

The slayer of Philiscus is purified of blood-guilt by the Sage

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

[1] *Aithô* = I burn: *Aithiôps* = an Aethiop.

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CAP. V

ἱκέτην." ἤρετο οὖν τὸν Τιμασίωνα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, πῶς οἱ Γυμνοὶ περὶ τοῦ φεύγοντος ἐκείνου φρονοῦσιν, ὁ δέ, "οὐκ οἶδα," εἶπε, "μῆνα γὰρ τουτονὶ ἕβδομον ἱκετεύει δεῦρο καὶ οὔπω λύσις." "οὐ σοφοὺς λέγεις ἄνδρας," ἔφη, "εἰ μὴ καθαίρουσιν αὐτόν, μηδὲ γιγνώσκουσιν, ὅτι Φιλίσκος, ὃν ἀπέκτεινεν οὗτος, ἀνέφερεν ἐς Θαμοῦν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, ὃς ἐδήωσέ ποτε τὴν τῶν Γυμνῶν χώραν." θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Τιμασίων, "πῶς," ἔφη, "λέγεις;" "ὥς γε," εἶπεν, "ὦ μειράκιον, καὶ πέπρακται· Θαμοῦν γάρ ποτε νεώτερα ἐπὶ Μεμφίτας πράττοντα ἤλεγξαν οἱ Γυμνοὶ καὶ ἔσχον, ὁ δὲ ὁρμῆς ἁμαρτὼν ἔκειρε πᾶσαν, ἣν οὗτοι νέμονται, λῃστρικῶς γὰρ περὶ Μέμφιν ἔρρωτο· τούτου Φιλίσκον, ὃν οὗτος ἀπέκτεινεν, ὁρῶ ἔκγονον τρίτον ἀπὸ δεκάτου, κατάρατον δηλαδὴ τούτοις, ὧν ὁ Θαμοῦς τότε διεπόρθει τὴν χώραν· καὶ ποῦ σοφόν, ὃν στεφανοῦν ἐχρῆν, εἰ καὶ προνοήσας ἀπέκτεινε, τοῦτον ἀκουσίου φόνου μέν, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δ' εἰργασμένου μὴ καθῆραι;" ἐκπλαγὲν οὖν τὸ μειράκιον, "ξένε," εἶπε, "τίς εἶ;" καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὃν ἄν," ἔφη, "παρὰ τοῖς Γυμνοῖς εὕροις. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔπω μοι ὅσιον προσφθέγξασθαι τὸν ἐν τῷ αἵματι, κέλευσον αὐτόν, ὦ

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

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CAP V μειράκιον, θαρρεῖν, ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ καθαρεύσοντα, εἰ βαδίσειεν οὗ καταλύω." ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐπιδράσας ὅσα Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὑπὲρ καθαρσίων νομίζουσιν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐς ἤθη στείχειν ὡς καθαρὸν ἤδη τῆς αἰτίας.

VI

CAP. VI Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελάσαντες ἡλίου ἀνίσχοντος, ἀφίκοντο πρὸ μεσημβρίας ἐς τὸ τῶν Γυμνῶν φροντιστήριον. τοὺς δὲ Γυμνοὺς τούτους οἰκεῖν μὲν ἐπί τινος λόφου, φασί, ξυμμέτρου μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ Νείλου, σοφίᾳ δὲ Ἰνδῶν λείπεσθαι πλέον ἢ προὔχειν Αἰγυπτίων, γυμνοὺς δὲ ἐστάλθαι κατὰ ταὐτὰ τοῖς εἰληθεροῦσιν Ἀθήνησι. δένδρα δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ ὀλίγα καί τι ἄλσος οὐ μέγα, ἐς ὃ ξυνίασιν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν, ἱερὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐς ταὐτόν, ὥσπερ τὰ Ἰνδῶν, ἄλλο δὲ ἄλλῃ τοῦ γηλόφου ἵδρυται σπουδῆς ἀξιούμενα, ὡς Αἰγυπτίων λόγοι. θεραπεύουσι δὲ Νεῖλον μάλιστα, τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἡγοῦνται γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ. καλύβης μὲν οὖν ἢ οἰκίας οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ δέονται, ζῶντες ὑπαίθριοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρανῷ αὐτῷ, καταγωγὴν δὲ ἀποχρῶσαν τοῖς ξένοις ἐδείμαντο, στοὰν οὐ μεγάλην, ἰσομήκη ταῖς Ἠλείων, ὑφ' αἷς ὁ ἀθλητὴς περιμένει τὸ μεσημβρινὸν κήρυγμα.

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

VI

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

The haunts of the naked sages

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VII

CAP. VII

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

VIII

CAP. VIII

Τοιαῦτα ὁ Ναυκρατίτης ξυνθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν, οἱ δ' ἀληθῆ ταῦτα ἡγούμενοι τὴν μὲν ξυνουσίαν οὐ παρητοῦντο ἥκοντος, ὑπὲρ μεγάλων δὲ σπουδάζειν ἐπλάττοντο καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνοις εἶναι, ἀφίξεσθαι δὲ κἀκείνῳ ἐς λόγους, ἣν σχολὴν ἄγωσι μάθωσί τε, ὅ τι βούλεται καὶ ὅτου ἐρῶν ἥκεν. ἐκέ-

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VII

CHAP. VII

Euphrates' intrigues with them against Apollonius

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

VIII

CHAP. VIII

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

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CAP. VIII λευε δὲ ὁ παρ' αὐτῶν ἥκων καὶ καταλύειν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὑπὲρ μὲν στέγης," ἔφη, "μηδὲν διαλέγου, ξυγχωρεῖ γὰρ πᾶσιν ὁ οὐρανὸς ὁ ἐνταῦθα γυμνοῖς ζῆν," διαβάλλων αὐτοὺς ὡς οὐ καρτερίᾳ γυμνούς, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκῃ, "ὅ τι δὲ βούλομαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἥκω τοὺς μὲν οὐ θαυμάζω οὕπω γιγνώσκοντας, Ἰνδοὶ δέ με οὐκ ἤροντο ταῦτα."

IX

CAP. IX Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐνὶ τῶν δένδρων ὑποκλιθεὶς ξυνῆν τοῖς ἑταίροις ὁπόσα ἠρώτων, ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὸν Τιμασίωνα ὁ Δάμις ἤρετο ἰδίᾳ· "οἱ Γυμνοὶ οὗτοι, βέλτιστε, ξυγγέγονας γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τί σοφοί εἰσι;" "πολλά," ἔφη, "καὶ μεγάλα." "καὶ μὴν οὐ σοφά," εἶπεν, "αὐτῶν, ὦ γενναῖε, τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, τὸ γὰρ μὴ ξυμβῆναι τοιῷδε ἀνδρὶ ὑπὲρ σοφίας, ὄγκῳ δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν χρήσασθαι τί φῶ οὐκ οἶδα ἢ τῦφον," ἔφη, "ὦ ἑταῖρε." "τῦφον; ὃν οὔπω πρότερον περὶ αὐτοὺς εἶδον δὶς ἤδη ἀφικόμενος, ἀεὶ γὰρ μέτριοί τε καὶ χρηστοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιμιγνύντας ἦσαν. πρῴην γοῦν, πεντήκοντα δὲ τοῦτ' ἴσως ἡμέραι, Θρασύβουλος μὲν ἐπεχωρίαζεν ἐνταῦθα, χαμπρὸν οὐδὲν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ

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

IX

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

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CHAP. IX πράττων, οἱ δ' ἄσμενοι αὐτὸν ἀπεδέξαντο, ἐπειδὴ προσέγραψεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Εὐφράτῃ." καὶ ὁ Δάμις, "τί λέγεις, ὦ μειράκιον; ἑώρακας σὺ Θρασύβουλον τὸν Ναυκρατίτην ἐν τῷ φροντιστηρίῳ τούτῳ;" "καὶ πρός γε," εἶπε, "διήγαγον αὐτὸν τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ νηὶ κατιόντα ἐνθένδε." "τὸ πᾶν ἔχω, νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν," ἔφη ὁ Δάμις ἀναβοήσας τε καὶ σχετλιάσας, "ἔοικε γὰρ πεπανουργῆσθαί τι." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Τιμασίων, "ὁ μὲν ἀνήρ," ἔφη, "ὡς ἠρόμην αὐτὸν χθές, ὅστις εἴη, οὔπω με ἠξίου τοῦ ἀπορρήτου, σὺ δ', εἰ μὴ μυστήρια ταῦτα, λέγε ὅστις οὗτος, ἴσως γὰρ ἂν κἀγώ τι ξυμβαλοίμην τῇ τοῦ ζητουμένου θήρᾳ." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσε τοῦ Δάμιδος καὶ ὅτι ὁ Τυανεὺς εἴη, "ξυνείληφας," ἔφη, "τὸ πρᾶγμα· Θρασύβουλος γὰρ καταπλέων μετ' ἐμοῦ τὸν Νεῖλον, ἐρομένῳ μοι ἐφ' ὅ τι ἀναβαίη ἐνταῦθα, σοφίαν οὐ χρηστὴν ἑαυτοῦ διηγεῖτο, τοὺς Γυμνοὺς τούτους ὑποψίας ἐμπεπληκέναι φάσκων πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὡς ὑπεροφθείη, ὁπότε ἔλθοι, κἀξ ὅτου μὲν διαφέρεται πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ οἶδα, τὸ δὲ ἐς διαβολὰς καθίστασθαι γυναικεῖόν τε ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἀπαίδευτον, ἐγὼ δ' ἄν, ὡς διάκεινται, μάθοιμι προσειπὼν τοὺς ἄνδρας, φίλοι γάρ." καὶ ἐπανῆλθε περὶ δείλην ὁ Τιμασίων, πρὸς μὲν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον οὐδὲν φράζων πλὴν τοῦ προσειρηκέναι σφᾶς, ἰδίᾳ δ' ἀπαγγέλλων πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν, ὡς ἀφίξοιντο αὔριον μεστοὶ ὧν τοῦ Θρασυβούλου ἤκουσαν.

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

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CAP. X Τὴν μὲν δὴ ἑσπέραν ἐκείνην μέτριά τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξια τοῦ ἀναγράψαι σπουδάσαντες, ἐκοιμήθησαν οὐ ἐδείπνησαν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, θεραπεύσας τὸν Ἥλιον ἐφειστήκει τινὶ γνώμῃ, προσδραμὼν δὲ αὐτῷ Νεῖλος, ὅσπερ ἦν νεώτατος τῶν Γυμνῶν, "ἡμεῖς," ἔφη, "παρὰ σὲ ἥκομεν." "εἰκότως," εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐνταῦθα." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα εἵπετο τῷ Νείλῳ. προσειπὼν οὖν καὶ προσρηθείς, ξυνέτυχον δὲ ἀλλήλοις περὶ τὴν στοάν, "ποῖ," ἔφη, "ξυνεσόμεθα;" "ἐνταῦθα," ἔφη ὁ Θεσπεσίων δείξας τὸ ἄλσος. ὁ δὲ Θεσπεσίων πρεσβύτατος ἦν τῶν Γυμνῶν, καὶ ἡγεῖτο μὲν αὐτὸς πᾶσιν, οἱ δέ, ὥσπερ Ἑλλανοδίκαι τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ, εἵποντο κοσμίῳ ἅμα καὶ σχολαίῳ βαδίσματι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκάθισαν, ὡς ἔτυχε, τουτὶ γὰρ οὐκέτι ἐν κόσμῳ ἕδρων, ἐς τὸν Θεσπεσίωνα εἶδον πάντες οἷον ἑστιάτορα τοῦ λόγου, ὁ δὲ ἤρξατο ἐνθένδε· "τὴν Πυθὼ καὶ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν ἐπεσκέφθαι σέ φασιν, Ἀπολλώνιε, τουτὶ γὰρ ἀπήγγειλεν ἐνταῦθα καὶ Στρατοκλῆς ὁ Φάριος, ἐντετυχηκέναι σοι φάσκων ἐκεῖ, καὶ τὴν μὲν Πυθὼ τοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν ἥκοντας αὐλῷ τε παραπέμπειν καὶ ᾠδαῖς καὶ ψάλσει, κωμῳδίας τε καὶ

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CHAP. X

Thespesion's harangue against Apollonius

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

He attacks the sages of India

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

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

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

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

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CAP. X

ἀδίκων ἐπὶ χεῖρα καὶ γνώμην ἥκει, θαυμασιουργίας τε καὶ βιαίου τέχνης μὴ δεῖσθαι ἀλήθειαν. "σκέψαι γὰρ τὸν Ἀπόλλω," εἶπε, "τὸν Δελφικόν, ὃς τὰ μέσα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ προρρήσει λογίων ἔχει· ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν, ὥς που καὶ αὐτὸς γιγνώσκεις, ὁ μὲν τῆς ὀμφῆς δεόμενος ἐρωτᾷ βραχὺ ἐρώτημα, ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων οὐδὲν τερατευσάμενος λέγει, ὁπόσα οἶδε. καίτοι ῥᾴδιόν γε ἦν αὐτῷ σεῖσαι μὲν τὸν Παρνασὸν πάντα, τὴν Κασταλίαν δὲ οἰνοχοῆσαι μεταβαλόντι τὰς πηγάς, Κηφισῷ δὲ μὴ ξυγχωρῆσαι ποταμῷ εἶναι, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπικομπάσας ἀναφαίνει τἀληθὲς αὐτό. ἡγώμεθα δὲ μηδὲ τὸν χρυσὸν ἢ τὰ δοκοῦντα λαμπρὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἑκόντι αὐτῷ φοιτᾶν, μηδὲ τῷ νεῷ τὸν Ἀπόλλω χαίρειν, εἰ καὶ διπλάσιος ἀποφανθείη τοῦ νῦν ὄντος· ᾤκησε γάρ ποτε καὶ λιτὴν στέγην ὁ θεὸς οὗτος, καὶ καλύβη αὐτῷ ξυνεπλάσθη μικρά, ἐς ἣν ξυμβαλέσθαι λέγονται μέλιτται μὲν κηρόν, πτερὰ δὲ ὄρνιθες. εὐτέλεια γὰρ διδάσκαλος μὲν σοφίας, διδάσκαλος δὲ ἀληθείας, ἣν ἐπαινῶν σοφὸς ἀτεχνῶς δόξεις ἐκλαθόμενος τῶν παρ' Ἰνδοῖς μύθων. τὸ γὰρ πρᾶττε ἢ μὴ πρᾶττε, ἢ οἶδα ἢ οὐκ οἶδα, ἢ τὸ δεῖνα, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ δεῖνα, τί δεῖται κτύπου; τί δὲ τοῦ βροντᾶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ ἐμβεβροντῆσθαι;

Εἶδες ἐν ζωγραφίας λόγοις καὶ τὸν τοῦ Προδίκου Ἡρακλέα, ὡς ἔφηβος μὲν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, οὔπω δὲ ἐν αἱρέσει τοῦ βίου, κακία δ' αὐτὸν

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

CHAP. X

And contrasts the Delphic oracle in its simplicity with their pomp

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

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CAP. X καὶ ἀρετὴ διαλαβοῦσαι παρὰ σφᾶς ἄγουσιν, ἡ μὲν χρυσῷ τε κατεσκευασμένη καὶ ὅρμοις, ἐσθῆτί τε ἁλιπορφύρῳ καὶ παρειᾶς ἄνθει καὶ χαίτης ἀναπλοκαῖς καὶ γραφαῖς ὀμμάτων, ἔστι δ' αὐτῇ καὶ χρυσοῦν πέδιλον, γέγραπται γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ ἐνσοβοῦσα. ἡ δ' αὖ πεπονηκυίᾳ μὲν προσφερής, τραχὺ δὲ ὁρῶσα, τὸν δὲ αὐχμὸν πεποιημένη κόσμημα καὶ ἀνυπόδετος ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ λιτὴ τὴν ἐσθῆτα, καὶ γυμνὴ δ' ἂν ἐφαίνετο, εἰ μὴ ἐγίγνωσκε τὸ ἐν θηλείαις εὔσχημον. ἡγοῦ δὴ καὶ σεαυτόν, Ἀπολλώνιε, μέσον τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τε καὶ τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς σοφίας ἑστάναι, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀκούειν λεγούσης, ὡς ὑποστορέσει σοι ἄνθη καθεύδοντι, καί, νὴ Δί', ὡς ποτιεῖ γάλακτι καὶ ὡς κηρίοις θρέψει, καὶ ὡς νέκταρ σοί τι παρ' αὐτῆς ἔσται καὶ πτερά, ὁπότε βούλοιο, τρίποδάς τε ἐσκυκλήσει πινύντι καὶ χρυσοῦς θρόνους, καὶ πονήσεις οὐδέν, ἀλλ' αὐτόματά σοι βαδιεῖται πάντα, τῆς δέ γε ἑτέρας, ὡς χαμευνεῖν μὲν ἐν αὐχμῷ προσήκει, γυμνὸν δέ, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, μοχθοῦντα φαίνεσθαι, ὃ δὲ μὴ πονήσαντί σοι ἀφίκετο, μήτε φίλον ἡγεῖσθαι μήτε ἡδύ, μηδὲ ἀλαζόνα εἶναι μηδὲ τύφου θηρατήν, ἀπέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ ὀνειράτων ὄψεις, ὁπόσαι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς αἴρουσιν. εἰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα αἱροῖο, καὶ δόξῃ ἀδαμαντίνῃ χρῷο μὴ ἀτιμάζων ἀλήθειαν, μηδὲ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν εὐτέλειαν παραιτούμενος, πολλοὺς μὲν ἠρηκέναι φήσεις λέοντας,

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

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πολλὰς δὲ ὕδρας ἐκτετμῆσθαί σοι Γηρυόνας τε καὶ Νέσσους καὶ ὁπόσοι ἐκείνου ἆθλοι, εἰ δὲ τὸ τῶν ἀγειρόντων ἀσπάσῃ, κολακεύσεις ὀφθαλμούς τε καὶ ὦτα, καὶ οὔτε σοφώτερος ἑτέρου δόξεις γενήσῃ τε ἆθλος ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου Γυμνοῦ."

XI

CHAP. XI

Ταῦτα εἰπόντος ἐστράφησαν ἐς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον πάντες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφ' αὐτόν, ὡς ἀντιλέξοι γιγνώσκοντες, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Θεσπεσίωνα θαυμάζοντες, ὅ τι ἀντερεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἐπαινέσας αὐτὸν τῆς εὐροίας καὶ τοῦ τόνου, "μή τι," ἔφη, "προστίθης;" "μὰ Δί'," εἶπεν, "εἴρηκα γάρ." τοῦ δ' αὖ ἐρομένου, "μὴ τῶν ἄλλων τις Αἰγυπτίων;" "πάντων," ἔφη, "δι' ἐμοῦ ἤκουσας." ἐπισχὼν οὖν ὀλίγον καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐρείσας ἐς τὰ εἰρημένα οὑτωσὶ ἔλεξεν· "ἡ μὲν Ἡρακλέους αἵρεσις, ἣν φησι Πρόδικος ἐν ἐφήβῳ ἑλέσθαι αὐτόν, ὑγιῶς τε ὑμῖν λέλεκται καὶ κατὰ τὸν φιλοσοφίας νοῦν, ὦ σοφοὶ Αἰγυπτίων, προσήκει δέ μοι οὐδέν· οὔτε γὰρ ξυμβούλους ὑμᾶς βίου ποιησόμενος ἥκω, πάλαι γε ᾐρημένος τὸν ἐμαυτῷ δόξαντα, πρεσβύτατός τε ὑμῶν πλὴν Θεσπεσίωνος ἀφιγμένος αὐτὸς ἂν μᾶλλον εἰκότως ξυνεβούλευον ὑμῖν σοφίας αἵρεσιν,

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

XI

CHAP. XI

Apollonius replies

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

Defends his life

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CAP. XI εἰ μήπω ἠρημένοις ἐνέτυχον. ὧν δ' ὅμως τηλικόσδε καὶ σοφίας ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ἀφιγμένος, οὐκ ὀκνήσω λογισταῖς ὑμῖν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ βουλῆς χρήσασθαι διδάσκων, ὡς ὀρθῶς εἰλόμην ταῦτα, ὧν μήπω βελτίω ἐπὶ νοῦν ἦλθέ μοι. κατιδὼν γάρ τι ἐν Πυθαγόρου μέγα καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ σοφίας ἀῤῥήτου μὴ μόνον γιγνώσκοι ἑαυτόν, ὅστις εἴη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις γένοιτο, βωμῶν τε ὡς καθαρὸς ἅψαιτο καὶ ὡς ἀχράντῳ μὲν ἐμψύχου βρώσεως γαστρὶ χρήσαιτο, καθαρῷ δὲ σώματι πάντων ἐσθημάτων, ὁπόσα θνησειδίων ξύγκειται, γλῶττάν τε ὡς πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ξυνέσχε βοῦν ἐπ' αὐτῇ σιωπῆς εὑρὼν δόγμα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην φιλοσοφίαν ὡς χρησμῴδη καὶ ἀληθῆ κατεστήσατο, ἔδραμον ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου δόξας, οὐ μίαν σοφίαν ἐκ δυοῖν ἑλόμενος, ὡς σύ, βέλτιστε Θεσπεσίων, ξυμβουλεύεις. παραστήσασα γάρ μοι φιλοσοφία τὰς ἑαυτῆς δόξας, ὁπόσαι εἰσί, περιβαλοῦσά τε αὐταῖς κόσμον, ὃς ἑκάστῃ οἰκεῖος, ἐκέλευσεν ἐς αὐτὰς βλέπειν καὶ ὑγιῶς αἱρεῖσθαι· ὥρα μὲν οὖν σεμνή τε ἁπασῶν ἦν καὶ θεία, καὶ κατέμυσεν ἄν τις πρὸς ἑνίας αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως, ἐμοὶ δὲ εἱστήκει τὸ ὄμμα ἐς πάσας, καὶ γάρ με καὶ παρεθάῤῥυνον αὐταὶ προσαγόμεναί τε καὶ προκηρύττουσαι, ὁπόσα δώσουσιν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ μέν τις αὐτῶν οὐδὲν μοχθήσαντι πολὺν ἐπαντλήσειν ἔφασκεν ἡδονῶν ἐσμόν, ἡ δ' αὖ μοχθήσαντα ἀνα-

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

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CAP. XI παύσειν, ἡ δ' ἐγκαταμίξειν εὐφροσύνας τῷ μόχθῳ, πανταχοῦ δὲ ἡδοναὶ διεφαίνοντο, καὶ ἄνετοι μὲν ἡνίαι γαστρός, ἑτοίμη δὲ χεὶρ ἐς πλοῦτον, χαλινὸς δὲ οὐδεὶς ὀμμάτων, ἀλλ' ἔρωτές τε καὶ ἵμεροι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάθη ξυνεχωρεῖτο, μία δὲ αὐτῶν ἴσχειν μὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἐκόμπαζε, θρασεῖα δὲ ἦν καὶ φιλολοίδορος καὶ ἀπηγκωνισμένη πάντα· εἶδον σοφίας εἶδος ἄρρητον, οὗ καὶ Πυθαγόρας ποτὲ ἠττήθη, καὶ εἱστήκει δὲ ἄρα οὐκ ἐν ταῖς πολλαῖς, ἀλλ' ἀπετέτακτο αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσιώπα, ξυνεῖσα δέ, ὡς ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις οὐ ξυντίθεμαι, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνης οὔπω οἶδα, "μειράκιον," εἶπεν, "ἀηδὴς ἐγὼ καὶ μεστὴ πόνων· εἰ γὰρ ἀφίκοιτό τις ἐς ἦθη τὰ ἐμά, τράπεζαν μέν, ὁπόση ἐμψύχων, ἀνῃρῆσθαι πᾶσαν ἂν ἔλοιτο, οἴνου δὲ ἐκλελῆσθαι καὶ τὸν σοφίας μὴ ἐπιθολοῦν κρατῆρα, ὃς ἐν ταῖς ἀοίνοις ψυχαῖς ἕστηκεν, οὐδὲ χλαῖνα θάλψει αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ἔριον, ὃ ἀπ' ἐμψύχου ἐπέχθη, ὑπόδημα δὲ αὐτοῖς βύβλου δίδωμι καὶ καθεύδειν ὡς ἔτυχε, κἂν ἀφροδισίων ἡττηθέντας αἴσθωμαι, βάραθρά ἐστί μοι, καθ' ὧν σοφίας ὀπαδὸς δίκη φέρει τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ὠθεῖ, χαλεπὴ δ' οὕτως ἐγὼ τοῖς τἀμὰ αἱρουμένοις, ὡς καὶ δεσμὰ γλώττης ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔχειν. ἃ δ' ἐστί σοι καρτερήσαντι ταῦτα, ἐμοῦ μάθε· σωφροσύνη μὲν καὶ δικαιοσύνη αὐτόθεν, ζηλωτὸν δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι

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

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CAP. XI

μηδένα, τυράννοις τε φοβερὸν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι, θεοῖς τε ἡδίω φαίνεσθαι μικρὰ θύσαντα ἢ οἱ προχέοντες αὐτοῖς τὸ τῶν ταύρων αἷμα, καθαρῷ δὲ ὄντι σοι καὶ προγιγνώσκειν δώσω, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οὕτω τι ἐμπλήσω ἀκτῖνος, ὡς διαγιγνώσκειν μὲν θεόν, γιγνώσκειν δὲ ἥρωα, σκιοειδῆ δ' ἐλέγχειν φαντάσματα, ὅτε ψεύδοιντο εἴδη ἀνθρώπων." ἥδε μοι βίου αἵρεσις, ὦ σοφοὶ Αἰγυπτίων, ἣν ὑγιῶς τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν Πυθαγόραν ἑλόμενος οὔτε ἐψευσάμην οὔτε ἐψεύσθην, ἐγενόμην μὲν γὰρ ἃ χρὴ τὸν φιλοσοφήσαντα, φιλοσοφοῦντι δὲ ὁπόσα δώσειν ἔφη, πάντ' ἔχω. ἐφιλοσόφησα γὰρ ὑπὲρ γενέσεως τῆς τέχνης καὶ ὁπόθεν αὐτῆς αἱ ἀρχαί, καί μοι ἔδοξεν ἀνδρῶν εἶναι περιττῶν τὰ θεῖα ψυχήν τε ἄριστα ἐσκεμμένων, ἧς τὸ ἀθάνατόν τε καὶ ἀγέννητον πηγαὶ γενέσεως.

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

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

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

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CAP. XI γεσθε ὑπερφυῶς εἰδέναι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ διῄειν ταῦτα, ὁ δὲ ἐφιστάς με, "εἰ τῶν ἐρώντων," εἶπεν, "ἐτύγχανες ὢν ἢ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐχόντων τοῦ ἐρᾶν, εἶτα μειρακίῳ καλῷ ἐντυχὼν καὶ ἀγασθεὶς αὐτὸ τῆς ὥρας, σὺ δὲ καὶ ὅτου εἵη παῖς ἐζήτεις, ἦν δὲ ὁ μὲν ἱπποτρόφου καὶ στρατηγοῦ πατρὸς καὶ χορηγοὶ οἱ πάπποι, σὺ δ' αὐτὸν τριηράρχου τινὸς ἢ φυλάρχου ἐκάλεις, ἆρά γ' ἂν οἴει προσάγεσθαι τὰ παιδικὰ τούτοις, ἢ κἂν ἀηδὴς δόξαι μὴ πατρόθεν ὀνομάζων τὸ μειράκιον, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐκφύλου σπορᾶς καὶ νόθου; σοφίας οὖν ἐρῶν, ἣν Ἰνδοὶ εὗρον, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν φύσει πατέρων ὀνομάζεις αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν θέσει, καὶ δίδως τι μεῖζον Αἰγυπτίοις, ἢ εἰ πάλιν αὐτοῖς, ὡς αὐτοὶ ᾄδουσι, μέλιτι ξυγκεκραμένος ἀναβαίη ὁ Νεῖλος;" ταῦτά με πρὸ ὑμῶν ἐπ' Ἰνδοὺς ἔτρεψεν ἐνθυμηθέντα περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς λεπτότεροι μὲν τὴν ξύνεσιν οἱ τοιοίδε ἄνθρωποι καθαρωτέραις ὁμιλοῦντες ἀκτῖσιν, ἀληθέστεροι δὲ τὰς περὶ φύσεώς τε καὶ θεῶν δόξας, ἅτε ἀγχίθεοι καὶ πρὸς ἀρχαῖς τῆς ζῳογόνου καὶ θερμῆς οὐσίας οἰκοῦντες· ἐντυχών τε αὐτοῖς ἔπαθόν τι πρὸς τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τῶν

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CHAP. XI

Defends the originality and wisdom of the Brahmans

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

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CAP. XI

ἀνδρῶν, ὁποῖον λέγονται πρὸς τὴν Αἰσχύλου σοφίαν παθεῖν Ἀθηναῖοι· ποιητὴς μὲν γὰρ οὗτος τραγῳδίας ἐγένετο, τὴν τέχνην δὲ ὁρῶν ἀκατάσκευόν τε καὶ μήπω κεκοσμημένην, εἰ μὲν ξυνέστειλε τοὺς χοροὺς ἀποτάδην ὄντας, ἢ τὰς τῶν ὑποκριτῶν ἀντιλέξεις εὗρε, παραιτησάμενος τὸ τῶν μονῳδιῶν μῆκος, ἢ τὸ ὑπὸ σκηνῆς ἀποθνήσκειν ἐπενόησεν, ὡς μὴ ἐν φανερῷ σφάττοι, σοφίας μὲν μηδὲ ταῦτα ἀπηλλάχθω, δοκείτω δὲ κἂν ἑτέρῳ παρασχεῖν ἔννοιαν ἧττον δεξιῷ τὴν ποίησιν· ὁ δ' ἐνθυμηθεὶς μὲν ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἐπάξιον τοῦ τραγῳδίαν ποιεῖν φθέγγοιτο, ἐνθυμηθεὶς δὲ καὶ τὴν τέχνην, ὡς προσφυᾶ τῷ μεγαλείῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ καταβεβλημένῳ τε καὶ ὑπὸ πόδα, σκευοποιίας μὲν ἥψατο εἰκασμένης τοῖς τῶν ἡρώων εἴδεσιν, ὀκρίβαντος δὲ τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς ἐνεβίβασεν, ὡς ἴσα ἐκείνοις βαίνοιεν, ἐσθήμασί τε πρῶτος ἐκόσμησεν, ἃ πρόσφορον ἥρωσί τε καὶ ἡρωίσιν ᾐσθῆσθαι· ὅθεν Ἀθηναῖοι πατέρα μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς τραγῳδίας ἡγοῦντο, ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ τεθνεῶτα ἐς Διονύσια, τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου ψηφισαμένων ἀνεδιδάσκετο καὶ ἐνίκα ἐκ καινῆς· καίτοι τραγῳδίας μὲν εὖ κεκοσμημένης ὀλίγη χάρις, εὐφραίνει γὰρ ἐν σμικρῷ τῆς ἡμέρας, ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν Διονυσίων ὥρα, φιλοσοφίας δὲ ξυγκειμένης

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

CHAP. XI

Comparing them with Aeschylus

[1] or "reduced in size the unduly large choruses."

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CAP. XI

μέν, ὡς Πυθαγόρας ἐδικαίωσεν, ὑποθειαζούσης δέ, ὡς πρὸ Πυθαγόρου Ἰνδοί, οὐκ ἐς βραχὺν χρόνον ἡ χάρις, ἀλλ' ἐς ἄπειρόν τε καὶ ἀριθμοῦ πλείω. οὐ δὴ ἀπεικός τι παθεῖν μοι δοκῶ φιλοσοφίας ἡττηθεὶς εὖ κεκοσμημένης, ἣν ἐς τὸ πρόσφορον Ἰνδοὶ στείλαντες ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς τε καὶ θείας μηχανῆς ἐκκυκλοῦσιν· ὡς δὲ ἐν δίκῃ μὲν ἠγάσθην αὐτούς, ἐν δίκῃ δὲ ἡγοῦμαι σοφούς τε καὶ μακαρίους, ὥρα μανθάνειν· εἶδον ἄνδρας οἰκοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀτειχίστως τετειχισμένους, καὶ οὐδὲν κεκτημένους ἢ τὰ πάντων. εἰ δ' αἰνιγμάτων ἅπτομαι, σοφία Πυθαγόρου ξυγχωρεῖ ταῦτα, παρέδωκε γὰρ καὶ τὸ αἰνίττειν, διδάσκαλον εὑρὼν σιωπῆς λόγον· σοφίας δὲ ταύτης ἐγένεσθε μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ ξύμβουλοι χρόνον, ὃν τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἐπῃνεῖτε, Ἰνδοὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πάλαι ὄντες· ἐπεὶ δ' αἰδοῖ τοῦ λόγου, δι' ὃν ἐκ μηνιμάτων τῆς γῆς ἀφίκεσθε δεῦρο, ἕτεροι μᾶλλον ἐβούλεσθε δοκεῖν ἢ Αἰθίοπες οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν ἥκοντες, πάντα ὑμῖν ἐς τοῦτο ἐδρᾶτο. ὅθεν ἐγυμνώθητε μὲν σκευῆς, ὁπόση ἐκεῖθεν, ὥσπερ ξυναποδυόμενοι τὸ Αἰθίοπες εἶναι, θεοὺς δὲ θεραπεύειν

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CHAP. XI

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

Describes the Brahmans who were teachers of the naked sages

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CAP. XI ἐψηφίσασθε τὸν Αἰγύπτιον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑμέτερον τρόπον, ἐς λόγους τε οὐκ ἐπιτηδείους ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν κατέστητε, ὥσπερ οὐκ αὐτοὶ διαβεβλημένοι τῷ ἀφ' οἵων διαβεβλῆσθαι ἥκειν· καὶ οὐδὲ μετερρύθμισθέ πώ γε τοῦτο, οἳ καὶ τήμερον ἐπίδειξιν αὐτοῦ πεποίησθε φιλολοίδορόν τε καὶ ἰαμβώδη, χρηστὸν οὐδὲν ἐπιτηδεύειν Ἰνδοὺς φάσκοντες, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκπλήξεις καὶ ἀγωγάς, καὶ τὰς μὲν ὀφθαλμῶν, τὰς δὲ ὤτων, σοφίαν δὲ οὔπω ἐμὴν εἰδότες ἀναίσθητοι φαίνεσθε τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῇ δόξης, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ μὲν λέξω οὐδέν, εἴην γάρ, ὅ με Ἰνδοὶ ἡγοῦνται, Ἰνδῶν δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρῶ ἅπτεσθαι. ἀλλ' εἰ μέν τις ὑγιῶς καὶ ὑμᾶς ἔχει σοφία Ἱμεραίου ἀνδρός,[1] ὃς ᾄδων ἐς τὴν Ἑλένην ἐναντίον τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ παλινῳδίαν αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτυμος ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἤδη καὶ αὐτοὺς ὥρα λέγειν, ἀμείνω τῆς νῦν παρεστηκυίας μεταλαβόντας περὶ αὐτῶν δόξαν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄμουσοι πρὸς παλινῳδίαν ὑμεῖς, ἀλλὰ φείδεσθαί γε χρὴ ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἀξιοῦντες θεοὶ τῶν αὐτοῖς ὄντων οὐδὲ ἑαυτοὺς ἀπαξιοῦσιν ὧν ἐκεῖνοι πέπανται. διῆλθές τινα, Θεσπεσίων, καὶ περὶ τῆς Πυθοῦς λόγον ὡς ἁπλῶς τε καὶ ἀκατασκεύως χρώσης, καὶ παράδειγμα ἐγένετό σοι τοῦ λόγου νεὼς κηροῦ καὶ πτε-

[1] The reference is to Stesichorus.

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

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

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CAP. XI

ρῶν ξυντεθείς· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀκατάσκευα μὲν δοκεῖ οὐδὲ ταῦτα, τὸ γὰρ

ξυμφέρετε πτερά τ' οἰωνοὶ κηρόν τε μέλιτται

κατασκευαζομένου ἦν οἶκον καὶ οἴκου σχῆμα, ὁ δ', οἶμαι, μικρὰ ταῦτα ἡγούμενος καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας ἥττω, καὶ ἄλλου ἐδεήθη νεὼ καὶ ἄλλου καὶ μεγάλων ἤδη καὶ ἑκατομπέδων, ἑνὸς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ χρυσᾶς ἴυγγας ἀνάψαι λέγεται Σειρήνων τινὰ ἐπεχούσας πειθώ, ξυνελέξατό τε τὰ εὐδοκιμώτατα τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐς τὴν Πυθὼ κόσμου ἕνεκα, καὶ οὔτ' ἀγαλματοποιίαν ἀπήλασεν ἀπάγουσαν αὐτῷ κολοσσοὺς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοὺς μὲν θεῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπων, τοὺς δὲ ἵππων τε καὶ ταύρων καὶ ἑτέρων ζῴων, οὔτε Γλαῦκον μετὰ τοῦ ὑποκρατηριδίου ἥκοντα, οὔτε τὴν ἁλισκομένην Ἰλίου ἀκρόπολιν ἣν Πολύγνωτος ἐκεῖ γράφει. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸν χρυσόν γε τὸν Λύδιον καλλώπισμα τῆς Πυθοῦς ἡγεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐσήγετο, ἐνδεικνύμενος, οἶμαι, αὐτοῖς τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πλοῦτον, ἵνα γλίχοιντο ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ διαπορθεῖν τὰ ἀλλήλων, τὸν δὲ δὴ Ἕλληνά τε καὶ προσφυᾶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σοφίᾳ τρόπον κατεσκευάζετο καὶ ἠγλάιζε τούτῳ τὴν Πυθώ. ἡγοῦμαι δὲ αὐτὸν κόσμου ἕνεκα καὶ ἐς μέτρα ἐμβιβάζειν τοὺς χρησμούς. εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο ἐπεδείκνυτο, τοιάσδε ἂν τὰς

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even this was devoid of pomp, for we have the line: CHAP. XI

'Oh birds bring hither your wings, and bees your wax.'

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

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CAP. XI

ἀποκρίσεις ἐποιεῖτο· δρᾷ τὸ δεῖνα ἢ μὴ δρᾷ, καὶ ἴθι ἢ μὴ ἴθι, καὶ ποιοῦ ξυμμάχους ἢ μὴ ποιοῦ, βραχέα γάρ που ταῦτα, ἤ, ὥς φατε ὑμεῖς, γυμνά, ὁ δ' ἵνα μεγαλορρήμων τε φαίνοιτο καὶ ἡδίων τοῖς ἐρωτῶσι, ποιητικὴν ἡρμόσατο, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ εἶναι, ὅ τι μὴ οἶδεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ψάμμον εἰδέναι[1] φησίν, ὁπόση, ἀριθμήσας αὐτήν, καὶ τὰ τῆς θαλάττης μέτρα ξυνειληφέναι πάντα.

Ἡ καὶ ταῦτα τερατολογίᾳ προσγράφεις, ἐπειδὴ σοβαρῶς αὐτὰ ὁ Ἀπόλλων καὶ ξὺν φρονήματι ὀρθῷ φράζει; εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀχθέσῃ, Θεσπεσίων, τῷ λόγῳ, γρᾶες ἀνημμέναι κόσκινα φοιτῶσιν ἐπὶ ποιμένας, ὅτε δὲ καὶ βουκόλους, ἰώμεναι τὰ νοσοῦντα τῶν θρεμμάτων μαντικῇ, ὥς φασιν, ἀξιοῦσι δὲ σοφαὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι καὶ σοφώτεραι ἢ οἱ ἀτεχνῶς μάντεις· τοῦτό μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς παρὰ τὴν Ἰνδῶν σοφίαν φαίνεσθε, οἱ μὲν γὰρ θεῖοί τέ εἰσι καὶ κεκόσμηνται κατὰ τὴν Πυθίαν, ὑμεῖς δέ—ἀλλ' οὐδὲν εἰρήσεται περαιτέρω, εὐφημία γὰρ φίλη μὲν ἐμοί, φίλη δὲ Ἰνδοῖς, ἣν ἀσπαζοίμην ὡς ὀπαδὸν ἅμα καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς γλώττης, τὰ μὲν ἐμαυτῷ δυνατὰ θηρεύων ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἔρωτι, ὅ τι δὲ μὴ ἐφικτὸν εἴη μοι, καταλείπων αὐτὸ ἄχραντον ψόγου. σὺ δὲ Ὁμήρου μὲν

[1] The reference is to Herodotus, Book I. p. 11.

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

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

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CAP. XI

ἐν Κυκλωπίᾳ ἀκούων, ὡς ἡ γῆ τοὺς ἀγριωτάτους καὶ ἀνομωτάτους ἄσπορος καὶ ἀνήροτος ἐστιᾷ, χαίρεις τῷ λόγῳ, κἂν Ἡδωνοί τινες ἢ Λυδοὶ βακχεύωσιν, οὐκ ἀπιστεῖς, ὡς γάλακτος αὐτοῖς καὶ οἴνου πηγὰς δώσει καὶ ποτιεῖ τούτους, τοὺς δὲ σοφίας ἀπάσης βάκχους ἀφαιρήσῃ δῶρα αὐτόματα παρὰ τῆς γῆς ἥκοντα; τρίποδες δὲ αὐτόματοι καὶ ἐς τὰ ξυμπόσια τῶν θεῶν φοιτῶσι, καὶ ὁ Ἄρης ἀμαθής περ ὢν καὶ ἐχθρὸς οὔπω τὸν Ἥφαιστον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γέγραπται, οὐδ' ἔστιν, ὡς ἤκουσάν ποτε οἱ θεοὶ τοιαύτης γραφῆς· ἀδικεῖς, Ἥφαιστε, κοσμῶν τὸ ξυμπόσιον τῶν θεῶν καὶ περιιστὰς αὐτῷ θαύματα, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς δμωαῖς αἰτίαν ποτὲ ἔσχε ταῖς χρυσαῖς, ὡς παραφθείρων τὰς ὕλας, ἐπειδὴ τὸν χρυσὸν ἔμπνουν ἐποίει, κόσμου γὰρ ἐπιμελήσεται τέχνη πᾶσα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εἶναι τέχνας ὑπὲρ κόσμου εὕρηται. ἀνυποδησία δὲ καὶ τρίβων καὶ πήραν ἀνῆφθαι κόσμου εὕρημα· καὶ γὰρ τὸ γυμνοῦσθαι, καθάπερ ὑμεῖς, ἔοικε μὲν ἀκατασκεύῳ τε καὶ λιτῷ σχήματι, ἐπιτετήδευται δὲ ὑπὲρ κόσμου καὶ οὐδὲ ἄπεστιν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἑτέρῳ φασὶ τύφῳ. τὰ δὲ Ἡλίου τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν πάτρια καὶ ὅπῃ χαίρει θεραπευόμενος ἐχέτω τὸν αὐτῶν νόμον, θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ χθόνιοι βόθρους ἀσπάσονται καὶ τὰ ἐν κοίλῃ τῇ γῇ δρώμενα, Ἡλίου δὲ

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

CHAP XI

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CAP. XI

ἀὴρ ὄχημα, καὶ δεῖ τοὺς προσφόρως ᾄσομένους αὐτὸν ἀπὸ γῆς αἴρεσθαι καὶ ξυμμετεωροπολεῖν τῷ θεῷ· τοῦτο δὲ βούλονται μὲν πάντες, δύνανται δὲ Ἰνδοὶ μόνοι."

XII

CAP. XII

Ἀναπνεῦσαι ὁ Δάμις ἑαυτόν φησιν, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου λόγων οὕτω διατεθῆναι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ὡς τὸν Θεσπεσίωνα μὲν καίτοι μέλανα ὄντα κατάδηλον εἶναι, ὅτι ἐρυθριᾷ, φαίνεσθαι δέ τινα καὶ περὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔκπληξιν ἐφ' οἷς ἐρρωμένως τε καὶ ξὺν εὐροίᾳ διαλεγομένου ἤκουσαν, τὸν νεώτατον δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Νεῖλος, καὶ ἀναπηδῆσαί φησιν ὑπὸ θαύματος, μεταστάντα τε πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ξυμβαλεῖν τε αὐτῷ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ δεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τὰς ξυνουσίας, αἳ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰνδούς, φράζειν. τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον, "σοὶ μὲν οὐδενὸς ἄν," φάναι, "βασκήναιμι ἐγὼ λόγου, φιλικόῳ τε, ὡς ὁρῶ, τυγχάνοντι καὶ σοφίαν ἀσπαζομένῳ πᾶσαν," Θεσπεσίωνι δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος λῆρον τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἡγεῖται, μὴ ἂν ἐπαντλῆσαι τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν λόγους· ὅθεν ὁ Θεσπεσίων, "εἰ δὲ ἔμπορος," εἶπεν, "ἢ ναύκληρος ἦσθα καί τινα ἡμῖν ἀπῆγες ἐκεῖθεν φόρτον, ἆρα ἂν ἠξίους, ἐπειδὴ ἀπ' Ἰνδῶν οὗτος, ἀδοκίμαστον αὐτὸν διατίθεσθαι καὶ μήτε γεῦμα παρέχειν αὐτοῦ μήτε δεῖγμα;" ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "παρειχόμην ἄν," εἶπε, "τοῖς γε χρῄζουσιν, εἰ δ' ἤκων τις

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

XII

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

Nilus, the youngest of the Naked Sages, goes over to Apollonius

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CAP. XII ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν καταπεπλευκυίας ἄρτι τῆς νεώς, ἐλοιδορεῖτο τῷ φόρτῳ καὶ διέβαλλε μὲν αὐτὸν ὡς ἥκοντα ἐκ γῆς, ἣ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς φέρει, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐπέπληττεν ὡς οὐχ ὑπὲρ σπουδαίων ἀγωγίμων πλεύσαντι, τούς τε ἄλλους ἔπειθεν οὕτω φρονεῖν, ἆρ' ἄν σοι δοκεῖ τις καταπλεύσας ἐς τοιόνδε λιμένα βαλέσθαι τινὰ ἄγκυραν ἢ πεῖσμα, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἀνασείσας τὰ ἱστία μετεωρίσαι ἂν τὴν ναῦν ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνέμοις ἐπιτρέψας τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἥδιόν γε ἢ ἀκρίτοις τε καὶ ἀξένοις ἤθεσιν;" "ἀλλ' ἐγώ," ἔφη ὁ Νεῖλος, "λαμβάνομαι τῶν πεισμάτων καὶ ἀντιβολῶ σε, ναύκληρε, κοινωνῆσαί μοι τῆς ἐμπορίας, ἣν ἄγεις, καὶ ξυνεμβαίην ἄν σοι τὴν ναῦν περίνεώς τε καὶ μνήμων τοῦ σοῦ φόρτου."

XIII

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

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

XIII

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

Apollonius rebuts the calumnies of Euphrates

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CAP. XIII

χρημάτων δὲ ἀπάγων αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπαινεῖν τὸ ἐξ ἅπαντος κέρδος, οὔτ' ἐπιτήδεια ξυμβουλεύειν ἔδοξα οὔτε ἐκείνῳ δυνατά, καὶ ἔλεγχον δὲ ἡγεῖται ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἀνίησιν ἀεί τι κατ' ἐμοῦ ξυντιθείς. ἐπεὶ δὲ πιθανὸς ὑμῖν ἔδοξε τοὐμὸν διαβάλλειν ἦθος, ἐνθυμεῖσθε, ὡς προτέρους ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ διέβαλεν· ἐμοὶ γὰρ κίνδυνοι μὲν καὶ περὶ τὸν διαβεβλησόμενον οὐ σμικροὶ φαίνονται, μισήσεται γάρ που ἀδικῶν οὐδέν, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ κινδύνων οὐδ' οἱ τῶν διαβολῶν ἀκροασόμενοι δοκοῦσιν, εἰ πρῶτον μὲν ἀλῴσονται ψευδολογίαν τιμῶντες καὶ ἀξιοῦντες αὐτὴν ὥνπερ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἶτα κουφότητα καὶ εὐαγωγίαν — ἥττᾶσθαι δὲ τούτων καὶ μειρακίῳ αἰσχρόν — φθονεροί τε δόξουσι διδάσκαλον ἀκοῆς ἀδίκου ποιούμενοι τὸν φθόνον, αὐτοί τε μᾶλλον ἔνοχοι ταῖς διαβολαῖς, ἃς ἐφ' ἑτέρων ἀληθεῖς ἡγοῦνται, αἱ γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεις ἑτοιμότεραι δρᾶν, ἃ μὴ ἀπιστοῦσι. μὴ τυραννεύσειεν ἀνὴρ ἕτοιμος ταῦτα, μηδὲ προσταίη δήμου, τυραννὶς γὰρ καὶ ἡ δημοκρατία ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔσται, μηδὲ δικάσειεν, ὑπὲρ μηδενὸς γὰρ γνώσεται, μηδὲ ναυκληρήσειεν, ἡ γὰρ ναῦς στασιάσει, μηδὲ ἄρξειε στρατοῦ, τὸ γὰρ ἀντίξοον εὖ πράξει, μηδὲ φιλοσοφήσειεν οὕτως ἔχων, οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τἀληθὲς δοξάσει. ὑμᾶς δὲ Εὐφράτης

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

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CAP. XIII ἀφῆρηται καὶ τὸ σοφοὺς εἶναι, οὓς γὰρ ψεύδει ὑπηγάγετο, πῶς ἂν οὗτοι σοφίας αὑτοὺς ἀξιώσειαν, ἧς ἀπέστησαν τῷ τὰ μὴ πιθανὰ πείσαντι;" διαπραΰνων δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Θεσπεσίων, "ἅλις Εὐφράτου," ἔφη, "καὶ μικροψύχων λόγων, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ διαλλακταὶ γενοίμεθά σοι τε κἀκείνῳ, σοφὸν ἡγούμενοι καὶ τὸ διαιτᾶν σοφοῖς. πρὸς δὲ ὑμᾶς," εἶπε, "τίς διαλλάξει με; χρὴ γάρ που καταψευσθέντα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ψεύδους." * * *[1] "ἐχέτω οὕτως," ἦ δ' ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "καὶ σπουδῆς ἁπτώμεθα, τουτὶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς διαλλάξει μᾶλλον."

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

[1] There seems a lacuna here in the text.

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

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CHAP. XIV

Nilus persuades Apollonius to relate his Indian experiences

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

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CAP. XV

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

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Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδείπνησαν, "ἐγώ," ἦ δ' ὁ Νεῖλος, "τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐστρατευόμην ὁμοῦ τοῖς Γυμνοῖς, οἷον ψιλοῖς τισιν ἢ σφενδονήταις ἐκείνοις ἐμαυτὸν

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CHAP. XV

Nilus defends his adhesion to Apollonius

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

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

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ξυντάττων, νυνὶ δὲ ὁπλιτεύσω καὶ κοσμήσει με ἡ ἀσπὶς ἡ σή." "ἀλλ' οἶμαί σε," εἶπεν, "Αἰγύπτιε, παρὰ Θεσπεσίωνί τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔξειν αἰτίαν, ἐφ' οἷς οὐδὲ ἐς ἔλεγχον ἡμῶν καταστὰς πλείω, σὺ δ' ἑτοιμότερον ἢ ξυγχωρεῖ βίου αἵρεσις, ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα ἤθη ἀφήσεις." "οἶμαι," ἔφη, "εἰ δ' αἰτία ἐλομένου ἔσται τις, τάχα καὶ μὴ ἐλομένου αἰτία καὶ ἁλώσονται μᾶλλον ἅπερ ἐγὼ ἑλόμενοι· τὸ γὰρ πρεσβυτέρους ὁμοῦ καὶ σοφωτέρους ὄντας μὴ πάλαι ᾐρῆσθαι, ἅπερ ἐγὼ νῦν, δικαίαν αἰτίαν κατ' ἐκείνων ἔχοι ἂν μᾶλλον οὕτω πλεονεκτοῦντας μὴ ἐς τὸ βέλτιον ἑλέσθαι, ὅ τι χρήσονται." "οὐκ ἀγεννῆ μέν, ὦ νεανίσκε, λόγον εἴρηκας· ὅρα δέ, μὴ αὐτῷ τῷ οὕτω μὲν σοφίας, οὕτω δὲ ἡλικίας ἔχειν ἐκεῖνά γε ὀρθῶς ᾐρημένοι φαίνωνται[1] ταῦτά τε ξὺν εἰκότι λόγῳ παραιτούμενοι, σύ τε θρασυτέρου λόγου δοκῇς ἅπτεσθαι καθιστὰς μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἢ ἐκείνοις ἑπόμενος." ὑποστρέψας δὲ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου δόξαν, "ἃ μὲν εἰκὸς ἦν," ἔφη, "πρεσβυτέροις ὁμαρτεῖν νέον, οὐ παρεῖταί μοι, σοφίαν γὰρ ὁπότ' ᾤμην εἶναι περὶ τοὺς

[1] Kayser reads *φαίνονται*, yet retains *δοκῇς* just below.

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

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Nilus quits the naked Sages to join Apollonius

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ἄνδρας, ἣν οὐκ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπάρχειν, προσεποίησα ἐμαυτὸν τούτοις, πρόφασις δέ μοι τῆς ὁρμῆς ἥδε ἐγένετο· ἔπλευσέ ποτε ὁ πατὴρ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἐκών, ἦρχε δὲ ἄρα τῆς νεώς, ἣν Αἰγύπτιοι στέλλουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος, ἐπιμίξας δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Ἰνδοῖς διεκόμισε λόγους περὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ σοφῶν ἀγχοῦ τούτων, οὓς πρὸς ἡμᾶς διῆλθες· ἀκούων δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοιουτονί τινα λόγον, ὡς σοφώτατοι μὲν ἀνθρώπων Ἰνδοί, ἄποικοι δὲ Ἰνδῶν Αἰθίοπες, πατρῴζουσι δὲ οὗτοι τὴν σοφίαν καὶ πρὸς τὰ οἴκοι βλέπουσι, μειράκιον γενόμενος τὰ μὲν πατρῷα τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀφῆκα, γυμνὸς δὲ Γυμνοῖς ἐπεφοίτησα τούτοις, ὡς μαθησόμενος τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἢ ἀδελφά γε ἐκείνων, καί μοι ἐφαίνοντο σοφοὶ μέν, οὐ μὴν ἐκεῖνα, ἐμοῦ δ' αὐτοὺς ἐρομένου, τοῦ χάριν οὐ τὰ Ἰνδῶν φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἐκείνων μὲν ἐς διαβολὰς κατέστησαν παραπλησίως ταῖς πρὸς σὲ εἰρημέναις τήμερον, ἐμὲ δὲ νέον ἔτι, ὡς ὁρᾷς, ὄντα κατέλεξαν ἐς τὸ αὑτῶν κοινόν, δείσαντες, οἶμαι, μὴ ἀποπηδήσας αὐτῶν πλεύσαιμι ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθράν, ὥσπερ ποτὲ ὁ πατήρ, ὃ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἂν παρῆκα· προῆλθον γὰρ ἂν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ ὄχθου τῶν σοφῶν, εἰ μή σέ τις ἐνταῦθα θεῶν ἔστειλεν ἐμοὶ ἀρωγόν, ὡς μήτε

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

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CAP. XVI τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν πλεύσας μήτε πρὸς τοὺς Κολπίτας παραβαλόμενος σοφίας Ἰνδικῆς γευσαίμην, οὐ τήμερον βίου ποιησόμενος αἵρεσιν, ἀλλὰ πάλαι μὲν ἠρημένος, ἃ δὲ ᾤμην ἕξειν, οὐκ ἔχων. τί γὰρ δεινόν, εἰ ὁτουδὴ ἁμαρτών τις ἐπάνεισιν ἐφ' ὃ ἐθήρευεν; εἰ δὲ κἀκείνους ἐς τουτὶ μεταβιβάζοιμι καὶ γιγνοίμην αὐτοῖς ξύμβουλος ὢν ἐμαυτὸν πέπεικα, τί ἄν, εἰπέ μοι, θρασὺ πράττοιμι; οὔτε γὰρ ἡ νεότης ἀπελατέα τοῦ τι καὶ αὐτὴ βέλτιον ἐνθυμηθῆναι ἂν τοῦ γήρως, σοφίας τε ὅστις ἑτέρῳ γίγνεται ξύμβουλος, ἢν αὐτὸς ᾖρηται, διαφεύγει δήπου τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἃ πέπεισται πείθειν, τοῖς τε ἤκουσιν ἀγαθοῖς παρὰ τῆς τύχης ὅστις ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὰ χρῆται μόνος, ἀδικεῖ τἀγαθά, ἀφαιρεῖται γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ πλείοσιν ἡδίω φαίνεσθαι."

XVII

CAP. XVII Τοιαῦτα εἴραντος τοῦ Νείλου καὶ οὕτω νεανικὰ ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ δέ," εἶπεν, "οὐ διαλέξῃ μοι πρότερον σοφίας γε ἐρῶν τῆς ἐμῆς;" "διαλεγώμεθα," ἦ δ' ὁ Νεῖλος, "καὶ ὅ τι βούλει, αἴτει." "αἰτῶ σε," εἶπεν, "ἃ μὲν αὐτὸς εἶλου, ἠρῆσθαι, τοὺς δὲ Γυμνοὺς μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν ξυμβουλεύοντα ἃ μὴ πείσεις." "πείσομαι," ἔφη,

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

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CHAP. XVII

Apollonius prepares to visit the sources of the Nile

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

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"καὶ ὁμολογείσθω ὁ μισθός." ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐσπούδασαν, ἐρομένου δ' αὐτὸν μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Νείλου, πόσου χρόνου διατρίψοι περὶ τοὺς Γυμνούς, "ὁπόσου," ἔφη, "χρόνου ἀξία ἡ τῶνδε σοφία τῷ ξυνεσομένῳ σφίσιν, εἶτα ἐπὶ Καταδούπων τὴν ὁδὸν ποιησόμεθα τῶν πηγῶν ἕνεκα, χαρίεν γὰρ τὸ μὴ μόνον ἰδεῖν τὰς τοῦ Νείλου ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κελαδοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἀκοῦσαι."

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Ὧδε διαλεχθέντες καί τινων Ἰνδικῶν μνημονεύσαντες ἐκάθευδον ἐν τῇ πόᾳ, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσευξάμενοι τὰ εἰωθότα εἵποντο τῷ Νείλῳ παρὰ τὸν Θεσπεσίωνα αὐτοὺς ἄγοντι· προσειπόντες οὖν ἀλλήλους καὶ ξυνιζήσαντες ἐν τῷ ἄλσει διαλέξεως ἥπτοντο, ἦρχε δ' αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος· "ὡς μὲν γὰρ πολλοῦ," ἔφη, "ἄξιον τὸ μὴ κρύπτειν σοφίαν, δηλοῦσιν οἱ χθὲς λόγοι· διδαξαμένων γάρ με Ἰνδῶν, ὁπόσα τῆς ἐκείνων σοφίας ᾤμην προσήκειν ἐμοί, μέμνημαί τε τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ διδασκάλων καὶ περίειμι διδάσκων, ἃ ἐκείνων ἤκουσα, καὶ ὑμῖν δ' ἂν ἐν κέρδει γενοίμην, εἴ με καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν σοφίαν εἰδότα πέμποιτε, οὐ γὰρ ἂν παυσαίμην Ἕλλησί τε διιὼν τὰ ὑμέτερα καὶ Ἰνδοῖς γράφων."

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

XVIII

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

But first discusses with the naked sages the animal gods of Egypt.

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XIX

CAP. XIX "'Ερώτα," ἔφασαν, "ἕπεται γάρ που ἐρωτήσει λόγος." καὶ ὁ 'Απολλώνιος, "περὶ θεῶν," εἶπεν, "ὑμᾶς ἐρήσομαι πρῶτον, τί μαθόντες ἄτοπα καὶ γελοῖα θεῶν εἴδη παραδεδώκατε τοῖς δεῦρο ἀνθρώποις, πλὴν ὀλίγων· ὀλίγων γάρ; πάνυ μέντοι ὀλίγων, ἃ σοφῶς καὶ θεοειδῶς ἵδρυται, τὰ λοιπὰ δ' ὑμῶν ἱερὰ ζῴων ἀλόγων καὶ ἀδόξων τιμαὶ μᾶλλον ἢ θεῶν φαίνονται." δυσχεράνας δὲ ὁ Θεσπεσίων, "τὰ δὲ παρ' ὑμῖν," εἶπεν, "ἀγάλματα πῶς ἱδρῦσθαι φήσεις;" "ὥς γε," ἔφη, "κάλλιστόν τε καὶ θεοφιλέστατον δημιουργεῖν θεούς." "τὸν Δία που λέγεις," εἶπε, "τὸν ἐν τῇ 'Ολυμπίᾳ καὶ τὸ τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς ἔδος καὶ τὸ τῆς Κνιδίας τε καὶ τὸ τῆς 'Αργείας καὶ ὁπόσα ὧδε καλὰ καὶ μεστὰ ὥρας." "οὐ μόνον," ἔφη, "ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθάπαξ τὴν μὲν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαλματοποιίαν ἅπτεσθαί φημι τοῦ προσήκοντος, ὑμᾶς δὲ καταγελᾶν τοῦ θείου μᾶλλον ἢ νομίζειν αὐτό." "οἱ Φειδίαι δέ," εἶπε, "καὶ οἱ Πραξιτέλεις μῶν ἀνελθόντες ἐς οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀπομαξάμενοι τὰ τῶν θεῶν εἴδη τέχνην αὐτὰ ἐποιοῦντο, ἢ ἕτερόν τι ἦν, ὃ ἐφίστη αὐτοὺς τῷ πλάττειν;" "ἕτερον," ἔφη,

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XIX

CHAP. XIX Apollonius attacks the brutish gods of Egypt

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

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

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

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CAP. XIX τί ἐν τούτοις; τοὺς γὰρ ἐπιόρκους καὶ τοὺς ἱεροσύλους καὶ τὰ βωμολόχα ἔθνη καταφρονεῖν τῶν τοιούτων ἱερῶν εἰκὸς μᾶλλον ἢ δεδιέναι αὐτά, εἰ δὲ σεμνότερα ταῦτα ὑπονοούμενα, πολλῷ σεμνότερον ἂν ἔπραττον οἱ θεοὶ κατ' Αἴγυπτον, εἰ μὴ ἵδρυτό τι αὐτῶν ἄγαλμα, ἀλλ' ἕτερον τρόπον σοφώτερόν τε καὶ ἀπορρητότερον τῇ θεολογίᾳ ἐχρῆσθε· ἦν γάρ που νεὼς μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐξοικοδομῆσαι καὶ βωμοὺς ὁρίζειν καὶ ἃ χρὴ θύειν καὶ ἃ μὴ χρὴ καὶ ὁπηνίκα καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ ὅ τι λέγοντας ἢ δρῶντας, ἄγαλμα δὲ μὴ ἐσφέρειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ εἴδη τῶν θεῶν καταλείπειν τοῖς τὰ ἱερὰ ἐσφοιτῶσιν, ἀναγράφει γάρ τι ἡ γνώμη καὶ ἀνατυποῦται δημιουργίας κρεῖττον, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀφῄρησθε τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὸ ὁρᾶσθαι καλῶς καὶ τὸ ὑπονοεῖσθαι." πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Θεσπεσίων, "ἐγένετό τις," ἔφη, "Σωκράτης Ἀθηναῖος ἀνόητος, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, γέρων, ὃς τὸν κύνα καὶ τὸν χῆνα καὶ τὴν πλάτανον θεούς τε ἡγεῖτο καὶ ὤμνυ." "οὐκ ἀνόητος," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ θεῖος καὶ ἀτεχνῶς σοφός, ὤμνυ γὰρ ταῦτα οὐχ ὡς θεούς, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ θεοὺς ὀμνύοι."

XX

CAP. XX Μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεσπεσίων ὥσπερ μεθιστάμενος τουτουὶ τοῦ λόγου, ἤρετο τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον περὶ

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

XX

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

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CAP. XX τῆς Λακωνικῆς μάστιγος καὶ εἰ δημοσίᾳ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παίονται· "τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γε," εἶπεν, "ὦ Θεσπεσίων, αὐτοὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἐλευθέριοι τε καὶ εὐδόκιμοι." "τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας ἀδικοῦντας τί," ἔφη, "ἐργάζονται;" "οὐκέτ' ἀποκτείνουσιν," εἶπεν, "ὡς ξυνεχώρει ποτὲ ὁ Λυκοῦργος, ἀλλ' ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνους μάστιξ." "ἡ δὲ Ἑλλὰς πῶς," ἔφη, "περὶ αὐτῶν γιγνώσκει;" "ξυνίασιν," εἶπεν, "ὥσπερ ἐς τὰ Τακίνθια καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδιάς, θεασόμενοι ξὺν ἡδονῇ τε ὁρμῇ πάσῃ." "εἶτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνονται," ἔφη, "οἱ χρηστοὶ Ἕλληνες ἢ τοὺς αὐτῶν ποτε ἄρξαντας ὁρῶντες μαστιγουμένους ἐς τὸ κοινόν, ἢ ἀρχθέντες ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, οὓς μαστιγοῦνται δημοσίᾳ; σὺ δὲ πῶς οὐ διωρθώσω ταῦτα; φασὶ γάρ σε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιμεληθῆναι." "ἄ γε," εἶπε, "δυνατὸν διορθοῦσθαι ξυνεβούλευον μὲν ἐγώ, προθύμως δ' ἐκεῖνοι ἔπραττον, ἐλευθεριώτατοι μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰσί, μόνου[1] δ' ὑπήκοοι τοῦ εὖ ξυμβουλεύοντος, τὸ δὲ τῶν μαστίγων ἔθος τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν δρᾶται, χρησμῶν, φασιν, ἐξηγουμένων ταῦτα· θεοῖς δ' ἀντινομεῖν μανία, οἶμαι." "οὐ σοφούς, Ἀπολλώνιε," ἔφη, "τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων θεοὺς εἴρηκας, εἰ μαστίγων ἐγίγνοντο ξύμβουλοι τοῖς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀσκοῦσιν." "οὐ μαστίγων," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ τοῦ αἵματι ἀνθρώπων τὸν βωμὸν ῥαίνειν, ἐπειδὴ

[1] I conjecture μόνου for μόνοι.

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

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The ritual scourging of Spartan boys

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

XXI

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

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

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

And the problem of the nature of justice in general

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βεβασανίσθαι σοι ἐκεῖ ταῦτα, κἂν μὲν ἡ δόξα ὀρθῶς ἔχῃ, ξυνθησόμεθα, εἰ δ' αὐτοί τι σοφώτερον εἴποιμεν, ξυντίθεσθε, δικαιοσύνης γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο." "ἄριστα," εἶπεν, "ὦ Θεσπεσίων, καὶ ὡς ἐμοὶ ἥδιστα εἴρηκας· ἄκουε δὴ τῶν ἐκεῖ σπουδασθέντων. διῄειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐγώ, κυβερνήτης ὡς γενοίμην μεγάλης νεώς, ὁπόθ' ἡ ψυχὴ σώματος ἑτέρου ἐπεμέλετο, καὶ δικαιότατον ἡγοίμην ἐμαυτόν, ἐπειδὴ λῃσταὶ μὲν ἐμισθοῦντό με προδοῦναι τὴν ναῦν καθορμισάμενον οἷ λοχήσειν αὐτὴν ἔμελλον, δι' ἃ ἤγεν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαγγειλαίμην μὲν ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ ἐπίθοιντο ἡμῖν, παραπλεύσαιμι δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπεράραιμι τοῦ χωρίου." "ξυνέθεντο δ'," ἦ δ' ὁ Θεσπεσίων, "δικαιοσύνην εἶναι Ἰνδοὶ ταῦτα;" "κατεγέλασαν μὲν οὖν," εἶπε, "μὴ γὰρ εἶναι δικαιοσύνην τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν." "ὑγιῶς," ἔφη, "ἀπέδοξε τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς, οὔτε γὰρ φρόνησις τὸ μὴ ἀνοήτως τι ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, οὔτε ἀνδρεία τὸ μὴ λείπειν τὴν τάξιν, οὔτε σωφροσύνη τὸ μὴ ἐς τὰ τῶν μοιχῶν ἐκπίπτειν, οὔτε ἄξιον ἐπαίνου τὸ μὴ κακὸν φαίνεσθαι· πᾶν γάρ, ὃ τιμῆς τε καὶ τιμωρίας ἴσον ἀφέστηκεν, οὔπω ἀρετή." "πῶς οὖν, ὦ Θεσπεσίων," εἶπε, "στεφανώσομεν τὸν δίκαιον, ἢ τί πράττοντα;" "ἀνελλιπέστερον," ἔφη, "καὶ προσφορώτερον ἂν ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης ἐσπουδάσατε, ἢ ὁπότε βασιλεὺς τοσῆσδέ τε καὶ

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

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οὕτως εὐδαίμονος χώρας ἄρχων ἐπέστη φιλοσοφοῦσιν ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλεύειν, δικαιοτάτου κτήματος;" "εἰ ὁ Φραώτης," εἶπεν, "ὁ ἀφικόμενος ἦν, ὀρθῶς ἂν ἐμέμφου τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης ἐπ' αὐτοῦ σπουδάσαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν οἷς χθὲς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διῄειν μεθύοντα καὶ ἀχθόμενον φιλοσοφίᾳ πάσῃ, τί ἔδει παρέχειν ὄχλον; τί δ' αὐτοὺς ἔχειν φιλοτιμουμένους ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου σύβαριν ἡγουμένου πάντα; ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὥσπερ ἡμῖν, ἰχνευτέα ἡ δικαιοσύνη μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλεῦσί τε καὶ στρατηγοῖς, ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀτεχνῶς δίκαιον. ὃ γὰρ ἐμαυτόν τε ἡγούμην, ὁπότε ἡ ναῦς, ἑτέρους τε, οἳ μὴ ἀδίκων ἅπτονται, οὕπω δικαίους φατέ, οὐδ' ἀξίους τιμᾶσθαι." "καὶ εἰκότως," εἶπεν, "οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν Ἀθηναίοις ποτὲ ἢ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐγράφη γνώμη τὸν δεῖνα στεφανοῦν, ἐπεὶ μὴ τῶν ἡταιρηκότων ἐστίν, ἢ τὸν δεῖνα ποιεῖσθαι πολίτην, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συλᾶται. τίς οὖν ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ὁ τί πράττων; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ τινὰ στεφανωθέντα οἶδα, οὐδὲ γνώμην ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ δικαίῳ γραφεῖσαν, ὡς τὸν δεῖνα χρὴ στεφανοῦν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ δεῖνα πράττων δίκαιος φαίνεται, τὰ μὲν γὰρ Παλαμήδους ἐνθυμηθέντι τὰ ἐν Τροίᾳ καὶ τὰ Σωκράτους τὰ Ἀθήνησιν οὐδ' εὐτυχεῖν ἡ δικαιοσύνη δόξει παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀδικώτατα

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

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

Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀπόχρη τὰ τοῦ Ἀριστείδου ἐς τὸ δηλῶσαι, τίς μὲν ὁ μὴ ἄδικος, τίς δὲ ὁ δίκαιος· εἰπὲ γάρ μοι, οὐχ οὗτος, Ἀριστείδης ἐκεῖνος, ὅν φατε ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἥκοντες πλεύσαντα ἐς τὰς νήσους ὑπὲρ τῶν φόρων, ξυμμέτρους τε αὐτοὺς τάξαι καὶ ξὺν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπανελθεῖν τρίβωνι;" "οὗτος," εἶπε, "δι' ὃν καὶ πενίας ἔρως ποτὲ ἤνθησεν." "εἰ οὖν," ἔφη, "δύο Ἀθήνησι δημαγωγοὶ γενοίσθην ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἄρτι ἐκ τῆς ξυμμαχίδος ἥκοντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν γράφοι στεφανοῦν αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ μὴ πλουτῶν ἀφῖκται μηδὲ βίον ἑαυτῷ ξυνειλοχὼς μηδένα, ἀλλὰ πενέστατος μὲν Ἀθηναίων, πενέστερος δὲ ἑαυτοῦ, ὁ δ' αὖ τοιουτονί τι γράφοι ψήφισμα· ἐπειδὴ Ἀριστείδης οὐχ ὑπὲρ τὸ δυνατὸν τῶν ξυμμάχων τάξας

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

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The fate of Aristides

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

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τοὺς φόρους, ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστοι γῆς ἔχουσι, τῆς τε ὁμονοίας αὐτῶν ἐπεμελήθη τῆς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀχθομένους δοκεῖν φέρειν ταῦτα, δεδόχθω στεφανοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, ἆρ' οὐκ ἄν σοι δοκεῖ τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ γνώμῃ κἂν ἀντειπεῖν αὐτός, ὡς οὐκ ἀξίᾳ τῶν ἑαυτῷ βεβιωμένων, εἰ ἐφ' οἷς οὐκ ἀδικεῖ τιμῷτο, τὴν δ' ἴσως ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπαινέσαι, στοχαζομένην ὧν διενοήθη; βλέψας γάρ που ἐς τὸ Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων ξυμφέρον ἐπεμελήθη τῆς ξυμμετρίας τῶν φόρων, καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐδείχθη μᾶλλον· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ παραβάντες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐκείνῳ δόξαντας, βαρυτέρους ἐπέγραψαν ταῖς νήσοις, διεσπάσθη μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡ ναυτικὴ δύναμις, ᾗ μάλιστα φοβεροὶ ἦσαν, παρῆλθε δὲ ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐς τὴν θάλατταν, ξυνέμεινε δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἅπαν τὸ ὑπήκοον ἐς νεώτερα ὥρμησε καὶ ἀποστροφῆς ἤψατο. δίκαιος οὖν, ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, κατὰ τὸν εὐθὺν λόγον οὐχ ὁ μὴ ἄδικος, ἀλλ' ὁ δίκαια μὲν αὐτὸς πράττων, καθιστὰς δὲ καὶ ἑτέρους ἐς τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν, καὶ φύσονται τῆς τοιαύτης δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἄλλαι μὲν ἀρεταί, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ δικαστική τε καὶ ἡ νομοθετική. δικάσει μὲν γὰρ τοιόσδε πολλῷ δικαιότερον ἢ οἱ κατὰ τῶν τομίων ὀμνύντες, νομοθετήσει δέ, ὥσπερ

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

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CAP. XXI οἱ Σόλωνές τε καὶ οἱ Λυκοῦργοι, καὶ γὰρ δὴ κἀκείνοις τοῦ γράψαι νόμους δικαιοσύνη ἦρξεν."

XXII

CAP. XXII Τοσαῦτα ὁ Δάμις διαλεχθῆναί φησιν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς δικαίου, καὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ξυμφῆσαι τῷ λόγῳ, τοῖς γὰρ ὑγιῶς λεγομένοις ξυμβαίνειν. φιλοσοφήσαντες δὲ καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς, ὡς ἀθάνατος εἴη, καὶ περὶ φύσεως παραπλήσια ταῖς Πλάτωνος ἐν Τιμαίῳ δόξαις, περί τε τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι νόμων πλείω διαλεχθέντες, "ἐμοί," εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἡ δεῦρο ὁδὸς ὑμῶν τε ἕνεκα καὶ τῶν τοῦ Νείλου πηγῶν ἐγένετο, ἃς μέχρι μὲν Αἰγύπτου προελθόντι ξυγγνώμη ἀγνοῆσαι, προχωρήσαντι δὲ ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίαν, ὃν ἐγὼ τρόπον, κἂν ὄνειδος φέροι τὸ παρελθεῖν αὐτὰς καὶ μὴ ἀρύσασθαί τινας αὐτῶν λόγους." "ἴθι χαίρων," ἔφη, "καὶ ὅ τι σοι φίλον, εὔχου ταῖς πηγαῖς, θεῖαι γάρ. ἡγεμόνα δὲ οἶμαι ποιήσῃ τὸν πάλαι Ναυκρατίτην, νῦν δὲ Μεμφίτην, Τιμασίωνα, τῶν τε γὰρ πηγῶν ἐθὰς οὗτος καὶ οὕτω τι καθαρός, ὡς μὴ δεῖσθαι τοῦ ῥαίνεσθαι. σοὶ δέ, ὦ Νεῖλε, βουλόμεθα ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν διαλεχθῆναί τι." ὁ μὲν δὴ νοῦς τῶν λόγων οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἦν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, ξυνίει γὰρ αὐτῶν δυσχερῶς διακειμένων, ἐπειδὴ ἤρα αὐτοῦ ὁ Νεῖλος,

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

XXII

CHAP. XXII

Apollonius departs with Timasion and Nilus in his train

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

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CAP. XXII ἐξιστάμενος δὲ αὐτοῖς τῆς διαλέξεως ἀνῄει συσκευασόμενος, ὡς ἐξελῶν ἅμα τῇ ἕῳ, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἦκων ὁ Νεῖλος, ἀπήγγειλε μὲν οὐδὲν ὧν ἤκουσεν, ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ δὲ θαμὰ ἐγέλα· ἠρώτα δ' οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ γέλωτος, ἀλλ' ἐφείδοντο τοῦ ἀπορρήτου.

XXIII

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

XXIV

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

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

XXIII

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

Description of the cataracts of the Nile

XXIV

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

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CAP. XXIV κρυον καρπὸν ἡγοῦνται, ἑώρων δὲ καὶ λέοντας ἀγχοῦ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ παρδάλεις καὶ τοιαῦτα θηρία ἕτερα, καὶ ἐπῄει οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἀπεπήδα σφῶν, ὥσπερ ἐκπεπληγμένα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἔλαφοι δὲ καὶ δορκάδες καὶ στρουθοὶ καὶ ὄνοι, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα ἑωρᾶτο, πλεῖστα δὲ οἱ βόαγροί τε καὶ οἱ βούτραγοι· ξύγκειται δὲ τὰ θηρία ταῦτα τὸ μὲν ἐλάφου τε καὶ ταύρου, τὸ δὲ ἀφ' ὧνπερ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἤρηκε. καὶ ὁστοῖς δὲ τούτων ἐνετύγχανον καὶ ἡμιβρώτοις σώμασιν, οἱ γὰρ λέοντες, ἐπειδὰν θερμῆς τῆς θήρας ἐμφορηθῶσιν, ἀτιμάζουσιν αὐτῆς τὰ περιττά, πιστεύοντες, οἶμαι, τῷ καὶ αὖθις θηράσειν.

XXV

CAP. XXV Ἐνταῦθα νομάδες οἰκοῦσιν Αἰθίοπες ἐφ' ἁμαξῶν πεπολισμένοι, καὶ πλησίον τούτων οἱ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας θηρῶντες, κατακόπτοντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ποιοῦνται ἀγοράν, ὅθεν ἐπώνυμοί εἰσι τῆς τῶν ἐλεφάντων πράσεως. Νασαμῶνες δὲ καὶ Ἀνδροφάγοι καὶ Πυγμαῖοι καὶ Σκιάποδες ἔθνη μὲν Αἰθιόπων καὶ οἵδε, καθήκουσι δὲ ἐς τὸν Αἰθίοπα Ὠκεανόν, ὃν μόνον ἐσπλέουσιν οἱ ἀπενεχθέντες ἄκοντες.

XXVI

CAP. XXVI Διαλεγομένους δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν θηρίων τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ φιλοσοφοῦντας ὑπὲρ τῆς φύσεως ἄλλο ἄλλως

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

XXV

CHAP. XXV

Nomad tribes of Ethiopia

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

XXVI

CHAP. XXVI

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

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CAP. XXVI βοσκούσης, ἠχὼ προσέβαλεν οἷον βροντῆς οὔπω σκληρᾶς, ἀλλὰ κοίλης ἔτι καὶ ἐν τῷ νέφει. καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων, "ἐγγύς," ἔφη, "ὁ καταρράκτης, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁ κατιόντων μὲν ὕστατος, ἀνιόντων δὲ πρῶτος." καὶ στάδια δέκα ἴσως προελθόντες ἰδεῖν φασι ποταμὸν ἐκδιδόμενον τοῦ ὄρους μείω οὐδὲν ἢ ἐν πρώταις ξυμβολαῖς ὁ Μαρσύας καὶ ὁ Μαίανδρος, προσευξάμενοι δὲ τῷ Νείλῳ χωρεῖν πρόσω καὶ θηρία μὲν οὐκέτι ὁρᾶν, ψοφοδεᾶ γὰρ φύσει ὄντα προσοικεῖν τοῖς γαληνοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ῥαγδαίοις τε καὶ ἐνήχοις, ἑτέρου δὲ καταρράκτου ἀκοῦσαι μετὰ πεντεκαίδεκά που στάδια χαλεποῦ ἤδη καὶ οὐκ ἀνεκτοῦ αἰσθέσθαι, διπλασίω μὲν γὰρ εἶναι αὐτὸν τοῦ προτέρου, ὁρῶν δὲ ὑψηλοτέρων ἐκπίπτειν. ἑαυτοῦ μὲν οὖν καί τινος τῶν ἑταίρων οὕτω τι κτυπηθῆναι τὰ ὦτα ὁ Δάμις φησίν, ὡς αὐτός τε ἀναζεῦξαι τοῦ τε Ἀπολλωνίου δεῖσθαι μὴ χωρεῖν πρόσω, τὸν δὲ ἐρρωμένως ξύν τε τῷ Τιμασίωνι καὶ τῷ Νείλῳ τοῦ τρίτου καταρράκτου ἔχεσθαι, περὶ οὗ τάδε ἀπαγγεῖλαι ἥκοντα· ἐπικρέμασθαι μὲν τῷ Νείλῳ κορυφὰς ἐκεῖ σταδίων μάλιστα ὀκτὼ ὕψος, τὴν δὲ ὄχθην τὴν ἀντικειμένην τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὀφρὺν εἶναι λιθοτομίας ἀρρήτου, τὰς δὲ πηγὰς ἀποκρεμαννυμένας τῶν ὀρῶν ὑπερπίπτειν ἐς τὴν πετρώδη ὄχθην, ἀναχεῖσθαι δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον κυμαινούσας τε καὶ λευκάς. τὰ δὲ πάθη τὰ περὶ αὐτὰς ξυμβαίνοντα πολλαπλασίας ἢ αἱ πρότεραι οὔσας καὶ τὴν πηδῶσαν ἐκ

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

CHAP. XXVI
The cataracts

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

XXVII

CAP. XXVII Καταλύσαντες δὲ μετὰ τοὺς καταρράκτας ἐν κώμῃ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας οὐ μεγάλῃ ἐδείπνουν μὲν περὶ ἑσπέραν, ἐγκαταμιγνύντες σπουδὴν παιδιᾷ, βοῆς δὲ ἀθρόας τῶν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ γυναικῶν ἤκουσαν ἐπικελευομένων ἀλλήλαις ἑλεῖν, καὶ διῶξαι, παρεκάλουν δὲ καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ἐς κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἔργου, οἱ δ' ἁρπασάμενοι ξύλα καὶ λίθους καὶ ὅ τι ἐς χεῖρας ἑκάστῳ ἔλθοι, ξυνεκάλουν ὥσπερ ἀδικούμενοι τοὺς γάμους. ἐπεφοίτα δὲ ἄρα τῇ κώμῃ δέκατον ἤδη μῆνα σατύρου φάσμα λυττῶν ἐπὶ τὰ γύναια, καὶ δύο ἀπεκτονέναι σφῶν ἐλέγετο, ὧν μάλιστα ἐδόκει ἐρᾶν. ἐκπλαγέντων οὖν τῶν ἑταίρων, "μὴ δέδιτε," εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὑβρίζει γάρ τις ἐνταῦθα σάτυρος." "νὴ Δί'," ἔφη ὁ Νεῖλος,

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

XXVII

CHAP. XXVII

Story of the satyr to whom Apollonius gave wine

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

[1] *Or* "render investigation of the stream a trial to the ears."

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CAP. XXVII

"ὂν γε ἡμεῖς οἱ Γυμνοὶ χρόνῳ ἤδη ὑβρίζοντα μήπω μετεστήσαμεν τοῦ σκιρτᾶν." "ἀλλ' ἔστιν," εἶπεν, "ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑβριστὰς τούτους φάρμακον, ᾧ λέγεται Μίδας ποτὲ χρήσασθαι· μετεῖχε μὲν γὰρ τοῦ τῶν σατύρων γένους ὁ Μίδας οὗτος, ὡς ἐδήλου τὰ ὦτα, σάτυρος δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἷς κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἐκώμαζε τὰ τοῦ Μίδου διαβάλλων ὦτα, καὶ οὐ μόνον ᾄδων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐλῶν τούτῳ, ὁ δ', οἶμαι, τῆς μητρὸς ἀκηκοώς, ὅτι σάτυρος οἴνῳ θηρευθείς, ἐπειδὰν ἐς ὕπνον καταπέσῃ, σωφρονεῖ καὶ διαλλάττεται, κρήνην τὴν οὖσαν αὐτῷ περὶ τὰ βασίλεια κεράσας οἴνῳ ἐπαφῆκεν αὐτῇ τὸν σάτυρον, ὁ δὲ ἔπιέ τε καὶ ἧλω. καὶ ὅτι μὴ ψεύδεται ὁ λόγος, ἴωμεν παρὰ τὸν κωμάρχην, καὶ ἢν ἔχωσιν οἱ κωμῆται οἶνον, κεράσωμεν αὐτὸν τῷ σατύρῳ, καὶ ταὐτὰ τῷ Μίδου πείσεται." ἔδοξε ταῦτα καὶ ἀμφορέας Αἰγυπτίους τέτταρας οἰνοχοήσας ἐς ληνόν, ἀφ' ἧς ἔπινε τὰ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ πρόβατα, ἐκάλει τὸν σάτυρον ἀφανῶς τι ἐπιπλήττων, ὁ δὲ οὔπω μὲν ἐωρᾶτο, ὑπεδίδου δὲ ὁ οἶνος, ὥσπερ πινόμενος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξεπόθη, "σπεισώμεθα, ἔφη, "τῷ σατύρῳ, καθεύδει γάρ." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἡγεῖτο τοῖς κωμήταις ἐς Νυμφῶν ἄντρον, πλέθρον οὔπω ἀπέχον τῆς κώμης, ἐν ᾧ καθεύδοντα δείξας αὐτὸν ἀπέχεσθαι εἶπε τοῦ παίειν ἢ λοιδορεῖσθαί οἱ, "πέπαυται γὰρ

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

CHAP. XXVII

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CAP. XXVII τῶν ἀνοήτων." τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον Ἀπολλωνίου, μὰ Δί', οὐχὶ ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, ἀλλὰ παρόδου ἔργον, κἂν ἐντύχῃ τις ἐπιστολῇ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἣν πρὸς μειράκιον ὑβρίζον γράφων καὶ σάτυρον δαίμονα σωφρονίσαι φησὶν ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ, μεμνῆσθαι χρὴ τοῦ λόγου τούτου. σατύρους δὲ εἶναί τε καὶ ἐρωτικῶν ἅπτεσθαι μὴ ἀπιστῶμεν· οἶδα γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Λῆμνον τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ τινα ἰσηλίκων, οὗ τῇ μητρὶ ἐλέγετο τις ἐπιφοιτᾶν σάτυρος, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ταύτῃ, νεβρίδα γὰρ ξυμφυᾶ ἐῴκει ἐνημμένῳ κατὰ τὸν νῶτον, ἧς οἱ ποδεῶνες οἱ πρῶτοι ξυνειληφότες τὴν δέρην περὶ τὸ στέρνον αὐτῷ ἀφήπτοντο. ἀλλὰ μὴ πλείω ὑπὲρ τούτων, οὔτε γὰρ ἡ πεῖρα ἀπιστητέα οὔτε ἐγώ.

XXVIII

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

XXIX

CAP. XXIX Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τίτος ᾔρκει τὰ Σόλυμα καὶ νεκρῶν πλέα ἦν πάντα, τὰ ὅμορά τε ἔθνη ἐστεφάνουν αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἠξίου ἑαυτὸν τούτου, μὴ γὰρ αὐτὸς

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

XXVIII

CHAP. XXVIII

Breach with Euphrates

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

XXIX

CHAP. XXIX

Correspondence with Titus

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

[1] I try to render the pun of the original.

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CAP. XXIX ταῦτα εἰργάσθαι, θεῷ δὲ ὀργὴν φήναντι ἐπιδεδωκέναι τὰς ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρας, ἐπῄνει ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ταῦτα, γνώμη τε γὰρ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐφαίνετο καὶ ξύνεσις ἀνθρωπείων τε καὶ θείων, καὶ σωφροσύνης μεστὸν τὸ μὴ στεφανοῦσθαι ἐφ' αἵματι. ξυντάττει δὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολήν, ἧς διάκονον ποιεῖται τὸν Δάμιν, καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ὧδε·

"Ἀπολλώνιος Τίτῳ στρατηγῷ Ῥωμαίων χαίρειν. Μὴ βουληθέντι σοι ἐπ' αἰχμῇ κηρύττεσθαι, μηδ' ἐπὶ δηίῳ αἵματι, δίδωμι ἐγὼ τὸν σωφροσύνης στέφανον, ἐπειδὴ ἐφ' οἷς δεῖ στεφανοῦσθαι, γιγνώσκεις. ἔρρωσο."

Ὑπερησθεὶς δὲ ὁ Τίτος τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, "καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ," ἔφη, "χάριν οἶδά σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρός, καὶ μεμνήσομαι τούτων, ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ Σόλυμα ᾔρηκα, σὺ δὲ ἐμέ."

XXX

CAP. XXX Ἀναρρηθεὶς δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἀριστείων ἀξιωθεὶς τούτων, ἀπῄει μὲν ἰσομοιρήσων τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ πατρί, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον ἐνθυμηθείς, ὡς πολλοῦ ἄξιος αὐτῷ ἔσται κἂν πρὸς βραχὺ ξυγγενόμενος, ἐδεῖτο αὐτοῦ ἐς Ταρσοὺς ἥκειν, καὶ περιβαλὼν ἐλθόντα, "πάντα μοι ὁ πατήρ," ἔφη,

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

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

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

XXX

CHAP XXX

Visits Titus at Antioch

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

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CAP. XXX

"ἐπέστειλεν, ὧν ξύμβουλον ἐποιεῖτό σε, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ ἐπιστολή, ὡς εὐεργέτης τε αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ γέγραψαι καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι ἐσμέν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔτη μὲν τριάκοντα ταυτὶ γέγονα, ἀξιούμενος δὲ ὧν ὁ πατὴρ ἐξηκοντούτης ὤν, καὶ καλούμενος ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν πρὶν οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ ἀρχθῆναι εἰδέναι, δέδια μὴ μειζόνων, ἢ ἐμὲ χρή, ἅπτωμαι." ἐπιψηλαφήσας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν αὐχένα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἔρρωτο αὐτὸν ἴσα τοῖς ἀσκοῦσι τὸ σῶμα, "καὶ τίς," εἶπε, "βιάσεται ταῦρον αὐχένα οὕτω κρατερὸν ὑποσχεῖν ζυγῷ;" "ὁ ἐκ νέου," ἔφη, "μοσχεύσας με," τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λέγων ὁ Τίτος καὶ τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἂν μόνου ἀρχθῆναι, ὃς ἐκ παιδὸς αὐτὸν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀκροάσει ξυνείθιζε. "χαίρω," εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "πρῶτον μὲν παρεσκευασμένον σε ὁρῶν ἕπεσθαι τῷ πατρί, ὑφ' οὗ χαίρουσιν ἀρχόμενοι καὶ οἱ μὴ φύσει παῖδες, θεραπεύσοντά τε τὰς ἐκείνου θύρας, ᾧ ξυνθεραπευθήσῃ. νεότητος δὲ γήρᾳ ἅμα ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν ἰούσης τίς μὲν λύρα, τίς δὲ αὐλὸς ἡδεῖαν ὧδε ἁρμονίαν καὶ ξυγκεκραμένην ᾄσεται; πρεσβύτερα γὰρ ξυμβήσεται νέοις, ἐξ ὧν καὶ γῆρας ἰσχύσει καὶ νεότης οὐκ ἀτακτήσει."

XXXI

CAP. XXXI

"'Εμοὶ δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ Τυανεῦ, περὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας τί ὑποθήσῃ;" "ἄ γε," ἔφη, "σεαυτὸν

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

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"And for myself, O man of Tyana," answered Titus, "can you give me any precepts as to how CHAP. XXXI

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

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

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Assigns to Titus Demetrius the Cynic to teach him how to rule

[1] A cynic means literally a canine philosopher.

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CAP. XXXI αἴσθοιτο." "γεγράψεται," ἔφη, "πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολή, φιλοσοφεῖ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης." "γεγράφθω," εἶπεν, "ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν καὶ πρὸς σὲ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τινα γράφειν, ὡς ἅμα τῆς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὁδοῦ κοινωνὸς ἡμῖν γένοιο." "ἀφίξομαι," ἔφη, "ὁπότε ἀμφοῖν λῷον."

XXXII

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

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

XXXII

CHAP. XXXII

Foretells to Titus the manner of his death

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

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CAP. XXXII τὸν θάνατον ἐκ θαλάττης ἐλθεῖν." ταῦτα ὁ Δάμις ὧδε ἑρμηνεύει· φυλάττεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν τὴν αἰχμὴν τῆς τρυγόνος, ἣ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα βεβλῆσθαί φασι, δυοῖν δὲ ἐτοῖν μετὰ τὸν πατέρα τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θαλαττίου λαγὼ ἀποθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἰχθὺν τοῦτον παρέχεσθαι χυμοὺς ἀπορρήτους ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ γῇ ἀνδροφόνα, καὶ Νέρωνα μὲν ἐσποιῆσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὄψοις τὸν λαγὼν τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμιωτάτους, Δομετιανὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Τίτον, οὐ τὸ ξὺν ἀδελφῷ ἄρχειν δεινὸν ἡγούμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ξὺν πράῳ τε καὶ χρηστῷ. τοιαῦτα διαλεχθέντες ἰδίᾳ περιέβαλον ἀλλήλους ἐν φανερῷ, ἀπιόντα δὲ προσειπών, "νίκα, ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ὅπλοις, τὸν δὲ πατέρα ἀρεταῖς."

XXXIII

CAP. XXXIII Ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον ἐπιστολὴ ὧδε εἶχεν·

Ἀπολλώνιος φιλόσοφος Δημητρίῳ κυνὶ χαίρειν.

Δίδωμί σε βασιλεῖ Τίτῳ διδάσκαλον τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἤθους, σὺ δ' ἀληθεῦσαί τέ μοι πρὸς αὐτὸν δίδου καὶ γίγνου αὐτῷ, πλὴν ὀργῆς, πάντα. ἔρρωσο.

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

XXXIII

CHAP. XXXIII

Letter to Demetrius

But the letter to Demetrius ran as follows: "Apollonius, the Philosopher, sends greetings to Demetrius the cynic.

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

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CAP. XXXIV

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

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His benevolence to the people of Antioch

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

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Τοσαῦτα ἔθνη φασὶν ἐπελθεῖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον σπουδάζοντά τε καὶ σπουδαζόμενον. αἱ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἀποδημίαι πολλαὶ μὲν ἐγένοντο τῷ ἀνδρί, οὐ μὴν τοσαῦταί γε ἔτι, οὐδὲ ἐς ἕτερα ἔθνη πλὴν ἃ ἔγνω, περί τε γὰρ τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Αἴγυπτον καταβάντι αὐτῷ ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας διατριβὴ πλείων ἐγένετο, περί τε Φοίνικας καὶ Κίλικας Ἴωνάς τε καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἰταλοὺς πάλιν, οὐδαμοῦ ἐλλείποντι τὸ μὴ οὐχ ὁμοίῳ φαίνεσθαι. χαλεποῦ γὰρ τοῦ γνῶναι ἑαυτὸν δοκοῦντος, χαλεπώτερον ἔγωγε ἡγοῦμαι τὸ μεῖναι τὸν σοφὸν ἑαυτῷ ὅμοιον, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς πονηρῶς φύντας ἐς τὸ λῷον μεταστήσει, μὴ πρότερον ἐξασκήσας τὸ μὴ αὐτὸς μεθίστασθαι. ὑπὲρ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐν ἑτέροις λόγοις ἱκανῶς εἴρηκα, διδάσκων τοὺς μὴ μαλακῶς αὐτοῖς ὁμιλοῦντας, ὅτι τὸν ἀτεχνῶς ἄνδρα μήτε μεταστήσει τι μήτε δουλώσεται. ὡς δὲ μήτε ἐς λόγων ἴοιμεν μῆκος, ἀκριβῶς ἀναδιδάσκοντες τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις αὐτῷ φιλοσοφηθέντα, μήτ' αὖ διαπηδῶντες φαινοίμεθα λόγον, ὃν οὐκ ἀπόνως παραδίδομεν τοῖς ἀπείροις τοῦ ἀνδρός, δοκεῖ μοι τὰ σπουδαιότερα ἐπελθεῖν τούτων καὶ ὁπόσα μνήμης ἀξιώσεται. ἡγώμεθα δὲ αὐτὰ παραπλήσια ταῖς τῶν Ἀσκληπιαδῶν ἐπιδημίαις.

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Further journeys of Apollonius

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

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CAP. XXXVI Μειράκιον ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἀπαιδεύτως εἶχε, τοὺς δὲ ὄρνις ἐπαίδευε, καὶ ξυνοίκους ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ ἐποιεῖτο· ἐδίδασκε δὲ αὐτοὺς λαλεῖν τε ὅσα οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τερετίζειν ὅσα αὐλοί. τούτῳ περιτυχών, "τί," ἔφη, "ἐπιτηδεύεις;" ἐπεὶ δὲ τάς τε ἀηδόνας αὐτῷ διῇει καὶ τοὺς κοψίχους καὶ ὁπόσα εὐγλωττίζοι τοὺς χαραδρίους, τὴν φωνὴν δὲ ἀπαίδευτον ἐφαίνετο, "δοκεῖς μοι," ἔφη, "διαφθείρειν τοὺς ὄρνις, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ μὴ ξυγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἑαυτῶν φθέγμα, οὕτως ἡδὺ ὄν, ὡς μηδ' ἂν τὰ μουσικὰ τῶν ὀργάνων ἐς μίμησιν αὐτοῦ καταστῆναι, εἶτα καὶ τῷ κάκιστα Ἑλλήνων αὐτὸς διαλεγόμενος, μαθητὰς αὐτοὺς ποιεῖσθαι ἀφωνίας. ἐπιτρίβεις δ', ὦ μειράκιον, καὶ τὸν σεαυτοῦ οἶκον· βλέψαντι γὰρ ἐς τοὺς ἀκολούθους καὶ ὡς κατεσκεύασαι, τῶν ἁβρῶν ἔμοιγε καὶ οὐκ ἀπλούτων φαίνῃ, τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους ὑποβλίττουσιν οἱ συκοφάνται, κέντρα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἠρμένοι τὴν γλῶτταν. καὶ τί χρήσῃ τῇ φιλορνιθίᾳ τότε; οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ πασῶν ἀηδόνων μέλη ξυμφέρων ἀποσοβήσεις αὐτοὺς ἐγκειμένους τε καὶ ἐρείδοντας, ἀλλ' ἐπαντλεῖν χρὴ τῶν ὄντων, καὶ προβάλλειν αὐτοῖς τὸ χρυσίον, ὥσπερ τὰ μειλίγματα τοῖς

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Story of the youth who trained birds to talk

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

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κυσί, κἂν ὑλακτῶσιν, αὖθις διδόναι καὶ αὖθις, εἶτα αὐτὸν πεινῆν ὕστερον καὶ ἀπορεῖν.

Δεῖ δέ σοι ἐκτροπῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ μεταβολῆς ἤδη τινὸς τῶν τρόπων, ὡς μὴ λάθῃς πτερορρυήσας τὸν πλοῦτον, καὶ ἀξίως πράττων τοῦ θρηνεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπ' ὀρνίθων ἢ ᾄδεσθαι. τὸ δὲ φάρμακον τῆς μεταβολῆς οὐ μέγα, ἐστὶ γάρ τι ἐν ἁπάσαις πόλεσιν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων, ὃ σὺ οὔπω μὲν γιγνώσκεις, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ διδασκάλους· τούτοις ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας μικρὰ δοὺς ἀσφαλῶς κεκτήσῃ τὰ πλείω, ῥητορικὴν γάρ σε παιδεύσουσι τὴν τῶν ἀγοραίων, ῥᾳδία δ' ἡ τέχνη. εἰ μὲν γὰρ παῖδά σε ἑώρων ἔτι, ξυνεβούλευον ἂν φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ φιλοσόφων τε καὶ σοφιστῶν θύρας, καὶ σοφίᾳ πάσῃ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν σεαυτοῦ φράττειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξωρος τούτων τυγχάνεις ὤν, τὸ γοῦν ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ λέγειν ἔκμαθε, νομίσας, εἰ μὲν τὰ τελεώτερα ἔμαθες, κἂν ὅμοιος ἀνδρὶ ὁπλιτεύοντί τε καὶ φοβερῷ δόξαι, ταυτὶ δ' ἐκμαθὼν τὴν τῶν ψιλῶν τε καὶ σφενδονητῶν σκευὴν ἕξεις· βάλλοις γὰρ ἂν τοὺς συκοφάντας, ὥσπερ τοὺς κύνας." ξυνῆκε τὸ μειράκιον τούτων, καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀρνίθων διατριβὰς ἐκλιπὸν ἐς διδασκάλων ἐβάδισεν, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ ἡ γνώμη αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ γλῶττα ἴσχυσεν.

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

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

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XXXVII

CAP. XXXVII

Δυοῖν δὲ λόγοιν ἐν Σάρδεσι λεγομένοιν, τοῦ μέν, ὡς ὁ Πακτωλός ποτε τῷ Κροίσῳ ψῆγμα χρυσοῦ ἄγοι, τοῦ δέ, ὡς πρεσβύτερα τῆς γῆς εἴη τὰ δένδρα, τὸν μὲν πιθανῶς ἔφη πεπιστεῦσθαι, χρυσία γὰρ εἶναί ποτε τῷ Τμώλῳ ψαμμώδη καὶ τοὺς ὄμβρους αὐτὰ φέρειν ἐς τὸν Πακτωλὸν κατασύροντας, χρόνῳ δέ, ὅπερ φιλεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλιπεῖν αὐτὰ ἀποκλυσθέντα. τοῦ δ' ἑτέρου λόγου καταγελάσας, "ὑμεῖς μέν," ἔφη, "προγενέστερα τῆς γῆς φατε εἶναι τὰ δένδρα, ἐγὼ δὲ πολὺν οὕτω χρόνον φιλοσοφήσας οὔπω ἔγνων οὐρανοῦ προγενεστέρους ἀστέρας," διδάσκων ὅτι μηδ' ἂν γένοιτό τι τοῦ ἐν ᾧ φύεται μὴ ὄντος.

XXXVIII

CAP. XXXVIII

Στασιάζοντος δὲ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν τοῦ τῆς Συρίας ἄρχοντος καὶ καθιέντος ἐς αὐτοὺς ὑποψίας, ὑφ' ὧν διειστήκεσαν ἐκκλησιαζομένη πόλις, σεισμοῦ δὲ γενναίου προσπεσόντος, ἔπτηξαν καὶ ὅπερ ἐν διοσημίαις εἴωθεν, ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων ηὔξαντο. παρελθὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὁ μὲν θεός," ἔφη, "διαλλακτὴς ὑμῶν σαφῆς γέγονεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἂν αὖθις στασιάσαιτε, τὰ αὐτὰ φοβούμενοι." καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἐς ἔννοιαν ὧν πείσονται, καὶ ὡς ταὐτὸ τοῖς ἑτέροις φοβήσονται.

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XXXVII

CHAP. XXXVII
Gold-dust of the Pactolus

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

XXXVIII

CHAP. XXXVIII
Homily on the earthquake of Antioch

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

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XXXIX

CAP. XXXIX

Ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τούτου ἐπιμνησθῆναι· ἔθυέ τις ὑπὲρ θησαυροῦ τῇ Γῇ καὶ οὐδὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ προσεύχεσθαι ὑπὲρ τούτου ὤκνει, ὁ δὲ ἐνθυμηθείς, οἵων ἐρᾷ, "δεινόν γε," ἔφη, "χρηματιστὴν ὁρῶ." "κακοδαίμονα μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "ᾧγέ ἐστιν οὐδὲν πλὴν ὀλίγων, ἃ μὴ ἀπόχρη βόσκειν τὸν οἶκον." "ἔοικας," ἔφη, "πολλοὺς τρέφειν καὶ ἀργοὺς οἰκέτας, οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτός γε τῶν ἀσόφων φαίνῃ." ὁ δὲ ἠρέμα ἐπιδακρύσας, "θυγάτριά μοι," εἶπεν, "ἐστὶ τέτταρα καὶ φερνῶν δεῖ τεττάρων. ἐμοὶ δέ εἰσι δισμύριαί που δραχμαὶ νῦν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῖς θυγατράσι κατανεμηθῶσιν, ἐκεῖναί τε σμικρὰ εἰληφέναι δόξουσιν, ἐγώ τε ἀπολοῦμαι ἔχων οὐδέν." παθὼν οὖν τι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἐπιμελησόμεθά σου," ἔφη, "κἀγὼ καὶ ἡ Γῆ, φασὶ γάρ σε θύειν αὐτῇ." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα προῆει τὰ προάστεια, ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς καρποὺς ὠνούμενοι, ἰδὼν δέ τι χωρίον ἐλαῶν πλῆρες καὶ ἡσθεὶς τοῖς δένδρεσιν, ὡς εὐφυᾶ τε ἦν καὶ μεγάλα, καί τινος κηπίου ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντος, ἐν ᾧ σμήνη τε καὶ ἄνθη ἐωρᾶτο, παρῆλθεν ἐς τὸ κηπίον ὥς τι ἐπισκεψόμενος μεῖζον, καὶ προσευξάμενος τῇ Πανδώρᾳ ἐχώρει ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. βαδίσας δὲ παρὰ τὸν τοῦ ἀγροῦ

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XXXIX

CHAP. XXXIX

Story of the man who, guided by Apollonius, found a treasure

HERE is another incident worth recording. A certain man was sacrificing to mother Earth in hope of finding a treasure, and he did not hesitate to offer a prayer to Apollonius with that intent. He, perceiving what he was after, said: "I see that you are terribly fond of filthy lucre." "Nay, I am a poor devil," remarked the other, "that have nothing except a few pence, and not enough to feed my family." "You seem," said the other, "to keep a large household of idle servants, nor do you yourself appear to be wanting in wits." But the man shed a quiet tear and answered: "I have four daughters, who want four dowries, and, when my daughters have had their dowries assigned to them, my capital, which is now only 20,000 drachmas, will have vanished; and they will think that they have got all too little, while I shall perish because I shall have nothing at all." Therefore Apollonius took compassion on him and said: "We will provide for you, myself and mother Earth, for I hear that you are sacrificing to her." With these words he conducted the man into the suburbs, as if he were going to buy some fruit, and there he saw an estate planted with olive-trees; and being delighted with the trees, for they were very good ones and well grown, and there was also a little garden in the place, in which he saw bee-hives and flowers, he went on into the garden as if he had some important business to examine into, and then, having put up a prayer to Pandora, he returned to the city. Then he proceeded to the owner of the field, who had

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CAP. XXXIX δεσπότην, ᾧ πλοῦτος ἐκ τῶν παρανομωτάτων πεπόριστο, τὰς Φοινίκων οὐσίας ἐνδεικνύντι, "χωρίον," ἔφη, "τὸ δεῖνα πόσου ἐπρίω καὶ τί πεπόνηταί σοι ἐς αὐτό;" τοῦ δὲ πέρυσι μὲν ἐωνῆσθαι τὸν ἀγρόν, πεντακισιχιλίων δὲ καὶ μυρίων φήσαντος, οὔπω δ' ἐκπεπονηκέναι τι, πείθει τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποδόσθαι οἱ δισμυρίων αὐτόν, εὕρημα ποιησάμενον τὰς πεντακισχιλίας. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἐρῶν οὔπω ξυνίει τοῦ δώρου, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ᾤετο ἴσα ἔχειν, τοσούτῳ δὲ ἐλάττω, ὅσῳ τὰς μὲν δισμυρίας ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν οὔσας ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ εἶναι ἄν, τὸν δ' ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀγρὸν ἐπὶ πάχναις κείσεσθαι καὶ χαλάζαις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἃ τοὺς καρποὺς φθείρει· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀμφορέα μὲν τρισχιλίων δαρεικῶν αὐτίκα εὗρε περὶ αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ ἐν τῷ κηπίῳ σμῆνος, εὐφόρου δὲ τοῦ τῆς ἐλαίας καρποῦ ἔτυχεν, οὐκ εὐφορούσης τότε τῆς ἄλλης γῆς, ὕμνοι αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα ᾖδοντο καὶ μνηστήρων θεραπευόντων αὐτὸν πλέα ἦν πάντα.

XL

CAP. XL Κἀκεῖνα ἀξιομνημόνευτα εὗρον τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἐρᾶν τις ἐδόκει τοῦ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἕδους ὃ ἐν Κνίδῳ γυμνὸν ἵδρυται, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνετίθει, τὰ δ'

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

XL

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

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CAP. XI. ἀναθήσειν ἔφασκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου, Ἀπολλωνίῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μὲν ἄτοπα ἐδόκει ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ δὲ μὴ παρῃτεῖτο ἡ Κνίδος, ἀλλ' ἐναργεστέραν ἔφασαν τὴν θεὸν δόξειν, εἰ ἐρῷτο, ἔδοξε τῷ ἀνδρὶ καθῆραι τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς ἀνοίας ταύτης, καὶ ἐρομένων τῶν Κνιδίων αὐτόν, εἴ τι βούλοιτο τῶν θυτικῶν ἢ εὐκτικῶν διορθοῦσθαι, "ὀφθαλμούς," ἔφη, "διορθώσομαι, τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πάτρια ἐχέτω, ὡς ἔχει." καλέσας οὖν τὸν θρυπτόμενον ἤρετο αὐτόν, εἰ θεοὺς νενόμικε, τοῦ δ' οὕτω νομίζειν θεοὺς φήσαντος, ὡς καὶ ἐρᾶν αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν γάμων μνημονεύσαντος, οὓς θύσειν ἠγεῖτο, "σὲ μὲν ποιηταί," ἔφη, "ἐπαίρουσι τοὺς Ἀγχίσας τε καὶ τοὺς Πηλέας θεαῖς ξυζυγῆναι εἰπόντες, ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐρᾶν καὶ ἐρᾶσθαι τόδε γιγνώσκω· θεοὶ θεῶν, ἄνθρωποι ἀνθρώπων, θηρία θηρίων, καὶ καθάπαξ ὅμοια ὁμοίων ἐρᾷ ἐπὶ τῷ ἔτυμα καὶ ξυγγενῆ τίκτειν, τὸ δὲ ἑτερογενὲς τῷ μὴ ὁμοίῳ ξυνελθὸν οὔτε ζυγὸς οὔτε ἔρως. εἰ δὲ ἐνεθυμοῦ τὰ Ἰξίονος, οὐδ' ἂν ἐς ἔννοιαν καθίστασο τοῦ μὴ ὁμοίων ἐρᾶν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν τροχῷ εἰκασμένος δι' οὐρανοῦ κνάμπτεται, σὺ δ', εἰ μὴ ἄπει τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἀπολεῖ ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ γῇ, οὐδ' ἀντειπεῖν ἔχων τὸ μὴ οὐ δίκαια τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπὶ σοὶ γνῶναι." ὧδε ἡ παροινία

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

CHAP. XL

Of the youth who wished to marry a statue of Aphrodite

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CAP. XL ἐσβέσθη, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ φάσκων ἐρᾶν, ὑπὲρ ξυγγνώμης θύσας.

XLI

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

XLII

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

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

XLI

CHAP. XLI

Egyptian and Chaldean quacks rebuked

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

XLII

CHAP. XLII

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

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

XLIII

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

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Apollonius, who was visiting the Ionians, remarked: "These rescripts do not concern me, for I, alone perhaps of mankind, require neither to beget my kind nor to drink wine; but our egregious sovereign seems not aware that he is sparing mankind, while he eunuchises the earth." This witticism emboldened the Ionians to send a deputation to the emperor in behalf of their vines, and ask for a repeal of the law which ordered the earth to be laid waste and not planted.

CHAP. XLII
Domitian's rescript against eunuchs and vineyards

XLIII

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

CHAP. XLIII
Apollonius heals a youth bitten by a mad dog

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CAP. XLIII αἱ παλαῖστραι, μόνον εἰπών, ὅτι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καλοῖτο." ἐλχθεὶς δ' ὁ κύων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμιδος, ὑπεκλίθη τοῖς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ποσίν, ὥσπερ οἱ βώμιοι τῶν ἱκετῶν κλαίων, ὁ δ' ἡμέρου τε αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἐπράυνε, τὸν ἔφηβόν τε ἵστη ἐγγὺς ξυνέχων αὐτός, ὡς δὲ μὴ λάθοι τοὺς πολλοὺς μέγα ἀπόρρητον, "μεθέστηκε μέν," ἔφη, "ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ἡ Τηλέφου ψυχὴ τοῦ Μυσοῦ, Μοῖραι δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ ταὐτὰ βούλονται," καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐκέλευσε τὸν κύνα περιλιχμήσασθαι τὸ δῆγμα, ὡς ἰατρὸς αὐτῷ πάλιν ὁ τρώσας γένοιτο. ἐπεστράφη τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐς τὸν πατέρα ὁ παῖς καὶ ξυνῆκε τῆς μητρός, προσεῖπέ τε τοὺς ἥλικας καὶ ἔπιε τοῦ Κύδνου, περιώφθη δὲ οὐδὲ ὁ κύων, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖνον εὐξάμενος τῷ ποταμῷ δι' αὐτοῦ ἧκεν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ διέβη τὸν Κύδνον, ἐπιστὰς τῇ ὄχθῃ φωνήν τε ἀφῆκεν, ὅπερ ἥκιστα περὶ τοὺς λυττῶντας τῶν κυνῶν ξυμβαίνει, καὶ τὰ ὦτα ἀνακλάσας ἔσεισε τὴν οὐράν, ξυνιεὶς τοῦ ἐρρῶσθαι, φαρμακοποσία γὰρ λύττης ὕδωρ, ἢν θαρσήσῃ αὐτὸ ὁ λυττῶν.

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

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

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

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BOOK VII

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Η′

I

CAP. I Οἶδα καὶ τὰς τυραννίδας, ὡς ἔστιν ἀρίστη βάσανος ἀνδρῶν φιλοσοφούντων, καὶ ξυγχωρῶ σκοπεῖν, ὅ τι ἕκαστος ἑτέρου ἧττον ἢ μᾶλλον ἀνὴρ ἔδοξεν, ὁ λόγος δέ μοι ξυντείνει ἐς τόδε· κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς Δομετιανὸς ἐτυράννευσε, περιέστησαν τὸν ἄνδρα κατηγορίαι καὶ γραφαί, ὅπως μὲν ἀρξάμεναι καὶ ὁπόθεν καὶ ὅ τι ἑκάστῃ ὄνομα, δηλώσω αὐτίκα, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνάγκη λέξαι, τί μὲν εἰπών, τίς δὲ εἶναι δόξας ἀπῆλθε τῆς κρίσεως, ἑλὼν μᾶλλον τὸν τύραννον ἢ ἁλοὺς αὐτός, δοκεῖ μοι διελθεῖν πρὸ τούτων, ὁπόσα εὗρον ἀφηγήσεως ἄξια σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν πρὸς τυράννους ἔργα, παραδεικνύειν τε αὐτὰ τοῖς Ἀπολλωνίου· χρὴ γάρ που τἀληθὲς οὕτω μαστεύειν.

II

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

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BOOK VII

I

CHAP. I

Superiority of Apollonius to other champions of liberty

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

II

CHAP. II

Zeno the Elean

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

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CAP. 11 ἑαυτοῦ ξυνωμότας ἀπεσιώπησεν, οἱ δ' ἦσαν τῷ τυράννῳ βέβαιοι, διαβαλὼν τούτους ὡς οὐ βεβαίους, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐπ' ἀληθέσι ταῖς αἰτίαις ἀπέθανον, ὁ δ' ἐλεύθερα τὰ Μυσῶν ἤγαγε τὴν τυραννίδα περὶ ἑαυτῇ σφήλας. Πλάτων δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Σικελιωτῶν ἐλευθερίας ἀγῶνά φησιν ἄρασθαι, συλλαβὼν τῆς διανοίας ταύτης Δίωνι. Φύτων δὲ Ῥηγίου ἐκπεσὼν κατέφυγε μὲν ἐπι Διονύσιον τὸν Σικελίας τύραννον, μειζόνων δὲ ἀξιωθεὶς ἢ τὸν φεύγοντα εἰκός, ξυνῆκε μὲν τοῦ τυράννου καὶ ὅτι τοῦ Ῥηγίου ἐρᾷη, Ῥηγίνοις δ' ἐπιστέλλων ταῦτα ἤλω, καὶ ὁ μὲν τύραννος ἑνὸς τῶν μηχανημάτων ἀνάψας αὐτὸν ζῶντα προσήγαγε τοῖς τείχεσιν, ὡς μὴ βάλοιεν οἱ Ῥηγῖνοι τὸ μηχάνημα φειδοῖ τοῦ Φύτωνος, ὁ δὲ ἐβόα βάλλειν, σκοπὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερίας εἶναι. Ἡρακλείδης δὲ καὶ Πύθων οἱ Κότυν ἀποκτείναντες τὸν Θρᾷκα νεανία μὲν ἤστην ἄμφω, τὰς δὲ Ἀκαδημίους διατριβὰς ἐπαινοῦντες σοφώ τε ἐγενέσθην καὶ οὕτως ἐλευθέρω. τὰ δὲ Καλλισθένους τοῦ Ὀλυνθίου τίς οὐκ οἶδεν; ὃς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐπαινέσας τε καὶ διαβαλὼν Μακεδόνας, ὅτε μέγιστοι δυνάμει ἦσαν, ἀπέθανεν ἀηδὴς δόξας. Διογένης δὲ ὁ Σινωπεὺς καὶ Κράτης ὁ Θηβαῖος, ὁ μὲν εὐθὺ Χαιρωνείας ἥκων ἐπέπληξεν ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων Φιλίππῳ περὶ ὧν, Ἡρακλείδης εἶναι φάσκων, ἀπώλλυ ὅπλοις τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων

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

CHAP. II

Plato

Phyton of Rhegium

Heraclides and Python

Callisthenes of Olynthus

Diogenes and Crates

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CAP. II ὅπλα ἠρμένους, ὁ δ' ἀνοικιεῖν Θήβας Ἀλεξάνδρου δι' αὐτὸν φήσαντος οὐκ ἂν ἔφη δεηθῆναι πατρίδος, ἣν κατασκάψει τις ὅπλοις ἰσχύσας. καὶ λέγοιτο μὲν ἂν πολλὰ τοιαῦτα, ὁ λόγος δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ μῆκος, τῷ γε ἀνάγκην ἔχοντι καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντειπεῖν, οὐχ ὡς οὐ καλὰ ἢ οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ πᾶσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἥττω τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου, κἂν ἄριστα ἑτέρων φαίνηται.

III

CAP. III Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ Ἐλεάτου ἔργον καὶ οἱ τὸν Κότυν ἀπεκτονότες οὔπω ἀξιόλογα, Θρᾷκας γὰρ καὶ Γέτας δουλοῦσθαι μὲν ῥᾴδιον, ἐλευθεροῦν δὲ εὔηθες, οὐδὲ γὰρ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ χαίρουσιν, ἅτε, οἶμαι, οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἡγούμενοι τὸ δουλεύειν. Πλάτων δὲ ὡς μὲν οὐ σοφόν τι ἔπαθε τὰ ἐν Σικελίᾳ διορθούμενος μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ Ἀθήνησιν, ἢ ὡς εἰκότως ἐπράθη σφαλείς τε καὶ σφήλας, οὐ λέγω διὰ τοὺς δυσχερῶς ἀκροωμένους. τὰ δὲ τοῦ Ῥηγίνου πρὸς Διονύσιον μὲν ἐτολμᾶτο τυραννεύοντα οὐ βεβαίως Σικελίας, ὁ δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου πάντως ἀποθανὼν ἄν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ Ῥηγίνων ἐβλήθη, θαυμαστόν, οἶμαι, οὐδὲν ἔπραττε, τὸν

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

III

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

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CAP. III

ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑτέρων ἐλευθερίας θάνατον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ δουλείας αἱρούμενος. Καλλισθένης δὲ τὸ δόξαι κακὸς οὐδ' ἂν νῦν διαφύγοι, τοὺς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσας καὶ διαβαλών, ἢ διέβαλεν, οὓς ἐνόμισεν ἐπαίνων ἀξίους, ἢ ἐπῄνεσεν, οὓς ἐχρῆν διαβάλλοντα φαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἄλλως ὁ μὲν καθιστάμενος ἐς τὸ λοιδορεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὐκ ἔχει ἀποδρᾶναι τὸ μὴ οὐ δόξαι βάσκανος, ὁ δὲ τοὺς πονηροὺς κολακεύων ἐπαίνοις αὐτὸς ἀποίσεται τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἁμαρτηθέντων σφίσιν, οἱ γὰρ κακοὶ κακίους ἐπαινούμενοι. Διογένης δὲ πρὸ Χαιρωνείας μὲν εἰπὼν ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον κἂν ἐφύλαξε τὸν ἄνδρα καθαρὸν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους ὅπλων, εἰργασμένοις δ' ἐπιστὰς ὠνείδιζε μέν, οὐ μὴν διωρθοῦτο. Κράτης δὲ καὶ αἰτίαν ἂν λάβοι πρὸς ἀνδρὸς φιλοπόλιδος μὴ ξυναράμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῆς βουλῆς, ᾗ ἐς τὸ ἀνοικίσαι τὰς Θήβας ἐχρῆτο. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ οὔθ' ὑπὲρ πατρίδος κινδυνευούσης δείσας, οὔτε τοῦ σώματος ἀπογνούς, οὔτ' ἐς ἀνοήτους ὑπαχθεὶς λόγους, οὔθ' ὑπὲρ Μυσῶν ἢ Γετῶν, οὔτε πρὸς ἄνδρα, ὃς ἦρχε νήσου μιᾶς ἢ χώρας οὐ μεγάλης, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ᾧ θάλαττά τε ἦν καὶ γῆ πᾶσα, πρὸς τοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ πικρῶς ἐτυράννευε, παρέττατεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῶν ἀρχομένων κέρδους, χρησάμενος μὲν τῇ διανοίᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ πρὸς Νέρωνα.

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

CHAP. III

of Callisthenes,

of Diogenes,

of Crates

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IV

CAP. IV

Ἡγείσθω δ' οὖν τις ἀκροβολισμοὺς ἐκεῖνα, ἐπεὶ μὴ ὁμόσε χωρῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Βίνδικα ἐπιρρωννὺς καὶ τὸν Τιγελλῖνον ἐκπλήττων σαθροτέραν τὴν τυραννίδα ἐποίει, καί τις ἀναφύεται λόγος ἀλαζὼν ἐνταῦθα, ὡς οὐδὲν γενναῖον ἐπιθέσθαι Νέρωνι ψαλτρίας τινὸς ἢ αὐλητρίδος βίον ζῶντι· ἀλλὰ περί γε Δομετιανοῦ τί φήσουσιν ; ὃς τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἔρρωτο, ἡδονὰς δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐξ ὀργάνων τε καὶ κτύπων τὰς τὸ θυμοειδὲς ἀπομαραινούσας παρῃτεῖτο, τὰ δὲ ἑτέρων ἄχη καὶ ὅ τι ὀλοφύραιτό τις, ἐς τὸ εὐφραῖνον εἵλκε, τὴν δ' ἀπιστίαν δήμων μὲν ἐκάλει πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους φυλακτήριον, τυράννων δὲ πρὸς πάντας, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πάντων μὲν ἔργων ἠξίου παύειν βασιλέα, φόνων δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅθεν ἠκρωτηριάσθη μὲν ἡ βουλὴ τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτάτους, φιλοσοφία δὲ οὕτω τι ἔπτηξεν, ὡς ἀποβαλόντες τὸ σχῆμα οἱ μὲν ἀποδρᾶναι σφῶν ἐς τὴν Κελτῶν ἑσπέραν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰ ἔρημα Λιβύης τε καὶ Σκυθίας, ἔνιοι δ' ἐς λόγους ἀπενεχθῆναι ξυμβούλους τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων. ὁ δ', ὥσπερ τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ πεποίηται πρὸς τὸν Οἰδίπουν ὁ Τειρεσίας ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λέγων

οὐ γάρ τι σοὶ ζῶ δοῦλος, ἀλλὰ Λοξίᾳ,

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IV

CHAP. IV

Courage of Apollonius in facing Domitian as well as Nero

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

'For 'tis not in your slavery that I live, but in that of Loxias,' Oedip. Tyr. 410

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CAP. IV οὕτω τὴν σοφίαν δέσποιναν πεποιημένος ἐλεύθερος ἦν τῆς Δομετιανοῦ φορᾶς, τὰ Τειρεσίου τε καὶ Σοφοκλέους ἑαυτῷ ἐπιθεσπίσας καὶ δεδιὼς μὲν οὐδὲν ἴδιον, ἃ δὲ ἑτέρους ἀπώλλυ, ἐλεῶν, ὅθεν ξυνίστη ἐπ' αὐτὸν νεότητά τε, ὁπόσην ἡ βουλὴ εἶχε, καὶ ξύνεσιν, ὁπόση περὶ ἐνίους αὐτῶν ἐωρᾶτο, φοιτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔθνη καὶ φιλοσοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὡς οὔτε ἀθάνατος ἡ τῶν τυράννων ἰσχύς, αὐτῷ τε τῷ φοβεροὶ δοκεῖν ἁλίσκονται μᾶλλον. διῄει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ Παναθήναια τὰ Ἀττικά, ἐφ' οἷς Ἁρμόδιός τε καὶ Ἀριστογείτων ᾄδονται, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔργον, ὃ καὶ τριάκοντα ὁμοῦ τυράννους εἶλε, καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων δὲ αὐτῶν διῄει πάτρια, ὡς κἀκεῖνοι δῆμος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες τὰς τυραννίδας ἐώθουν ὅπλοις.

V

CAP. V Τραγῳδίας δὲ ὑποκριτοῦ παρελθόντος ἐς τὴν Ἔφεσον ἐπὶ τῇ Ἰνοῖ τῷ δράματι, καὶ ἀκροωμένου τοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρχοντος, ὃς καίτοι νέος ὢν φανερὸς ἐν ὑπάτοις ἀτολμότερον ὑπὲρ τούτων διενοεῖτο, ὁ μὲν ὑποκριτὴς ἐπέραινεν ἤδη τὰ ἰαμβεῖα, ἐν οἷς ὁ Εὐριπίδης διὰ μακρῶν αὐξηθέντας τοὺς τυράννους ἁλίσκεσθαί φησιν ὑπὸ μικρῶν, ἀναπηδήσας δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἀλλ' ὁ δειλός," ἔφη, "οὗτος οὔτε Εὐριπίδου ξυνίησιν οὔτε ἐμοῦ."

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

V

CHAP. V

Applauds the Ino at Ephesus

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

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VI

CAP. VI Καὶ μὴν καὶ λόγου ἀφικομένου, ὡς λαμπρὰν κάθαρσιν εἴη Δομετιανὸς πεποιημένος τῆς Ῥωμαίων Ἑστίας, ἐπειδὴ τρεῖς τῶν Ἑστιάδων ἀπέκτεινεν ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ τῆς ζώνης καὶ τῷ μὴ καθαρεῦσαι γάμων, ἃς ἁγνῶς τὴν Ἰλιάδα Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖ πῦρ θεραπεύειν ἔδει, "εἰ γὰρ καὶ σύ," ἔφη, "καθαρθείης, Ἥλιε, τῶν ἀδίκων φόνων, ὧν πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη μεστὴ νῦν." καὶ οὐδὲ ἰδίᾳ ταῦτα, ὥσπερ οἱ δειλοί, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὁμίλῳ καὶ ἐς πάντας ἐκήρυττέ τε καὶ ηὔχετο.

VII

CAP. VII Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σαβῖνον ἀπεκτονώς, ἕνα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ξυγγενῶν, Ἰουλίαν ἤγετο, ἡ δὲ Ἰουλία γυνὴ μὲν ἦν τοῦ πεφονευμένου, Δομετιανοῦ δὲ ἀδελφιδῆ, μία τῶν Τίτου θυγατέρων, ἔθυε μὲν ἡ Ἔφεσος τοὺς γάμους, ἐπιστὰς δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὦ νύξ," ἔφη, "τῶν πάλαι Δαναΐδων, ὡς μία ἦσθα."

VIII

CAP. VIII Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ὧδε αὐτῷ ἐπράττετο· ἀρχῇ πρέπειν ἐδόκει Νερούας, ἧς μετὰ

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VI

CHAP. VI

Demonstrates in public against Domitian

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

VII

CHAP. VII

Domitian's marriage with Julia

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

VIII

CHAP. VIII

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

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CAP. VIII

Δομετιανὸν σωφρόνως ἤγατο, ἦν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ὀρφιτόν τε καὶ Ῥοῦφον ἡ αὐτὴ δόξα. τούτους Δομετιανὸς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἑαυτῷ φήσας, οἱ μὲν ἐς νήσους καθείρχθησαν, Νερούᾳ δὲ προσέταξεν οἰκεῖν Τάραντα· ὧν δὲ ἐπιτήδειος αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸν μὲν χρόνον, ὃν Τίτος ὁμοῦ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἦρχεν, ἀεί τι ὑπὲρ σωφροσύνης ἐπέστελλε τοῖς ἀνδράσι, προσποιῶν αὐτοὺς τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὡς χρηστοῖς, Δομετιανοῦ δέ, ἐπεὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν, ἀφίστη τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁπάντων ἐλευθερίας ἐρρώννυ. τὰς μὲν δὴ ἐπιστολιμαίους ξυμβουλίας οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς αὐτοῖς ᾤετο, πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν ἐν δυνάμει καὶ δοῦλοι προὔδοσαν καὶ φίλοι καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπόρρητον ἐχώρησε τότε οἰκία, τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἑταίρων τοὺς σωφρονεστάτους ἄλλοτε ἄλλον ἀπολαμβάνων, "διάκονον," εἶπεν ἄν, "ποιοῦμαί σε ἀπορρήτου λαμπροῦ· βαδίσαι δὲ χρὴ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην παρὰ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ διαλεχθῆναί οἱ καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν πειθὼ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πᾶν ὅ τι ἐγώ." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσεν, ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὁρμῆς μὲν ἐνδειξάμενοί τι ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον, ὄκνῳ δ' ἐκπεσόντες ὧν διενοήθησαν, διελέγετο μὲν ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης περὶ τὸ νέμος τῆς Σμύρνης, ἐν ᾧ ὁ Μέλης.

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

CHAP. VIII

Apollonius' relations with Nerva

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IX

CAP. IX Εἰδὼς δὲ τὸν Νερούαν ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ ἄρξοι, διῄει τὸν λόγον καὶ ὅτι μηδ' οἱ τύραννοι τὰ ἐκ Μοιρῶν οἷοι βιάζεσθαι, χαλκῆς τε εἰκόνος ἱδρυμένης Δομετιανοῦ πρὸς τῷ Μέλητι, ἐπιστρέψας ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς παρόντας, "ἀνόητε," εἶπεν, "ὡς πολὺ διαμαρτάνεις Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης· ᾧ γὰρ μετὰ σὲ τυραννεῦσαι πέπρωται, τοῦτον κἂν ἀποκτείνῃς, ἀναβιώσεται." ταῦτα ἐς Δομετιανὸν ἀφίκετο ἐκ διαβολῶν Εὐφράτου, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὅτου μὲν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐχρησμῴδει αὐτά, οὐδεὶς ξυνίει, τιθέμενος δὲ ὁ τύραννος εὖ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φόβον ὥρμησεν ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ἄνδρας· ὡς δὲ μὴ ἔξω λόγου πράττων αὐτὸ φαίνοιτο, ἐκάλει τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀπολογησόμενον ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπορρήτων. ἢ γὰρ ἀφικομένου καταψηφισάμενος οὐδὲ ἀκρίτους ἀπεκτονέναι δόξειν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἑαλωκότας, ἢ εἰ σοφίᾳ τινὶ τοῦ φανεροῦ ὑπεξέλθοι, μᾶλλον ἤδη ἀπολεῖσθαι σφᾶς ὡς κατεψηφισμένους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινωνοῦ τῆς αἰτίας.

X

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

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IX

CHAP. IX

His discourse at Smyrna on the Fates

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

Domitian requires Apollonius to clear himself of charge of rebellion

X

CHAP. X

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

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CAP. X

τε καὶ ἀναχθείη, προεῖδε μὲν ὁ Τυανεὺς πάντα δαιμονίως τε καὶ ὥσπερ εἰώθει, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἑταίρους εἰπὼν δεῖσθαι ἀποδημίας ἀπορρήτου, τοὺς μὲν ἐσῆλθεν Ἀβάριδος τοῦ ἀρχαίου δόξα, καὶ ὅτι ἐς τοιόνδε τι ὡρμήκοι, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ τῷ Δάμιδι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν ἐκφήνας, ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔπλει, Κορίνθου δὲ ἐπιβὰς καὶ τῷ Ἡλίῳ περὶ μεσημβρίαν ὁπόσα εἰώθει δράσας, ἀφῆκεν ἐς τὸ Σικελῶν καὶ Ἰταλῶν ἔθνος ἅμα ἑσπέρᾳ. τυχὼν δὲ οὐρίου πνεύματος καί τινος εὐροίας ὑποδραμούσης τὸ πέλαγος ἀφίκετο ἐς Δικαιαρχίαν πεμπταῖος. Δημητρίῳ δὲ ἐντυχών, ὃς ἐδόκει θαρσαλεώτατος τῶν φιλοσόφων, ἐπεὶ μὴ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης διητᾶτο, ξυνίει μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐξεστηκότος τῷ τυράννῳ, διατριβῆς δέ ἕνεκα, "εἴληφά σε," εἶπε, "τρυφῶντα καὶ τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἰταλίας, εἰ δὴ εὐδαίμων, τὸ μακαριώτατον οἰκοῦντα, ἐν ᾧ λέγεται καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς Καλυψοῖ ξυνὼν ἐκλαθέσθαι καπνοῦ Ἰθακησίου καὶ οἴκου." περιβαλὼν δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Δημήτριος, καί τι καὶ ἐπευφημήσας, "ὦ θεοί," ἔφη, "τί πείσεται φιλοσοφία κινδυνεύουσα περὶ ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ;" "κινδυνεύει δέ," εἶπε, "τί;" "ἄγε," ἔφη, "προειδὼς ἥκεις· εἰ γὰρ τὸν σὸν ἀγνοῶ νοῦν, οὐδὲ τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ οἶδα. διαλεγώμεθα δὲ μὴ ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλ' ἴωμεν οὗ μόνων ἡμῶν ἡ ξυνουσία ἔσται, παρατυγχανέτω δὲ καὶ ὁ Δάμις, ὃν ἐγώ, νὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, Ἰόλεων ἡγοῦμαι τῶν σῶν ἄθλων."

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CHAP. X

Apollonius forestalls summons and sets out for Rome

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

Meets with Demetrius

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XI

CAP. XI

Ἄγει δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐς τὸ Κικέρωνος τοῦ παλαιοῦ χωρίον, ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τῷ ἄστει. ἱζησάντων δὲ ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ οἱ μὲν τέττιγες ὑποψαλλούσης αὐτοὺς τῆς αὔρας ἐν ᾠδαῖς ἦσαν, ἀναβλέψας δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁ Δημήτριος, "ὦ μακάριοι," ἔφη, "καὶ ἀτεχνῶς σοφοί, ὡς ἐδίδαξάν τε ὑμᾶς ᾠδὴν ἄρα Μοῦσαι μήπω ἐς δίκας ἡ διαβολὰς ὑπαχθεῖσαν, γαστρός τε κρείττους ἐποίησαν καὶ ἀνῴκισαν τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου φθόνου ἐς ταυτὶ τὰ δένδρα, ἐφ' ὧν ὄλβιοι τὴν ἐφ' ὑμῶν τε καὶ Μουσῶν εὐδαιμονίαν ᾄδετε." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ξυνίει μὲν οἷ τείνει ταῦτα, διαβαλὼν δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἀργότερα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, "εἶτα," εἶπε, "τεττίγων βουληθεὶς διελθεῖν ἔπαινον, οὐκ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν διῄεις αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα πτήξας, ὥσπερ δημοσίᾳ κειμένου νόμου μηδένα ἐπαινεῖν τέττιγας;" "οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐπαίνου," ἔφη, "ταῦτα εἶπον, ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενος, ὅτι τούτοις μὲν ἀνεῖται τὰ αὐτῶν μουσεῖα, ἡμῖν δὲ οὐδὲ γρύξαι συγγνώμη, ἀλλ' ἔγκλημα ἡ σοφία εὕρηται, καὶ ἡ μὲν Ἀνύτου καὶ Μελήτου γραφὴ "Σωκράτης," φησίν, "ἀδικεῖ διαφθείρων τοὺς νέους καὶ δαιμόνια καινὰ ἐπεσάγων, ἡμᾶς δὲ οὑτωσὶ γράφονται· ἀδικεῖ ὁ δεῖνα σοφὸς ὢν καὶ δίκαιος καὶ ξυνιεὶς μὲν θεῶν, ξυνιεὶς

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XI

CHAP. XI

Their talk at Cicero's villa

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

Domitian's persecution of philosophers

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CAP XI δὲ ἀνθρώπων, νόμων τε πέρι πολλὰ εἰδώς. σὺ δ', ὅσῳ περ ἡμῶν σοφώτατος, τοσούτῳ, σοφωτέρα κατηγορία ἐπὶ σὲ εὕρηται· βούλεται γάρ σε Δομετιανὸς μετέχειν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἐφ' οἷς Νερούας τε καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ φεύγουσι." "φεύγουσι δ'," ἦ δ' ὅς, "ἐπὶ τῷ;" "ἐπὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ γε," ἔφη, "τῶν νῦν αἰτιῶν, ὡς δοκεῖ τῷ διώκοντι· φησὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ πηδῶντας ᾠρηκέναι, σὲ δὲ ἐξορμῆσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς ταῦτα παῖδα, οἶμαι, τεμόντα." "μῶν," ἔφη, "ὡς ὑπ' εὐνούχου ἡ ἀρχὴ καταλυθείη;" "οὐ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "συκοφαντούμεθα, φασὶ δ', ὡς παῖδα θύσαις ὑπὲρ μαντικῆς, ἣν τὰ νεαρὰ τῶν σπλάγχνων φαίνει, πρόσκειται δὲ τῇ γραφῇ καὶ περὶ ἀμπεχόνης καὶ διαίτης καὶ τὸ ἔστιν ὑφ' ὧν προσκυνεῖσθαί σε. ταυτὶ γὰρ Τελεσίνου ἤκουον ἀνδρὸς ἐμοί τε καὶ σοὶ ἐπιτηδείου." "ἔρμαιον," εἶπεν, "εἰ Τελεσίνῳ ἐντευξόμεθα, λέγεις γάρ που τὸν φιλόσοφον, ὃς ἐπὶ Νέρωνος ἐν ὑπάτοις ἦρξεν." "ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "λέγω, ξυγγένοιο δ' ἂν αὐτῷ τίνα τρόπον; αἱ γάρ τυραννίδες ὑποπτότεραι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ἀξίᾳ πάντας, ἢν ἐς κοινὸν ἴωσι λόγον τοῖς ἐν οἵᾳ σὺ νῦν αἰτίᾳ, Τελεσῖνος δὲ καὶ τῷ κηρύγματι ὑπεξῆλθεν, ὃ κεκήρυκται νῦν ἐς φιλοσοφίαν πᾶσαν, ἀσπασάμενος μᾶλλον τὸ φεύγειν ὡς φιλόσοφος ἢ τὸ ὡς ὕπατος μένειν." "μὴ κιν-

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

CHAP. XI

The charges against Apollonius

Telesinus the Consul friendly to philosophers

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CAP. XI δυνευέτω," εἶπεν, "ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐμοῦγε ἕνεκα, ἱκανῶς γὰρ ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας κινδυνεύει.

XII

CAP. XII "Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό μοι εἰπέ, Δημήτριε, τί δοκῶ σοι λέγων ἢ τί πράττων εὖ θήσεσθαι τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ φόβον;" "μὴ παίζων," ἔφη, "μηδέ, ἃ δέδιας, φοβεῖσθαι λέγων, εἰ γὰρ φοβερὰ ἡγοῦ ταῦτα, κἂν ᾧχου ἀποδρὰς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγον." "σὺ δ' ἂν ἀπέδρας," εἶπεν, "εἰ περὶ ὧν ἐγὼ ἐκινδύνευες;" "οὐκ ἄν," ἔφη, "μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, εἴ τις ἐδίκαζε, τὸ δ' ἄνευ δίκης καὶ ὃ μηδ', εἰ ἀπολογοίμην, ἀκροασόμενος ἢ ἀκροασόμενος μέν, ἀποκτενῶν δὲ καὶ μὴ ἀδικοῦντα. οὐκ ἂν ἔμοιγ' οὖν ξυνεχώρησας ἑλέσθαι ποτὲ ψυχρὸν οὕτω καὶ ἀνδραποδώδη θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ φιλοσοφίᾳ προσήκοντος· φιλοσοφίᾳ δέ, οἶμαι, προσήκει ἢ πόλιν ἐλευθεροῦντα ἀποθανεῖν ἢ γονεῦσι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ παισὶ καὶ ἀδελφοῖς καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ξυγγενείᾳ ἀμύνοντα ἢ ὑπὲρ φίλων ἀγωνιζόμενον, οἳ ξυγγενείας αἱρετώτεροι σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἢ οἳ ἠμπολημένοι ἐξ ἔρωτος. τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐπ' ἀληθέσι κεκομψευμένοις δ' ἀποθανεῖν καὶ παρασχεῖν τῷ τυράννῳ σοφῷ δόξαι, πολλῷ βαρύτερον ἢ εἴ τις, ὥσπερ φασὶ τὸν Ἰξίονα, μετέωρος ἐπὶ τροχοῦ κνάμπτοιτο. σοὶ δὲ ἀγῶνος οἶμαι

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

XII

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

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CAP. XII

ἄρξειν αὐτὸ τὸ ἥκειν ἐνταῦθα, σὺ μὲν γὰρ τῷ τῆς γνώμης ὑγιαίνοντι προστίθης τοῦτο καὶ τῷ μὴ ἂν θαρρῆσαι τὴν δεῦρο ὁδόν, εἴ τι ἠδίκεις, Δομετιανῷ δὲ οὐ δόξεις, ἀλλ' ἀπόρρητόν τινα ἰσχὺν ἔχων θρασέως ἐρρῶσθαι. τὸ γὰρ καλοῦντος μέν, οὔπω δ' ἡμέραι δέκα, ὥς φασι, σὲ δ' ἀφῖχθαι πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν οὐδ' ἀκηκοότα πω, ὡς κριθήσῃ, νοῦν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ δώσει, προγιγνώσκων γὰρ ἂν φαίνοιο καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἰσχύσει. καὶ ὅρα, μὴ τὰ περὶ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ διειλέχθαι σέ φασιν, ἐπὶ σὲ ἥκῃ, καὶ βουλομένης τι τῆς εἱμαρμένης ἄτοπον, σὺ δ' ἠναγκασμένος χωρῇς ἐπ' αὐτό, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὡς σοφώτερον ἀεὶ τὸ φυλάττεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐκλέλησαι τῶν ἐπὶ Νέρωνος, οἶσθά που τοὐμὸν καὶ ὅτι μὴ ἀνελεύθερος ἐγὼ πρὸς θάνατον. ἀλλ' εἶχέ τι ῥᾳστώνης ἐκεῖνα· Νέρωνα γὰρ ἡ κιθάρα τοῦ μὲν προσφόρου βασιλείᾳ σχήματος ἐδόκει ἐκκρούειν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἤρμοττεν, ἦγε γάρ τινας πολλάκις δι' αὐτὴν ἐκεχειρίας, καὶ ἀπείχετο τῶν φόνων· ἐμὲ γοῦν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε καίτοι τὸ ξίφος ἐπ' ἐμαυτὸν ἕλκοντα διὰ τοὺς σούς τε κἀμοῦ λόγους, οὓς ἐπὶ τῷ βαλανείῳ διῆλθον, αἴτιον δ' ἦν τοῦ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸ τὴν εὐφωνίαν αὐτῷ ἐπιδοῦναι τότε καὶ τό, ὡς ᾤετο, μελῳδίας λαμπρᾶς ἅψασθαι. νυνὶ δὲ τίνι μὲν εὐφωνίᾳ, τίνι δὲ κιθάρᾳ θύσομεν ;

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

CHAP. XII

Demetrius predicts danger for Apollonius and exhorts him to flee

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CAP. XII

ἄμουσα γὰρ καὶ μεστὰ χολῆς πάντα, καὶ οὔτ' ἂν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅδε οὔτ' ἂν ὑφ' ἑτέρων θελχθείη. καίτοι Πίνδαρος ἐπαινῶν τὴν λύραν φησίν, ὡς καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεος θυμὸν θέλγει καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἴσχει αὐτόν, οὑτοσὶ δέ, καίτοι μουσικὴν ἀγωνίαν καταστησάμενος ἐνταῦθα, καὶ στεφανῶν δημοσίᾳ τοὺς νικῶντας, ἔστιν οὓς καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν, ὕστατά φασι μουσικὴν ἀγωνίαν αὐλήσαντάς τε καὶ ᾄσαντας. βουλευτέα δέ σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, προσαπολεῖς γὰρ κἀκείνους ἢ θρασὺς δόξας ἢ εἰπών, ἃ μὴ πείσεις. ἡ σωτηρία δέ σοι παρὰ πόδα· τῶν γὰρ νεῶν τούτων, πολλαὶ δ', ὡς ὁρᾷς, εἰσίν, αἱ μὲν ἐς Λιβύην ἀφήσουσιν, αἱ δ' ἐς Αἴγυπτον, αἱ δ' ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ Κύπρον, αἱ δ' εὐθὺ Σαρδοῦς, αἱ δ' ὑπὲρ Σαρδώ· μιᾶς ἐπιβάντι σοι κομίζεσθαι κράτιστον ἐς ὁτιδὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτων, αἱ γὰρ τυραννίδες ἧττον χαλεπαὶ τοῖς φανεροῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἢν ἐπαινοῦντας αἴσθωνται τὸ μὴ ἐν φανερῷ ζῆν."

XIII

CAP. XIII

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

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

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CHAP. XIII

The apprehensions of Damis

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

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CAP. XIII μηδ' ἀναρριπτεῖν πρὸς τυραννίδα, ἧς οὐ χαλεπωτέρα ἐνομίσθη. τῆς γοῦν ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐνταῦθα, εἰ μή σοι ξυνέτυχον, οὐδὲ τὸν νοῦν ἐγίγνωσκον, ἕπομαι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ θᾶττον ἢ ἑαυτῷ τις, εἰ δὲ ἕροιό με, ποῖ πλέω ἢ ἐφ' ὅ τι, καταγέλαστος ἐγὼ τοῦ πλοῦ Σικελικὰ μὲν πελάγη καὶ Τυρρηνοὺς κόλπους ἀναμετρῶν, οὐκ εἰδὼς δέ, ὑπὲρ ὅτου. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐκ προρρήσεως ἐκινδύνευον, εἶχον ἂν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας λέγειν, ὡς Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν θανάτου ἐρᾷ, ἐγὼ δ' ἀντεραστὴς ξυμπλέω. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν οἶδα, ἐμὸν ἤδη λέγειν, ὑπὲρ ὧν οἶδα, λέξω δὲ αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρός· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀποθάνοιμι, οὔπω δεινὰ φιλοσοφία πείσεται, σκευοφόρῳ γὰρ εἴκασμαι στρατιώτου γενναίου, λόγου ἀξιούμενος, ὅτι τοιῷδε ἕπομαι, εἰ δὲ ἔσται τις, ὃς ἀποκτενεῖ τοῦτον, εὔποροι δ' αἱ τυραννίδες τὰ μὲν ξυνθεῖναι, τὰ δὲ ἐξᾶραι, τρόπαιον μὲν οἶμαι κατὰ φιλοσοφίας ἑστήξει σφαλείσης περὶ τῷ ἄριστα ἀνθρώπων φιλοσοφήσαντι, πολλοὶ δὲ Ἄνυτοι καθ' ἡμῶν καὶ Μέλητοι, γραφαὶ δ' αἱ μὲν ἔνθεν, αἱ δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀπολλωνίῳ ξυγγενομένους, ὡς ὁ μέν τις ἐγέλασε καθαπτομένου τῆς τυραννίδος, ὁ δ' ἐπέρρωσε λέγοντα, ὁ δ' ἐνέδωκε λέξαι τι, ὁ δ' ἀπῆλθε

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

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

XIV

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

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

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CHAP. XIV

Apollonius expostulates with Demetrius for his cowardice

Apollonius answered thus: "We must make allowance for the very timid remarks which Damis has made about the situation; for he is a Syrian and lives on the border of Media, where tyrants are worshipped, and where no one entertains a lofty ideal of freedom; but as for yourself, I do not see how you can defend yourself at the bar of philosophy from the charge of trumping up fears, from which, even if there were really any reason for them, you ought to try to wean him; instead of doing so you try to plunge into terror a man who is only too inclined to tremble at imaginary dangers. I would indeed have a wise man sacrifice his life for the objects you have mentioned, but any man without being wise would equally die for them; for it is an obligation of law that we should die in behalf of our freedom, and an injunction of nature that we should die in behalf of our kinsfolk or of our friends or darlings. Now all men are the slaves of nature and of law; the willing slaves of nature, as the unwilling

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CAP. XIV

ἑκόντας, νόμος δὲ ἄκοντας· σοφοῖς δὲ οἰκειότερον τελευτᾶν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπετήδευσαν· ἃ γὰρ μὴ νόμου ἐπιτάξαντος, μηδὲ φύσεως ξυντεκούσης, αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ ῥώμης τε καὶ θράσους ἐμελέτησαν, ὑπὲρ τούτων, εἰ καταλύοι τις αὐτά, ἴτω μὲν πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν σοφόν, ἴτω δὲ πέλεκυς, ὡς νικήσει αὐτὸν οὐδὲν τούτων, οὐδὲ ἐς ὁτιοῦν περιελᾷ ψεῦδος, καθέξει δέ, ὁπόσα οἶδε, μεῖον οὐδὲν ἢ ἃ ἐμυήθη. ἐγὼ δὲ γιγνώσκω μὲν πλεῖστα ἀνθρώπων, ἅτε εἰδὼς πάντα, οἶδα δὲ ὧν οἶδα τὰ μὲν σπουδαίοις, τὰ δὲ σοφοῖς, τὰ δὲ ἐμαυτῷ, τὰ δὲ θεοῖς, τυράννοις δὲ οὐδέν. ὡς δὲ οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀνοήτων ἥκω, σκοπεῖν ἔξεστιν· ἐγὼ γὰρ περὶ μὲν τῷ ἐμαυτοῦ σώματι κινδυνεύω οὐδέν, οὐδ' ἀποθάνοιμ' ἂν ὑπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος, οὐδ' εἰ αὐτὸς βουλοίμην, ξυνίημι δὲ κινδυνεύων περὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὧν εἴτε ἀρχὴν εἴτε προσθήκην ποιεῖταί με ὁ τύραννος, εἰμὶ πᾶν ὅ τι βούλεται. εἰ δὲ προὐδίδουν σφᾶς ἢ βραδύνων ἢ βλακεύων πρὸς τὴν αἰτίαν, τίς ἂν τοῖς σπουδαίοις ἔδοξα; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ με εἰκότως, ὡς παίζοντα ἐς ἄνδρας, οἷς, ἃ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἤτουν, ἀνετέθη; ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἦν μοι διαφυγεῖν τὸ μὴ οὐ προδότης δόξαι, δηλῶσαι βούλομαι·

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

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

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

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CAP. XIV

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

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

CHAP. XIV

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CAP. XIV γῆς ἐάσει καθαρὸν δόξαι; ἔστω γὰρ σὲ μὲν εἰρηκέναι ταῦτα, ἐμὲ δὲ ὡς ὀρθῶς εἰρημένοις πείθεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀπεσφάχθαι, τίς μὲν ὑπὲρ εὐπλοίας εὐχὴ τῷ τοιῷδε; ποῖ δὲ ὁρμιεῖται; πορεύσεται δὲ παρὰ τίνα; ἐξαλλάττειν γὰρ χρὴ οἶμαι πάσης, ὁπόσης Ῥωμαῖοι ἄρχουσι, παρ' ἄνδρας δὲ ἥκειν ἐπιτηδείους τε καὶ μὴ ἐν φανερῷ οἰκοῦντας, τουτὶ δ' ἂν Φραώτης τε εἴη καὶ ὁ Βαβυλώνιος καὶ Ἰάρχας ὁ θεῖος καὶ Θεσπεσίων ὁ γενναῖος. εἰ μὲν δὴ ἐπ' Αἰθιόπων στελλοίμην, τί ἄν, ὦ λῷστε, πρὸς Θεσπεσίωνα εἴποιμι; εἴτε γὰρ κρύπτοιμι ταῦτα, ψευδολογίας ἐραστὴς δόξω, μᾶλλον δὲ δοῦλος, εἴτε ἐς ἀπαγγελίαν αὐτῶν ἴοιμι, τοιῶνδέ που δεήσει λόγων· ἐμέ, ὦ Θεσπεσίων, Εὐφράτης πρὸς ὑμᾶς διέβαλεν, ἃ μὴ ἐμαυτῷ ξύνοιδα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ κομπαστὴν ἔφη καὶ τερατώδη με εἶναι καὶ ὑβριστὴν σοφίας, ὁπόση Ἰνδῶν, ἐγὼ δὲ ταυτὶ μὲν οὐκ εἰμί, προδότης δὲ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φίλων καὶ σφαγεὺς καὶ οὐδὲν πιστὸν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτά εἰμι, στέφανόν τε ἀρετῆς, εἴ τις, στεφανωσόμενος ἥκω τοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς μεγίστους τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην οἴκων οὕτως ἀνεῖλον, ὡς μηδὲ οἰκήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἔτι. ἐρυθριᾷς, Δημήτριε, τούτων ἀκούων, ὁρῶ γάρ. τί οὖν, εἰ καὶ Φραώτην ἐνθυμηθείης κἀμὲ παρὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐς Ἰνδοὺς φεύγοντα, πῶς μὲν ἂν ἐς αὐτὸν βλέψαιμι; τί δ' ἂν εἴποιμι ὑπὲρ ὧν φεύγω; μῶν

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

CHAP. XIV

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CAP. XIV ὡς ἀφικόμην μὲν καλὸς κἀγαθὸς πρότερον καὶ τὸν θάνατον τὸν ὑπὲρ φίλων οὐκ ἄθυμος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ξυνεγενόμην αὐτῷ, τὸ θειότατον τουτὶ τῶν κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ἄτιμον ἔρριψά σοι; ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας οὐδὲ ἐρήσεται οὐδὲν ἥκοντα, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ Αἰολός ποτε τὸν Ὀδυσσέα κακῶς χρησάμενον τῷ τῆς εὐπλοίας δώρῳ ἄτιμον ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν τῆς νήσου, κἀμὲ δήπου ἀπελᾷ τοῦ ὄχθου, κακὸν εἰπὼν ἐς τὸ Ταντάλειον γεγονέναι πῶμα, βούλονται γὰρ τὸν ἐς αὐτὸ κύψαντα καὶ κινδύνων κοινωνεῖν τοῖς φίλοις. οἶδα, ὡς δεινὸς εἶ, Δημήτριε, λόγους ξυντεμεῖν πάντας, ὅθεν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ τοιοῦτό τι ἐρεῖν πρός με· ἀλλὰ μὴ παρὰ τούτους ἴθι, παρ' ἄνδρας δέ, οἷς μήπω ἐπέμιξας, καὶ εὖ κείσεταί σοι τὸ ἀποδρᾶναι, ῥᾷον γὰρ ἐν οὐκ εἰδόσι λήσῃ. βασανιζέσθω δὲ καὶ ὅδε ὁ λόγος, ὅπῃ τοῦ πιθανοῦ ἔχει· δοκεῖ γάρ μοι περὶ αὐτοῦ τάδε· ἐγὼ ἡγοῦμαι τὸν σοφὸν μηδὲν ἰδίᾳ μηδ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν, μηδ' ἂν ἐνθυμηθῆναί τι οὕτως ἁμάρτυρον, ὡς μὴ αὐτὸν γοῦν ἑαυτῷ παρεῖναι, καὶ εἴτε Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτοῦ τὸ Πυθοῖ γράμμα, εἴτε ἀνδρὸς ὑγιῶς ἑαυτὸν γνόντος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γνώμην αὐτὸ ποιουμένου ἐς πάντας, δοκεῖ μοι ὁ σοφὸς ἑαυτὸν γιγνώσκων καὶ παραστάτην ἔχων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν μήτ' ἂν πτῆξαί τι ὧν οἱ πολλοί, μήτ' ἂν θαρσῆσαί τι ὧν ἕτεροι μὴ

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

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

Σοφία δὲ οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ ταῦτα· πρὸς γὰρ τῷ Πυθικῷ ἐπιγράμματι καὶ τὸ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ἐπαινεῖ, ξύνεσιν ἡγουμένου περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι τὴν ἀπολλῦσαν αὐτοὺς νόσον, ἐπειδὰν ἐνθυμηθῶσιν, ὡς κακὰ εἰργασμένοι εἰσίν. ἥδε γάρ που καὶ τῷ Ὀρέστῃ τὰ τῶν Εὐμενίδων εἴδη ἀνέγραφεν, ὅτε δὴ ἐμαίνετο ἐπὶ τῇ μητρί, νοῦς μὲν γὰρ τῶν πρακτέων κύριος, σύνεσις δὲ τῶν ἐκείνῳ δοξάντων. ἦν μὲν δὴ χρηστὰ ἔλῃται ὁ νοῦς, πέμπει ἤδη τὸν ἄνδρα ἡ ξύνεσις ἐς πάντα μὲν ἱερά, πάσας δὲ ἀγυιάς, πάντα δὲ τεμένη, πάντα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἤθη κροτοῦσά τε καὶ ᾄδουσα, ἐφυμνήσει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ καθεύδοντι, παριστᾶσα χορὸν εὔφημον ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ὀνείρων δήμου, ἢν δ' ἐς φαῦλα ὀλίσθῃ ἡ τοῦ νοῦ στάσις, οὐκ ἐᾷ τοῦτον ἡ ξύνεσις οὔτε ὄμμα ὀρθὸν ἐς ἀνθρώπων τινὰ ἀφεῖναι οὔτε τὸ ἀπ' ἐλευθέρας γλώττης φθέγμα, ἱερῶν τε ἀπελαύνει καὶ τοῦ εὔχεσθαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ χεῖρα αἴρειν ξυγχωρεῖ ἐς τὰ ἀγάλματα, ἀλλ' ἐπικόπτει αἴροντας, ὥσπερ τοὺς ἐπανατεινομένους οἱ νόμοι, ἐξίστησι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁμίλου παντὸς καὶ δειματοῖ καθεύδοντας, καὶ ἃ μὲν ὁρῶσι μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ εἰ δή τινα ἀκούειν ἢ λέγειν οἴονται, ὀνειρώδη

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

"But Wisdom allows of none of these things. For beside the Pythian epigram, she also praises Euripides who regarded 'conscience in the case of human beings as a disease which works their ruin, whenever they realise that they have done wrong.' For it was such conscience that brought up before Orestes and and depicted in his imagination the shapes of the Eumenides, when he had gone mad with wrath against his mother; for whereas reason decides what should be done, conscience revises the resolutions taken by reason. If then reason chooses the better part, conscience forthwith escorts a man to all the temples, into all the by-streets, into all groves of the gods, and into all haunts of mankind, applauding him and singing his praises. She will even hymn his merits as he sleeps, and will weave around him a chorus of angels from the world of dreams; but if the determination of reason trip and fall into evil courses, conscience permits not the sinner to look others in the face, nor to address them freely and boldly with his lips; and she drives him away from temples and from prayer. For she suffers him not even to uplift his hands in prayer to the images, but strikes them down as he lifts them, as the law strikes down those who rebel against it; and she drives such men from every social meeting, and terrifies them in their sleep; and while she turns into dreams and windy forms all that they see by day, and any things they think they hear or say, she lends to their empty Eurip. *Or.* 396

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

XV

CAP. XV Ὑπὸ τούτων ὁ Δαμίς τῶν λόγων αὐτὸς μὲν οὕτω διατεθῆναί φησιν, ὡς ὁρμήν τε ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ θάρσος, τὸν Δημήτριον δὲ μὴ ἀπαγνῶναι τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἐπαινέσαντα καὶ ξυνθέμενον οἷς εἶπεν ἐπιθειάσαι οἱ ὑπὲρ οὗ κινδυνεύει καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ αὐτῇ, ὑπὲρ ἧς καρτερεῖ ταῦτα, ἡγεῖσθαί τε αὐτοῖς οὗ καταλύων ἐτύγχανε, τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον παραιτούμενον τοῦτο, "δείλη ἤδη," φάναι, "καὶ χρὴ περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα ἀφεῖναι, τουτὶ γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶ ταύταις νόμιμον, ξυσσιτήσομεν δέ, ἐπειδὰν εὖ τἀμὰ ἔχῃ, νυνὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ κατασκευασθείη τις αἰτία ἐπὶ σὲ ὡς ξυσσιτήσαντα τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐχθρῷ, καὶ μηδὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένος μεθ' ἡμῶν ἴθι, μὴ καὶ τὸ λόγου κεκοινωνηκέναι μοι διαβάλῃ σε ἐς ἀπορρήτους βουλάς." ξυνεχώρησε μὲν δὴ ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ

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

XV

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

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CAP. XV περιβαλὼν αὐτοὺς ἀπῄει, μεταστρεφόμενός τε καὶ τὰ δάκρυα ἀποψῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἰδὼν ἐς τὸν Δάμιν, "εἰ μὲν ἔρρωσαι," ἔφη, "καὶ θαρσεῖς ἅπερ ἐγώ, βαδίσωμεν ἄμφω ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν, εἰ δὲ ἀθύμως ἔχεις, ὥρα σοι καταμένειν ἐνταῦθα, Δημητρίῳ γὰρ ξυνέσῃ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἀνδρὶ σοί τε κἀμοὶ ἐπιτηδείῳ." ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Δάμις, "καὶ τίνα," ἔφη, "νομιῶ ἐμαυτόν, εἰ τοιαῦτά σου διειλεγμένου σήμερον ὑπὲρ φίλων καὶ κοινωνίας κινδύνων, οἳ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἥκουσιν, ἐγὼ δ' ἀνήκοος τοῦ λόγου φεύγοιμί σε καὶ ἀποκινδυνεύοιμί σου, μήπω πρότερον κακὸς ὑπὲρ σοῦ δόξας;" "ὀρθῶς," ἔφη, "λέγεις καὶ ἴωμεν, ἐγὼ μέν, ὡς ἔχω, σὲ δὲ χρὴ μετασκευάζειν σαυτὸν ἐς τὸ δημοτικώτερον καὶ μήτε κομᾶν, ὡς γοῦν ἔχεις, τρίβωνά τε ἀνταλλάττεσθαι τουτουὶ τοῦ λίνου καὶ τὸ ὑπόδημα παραιτεῖσθαι τοῦτο· τί δὲ βούλεταί μοι ταῦτα, χρὴ διαλεχθῆναι. λῷον γὰρ καὶ πλείω καρτερῆσαι πρὸ τῆς δίκης· οὐ δὴ βούλομαι κοινωνῆσαί σέ μοι τούτων ξυλληφθέντα, ξυλληφθείης γὰρ ἂν διαβεβλημένου τοῦ σχήματος, ἀλλ' ὡς μὴ φιλοσοφοῦντα μέν, ἐπιτήδειον δὲ ἄλλως ὄντα μοι ξυνέπεσθαί τε καὶ παρατυγχάνειν οἷς πράττω." αἰτία μὲν ἥδε τοῦ μεταβαλεῖν τὸν Δάμιν τὸ τῶν Πυθαγορείων σχῆμα, οὐ γὰρ ὡς κακίων γε αὐτὸ μεθεῖναί

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

CHAP. XV

Damis doffs his philosopher's garb

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CAP. XV φησιν, οὐδὲ μεταγνούς, τέχνην δὲ ἐπαινέσας, ἣν ὑπῆλθεν ἐς τὸ ξυμφέρον τοῦ καιροῦ.

XVI

CAP. XVI Ἀποπλεύσαντες δὲ τῆς Δικαιαρχίας τριταῖοι κατῆραν ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Θύμβριδος, ἀφ' ὧν ξύμμετρος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνάπλους. τὸ μὲν δὴ βασίλειον ξίφος ἦν ἐπ' Αἰλιανῷ τότε. ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ οὗτος πάλαι τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἦρα, ξυγγεγονώς ποτε αὐτῷ κατ' Αἴγυπτον, καὶ φανερὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Δομετιανὸν ἔλεγεν, οὐ γὰρ ξυνεχώρει ἡ ἀρχή, τὸν γὰρ δοκοῦντα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπηχθῆσθαι πῶς μὲν ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπῄνεσε, πῶς δ' ἂν ὡς ἐπιτήδειον ἑαυτῷ παρῃτήσατο; τέχναι μὴν ὁπόσαι εἰσὶν ἀφανῶς ἀμύνουσαι, πάσαις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐχρῆτο, ὅς γε καὶ τὸν χρόνον, ὃν, πρὶν ἥκειν, διεβάλλετο, "ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "κουφολόγον οἱ σοφισταὶ χρῆμα καὶ ἀλαζὼν ἡ τέχνη, καὶ ἐπεὶ μηδὲν χρηστὸν τοῦ εἶναι ἀπολαύουσι, θανάτου γλίχονται, καὶ οὐ περιμένουσιν αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτόματον, ἀλλ' ἐπισπῶνται τὸν θάνατον ἐκκαλούμενοι τοὺς ἔχοντας ξίφη. ταῦθ' ἡγοῦμαι καὶ Νέρωνα ἐνθυμηθέντα μὴ ὑπαχθῆναι ὑπὸ Δημητρίου ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ γὰρ θανατῶντα ᾔσθετο, οὐ κατὰ ξυγγνώμην ἐπανῆκεν αὐτῷ τὸν θάνατον, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὑπεροψίαν τοῦ κτεῖναι. καὶ

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

XVI

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

Aelian in favour of the Sage

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CAP. XVI μὴν καὶ Μουσώνιον τὸν Τυρρηνὸν πολλὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐναντιωθέντα τῇ νήσῳ ξυνέσχεν, ᾗ ὄνομα Γύαρα, καὶ οὕτω τι τῶν σοφιστῶν τούτων ἥττους Ἕλληνες, ὡς τότε μὲν κατὰ ξυνουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐσπλεῖν πάντας, νυνὶ δὲ κατὰ ἱστορίαν τῆς κρήνης· ἐν γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ ἀνύδρῳ οὔσῃ πρότερον εὕρημα Μουσωνίου κρήνη ἐγένετο, ἣν ᾄδουσιν Ἕλληνες, ὅσα Ἑλικῶνι τὴν τοῦ ἵππου."

XVII

CAP. XVII Τούτοις μὲν δὴ διῆγεν ὁ Αἰλιανὸς τὸν βασιλέα, πρὶν ἥκειν Ἀπολλώνιον, ἀφικομένου δὲ σοφωτέρων ἥπτετο, κελεύει μὲν γὰρ ξυλληφθέντα αὐτὸν ἀναχθῆναί οἱ, λοιδορουμένου δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ τὴν κατηγορίαν ξυνθέντος, ὡς γόητι καὶ ἱκανῷ τὴν τέχνην, ὁ μὲν Αἰλιανός, "τῷ βασιλείῳ δικαστηρίῳ," ἔφη, "σαυτόν τε καὶ τὰ τούτου φύλαττε," ὁ δ' Ἀπολλώνιος, "εἰ μὲν γόης," ἔφη, "ἐγώ, πῶς κρίνομαι; εἰ δὲ κρίνομαι, πῶς γόης εἰμί; εἰ μὴ ἄρα τὸ συκοφαντεῖν ἰσχυρὸν οὕτως εἶναί φησιν, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν γοητευόντων ἡττᾶσθαι αὐτό." βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ κατηγόρου λέγειν τι ἀμαθέστερον, ἐκκρούων αὐτὸν ὁ Αἰλιανός, "ἐμοί," εἶπεν, "ἄφες τὸν καιρὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς δίκης, ἔλεγχον γὰρ ποιήσομαι τῆς τοῦ σοφιστοῦ γνώμης ἰδίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὑμῖν, κἂν μὲν ὁμολογῇ ἀδικεῖν, ξυντετμήσονταί οἱ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ λόγοι καὶ σὺ ἄπει εἰρηνικῶς, εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγει, δικάσει ὁ βασιλεύς." παρελθὼν οὖν ἐς τὸ ἀπόρρητον δικαστήριον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ

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

XVII

CHAP. XVII

Aelian seeks a secret interview with the Sage

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

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CAP. XVII ἐλέγχεται καὶ σιωπᾶται, "χωρεῖτε," ἔφη, "ἐνθένδε καὶ μηδεὶς ἐπακροάσθω, δοκεῖ γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο."

XVIII

CAP. XVIII Ὡς δὲ ἐγένοντο αὐτοί, "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, μειράκιον ἦν κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἦλθε, τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς θύσων, χρησόμενος δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ σοί, καὶ χιλίαρχον μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦγεν ἤδη τῶν πολεμικῶν εἰδότα, σὺ δ' οὕτω τί μοι ἐπιτηδείως εἶχες, ὡς χρηματίζοντος τοῦ βασιλέως ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀπολαβών με ἰδίᾳ, ποδαπός τε εἴην λέγειν καὶ ὅ τι μοι τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ὡς ἔχω τοῦ πατρός, προὔλεγες δέ μοι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην, ἣ τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς μεγίστη δοκεῖ καὶ μείζων ἢ πάντα ὁμοῦ τὰ ἀνθρώπων, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὄχλος καὶ κακοδαιμονία φαίνεται· τυραννίδος γὰρ φύλαξ χαλεπῆς εἰμι, κἂν μὲν σφήλω αὐτήν, δέδοικα τὰ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν. σοὶ δ' ὅπως εὔνους εἰμί, δεδήλωκα, ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἀφ' ὧν εἴρηκά που τὸ μηδ' ἂν παύσασθαί σε ἀγαπῶν, ἔστ' ἂν ᾖ τὸ ἐκείνων μεμνῆσθαι[1] * * τὸ δὲ ἰδίᾳ ἐθελῆσαι ἐρέσθαι σε, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ κατήγορος ξυντέθεικε, σόφισμα οὐ φαῦλον ὑπὲρ ξυνουσίας ἐμοὶ τῆς πρὸς σὲ γέγονεν, ὅπως θαρροίης μὲν τὰ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ὄντα, προγνοίης δὲ

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

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

XVIII

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

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CAP. XVIII τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ· ὅ τι μὲν γὰρ ψηφιεῖται ἐπὶ σοί, οὐκ οἶδα, διάκειται δέ, ὥσπερ οἱ καταψηφίσασθαι μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦντες, αἰσχυνόμενοι δὲ τὸ μὴ ἐπ' ἀληθέσι, καὶ πρόφασιν ἀπωλείας ἀνδρῶν ὑπάτων ποιεῖταί σε· βούλεται μὲν γάρ, ἃ μὴ δεῖ, πράττει δ' αὐτὰ καταρρυθμίζων ἐς τὴν τοῦ δικαίου δόξαν. δεῖ δὴ κἀμοὶ πλάσματος καὶ ὁρμῆς ἐπὶ σέ, εἰ γὰρ ὑπόψεταί με ὡς ἀνιέντα, οὐκ οἶδ' ὁπότερος ἡμῶν ἀπολεῖται θᾶττον."

XIX

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

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

XIX

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

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CAP. XIX οὐδεμία, δι' αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ μήτε ἀδικεῖν μήτε ἀδικεῖσθαι δικαστηρίων οὐ δέονται, δείσας δὲ προδότου λαβεῖν αἰτίαν, εἰ φύγοιμι μὲν αὐτὸς τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ἀπόλοιντο δὲ οἱ δι' ἐμοῦ κινδυνεύοντες, ἥκω ἀπολογησόμενος. ὑπὲρ δὲ ὧν ἀπολογεῖσθαί με δεῖ, φράζε."

XX

CAP. XX "Αἱ μὲν ἰδέαι τῆς γραφῆς ποικίλαι τε," ἔφη, "καὶ πλείους, καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἐσθῆτα διαβάλλουσι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν, καὶ τό ἐστιν ὑφ' ὧν προσκυνεῖσθαί σε καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ποτὲ ὑπὲρ λοιμοῦ χρῆσαι, διειλέχθαι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ μὲν ἀφανῶς, τὰ δ' ἐκφάνδην, τὰ δ' ὡς θεῶν ἀκούσαντα. τὸ δὲ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπιθανώτατον, γιγνώσκω γάρ, ὅτι μηδὲ τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν αἷμα ἀνέχῃ, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πιθανώτατον διαβάλλεται· φασὶν ἐς ἀγρὸν βαδίσαντά σε παρὰ Νερούαν τεμεῖν αὐτῷ παῖδα Ἀρκάδα θυομένῳ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ἐπᾶραι αὐτὸν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τούτοις, πεπρᾶχθαι δὲ ταῦτα νύκτωρ φθίνοντος ἤδη τοῦ μηνός. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ κατηγόρημα, ἐπειδὴ πολλῷ μεῖζον, μὴ ἕτερόν τι παρ' ἐκεῖνο ἡγώμεθα, ὁ γὰρ λαμβανό-

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

XX

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

Aelian reveals to Apollonius the accusations made against him

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CAP. XX μενος τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τῆς διαίτης καὶ τοῦ προγιγνώσκειν ἐς τοῦτο δήπου ξυντείνει, καὶ ταῦτά γε καὶ τὴν παρανομίαν τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν δοῦναί σοί φησι καὶ τὸ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν θάρσος. χρὴ οὖν παρεσκευάσθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀπολογίαν, ἔστω δέ σοι ὁ λόγος μὴ ὑπερορῶν τοῦ βασιλέως." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "τοῦ μὲν μὴ ὑπερορᾶν ἔστω τεκμήριόν σοι τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀπολογίας ἀφῖχθαί με, εἰ δὲ καὶ θρασέως οὕτω τἀμὰ εἶχεν, ὡς ὑπὲρ τυραννίδας αἴρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σοί γε ὑπέσχον ἐμαυτὸν τοιῷδε ὄντι καὶ ἀγαπῶντί με. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐχθρῷ πονηρὸν δόξαι δεινὸν οὔπω, οἱ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ μισοῦσιν οὐκ ἀφ' ὧν δημοσίᾳ διαβέβληταί τις, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν ἰδίᾳ προσκέκρουκε, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς φίλου λαβεῖν αἰτίαν, ὡς κακὸς φαίνοιτο, βαρύτερον τοῦτο ἢ τὰ ἐχθρῶν ὁμοῦ πάντα, οὐ γὰρ ἂν διαφύγοι τὸ μὴ οὐ κἀκείνοις, δι' ἃ κακὸς ἦν, ἀπηχθῆσθαι."

XXI

CAP. XXI Ἐδόκει τῷ Αἰλιανῷ εὖ λέγειν, καὶ παρακελευσάμενος αὐτῷ θαρρεῖν ἑαυτοῦ ἐλάβετο ὡς μὴ ἂν ἐκπλαγέντος τοῦ ἀνδρός, μηδ' ἂν εἰ Γοργείη κεφαλὴ ἐπ' αὐτὸν αἴροιτο. καλέσας οὖν τοὺς

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

XXI

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

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CAP. XXI προστεταγμένους τὰ τοιαῦτα, "κελεύω," ἔφη, "ξυνέχειν τοῦτον, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἥκοντά τε αὐτὸν μάθῃ καὶ λέγοντα ὁπόσα εἴρηκε," καὶ ἐῴκει τοῖς μάλα ὠργισμένοις. παρελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔπραττεν.

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

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

The scoffing tribune

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

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

XXII

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

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

XXII

CHAP. XXII

Apollonius proposes to converse with his fellow prisoners

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

Odyss. 4. 219

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CAP. XXII ἐς τὸν κρατῆρα, ὡς τὰ ἄχη τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποβρέχοιτο, δοκῶ μοι τὴν Ἑλένην λόγους Αἰγυπτίους ἐκμαθοῦσαν ἐπάδειν τοῖς ἀθύμοις ἐν τῷ κρατῆρι, ἰωμένην αὐτοὺς λόγῳ τε ἀναμὶξ καὶ οἴνῳ." "καὶ εἰκὸς μέν," εἶπεν, "εἴπερ ἐς Αἴγυπτόν τε ἦλθε καὶ ὡμίλησε τῷ Πρωτεῖ, ἢ ὡς Ὁμήρῳ δοκεῖ, Πολυδάμνῃ ξυνεγένετο τῇ τοῦ Θῶνος· νυνὶ δὲ ἀναβεβλήσθων οὗτοι, δέομαι γάρ τι ἐρέσθαι σε." "οἶδα," ἔφη, "ὅ με ἐρήσῃ, τοὺς γάρ τοι λόγους, οἳ γεγόνασί μοι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ἅττα εἶπε, καὶ εἰ φοβερὸς ἦν ἢ πρᾷος, βούλει ἀκοῦσαί μου." καὶ διῆλθε πάντας· προσκυνήσας οὖν ὁ Δάμις, "οὐκ ἀπιστῶ," ἔφη, "καὶ τὴν Λευκοθέαν ποτὲ κρήδεμνον τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ δοῦναι μετὰ τὴν ναῦν, ἧς ἐκπεσὼν ἀνεμέτρει ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶ τὸ πέλαγος· καὶ γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐς ἀμήχανά τε καὶ φοβερὰ ἐμβεβηκότων, θεῶν τις ὑπερέχει, οἶμαι, χεῖρα, ὡς μὴ ἐκπέσοιμεν σωτηρίας πάσης." ἐπιπλήττων δ' ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ λόγῳ, "ποῖ παρατενεῖς," ἔφη, "δεδιὼς ταῦτα καὶ μήπω γιγνώσκων, ὅτι σοφία μὲν τὰ ξυνιέντα ἑαυτῆς ἐκπλήττει πάντα, αὐτὴ δ' ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐκπλήττεται;" "ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς," εἶπε, "παρὰ ἀξύνετον ἤκομεν, καὶ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐκπληττόμενον ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀξιοῦντα εἶναί τι, ὃ ἐκπλήξει αὐτόν." "ξυνίης οὖν," ἔφη, "ὦ Δάμι,

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

CHAP. XXII

but first reassures Damis

Odyss. 5. 333

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CAP. XXII ὅτι τετύφωται καὶ ἀνοήτως ἔχει;" "ξυνίημι, τί δ' οὐ μέλλω;" εἶπε. "καὶ σοὶ δέ," ἔφη, "καταφρονητέα τοῦ τυράννου τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον, ὅσῳ καὶ γιγνώσκεις αὐτόν."

XXIII

CAP. XXIII Διαλεγομένοις δ' αὐτοῖς ταῦτα προσελθών τις, οἶμαι, Κίλιξ, "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "ἄνδρες, ὑπὲρ πλούτου κινδυνεύω." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "εἰ μὲν ἀφ' ὧν οὐ θεμιτόν," ἔφη, "πλουτῶν, οἷον λῃστείας ἢ φαρμάκων, ἃ δὴ ἀνδροφόνα, ἢ τάφους κινήσας, ὅσοι τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων εἰσίν, οἳ πολύχρυσοί τε καὶ θησαυρώδεις, οὐ κρίνεσθαί σε χρὴ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπολωλέναι, ταυτὶ γὰρ πλοῦτος μέν, ἀλλ' ἐπίρρητός τε καὶ ὠμός. εἰ δὲ κληρονομήσας ἢ διδούσης ἐμπορίας ἐλευθερίου τε καὶ μὴ καπήλου, τίς οὕτω βαρύς, ὡς ἀφελέσθαι σε νόμου σχήματι τὰ κτηθέντα σοι κατὰ νόμους;" "τὰ μὲν ὄντα μοι παρὰ πλειόνων," ἔφη, "ξυγγενῶν ἐστιν, ἐς μίαν δ' οἰκίαν τὴν ἐμὴν ἥκει, χρῶμαι δ' αὐτοῖς οὔθ' ὡς ἑτέρων, ἐμὰ γάρ, οὔθ' ὡς ἐμοῖς, κοινὰ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγαθούς ἐστί μοι· διαβάλλουσι δ' ἡμᾶς οἱ συκοφάνται μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐκτῆσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, ἐμοῦ τε γὰρ νεώτερα πειρωμένου πράττειν ἐφόδιον ἂν γενέσθαι αὐτόν, ἑτέρῳ τε, ὅτῳ προσθείμην, ῥοπὴν ἂν οὐ σμικρὰν τἀμὰ εἶναι. μεμαντευμέναι δ' ἤδη

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

XXIII

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

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

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

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

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

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

XXIV

CAP. XXIV Ἑτέρου δ' αὖ φήσαντος γραφὴν φεύγειν, ἐπειδὴ θύων ἐν Τάραντι, οὗ ἦρχε, μὴ προσέθηκε ταῖς δημοσίαις εὐχαῖς, ὅτι Δομετιανὸς Ἀθηνᾶς εἴη παῖς, "σὺ μὲν ᾠήθης," ἔφη, "μὴ ἂν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τεκεῖν, παρθένον οὖσαν τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ἠγνόεις δ', οἶμαι, ὅτι ἡ θεὸς αὕτη Ἀθηναίοις ποτὲ δράκοντα ἔτεκε."

XXV

CAP. XXV Καθεῖρκτό τις καὶ ἐπὶ τοιᾷδε αἰτίᾳ· χωρίον ἐν Ἀκαρνανίᾳ περὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Ἀχελῴου ἔχων περιέπλει τὰς Ἐχινάδας ἐν ἀκατίῳ μικρῷ, διασκεψαμενος δε αὐτῶν μίαν, ἣ ξυνῆπτεν ἤδη τῇ

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

XXIV

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

XXV

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

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CAP. XXV ἠπείρῳ, δένδρεσί τε ὡραίοις διεφύτευσε καὶ ἀμπέλοις ἡδυοίνοις, δίαιτάν τε ἱκανὴν τῷ σώματι κατεσκευάσατο ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ γάρ τι καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου ἐσήγετο ἀποχρῶν τῇ νήσῳ· ἐκ τούτου ἀνέφυ γραφή, μὴ καθαρὸς εἶναι ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν οὗτος, ἔργα δὲ αὐτῷ ξυνειδὼς οὐ φορητά, τῆς μὲν ἄλλης γῆς ἐξίσταθαί τε καὶ ἀποφοιτᾶν ὡς μεμιασμένης ἑαυτῷ, τὴν δ' Ἀλκμαίωνος τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω λύσιν, δι' ἣν τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Ἀχελῴου μετὰ τὴν μητέρα ᾤκησεν, ῥῆσθαι αὐτον, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἐφ' ὁμοίοις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σχετλίοις ἴσως καὶ οὐ πόρρω ἐκείνων· ὁ δ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἔφασκεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπραγμοσύνης ἐρῶν ἐκεῖ οἰκῆσαι, τὸ δὲ ἄρα ἐς δίκας αὐτῷ περιστῆναι, δι' ἃς καὶ εἱρχθαι αὐτόν.

XXVI

CAP. XXVI Προσιόντων δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ πλειόνων ἔνδον καὶ ὀλοφυρομένων τοιαῦτα, πεντήκοντα γάρ που εἶναι οἱ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τούτῳ, καὶ οἱ μὲν νοσεῖν αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀθύμως παρεῖσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἐγκαρτερεῖν τὸν θάνατον, οἱ δ' ἐπιβοᾶσθαι τέκνα καὶ γονέας τοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ γάμους, "ὦ Δάμι," ἔφη, "δοκοῦσί

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and he planted it all over with pleasant trees and vines, producing sweet wine. So he made in it a convenient habitation for himself, for he also brought in water in sufficient quantities for the island from the mainland. In consequence, an accusation was trumped up against him, that he had a guilty conscience, and that it was because he was conscious of having committed crimes of an intolerable description, that he transported himself and quitted his own land, feeling that he polluted it, and at the same time had chosen for himself the same form of release as Alcmaeon the son of Amphiareus had done, when after his mother's murder he went and lived on the delta of the Achelous. Even if he had not committed the same crime as Alcmaeon, he must yet, they said, have on his conscience horrible deeds, not falling far short of his. Although he denied these insinuations, and declared that he only went to live there for the sake of peace and quiet, he had nevertheless, he said, been accused and brought to justice, and for this reason he was now cast into prison. CHAP. XXV

XXVI

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

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CAP. XXVI

μοι τοῦ φαρμάκου δεῖσθαι οἱ ἄνδρες, οὗ καταρχὰς ἐπεμνήσθην, εἴτ' οὖν Αἰγύπτιον τοῦτο, εἴτ' ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ φύεται, ῥιζοτομούσης αὐτὸ σοφίας ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῆς κήπων, προσδῶμεν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀθλίοις τούτοις, μὴ προανέλῃ σφᾶς ἡ γνώμη." "προσδῶμεν," ἦ δ' ὃς ὁ Δάμις, "ἐοίκασι γὰρ δεομένοις." ξυγκαλέσας οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἄνδρες," εἶπεν, "οἱ κοινωνοῦντες ἐμοὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς στέγης, ἐλεῶ ὑμᾶς, ὡς ὑφ' αὑτῶν ἀπόλλυσθε, οὔπω εἰδότες, εἰ κατηγορία ἀπολεῖ ὑμᾶς· δοκεῖτε γάρ μοι προαποκτιννύντες αὐτοὺς τοῦ καταψηφισθέντος ἂν ὑμῶν, ὡς οἴεσθε, θανάτου, καὶ θαρρεῖν μὲν ἃ δέδιτε, δεδιέναι δ' ἃ θαρρεῖτε. οὐ μὴν προσήκει γε, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμηθέντας τὸν Ἀρχιλόχου τοῦ Παρίου λόγον, ὃς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς λυπηροῖς καρτερίαν τλημοσύνην καλῶν, θεῶν αὐτήν φησιν εἶναι εὕρημα ἀναφέρειν τῶν σχετλίων τούτων, ὥσπερ οἱ τέχνῃ τοῦ ῥοθίου ὑπεραίροντες, ἐπειδὰν τὸ κῦμα ὑπὲρ τὴν ναῦν ἱστῆται, μηδ' ἡγεῖσθαι χαλεπὰ ταῦτα, ἐφ' ἃ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἄκοντες, ἐγὼ δὲ ἑκὼν ἥκω.

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

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

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

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CAP. XXVI τῷ Ἀχελῴῳ νῆσον ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ κατήγορός φησιν ἐρεῖς ᾠκηκέναι, οὔτε σὺ τὸν σεαυτοῦ πλοῦτον ἔφεδρόν ποτε τῇ βασιλείᾳ στήσασθαι, οὔθ' ἑκὼν σὺ τοῦ μὴ πρὸς Ἀθηνᾶς δοκεῖν ἀφῃρῆσθαι τὸν ἄρχοντα, οὔθ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀφῖχθε κινδυνεύων ἕκαστος, ἀληθῆ ταῦτα εἶναι φήσει, τί βούλεταί," φησιν, "ὁ ὑπὲρ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων θρῆνος οὗτος; ὅσῳ γάρ, τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐπιβοᾶσθε, τοσῷδε χρὴ ἐρρῶσθαι μᾶλλον, ἆθλα γάρ που τῆς τλημοσύνης ταύτης ἐκεῖνα. ἢ τὸ καθεῖρχθαι δεῦρο δεινὸν εἶναί φατε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ ζῆν; ἢ ἀρχὴν ὧν πείσεσθαι ἡγεῖσθε; ἢ καὶ καθ' αὑτὸ τιμωρίαν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πάθοιτε; ἀλλ' ἔγωγε τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν εἰδὼς φύσιν, ἀναδιδάξω λόγον ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ἐοικότα τοῖς τῶν ἰατρῶν σιτίοις, καὶ γὰρ ἰσχὺν ἐντίθησι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν οὐκ ἐάσει· οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ ἐσμὲν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον, ὃς δὴ ὠνόμασται βίος· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ σώματι φθαρτῷ ἐνδεθεῖσα πολλὰ μὲν καρτερεῖ, δουλεύει δὲ πᾶσιν, ὁπόσα ἐπ' ἄνθρωπον φοιτᾷ, οἰκία τε οἷς ἐπενοήθη πρῶτον, ἀγνοῆσαί μοι δοκοῦσιν ἄλλο δεσμωτήριον αὑτοῖς περιβάλλοντες, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁπόσοι τὰ βασίλεια οἰκοῦσιν, ἀσφαλῶς ἐν αὐτοῖς κατεσκευασμένοι, δεδέσθαι μᾶλλον τούτους ἡγώμεθα ἢ οὓς αὐτοὶ δήσουσι.

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

CHAP. XXVI

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CAP. XXVI

Πύλεις δ' ἐνθυμουμένῳ μοι καὶ τείχη δοκεῖ ταῦτα δεσμωτήρια εἶναι κοινά, ὡς δεδέσθαι μὲν ἀγοράζοντας, δεδέσθαι δὲ ἐκκλησιάζοντας καὶ θεωμένους αὖ καὶ πομπὰς πέμποντας. καὶ Σκυθῶν ὁπόσοι ἁμαξεύουσιν, οὐ μεῖον ἡμῶν δέδενται, Ἴστροι τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁρίζουσι καὶ Θερμώδοντες καὶ Ταναΐδες οὐ ῥᾴδιοι ποταμοὶ ὑπερβῆναι, ἢν μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ κρυμοῦ στῶσιν, οἰκίας τε ἐπὶ τῶν ἁμαξῶν πέπανται καὶ φέρονται μέν, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐταῖς ἐπτηχότες. εἰ δὲ μὴ μειρακιώδης ὁ λόγος, φασὶ καὶ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν δεσμοῦ ἕνεκα τῇ γῇ περιβεβλῆσθαι. ἴτε, ὦ ποιηταί, ταυτὶ γὰρ ὑμέτερα, καὶ ῥαψῳδεῖτε πρὸς τούτους τοὺς ἀθύμους, ὡς Κρόνος μέν ποτε ἐδέθη βουλαῖς τοῦ Διός, Ἄρης δὲ ὁ πολεμικώτατος ἐν οὐρανῷ μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου πρότερον, ἐν γῇ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἀλωέως. ταῦτ' ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν σοφῶν τε καὶ μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν, οὓς δῆμοι ἀσελγεῖς ἔδησαν, τυραννίδες δὲ προὐπηλάκισαν, δεχώμεθα καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ τῶν δεξαμένων αὐτὰ λειποίμεθα." οὕτω τοὺς ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τὰ ῥηθέντα μετέβαλεν, ὡς σίτου τε οἱ πολλοὶ ἅψασθαι καὶ ἀπελθεῖν τῶν δακρύων, βῆναί τε ἐπ' ἐλπίδος μηδ' ἂν παθεῖν μηδὲν ἐκείνῳ ξυνόντες.

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

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XXVII

CAP. XXVII Τῆς δ' ὑστεραίας διελέγετο μὲν ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν νοῦν ξυντείνων, ἐσπέμπεται δέ τις ἀκροατὴς τῶν διαλέξεων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ καθειμένος· τὸ μὲν δὴ σχῆμα αὐτοῦ κατηφὴς ἐδόκει, καὶ κινδυνεύειν τι, ὡς ἔφασκε, μέγα, γλώττης τε οὐκ ἀνεπιτηδεύτως εἶχεν, οἷοι τῶν συκοφαντικῶν οἱ συνειλοχότες ὀκτὼ ῥήματα ἢ δέκα, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ξυνιεὶς τῆς τέχνης διελέγετο, ἃ μὴ ἐκείνῳ προὔβαινε, ποταμῶν τε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐμέμνητο καὶ ὀρῶν, καὶ θηρία διῄει καὶ δένδρα, ὑφ' ὧν οἱ μὲν διήγοντο, ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀπάγειν αὐτὸν ἐς λοιδορίας τοῦ τυράννου ἐπειρᾶτο, "ὦ τᾶν," ἔφη, "σὺ μέν, ὅ τι βούλει, λέγε, οὐ γὰρ διαβεβλήσῃ γε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ὁπόσα μέμφομαι τὸν βασιλέα, πρὸς αὐτὸν λέξω."

XXVIII

CAP. XXVIII Ἐγένετο καὶ ἕτερα ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τούτῳ ἐπεισόδια, τὰ μὲν ἐπιβεβουλευμένα, τὰ δέ, ὡς ξυνέπεσεν, οὔπω μεγάλα, οὐδ' ἄξια ἐμοὶ σπουδάσαι, Δάμις δέ, οἶμαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παραλελοιπέναι τι αὐτῶν ἐπεμνήσθη, τὰ δὲ λόγου ἐχόμενα· ἑσπέρα μὲν ἦν, καθεῖρκτο δὲ ἡμέραν ἤδη πέμπτην, παρελ-

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CHAP. XXVII
His repartee to an informer

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

XXVIII

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

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

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CAP. XXVIII

θὼν δέ τις ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, Ἑλληνικὸς τὴν φωνήν, "ποῦ," ἔφη, "ὁ Τυανεύς;" καὶ ἀπολαβὼν αὐτόν, "αὔριον," ἔφη, "διαλέξεταί σοι ὁ βασιλεύς." Αἰλιανοῦ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκηκοέναι ἐδόκει.[1] "ξυνίημι," ἢ δ' ὅς, "τοῦ ἀπορρήτου, μόνου γὰρ δὴ ἐκείνου εἰδέναι αὐτό." "καὶ μὴν καὶ τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου προείρηται," ἔφη, "πᾶν, εἴ τι βούλοιο, ἐπιτηδείῳ σοι εἶναι." "καλῶς μὲν ποιοῦντες ὑμεῖς," εἶπεν, "ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐνταῦθα βίον καὶ τὸν ἔξω ταὐτὸν πράττω, διαλέγομαι μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν παραπιπτόντων, δέομαι δ' οὐδενός." "οὐδὲ τοῦ ξυμβουλεύσοντος," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, ὡς διαλέξῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ κολακεύειν πείθοι." "τί δ', εἰ μὴ ὑπερορᾶν," ἔφη, "μηδ' ὑπερφρονεῖν αὐτοῦ;" "ἄριστα," εἶπε, "ξυμβουλεύσει καὶ ὡς ἐμαυτὸν πέπεικα." "ὑπὲρ τούτων μὲν ἥκω," ἔφη, "καὶ χαίρω παρεσκευασμένον σε ὁρῶν ξυμμέτρως, δεῖ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ φθέγμα τοῦ βασιλέως παρεσκευάσθαι σε καὶ πρὸς τὸ δύστροπον τοῦ προσώπου, φθέγγεται μὲν γὰρ βαρύ, κἂν πρᾴως διαλέγηται, ἡ δ' ὀφρὺς ἐπίκειται τῷ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἤθει, μεστὴ δ' ἡ παρειὰ χολῆς, τουτὶ γὰρ μάλιστα ἐπιφαίνει. ταῦτα, ὦ Τυανεῦ, μὴ ἐκπληττώμεθα, ἔστι γὰρ φύσεως μᾶλλον καὶ ἀεὶ ὅμοια." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολ-

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

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

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CAP. XXVIII λώνιος, "Ὀδυσσεὺς μέντοι," ἔφη, "παριὼν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Πολυφήμου ἄντρον, καὶ μήτε ὁπόσος ἐστὶ προακηκοὼς πρότερον, μηδ' οἷα σιτεῖται, μηδ' ὡς βροντᾷ ἡ φωνή, ἐθάρρησέ τε αὐτὸν καίτοι ἐν ἀρχῇ δείσας, καὶ ἀπῆλθε τοῦ ἄντρου ἀνὴρ δόξας, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐξελθεῖν αὔταρκες ἐμαυτόν τε σώσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους, ὑπὲρ ὧν κινδυνεύω." τοιαῦτα διαλεχθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ἥκοντα καὶ ἀπαγγείλας αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν ἐκάθευδεν.

XXIX

CAP. XXIX Περὶ δὲ ὄρθρον γραμματεύς τις ἦκων τῶν βασιλείων δικῶν, "κελεύει σε ὁ βασιλεύς," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, περὶ πλήθουσαν ἀγορὰν ἐς τὴν αὐλὴν ἥκειν, οὔπω ἀπολογησόμενον, ἀλλ' ἰδεῖν τέ σε, ὅστις ὢν τυγχάνεις, βούλεται καὶ ξυγγενέσθαι μόνῳ." "τί οὖν," εἶπεν, "ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐμοὶ διαλέγῃ;" "οὐ γὰρ σύ," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιος;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ὁ Τυανεύς γε." "πρὸς τίνα οὖν," ἔφη, "ταῦτα εἶπω;" "πρὸς τοὺς ἄξοντάς με," εἶπε, "χρὴ γάρ που ὡς ἐκ δεσμωτηρίου φοιτᾶν." "προστέτακται," ἔφη, "προτέροις γε ἐκείνοις ταῦτα, κἀγὼ δὲ ἀφίξομαι τοῦ καιροῦ, νυνὶ δὲ παραγγελῶν ἦλθον, ταυτὶ γὰρ μάλα ἐσπέρας προστέτακται."

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

XXIX

CHAP. XXIX

The emperor summons Apollonius into his presence

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

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CAP. XXX

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

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CHAP. XXX

The advice of Phraotes to lion-tamers

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

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CAP. XXX αὐτὸν ὁ Αἴσωπος οὐ νοσεῖν μέν, δοκεῖν δέ, καὶ τῶν θηρίων, ἃ ἐφοίτα παρ' αὐτόν, ἅπτεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἀλώπεκα, τί τούτῳ χρησόμεθα, εἰπεῖν, παρ' οὗ μηδὲ ἀναλύει τις, μηδὲ δείκνυταί τι τῶν ἐξιόντων ἴχνος;" καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἀλλ' ἐγώ," ἔφη, "σοφωτέραν τὴν ἀλώπεκα ἡγούμην ἄν, εἰ παρελθοῦσα ἔσω μὴ ἦλω, ἀλλ' ἐξῆλθε τοῦ σπηλαίου τὰ ἴχνη τὰ ἑαυτῆς δεικνῦσα."

XXXI

CAP. XXXI Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὕπνου ἔσπασε κομιδῇ βραχὺ καὶ ὅσον ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ἦλθεν, ἡμέρα δ' ὡς ἐγένετο, προσευξάμενος τῷ Ἡλίῳ, ὡς ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ εἰκός, διελέγετο τοῖς προσιοῦσιν, ὁπόσα ἠρώτων, καὶ οὕτως ἀγορᾶς πληθούσης ἀφικνεῖται γραμματεύς, κελεύων ἐπὶ θύρας ἤδη εἶναι, "μὴ καὶ θᾶττον," ἔφη, "ἐσκληθῶμεν." ὁ δὲ εἰπών, "ἴωμεν," ξὺν ὁρμῇ προῆλθε. πορευομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ δορυφόροι ἐπηκολούθουν τέτταρες, πλέον ἀπέχοντες ἢ οἱ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα ὁμαρτοῦντες, ἐφείπετο δὲ καὶ ὁ Δάμις δεδιὼς μέν, ξυννοοῦντι δ' ὅμοιος. ἑώρων μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἅπαντες, αὐτοῦ τε γὰρ τοῦ σχήματος ἀπεβλέπετο, καὶ θεία ἐδόκει ἡ περὶ τῷ εἴδει ἔκπληξις, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἥκειν

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

XXXI

CHAP. XXXI

Apollonius is escorted to the palace

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

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CAP. XXXI

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

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

CHAP. XXXI

Discourse on a place-seeker

Plato *Rep.* 329

Apollonius expostulates with Damis for his cowardice

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CAP. XXXI

σθαι τέ σε πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν ἐν ἐμοὶ τακτικὴν εἰδέναι πᾶσαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τοῖς μαχομένοις καὶ ὁπλιτεύουσιν οὐκ εὐψυχίας δεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάξεως ἑρμηνευούσης τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς μάχης, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσιν ἐπιμελητέα τῶν καιρῶν, ἐν οἷς ἀποθανοῦνται, ὡς μὴ ἄτακτοι, μηδὲ θανατῶντες, ξὺν ἀρίστῃ δ' αἱρέσει ἐς αὐτοὺς φέροιντο. ὅτι δὲ ἄριστά τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν προσήκοντα φιλοσοφίᾳ καιρὸν εἱλόμην ἀποθνήσκειν, εἴ τις ἀποκτείνειν βούλοιτο, ἑτέροις τε ἀπολελόγημαι σοῦ παρόντος, αὐτόν τε σὲ διδάσκων ἀπείρηκα."

XXXII

CAP. XXXII

Ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μὲν δὴ ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ δὲ σχολὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐγένετο, τὰ ἐν ποσὶ διωσαμένῳ πάντα, ἐς λόγους ἀφικέσθαι τῷ ἀνδρί, παρῆγον μὲν αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν τοιούτων, οὐ ξυγχωρήσαντες τῷ Δάμιδι ἐπισπέσθαι οἱ. θαλλοῦ δὲ στέφανον ἔχων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄρτι μὲν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τεθυκὼς ἐτύγχανεν ἐν αὐλῇ Ἀδώνιδος, ἡ δὲ αὐλὴ ἀνθέων ἐτεθήλει κήποις, οὓς Ἀδώνιδι Ἀσσύριοι ποιοῦνται ὑπὲρ ὀργίων, ὁμωροφίους αὐτοὺς φυτεύοντες. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ὢν μετεστράφη, καὶ ἐκπλαγεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ εἴδους τοῦ ἀνδρός, "Αἰλιανέ,"

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

CHAP. XXXI

XXXII

CHAP. XXXII

His interview with Domitian

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

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CAP. XXXII εἶπε, "δαίμονά μοι ἐπεσήγαγες." ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐκπλαγεὶς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καθαπτόμενός τε ὧν ἤκουσεν, "ἐγὼ δέ," ἔφη, "τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ᾤμην ἐπιμεμελῆσθαί σου, βασιλεῦ, τρόπον, ὃν καὶ τοῦ Διομήδους ποτὲ ἐν Τροίᾳ, τὴν γάρ τοι ἀχλύν, ὑφ' ἧς οἱ ἄνθρωποι χεῖρον βλέπουσιν, ἀφελοῦσα τῶν τοῦ Διομήδους ὀφθαλμῶν, ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ θεούς τε διαγιγνώσκειν καὶ ἄνδρας, σὲ δ' οὔπω ἡ θεὸς ἐκάθηρεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὴν κάθαρσιν ταύτην· ἢ μὴν ἔδει γε, ὡς αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ὁρᾷς ἄμεινον τούς τε ἄνδρας μὴ ἐς τὰ τῶν δαιμόνων εἴδη τάττοις." "σὺ δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ φιλόσοφε, πότε τὴν ἀχλὺν ἐκαθήρω ταύτην;" "πάλαι," ἔφη, "κἀξ ὅτου φιλοσοφῶ." "πῶς οὖν," εἶπε, "τοὺς ἐμοὶ πολεμιωτάτους ἄνδρας θεοὺς ἐνόμισας;" "καὶ τίς," ἔφη, "πρὸς Ἰάρχαν σοι πόλεμος ἢ πρὸς Φραώτην τοὺς Ἰνδούς, οὓς ἐγὼ μόνους ἀνθρώπων θεούς τε ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἀξίους τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης;" "μὴ ἄπαγε ἐς Ἰνδούς," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ φιλτάτου σοι Νερούα καὶ τῶν κοινωνούντων αὐτῷ τῆς αἰτίας λέγε." "ἀπολογῶμαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ," ἔφη, "τι ἢ—" "μὴ ἀπολογοῦ," εἶπεν, ἀδικῶν γὰρ εἴληπται, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς αὐτὸς ἀδικεῖς ξυνειδὼς ἐκείνῳ τοιαῦτα, τοῦτό με ἀναδίδασκε." "εἰ, ἃ ξύνοιδα," ἔφη, "ἀκοῦσαι βούλει, ἄκουε, τί γὰρ ἂν τἀληθῆ κρύπτοιμι;" ὁ μὲν δὴ βασιλεὺς

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

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Iliad 5. 127

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

XXXIII

CAP. XXXIII Ὁ δ' ὡς μετέωρον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς δόξης ταύτης εἶδεν. "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "Νερούαν σωφρονέστατον ἀνθρώπων οἶδα καὶ πρᾳότατον καὶ σοὶ ἐπιτηδειότατον, καὶ ἄρχοντα μὲν ἀγαθόν, εὐλαβῆ δ' οὕτω πρὸς ὄγκον πραγμάτων, ὡς καὶ τὰς τιμὰς δεδιέναι. οἱ δὲ ἀμφ' αὐτόν, Ῥοῦφον γάρ που λέγεις καὶ Ὄρφιτον, σώφρονες μὲν καὶ οἵδε οἱ ἄνδρες, ὁπόσα οἶδα, καὶ διαβεβλημένοι πρὸς πλοῦτον, νωθροὶ δὲ πράττειν ὁπόσα ἔξεστι, νεώτερα δὲ οὔτ' ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐνθυμηθεῖεν οὔτ' ἂν ἑτέρῳ ἐνθυμηθέντι ξυνάραιντο." ἀνοιδήσας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑφ' ὧν ἤκουσε, "συκοφάντην με οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἴληφας, ἵν' οὓς ἐγὼ μιαρωτάτους ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐπιπηδῶντας εὗρον, σὺ δ', ὡς χρηστοί τέ εἰσι λέγεις, καὶ νωθροί; καὶ γὰρ ἂν κἀκείνους ἡγοῦμαι, ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐρωτωμένους, μήθ' ὡς γόης εἶ φάναι, μήθ' ὡς ἴτης, μήθ' ὡς ἀλαζών, μήθ' ὡς φιλοχρήματος, μήθ' ὡς φρονῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς νόμους. οὕτως, ὦ μιαραὶ κεφαλαί, κακῶς ξυντέταχθε. ἐλέγξει δ' ἡ κατηγορία πάντα· καὶ γὰρ ὁπόσα ὁμώμοται ὑμῖν

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

XXXIII

CHAP. XXXIII

He defends Nerva to the Emperor

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

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

XXXIV

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

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

XXXIV

CHAP. XXXIV

The Emperor persecutes the Sage

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

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CAP. XXXIV ὡς μὴ προδοίην ποτὲ τοὺς οὐδεμιᾷ δίκῃ κινδυνεύοντας, ὧν δ', ὅσπερ εἰμί, πᾶσιν ὑποθήσω ἐμαυτὸν οἷς ἂν περὶ τὸ σῶμα τουτὶ πράττῃς, ἔστ' ἂν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπολογήσωμαι." ὑπὲρ δὲ σοῦ," εἶπε, " τίς ὁ ἀπολογησόμενος ἔσται ;" " χρόνος," ἔφη, " καὶ θεῶν πνεῦμα καὶ σοφίας ἔρως, ᾗ ξύνειμι."

XXXV

CAP. XXXV Τὸν μὲν δὴ προάγωνα τῆς ἀπολογίας, ὃς ἐγένετο αὐτῷ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν ἰδίᾳ, τοιόνδε διαγράφει ὁ Δάμις, οἱ δὲ βασκάνως ταῦτα ξυνθέντες ἀπολελογῆσθαι μὲν αὐτόν φασι πρότερον, δεδέσθαι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὅτε δὴ κείρασθαι, καί τινα ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέπλασαν, ξυγκειμένην μὲν ἰωνικῶς, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ἄχαρι, ἐν ᾗ βούλονται τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἱκέτην τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ γίγνεσθαι, παραιτούμενον ἑαυτὸν τῶν δεσμῶν. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ τὰς μὲν διαθήκας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἰώνιον ἑρμηνεύει τρόπον, ἐπιστολῇ δὲ ἰαστὶ ξυγκειμένῃ οὕπω Ἀπολλωνίου προσέτυχον, καίτοι ξυνειλοχὼς αὐτοῦ πλείστας, οὐδὲ μακρηγορίαν πω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ εὗρον, βραχεῖαι γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ σκυτάλης πᾶσαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ νικῶν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπῆλθε τοῦ δικαστηρίου, καὶ πῶς ἄν ποτε ἐδέθη μετὰ τὴν ἀφεῖσαν ψῆφον ; ἀλλὰ μήπω τὰ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ· ἔτι καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ κουρᾷ καὶ ἅττα διελέχθη, λεγέσθω πρότερον, ἄξια γὰρ σπουδάσαι.

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

XXXV

CHAP. XXXV

Perversions of the Sage's history by his enemies

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

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XXXVI

CAP. XXXVI

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

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XXXVI

CHAP. XXXVI

The Emperor sends a spy into the prison

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

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

Τῷ δὲ ἄρα ξὺν ἐπιβουλῇ ταῦτα ἐλέγετο, ἵν' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀλγεῖ μάθοι, καὶ νὴ Δία, εἰ λοιδορεῖται τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπὲρ ὧν πέπονθεν· ἀνακοπεὶς δ' ὑφ' ὧν ἤκουσε, "διαβέβλησαι," ἔφη, "πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα περὶ πλειόνων, μάλιστα δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ περὶ Νερούαν ὡς ἀδικοῦντες φεύγουσιν. ἀφίκοντο μὲν γάρ τινες ἐς αὐτὸν διαβολαὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ λόγων, οὓς ἀντιξόως τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπηχθημένως εἶπας, καταφρονεῖ δὲ τούτων, ὥς φασιν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὰ μείζω παρώξυνται, καίτοι τοῦ κἀκεῖνα διαβάλλοντος ἀνδρὸς ὑψοῦ προήκοντος τῆς δόξης." "οἷον," ἔφη, "Ὀλυμπιονίκην εἴρηκας, εἰ δόξης φησὶν ἅπτεσθαι διαβολαῖς ἰσχύων. ξυνίημι δ', ὡς ἔστιν Εὐφράτης, ὃν ἐγὼ οἶδα πάντ' ἐπ' ἐμὲ πράττοντα, ἠδίκημαι δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μείζω ἕτερα· αἰσθόμενος γάρ ποτε φοιτήσειν μέλλοντα παρὰ τοὺς ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ Γυμνούς, ἐς

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

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

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CAP. XXXVI διαβολάς μου πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατέστη, καὶ εἰ μὴ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ξυνῆκα, τάχ' ἂν ἀπῆλθον μηδ' ἰδὼν τοὺς ἄνδρας." θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Συρακούσιος τὸν λόγον, "εἶτ'," ἔφη, "τοῦ διαβληθῆναι βασιλεῖ μεῖζον ἡγῇ τὸ τοῖς Γυμνοῖς μὴ χρηστὸς ἂν ἐξ ὧν Εὐφράτης καθίει δόξαι;" "νὴ Δί'," εἶπεν, "ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ μαθησόμενος ἦα, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὑπὲρ διδασκαλίας ἥκω." "τῆς τί," ἔφη, "διδασκούσης;" "τὸ εἶναί με," εἶπε, "καλὸν κἀγαθόν, τουτὶ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὔπω οἶδεν." "ἀλλ' ἔστιν," ἔφη, "τὰ σεαυτοῦ εὖ θέσθαι διδαξαμένῳ αὐτόν, ἃ καὶ πρὶν ἐνταῦθα ἥκειν λέξας οὐδ' ἂν ἐδέθης." ξυνιεὶς οὖν τοῦ Συρακουσίου ξυνελαύνοντος αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν ὅμοιον τῷ βασιλεῖ λόγον, οἰομένου τε, ὡς ἀπογορεύων πρὸς τὰ δεσμὰ ψεύσεταί τι κατὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, "ὦ βέλτιστε," εἶπεν, "εἰ τἀληθῆ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν εἰπὼν ἐδέθην, τί πείσομαι μὴ ἀληθεύσας; ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ τἀληθὲς δοκεῖ δεσμῶν ἄξιον, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ ψεῦδος."

XXXVII

CAP. XXXVII Ὁ μὲν δὴ Συρακούσιος ἀγασθεὶς αὐτὸν ὡς ὑπερφιλοσοφοῦντα, ταυτὶ γὰρ εἰπὼν ἀπῆλθεν, ἐχώρει

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

XXXVII

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

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

XXXVIII

CAP. XXXVIII Διαλέγεσθαι μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον πλείω τοιαῦτα, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὁ Δάμις ἀπορεῖν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων φησί, λύσιν δὲ αὐτῶν ὁρᾶν οὐδεμίαν πλὴν ὅσαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὐξαμένοις τισὶ κάκ

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

CHAP. XXXVII

Apollonius compares the spy to Python

XXXVIII

CHAP. XXXVIII

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

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CAP. XXXVIII πολλῷ χαλεπωτέρων ἦλθον, ὀλίγον δὲ πρὸ μεσημβρίας, "ὦ Τυανεῦ," φάναι, σφόδρα γὰρ δὴ χαίρειν αὐτὸν τῇ προσρήσει, "τί πεισόμεθα;" "ὅ γε ἐπάθομεν," ἔφη, "πέρα δ' οὐδέν, οὐδὲ ἀποκτενεῖ ἡμᾶς οὐδείς." "καὶ τίς," εἶπεν, "οὕτως ἄτρωτος; λυθήσῃ δὲ πότε;" "τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ δικάσαντι," ἔφη, "τήμερον, τὸ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ἄρτι." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐξήγαγε τὸ σκέλος τοῦ δεσμοῦ, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν ἔφη, "ἐπίδειξιν πεποίημαί σοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ θάρρει." τότε πρῶτον ὁ Δάμις φησὶν ἀκριβῶς ξυνεῖναι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου φύσεως, ὅτι θεία τε εἴη καὶ κρείττων ἀνθρώπου, μὴ γὰρ θύσαντα, πῶς γὰρ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ; μηδ' εὐξάμενόν τι, μηδὲ εἰπόντα καταγελάσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ, καὶ ἐναρμόσαντα αὖ τὸ σκέλος τὰ τοῦ δεδεμένου πράττειν.

XXXIX

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

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

CHAP. XXXVIII
Apollonius miraculously strikes the fetter off his leg

XXXIX

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

CHAP. XXXIX
A discourse on Magic and Magicians

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CAP. XXXIX τέχνῃ ταύτῃ, ἀπιστοῦσι δ' αὐτῇ οὐδ' οἱ ἡττώμενοι σφῶν, "εἰ γὰρ τὸ δεῖνα ἔθυσα καὶ τὸ δεῖνα ἐθυμίασα, οὐκ ἂν διέφυγέ με ἡ νίκη," τοιαῦτα λέγουσι, καὶ τοιαῦτα οἴονται. φοιτᾷ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ θύρας ἐμπόρων κατὰ ταὐτά, καὶ γὰρ δὴ κἀκείνους εὕροιμεν ἂν τὰ μὲν εὐτυχήματα τῆς ἐμπορίας λογιζομένους τῷ γόητι, τὰ δὲ ἄτοπα τῇ αὑτῶν φειδοῖ καὶ τῷ μὴ ὁπόσα ἔδει θῦσαι. ἀνῆπται δὲ ἡ τέχνη τοὺς ἐρῶντας μάλιστα, νοσοῦντες γὰρ εὐπαράγωγον οὕτω νόσον, ὡς καὶ γραιδίοις ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς διαλέγεσθαι, θαυμαστόν, οἶμαι, οὐδὲν πράττουσι προσιόντες τοῖς σοφισταῖς τούτοις καὶ ἀκροώμενοι σφῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα, οἳ κεστόν τε αὐτοῖς φέρειν διδοῦσι καὶ λίθους, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν τῆς γῆς ἀπορρήτων, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ σελήνης τε καὶ ἀστέρων, ἀρώματά τε ὁπόσα ἡ Ἰνδικὴ κηπεύει, καὶ χρήματα μὲν αὐτοὺς λαμπρὰ ὑπὲρ τούτων πράττονται, ξυνδρῶσι δὲ οὐδέν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ παθόντων τι τῶν παιδικῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρῶντας ἢ δώροις ὑπαχθέντων προβαίνῃ τὰ ἐρωτικά, ὑμνεῖται ἡ τέχνη ὡς ἱκανὴ πάντα, εἰ δ' ἀποτυγχάνοι ἡ πεῖρα, ἐς τὸ ἐλλειφθὲν ἡ ἀναφορά, μὴ γὰρ τὸ δεῖνα θυμιᾶσαι, μηδὲ θῦσαι ἢ τῆξαι, τουτὶ δὲ μέγα εἶναι καὶ ἄπορον. οἱ μὲν οὖν τρόποι, καθ' οὓς καὶ

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

CHAP. XXXIX

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CAP. XXXIX διοσημίας καὶ ἕτερα πλείω τερατεύονται, καὶ ἀναγεγράφαταί τισιν, οἳ ἐγέλασαν πλατὺ ἐς τὴν τέχνην, ἐμοὶ δ' ἀποπεφάνθω μηδ' ἐκείνοις ὁμιλεῖν τοὺς νέους, ἵνα μηδὲ παίζειν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐθίζοιντο. ἀποχρῶσα ἡ ἐκτροπὴ τοῦ λόγου· τί γὰρ ἂν πλείω καθαπτοίμην τοῦ πράγματος, ὃ καὶ φύσει διαβέβληται καὶ νόμῳ ;

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CAP. XL Ἐνδειξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τῷ Δάμιδι ἑαυτὸν καὶ πλείω διαλεχθέντος, ἐπέστη τις περὶ μεσημβρίαν σημαίνων ἀπὸ γλώττης τοσαῦτα· "ἀφίησί σε ὁ βασιλεύς, Ἀπολλώνιε, τούτων τῶν δεσμῶν Αἰλιανοῦ ξυμβουλεύσαντος, τὸ δὲ ἐλευθέριον δεσμωτήριον ξυγχωρεῖ οἰκεῖν, ἔστ' ἂν ᾖ ἡ ἀπολογία, ἐς ἡμέραν δὲ ἴσως ἀπολογήσῃ πέμπτην." "τίς οὖν," ἔφη, "ὁ μετασκευάσων με ἐνθένδε ;" "ἐγώ," εἶπε, "καὶ ἔπου." καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν τῷ ἐλευθερίῳ δεσμωτηρίῳ, περιέβαλλον πάντες, ὡς οὐδ' οἰηθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπανήκοντα. ὃν γὰρ δὴ πόθον ἴσχουσι πατρὸς παῖδες, ἐς νουθετήσεις καθισταμένου σφίσιν ἡδείας τε καὶ ξυμμέτρους ἢ τὰ ἐφ' ἡλικίας ἀφερμηνεύοντος, τὸν αὐτὸν κἀκεῖνοι τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου εἶχον, καὶ ὡμολόγουν ταῦτα, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐπαύετο ἀεί τι ξυμβουλεύων.

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

XL

CHAP. XL

Apollonius is restored to the free prison

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

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XLI

CAP. XLI Καλέσας δὲ τῆς ὑστεραίας τὸν Δάμιν, "ἐμοὶ μέν," ἔφη, "τὰ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἐς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέραν ἔσται, σὺ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Δικαιαρχίας βάδιζε, λῷον γὰρ πεζῇ ἰέναι, κἂν προσείπῃς Δημήτριον, στρέφου περὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ἐν ᾗ ἐστιν ἡ Καλυψοῦς νῆσος, ἐπιφανέντα γάρ με ἐκεῖ ὄψει." "ζῶντα," ἔφη ὁ Δάμις, "ἢ τί;" γελάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ οἶμαι, ζῶντα," εἶπεν, "ὡς δὲ σὺ οἴει, ἀναβεβιωκότα." ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπελθεῖν φησιν ἄκων, καὶ μήτ' ἀπογιγνώσκων ὡς ἀπολουμένου μήτ' εὔελπις ὡς οὐκ ἀπολεῖται. καὶ τριταῖος μὲν ἐλθεῖν ἐς Δικαιαρχίαν, ἀκοῦσαι δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὃς περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἐγένετο, ὅτι πνεῦμα ὕπομβρον καταρραγὲν τῆς θαλάσσης τὰς μὲν κατέδυσε τῶν νεῶν, αἳ ἐκεῖσε ἔπλεον, τὰς δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν τε καὶ τὸν πορθμὸν ἀπεώσατο, καὶ ξυνεῖναι τότε ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν πεζῇ κομίζεσθαι.

XLII

CAP. XLII Τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναγράφει Δάμις ἐξ ὧν Ἀπολλωνίου φησὶν ἀκηκοέναι πρὸς Δημήτριόν τε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος. μειράκιον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Μεσσήνης τῆς ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ περίβλεπτον ὥρᾳ ἀφικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐρᾶν δ' αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς μέν, Δομετιανὸν δὲ παρὰ πάντας, τοὺς δ' οὕτως ἐρᾶν,

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XLI

CHAP. XLI

He sends Damis on to Dicaearchia

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

XLII

CHAP. XLII

An heroic youth

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

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CAP. XLII ὡς μηδὲ τὸ ἀντερᾶν ἐκείνῳ δεδιέναι. ἀλλ' ἐσωφρόνει τὸ μειράκιον καὶ ἐφείδετο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ὥρας. εἰ μὲν δὴ χρυσοῦ κατεφρόνησεν ἢ χρημάτων ἢ ἵππων ἢ τοιῶνδε δελεασμάτων, οἷς ὑπάγονται τὰ παιδικὰ ἔνιοι, μὴ ἐπαινῶμεν, χρὴ γὰρ οὕτω παρεσκευάσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, ὁ δὲ μειζόνων ἀξιωθεὶς ἂν ἢ ὁμοῦ πάντες, οὓς ὀφθαλμοὶ βασιλέων ἐσπάσαντο, οὐκ ἠξίου ἑαυτὸν ὧν ἠξιοῦτο. ἐδέθη τοίνυν, τουτὶ γὰρ τῷ ἐραστῇ ἔδοξε. καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, βουλομένῳ μέν τι λέγειν ἐῴκει, αἰδῶ δὲ ξύμβουλον σιωπῆς ἔχων οὔπω ἐθάρρει· ξυνεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "σὺ μὲν οὐδ' ἡλικίαν πω τοῦ ἀδικεῖν ἄγων καθεῖρξαι," ἔφη, "καθάπερ ἡμεῖς οἱ δεινοί." "καὶ ἀποθανοῦμαί γε," εἶπε, "τὸ γὰρ σωφρονεῖν θανάτου τιμῶνται οἱ ἐφ' ἡμῶν νόμοι." "καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Θησέως," εἶπε, "τὸν γὰρ Ἱππόλυτον ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ ἀπώλλυ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτός." "κἀμέ," εἶπεν, "ὁ πατὴρ ἀπολώλεκεν. ὄντα γάρ με Ἀρκάδα ἐκ Μεσσήνης οὐ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἐπαίδευσεν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα ἔστειλε μαθησόμενον ἤθη νομικά, καί με ὑπὲρ τούτων ἥκοντα ὁ βασιλεὺς κακῶς εἶδεν." ὁ δ' ὥσπερ οὐ ξυνιείς, ὃ λέγει, "εἰπέ μοι," ἔφη, "μειράκιον, μὴ γλαυκὸν ἡγεῖταί σε ὁ βασιλεὺς καίτοι μελανόφθαλμον, ὡς ὁρῶ, ὄντα, ἢ στρεβλὸν τὴν ῥῖνα καίτοι τετραγώνως ἔχοντα, καθάπερ τῶν ἑρμῶν οἱ γεγυμνασμένοι, ἢ

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

CHAP. XLII

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CAP. XLII τὴν κόμην ἕτερόν τι παρ' ὅ ἐστιν; ἔστι δ', οἶμαι, ἡλιῶσά τε καὶ ὑποφαίνουσα, καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ στόμα οὕτω ξύμμετρον, ὡς καὶ σιωπῇ πρέπειν καὶ λόγῳ, δέρη τε οὕτως ἐλευθέρα καὶ φρονοῦσα. τί οὖν ἕτερον τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡγήσεταί σε, ἐπειδὴ κακῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λέγεις ὀφθῆναι;" "αὐτό με τοῦτο ἀπολώλεκεν, ὑπαχθεὶς γάρ μου ἐρᾶν οὐ φείδεται ὧν ἐπαινεῖ, ἀλλ' αἰσχύνειν διανοεῖταί με, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐρῶντες." ἀγασθεὶς δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸ μὲν ξυγκαθεύδειν ὅ τι ἡγοῖτο καὶ εἰ αἰσχρὸν τοῦτο ἢ μή, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἐρωτημάτων παρῆκεν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐρυθριῶντα ἑώρα τὸν Ἀρκάδα καὶ κεκοσμημένως φθεγγόμενον, ἤρετο δ' αὐτὸν ὧδε· "κέκτησαί τινας ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ δούλους;" "νή Δί'," ἔφη, "πολλούς γε." "τούτων οὖν," εἶπε, "τίνα ἡγῇ σεαυτόν;" "ὄνγε," ἔφη, "οἱ νόμοι, δεσπότης γὰρ αὐτῶν εἰμι." "δεσποτῶν δ'," εἶπεν, "ὑπηκόους εἶναι δούλους χρὴ ἢ ἀπαξιοῦν, ἃ δοκεῖ τοῖς τοῦ σώματος κυρίοις;" ὁ δ' ἐνθυμηθεὶς ἐς οἵαν ἀπόκρισιν περιάγοιτο, "ἡ μὲν τῶν τυράννων ἰσχύς," ἔφη, "ὡς ἄμαχός τε καὶ χαλεπή, οἶδα, δι' αὐτὸ γάρ που καὶ δεσπόζειν τῶν ἐλευθέρων βούλονται, τοῦ δ' ἐμοῦ σώματος ἐγὼ δεσπότης καὶ φυλάξω αὐτὸ ἄσυλον." "πῶς;" εἶπε, "πρὸς ἐραστὴν γὰρ ὁ λόγος κωμάζοντα μετὰ ξίφους ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν ὥραν." "τὸν τράχηλον," ἔφη, "ὑποσχὼν μᾶλλον, ἐκείνου γὰρ δεῖ τῷ ξίφει." ἐπαινέσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "Ἀρκάδα σε," ἔφη, "ὁρῶ." καὶ μὴν τοῦ μειρακίου τούτου καὶ ἐν ἐπιστολῇ μέμνηται, καὶ διαγράφει αὐτὸ πολλῷ ἥδιον ἢ ἐγὼ ἐνταῦθα, σωφροσύνης τε ἐπαινῶν πρὸς

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

CHAP. XLII

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

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him for his high principles to his correspondent, adds that he was not put to death by the tyrant. On the contrary, after exciting admiration by his firmness, he returned by ship to Malea, and was held in more honour by the inhabitants of Arcadia than the youths who among the Lacedemonians surpass their fellows in their endurance of the scourge. CHAP. XLII

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BOOK VIII

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Θ'

I

CAP. I

Ἴωμεν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον ἀκροασόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπολογουμένου ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰτίας, ἡλίου γὰρ ἐπιτολαὶ ἤδη καὶ ἀνεῖται τοῖς ἐλλογίμοις ἡ ἐς αὐτὸ πάροδος, τὸν βασιλέα τε οἱ ξυνδιαιτώμενοί φασι μηδὲ σίτου ἅψασθαι, διορῶντα, οἶμαι, τὰ ἐν τῇ δίκῃ· καὶ γάρ τι καὶ βιβλίον πρόχειρον ἔχειν αὐτὸν τὰ μὲν ξὺν ὀργῇ, τὰ δὲ ἧττον. ἀνατυποῦσθαι δὲ χρὴ οἷον ἀχθόμενον τοῖς νόμοις, ἐπειδὴ εὗρον 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· προϊὼν γὰρ ἤρετο τὸν γραμματέα, ὑφ' οὗ ἤγετο, οἱ βαδίζοιεν, τοῦ δὲ ἐς τὸ

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BOOK VIII

I

CHAP. I

Conversation with the secretary of the tribunal

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

II

CHAP. 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

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CAP. II δικαστήριον ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτῷ φήσαντος, "δικάσομαι," ἔφη, "πρὸς τίνα;" "πρός γε τὸν σεαυτοῦ," 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, κἂν ἀδικῶν ταύτην τύχῃ;" "ἀλλὰ φιλοσοφίᾳ πολύς," ἔφη, "βασιλέως, ἵν' ἐπιτηδείως ἄρχῃ." ἐπαινέσας δὲ ὁ γραμματεύς, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετρίως διέκειτο πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὡς καὶ καταρχὰς ἐδείκνυ, "πόσῳ δέ," εἶπε, "τὸν λόγον διαμετρήσεις ὕδατι; τουτὶ γάρ με χρὴ πρὸ τῆς δίκης εἰδέναι." "εἰ μὲν ὁπόσα," ἔφη, "ἀπαιτεῖ ἡ δίκη, ξυγχωρεῖ μοι λέγειν, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι διαμετρηθεὶς οὐδὲ ὁ Θύμβρις, εἰ δὲ ὁπόσα ἐρήσεται, μέτρον τοῦ ἀποκρινομένου 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 μέν, οὐκ ἂν φαίην, πρώτη δ' ἂν εἴη ἀρετὴ λόγου, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸ σιωπᾶν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ τετάρτην ἀρετὴν οἶδα." "ἀνόνητόν γε," εἶπε,

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court, he said: "Whom am I going to plead against?" "Why," said the other, "against your accuser, of course, and the Emperor will be judge." "And," said Apollonius, "who is going to be judge between myself and the Emperor? For I shall prove that he is wronging philosophy." "And what concern," said the other, "has the Emperor for philosophy, even if he does happen to do her wrong?" "Nay, but philosophy," said Apollonius, "is much concerned about the Emperor, that he should govern as he should." The secretary commended 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, "contrary 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 composed 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

CHAP. II

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CAP. II

"σεαυτῷ καὶ παντὶ τῷ κινδυνεύειν μέλλοντι." "καὶ μὴν καὶ Σωκράτην," ἔφη, "τὸν Ἀθηναῖον μέγα ὤνησεν, ὅτε ἔφυγε τὴν γραφήν." "καὶ πῶς ὤνησεν," εἶπε, "τόν, ἐπειδὴ ἐσιώπα, ἀποθανόντα;" "οὐκ ἀπέθανεν," ἔφη, "Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ᾠόντο."

III

CAP. III

Ὧδε μὲν παρεσκεύαστο πρὸς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ τυράννου πάντα, προεστῶτι δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ δικαστηρίου προσελθὼν, ἕτερος γραμματεύς, "ὦ Τυανεῦ," ἔφη, "γυμνὸς ἔσελθε." "λουσόμεθα οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἢ δικασόμεθα;" "οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐσθῆτος," ἔφη, "ταῦτα προείρηται, ἀλλ' ἀπαγορεύει σοι ὁ βασιλεὺς μήτε περίαπτον μήτε βιβλίον μήτ' ἄλλο γραμματεῖον ὅλως μηδὲν ἐσφέρειν ἐνταῦθα." "μηδὲ νάρθηκα," εἶπεν, "ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνοήτως αὐτὸν ταῦτα πείθοντας;" ἀναβοήσας δὲ ὁ κατήγορος, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, πληγάς," ἔφη, "ἀπειλεῖ μοι ὁ γόης, ἐγὼ γάρ σε ταυτὶ πέπεικα." "οὐκοῦν," εἶπε, "σὺ μᾶλλον γόης, ἃ γὰρ μὴ ἐγὼ πέπεικά πω τὸν Βασιλέα, ὡς οὐκ εἰμί, σὺ φῂς αὐτὸν ὡς εἴην πεπεικέναι." παρῆν δὲ τῷ κατηγόρῳ λοιδορουμένῳ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Εὐφράτου τις ἀπελευθέρων, ὃν ἐλέγετο Εὐφράτης ἄγγελον τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου διαλέξεων στεῖλαι ὁμοῦ χρήμασιν, ἃ τῷ κατηγόρῳ ἐπεδόθη.

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

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IV

CAP. IV Τοιαῦτα ἠκροβολίσαντο πρὸ τῆς δίκης, τὰ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ· κεκόσμητο μὲν τὸ δικαστήριον ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ξυνουσίᾳ πανηγυρικοῦ λόγου, μετεῖχον δὲ αὐτῆς οἱ ἐπίδηλοι πάντες, ἀγῶνα ποιουμένου τοῦ βασιλέως ὅτι ἐν πλείστοις ἑλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἰτίᾳ. ὁ δ' οὕτω τι ὑπερεώρα τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς μηδὲ ἐς αὐτὸν βλέπειν, ἐπηρεάσαντος δὲ τοῦ κατηγόρου τὴν ὑπεροψίαν, καὶ κελεύσαντος ὁρᾶν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων θεόν, ἀνέσχεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐς τὸν ὄροφον, ἐνδεικνύμενος μὲν τὸ ἐς τὸν Δία ὁρᾶν, τὸν δὲ ἀσεβῶς κολακευθέντα κακίω τοῦ κολακεύσαντος ἡγούμενος. ἐβόα καὶ τοιαῦτα ὁ κατήγορος, "ἤδη μέτρει, βασιλεῦ, ὕδωρ, εἰ γὰρ ξυγχωρήσεις αὐτῷ μῆκος λόγων, ἀπάγξει ἡμᾶς. ἔστι δέ μοι καὶ βιβλίον τοῦτο ξυγγεγραμμένον τὰς αἰτίας, ὑπὲρ ὧν χρὴ λέγειν αὐτόν, ἀπολογείσθω δὲ κατὰ μίαν."

V

CAP. V Ὁ δ', ὡς ἄριστα ξυμβουλεύσαντος ἐπαινέσας, ἐκέλευσε τὸν ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ συκοφάντου ξυμβουλίαν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας παρελθὼν αἰτίας, ὡς οὐκ ἀξίας καταστῆσαί τινα ἐς

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IV

CHAP IV

The counts of the indictment reduced to four

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

V

CHAP. V

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

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CAP. V λόγον, ὑπὲρ τεττάρων δέ, ἃς ἀπόρους τε καὶ δυσαποκρίτους ᾤετο, ὧδε ἐρωτήσας· "τί γὰρ μαθών," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχεις ἅπασι στολήν, ἀλλ' ἰδίαν τε καὶ ἐξαίρετον;" "ὅτι με," εἶπεν, "ἡ τρέφουσα γῆ καὶ ἀμφιέννυσι, ζῷα δὲ ἄθλια οὐκ ἐνοχλῶ." πάλιν ἤρετο, "τοῦ χάριν οἱ ἄνθρωποι θεόν σε ὀνομάζουσιν;" "ὅτι πᾶς," εἶπεν, "ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθὸς νομιζόμενος θεοῦ ἐπωνυμίᾳ τιμᾶται." ὁ λόγος οὗτος ὁπόθεν ἐφιλοσοφήθη τῷ ἀνδρί, δεδήλωκα ἐν τοῖς Ἰνδῶν λόγοις. τρίτον ἤρετο ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ λοιμοῦ, "πόθεν γάρ," ἔφη, "ὁρμώμενος ἢ τῷ ξυμβαλλόμενος προεῖπας τῇ Ἐφέσῳ νοσήσειν αὐτούς;" "λεπτοτέρᾳ," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, διαίτῃ χρώμενος πρῶτος τοῦ δεινοῦ ᾐσθόμην· εἰ δὲ βούλει, λέγω καὶ λοιμῶν αἰτίας." ὁ δ', οἶμαι, δείσας μὴ τὴν ἀδικίαν καὶ τοὺς μὴ καθαροὺς γάμους καὶ ὁποῖα οὐκ εὐλόγως ἔπραττεν, ἐπιγράψῃ ταῖς τοιαύταις νόσοις, "οὐ δέομαι," ἔφη, "τοιᾶσδε ἀποκρίσεως." ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τετάρτην ἐρώτησιν ἐπέφερεν ἐς τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὐκ εὐθὺς ὥρμησεν, ἀλλὰ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον διαλιπών, πολλὰ δὲ ἐνθυμηθείς, ἱλιγγιῶντι δὲ ὅμοιος ἠρώτησεν οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἁπάντων δόξαν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ᾠοντο αὐτὸν ἐκπηδήσαντα τοῦ πλάσματος 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

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embarrassing and difficult to answer. "What induces you," he said, "Apollonius, to dress yourself differently from everybody else, and to wear this peculiar and singular garb?" "Because," said Apollonius, "the earth which feeds me also clothes me, and I do not like to bother the poor animals." The Emperor next asked the question: "Why is it that men call you a god?" "Because," answered Apollonius, "every man that is thought to be good, is honoured by the title of god." I have shown in my narrative of India how this tenet passed into our hero's philosophy. The third question related to the plague in Ephesus; "What motived," 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,

CHAP VI

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CAP. V δεῖνι ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐς ἀγρὸν πορευθεὶς τίνι ἐθύσω τὸν παῖδα;" καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ὥσπερ μειρακίῳ ἐπιπλήττων, "εὐφήμει," ἔφη, "εἰ μὲν γὰρ προῆλθον τῆς οἰκίας, ἐγενόμην ἐν ἀγρῷ, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ ἔθυσα, εἰ δὲ ἔθυσα, 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 παθών τι πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, ἐπειδὴ ἔρρωντό τε καὶ νοῦν εἶχον, "ἀφίημί σε," εἶπε, "τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, περιμενεῖς δέ, ἔστ' ἂν ἰδίᾳ ξυγγενώμεθα." ὁ δὲ ἐπιρρώσας ἑαυτόν, "σοὶ μὲν χάρις, ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "διὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀλιτηρίους τούτους ἀπολώλασι μὲν αἱ πόλεις, πλήρεις δ' αἱ νῆσοι φυγάδων, ἡ δὲ ἤπειρος οἰμωγῆς, τὰ δὲ στρατεύματα δειλίας, ἡ δὲ ξύγκλητος ὑπονοίας. δός, εἰ βούλοιο, κἀμοὶ τόπον, εἰ δὲ μή, πέμπε τὸν ληψόμενόν μου τὸ σῶμα, τὴν γὰρ ψυχὴν ἀδύνατον· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ' ἂν τὸ σῶμα τοὐμὸν λάβοις,

οὐ γάρ με κτενέεις, ἐπεὶ οὔτοι μόρσιμός εἰμι.

καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἠφανίσθη τοῦ δικαστηρίου, τόν τε παρόντα καιρὸν εὖ τιθέμενος ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδ' ἁπλῶς 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: "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,

CHAP. V

The sacrifice of a boy

Apollonius acquitted

"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 ἡγεῖτο, εἰ μὴ ἀγνοοῖτο τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλὰ γιγνώσκοιτο, ὡς ἔχοι τοῦ μὴ ἄν ποτε ἁλῶναι 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 ἀφήσοντι, ξυνεῖλε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ τύραννος ἐς ἃς εἴρηκα ἐρωτήσεις, ἀναγεγράφθω καὶ ὁ λόγος. οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν γάρ, ὅτι διαβαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν οἱ τὰς βωμολόχους ἰδέας ἐπαινοῦντες, ὡς ἧττον μέν, ἢ αὐτοί φασι δεῖν, κεκολασμένον, ὑπεραίροντα δὲ τοῖς τε ὀνόμασι καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις. τὸν δὲ ἄνδρα ἐνθυμουμένῳ οὔ 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, ἡ 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 to which, in court, he had accorded no credence whatever? Such was the account of the proceedings of the trial which I found. CHAP. V

VI

CHAP. VI

Apollonius *apologia pro vita*

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

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CAP. VI τινὰ ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα τοῖς ψηφιουμένοις, ἡ δ' ἀφανὴς κἂν ἀπέλθοι κρατοῦσα, τὸ γὰρ λαθεῖν τοὺς δικάζοντας, ὡς δεινός ἐστιν, ἀληθεστέρα δεινότης. σοφῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ἀπολογουμένῳ, οὐ γὰρ κατηγορήσει γε ὁ σοφός, ἃ ἐπιτιμᾶν ἔρρωται, ἤθους τε δεῖ ἑτέρου παρὰ τοὺς δικανικοὺς ἄνδρας, λόγου τε κατεσκευασμένου μέν, 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, κἀμοί· σύ τε γὰρ κινδυνεύεις ὑπὲρ ὧν μήποτε αὐτοκράτωρ, εἰ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν οὐδεμιᾷ δίκῃ διαβεβλῆσθαι δόξεις, ἐγώ τε ὑπὲρ ὧν μηδὲ Σωκράτης ποτὲ Ἀθήνησιν, ὃν οἱ γραψάμενοι τὴν γραφὴν καινὸν μὲν τὰ δαιμόνια ἡγοῦντο, δαίμονα δὲ οὔτε ἐκάλουν οὔτε ᾠοντο. κινδύνου δὲ ἐφ' ἑκάτερον ἡμῶν οὕτω χαλεποῦ ἥκοντος, 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: CHAP. VI

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

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CAP. VII καὶ σοὶ ξυμβουλεύειν, ὁπόσα ἐμαυτὸν πέπεικα· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κατέστησεν ἡμᾶς ὁ κατήγορος ἐς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἐσῆλθε τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐκ ἀληθὴς περὶ ἐμοῦ τε καὶ σοῦ δόξα· σὲ μὲν γὰρ ᾤοντο ξυμβούλῳ τῆς ἀκροάσεως ὀργῇ χρήσεσθαι, δι' ἣν κἂν ἀποκτεῖναί με, ὅ τι ποτέ ἐστι τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐμὲ δ' ἐκποιήσειν ἐμαυτὸν τοῦ δικαστηρίου τρόποις, ὁπόσοι τοῦ ἀποδρᾶναί 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 ξυνθέμενος τοῖς νόμοις ἕστηκα ὑπὸ τῷ λόγῳ· τούτου ξύμβουλος καὶ σοὶ γίγνομαι. δίκαιον γὰρ τὸ μὴ προκαταγιγνώσκειν, μηδὲ καθῆσθαι πεπεισμένον, ὡς ἐγώ τί σε κακὸν εἴργασμαι, μηδ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ Ἀρμενίου τε καὶ Βαβυλωνίου καὶ ὅσοι τῶν ἐκείνῃ ἄρχουσιν, οἷς ἵππος τε παμπόλλη ἐστὶ καὶ τοξεία πᾶσα καὶ χρυσῆ γῆ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὄχλος, ὃν ἐγὼ οἶδα, ἀκούειν ξὺν γέλωτι τὸ πείσεσθαί τι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὅ σε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἀφαιρήσεται, κατ' ἀνδρὸς δὲ σοφοῦ καὶ γυμνοῦ πιστεύειν, ὡς ἐστι τούτῳ ὅπλον ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα, καὶ προσδέχεσθαι ταῦτα Αἰγυπτίου συκοφάντου λέγοντος, ἃ μηδὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ποτε ἤκουσας, ἣν σεαυτοῦ προορᾶν φῄς, εἰ μή, νὴ Δία, ἡ κολακευτικὴ 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

Pleads his humble position as a mere sage

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CAP. VII τι νῦν τοῖς ἀλιτηρίοις τούτοις ἐπιδέδωκεν, ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ ὁπόσα ὀφθαλμίαι τέ εἰσι καὶ τὸ μὴ πυρέξαι, μηδ' ἀνοιδῆσαί τι τῶν σπλάγχνων, ἐπιτηδείους εἶναί σοι ξυμβούλους φάσκειν, ἰατρῶν δίκην ἐφαπτομένους καὶ θεραπεύοντας, ὅτου αὐτῶν πονήρως ἔχοις, περὶ δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι κινδυνεύοντί σοι μηθ' οὓς φυλάττεσθαι χρὴ ξυμβουλεύειν μήθ' ὅ τι ἔσται σοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅπλον διδάσκειν ἥκοντας, 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 ἀεὶ ξυντιθέντες.

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

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

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

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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 οὔτ' ἐπαινῶ καὶ ἀκούων δέδια, σὺ δ' εἰ προσδέξοιο, γράψονται καὶ σὲ ἴσως ὡς διαβάλλοντα τὴν περὶ τοῦ θείου δόξαν, ἐλπὶς γὰρ καὶ κατὰ σοῦ ξυγκείσεσθαι τοιαύτας γραφάς, ἐπειδὰν μηδεὶς τοῖς συκοφάνταις λοιπὸς ᾖ· 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 ἀπολογουμένῳ; εἰ γὰρ καλέσαιμι τὸν Δία, ὑφ' ᾧ βεβιωκὼς οἶδα, γοητεύειν με φήσουσι καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἄγειν. διαλεγώμεθα οὖν περὶ τούτου ἀνδρί, ὃν τεθνάναι μὲν οἱ πολλοί φασιν, ἐγὼ δὲ οὔ φημι· ἔστι δὲ οὗτος ὁ πατὴρ 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, πολλῷ τἀμὰ βέλτιον ἢ σὺ γιγνώσκων· ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς Αἴγυπτον οὔπω αὐτοκράτωρ, θεοῖς τε τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θύσων κἀμοὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς διαλεξόμενος. ἐντυχὼν δέ μοι κομῶντί τε καὶ ὧδε ἐσταλμένῳ οὐδὲ ἤρετο οὐδὲ ἓν περὶ τοῦ σχήματος, ἡγούμενος τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ πᾶν εὖ ἔχειν, ἐμοῦ δ' ἕνεχ' ἥκειν 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. CHAP. VII

Repels the charge of wizardry

(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,

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CAP. VII ἐπαινέσας καὶ εἰπὼν μὲν ἃ μὴ πρὸς ἄλλον, ἀκούσας δ' ἃ μὴ παρ' ἄλλου· ἥ τε διάνοια, ᾗ ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν ἐχρῆτο, ἐρρώσθη αὐτῷ παρ' ἐμοῦ μάλιστα, μεθεστηκυῖα ἤδη ὑφ' ἑτέρων, οὐκ ἀνεπιτηδείων μέν, οὐ μὴν σοί γε δόξαι, οἱ γὰρ μὴ ἄρχειν αὐτὸν πείθοντες καὶ σὲ δήπου αὐτὸ ἀφῃροῦντο τὸ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ταῦτ' ἔχειν, ἐμοῦ δὲ ξυμβουλεύοντος ἑαυτόν τε μὴ ἀπαξιοῦν ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ θύρας αὐτῷ φοιτώσης, ὑμᾶς τε κληρονόμους αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι, εὖ ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην φήσας, αὐτός τε μέγας ἤρθη καὶ ὑμᾶς ἦρεν· εἰ δὲ γόητά με ᾤετο, οὐδ' ἂν ξυνῆψέ μοι κοινωνίαν φροντίδων, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοιαῦτα ἥκων διελέγετο, οἷον· ἀνάγκασον τὰς Μοίρας ἢ τὸν Δία, τύραννον ἀποφῆναί με ἢ τεράτευσαι διοσημίας ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, δείξας τὸν ἥλιον ἀνίσχυντα μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας, δυόμενον δέ, ὅθεν ἄρχεται. οὐ γὰρ ἄν μοι ἐπιτήδειος ἄρχειν ἔδοξεν, ἢ ἐμὲ ἡγούμενος ἱκανὸν ταῦτα, ἢ σοφίσμασι θηρεύων ἀρχήν, ἣν ἀρεταῖς ἔδει κατακτᾶσθαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ δημοσίᾳ διελέχθην ἐν ἱερῷ, γοήτων δὲ ξυνουσίαι φεύγουσι μὲν ἱερὰ θεῶν, ἐχθρὰ γὰρ τοῖς περὶ τὴν τέχνην, νύκτα δὲ καὶ πᾶν, ὅ τι ἀφεγγές, αὐτῶν προβαλλόμενοι, οὐ ξυγχωροῦσι τοῖς ἀνοήτοις οὐδὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν οὔτε ὦτα. διελέχθη μοι καὶ ἰδίᾳ

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and after commending me and saying to me things 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-

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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 ἡγῇ τὸν σεαυτοῦ βασιλείας ἐρῶντα γόησι μᾶλλον ἢ ἑαυτῷ πιστεῦσαι, καὶ ἀνάγκην ἐπὶ τοὺς θεούς, ἵνα τούτου τύχοι, παρ' ἐμοῦ εὑρέσθαι, ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ πρὶν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἥκειν ἔχειν ᾤετο, μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ὑπὲρ μειζόνων ἐμοὶ διελέγετο, ὑπὲρ νόμων καὶ ὑπὲρ πλούτου δικαίου, θεοί τε ὡς θεραπευτέοι, καὶ ὁπόσα παρ' αὐτῶν ἀγαθὰ τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἄρχουσι, μαθεῖν ἦρα· οἷς πᾶσιν ἐναντίον χρῆμα οἱ γόητες, εἰ γὰρ ἰσχύοι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔσται ἡ τέχνη.

Προσήκει δὲ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κἀκεῖνα ἐπεσκέφθαι· τέχναι ὁπόσαι κατ' ἀνθρώπους εἰσί, πράττουσι μὲν ἄλλο ἄλλῃ, πᾶσαι δ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, αἱ μὲν σμικρῶν, αἱ δ' αὖ μεγάλων, αἱ δ' ἀφ' ὧν θρέψονται· καὶ οὐχ αἱ βάναυσοι 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. CHAP. VII

(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 Liberal and illiberal arts

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ὑπόσοφοι, πλὴν ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας. καλῶ δὲ σοφὰς μὲν ποιητικὴν μουσικὴν ἀστρονομίαν, σοφιστὰς καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων τοὺς μὴ ἀγοραίους, ὑποσόφους δὲ ζωγραφίαν πλαστικὴν ἀγαλματοποιοὺς κυβερνήτας γεωργούς, ἣν ταῖς ὥραις ἔπωνται, καὶ γὰρ αἵδε αἱ τέχναι σοφίας οὐ πολὺ λείπονται. ἔστι δέ τι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ψευδόσοφοί τε καὶ ἀγείροντες, ὃ μὴ μαντικὴν ὑπολάβῃς, πολλοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀξία, ἢν ἀληθεύῃ, εἰ δ' ἐστὶ τέχνη, οὔπω οἶδα, ἀλλὰ τοὺς γόητας ψευδοσόφους φημί· τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀπιστεῖσθαι, πάντα ταῦτα προστίθημι τῇ τῶν ἐξαπατωμένων δόξῃ, τὸ γὰρ σοφὸν τῆς τέχνης ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐξαπατωμένων τε καὶ [θυομένων ἀνοίᾳ κεῖται, ἡ δὲ τέχνη φιλοχρήματοι πάντες, ἃ γὰρ κομψεύονται, ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ σφισιν εὕρηται, μαστεύουσι δ' ὑπερβολὰς χρημάτων, ὑπαγόμενοι τοὺς ὁτουδὴ ἐρῶντας ὡς ἱκανοὶ πάντα. τίνα οὖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, πλοῦτον περὶ ἡμᾶς ἰδὼν ψευδοσοφίαν ἐπιτηδεύειν με οἴει, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ σοῦ πατρὸς κρείττω με ἡγουμένου χρημάτων; ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ

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are esteemed liberal[1] 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 CHAP. VII

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

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CAP. VII λέγω, ποῦ μοι ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ γενναίου τε καὶ θείου ἀνδρός ; ὃς με ἐν αὐτῇ ᾄδει τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι."

αὐτοκράτωρ Οὐεσπασιανὸς Ἀπολλωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

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

"Ταῦθ' ὁ πατὴρ ὁ σὸς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀπολογείσθω, φιλοσοφίας μὲν τὸ ἀδέκαστον, πενίας δὲ τὸ αὐθαίρετον ἐμοὶ ὁριζόμενος, 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 προσῄειν ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ κἀκείνους ἐώθουν ὡς οὐχ ὑγιαίνοντας, διεβεβλήμην δὲ πρὸς χρήματα μειράκιον ὢν ἔτι· τὰ γοῦν πατρῷα, 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 μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι· ἐάσθω δὲ Βαβυλὼν καὶ Ἰνδῶν τὰ ὑπὲρ Καύκασόν τε καὶ ποταμὸν Ὕφασιν, δι' ὧν ἐπορευόμην ἐμαυτῷ ὅμοιος· ἀλλὰ τῶν γε ἐνταῦθα καὶ τοῦ μὴ πρὸς ἀργύριον βλέπειν ποιοῦμαι μάρτυρα τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τοῦτον· δεινὰ γὰρ πεπρᾶχθαί τέ

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

"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

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μοι καὶ βεβουλεῦσθαι φήσας, οὔθ' ὁπόσων χρημάτων ἐπανούργουν ταῦτα, εἴρηκεν, οὔθ' ὅ τι ἐνθυμηθεὶς κέρδος, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀνόητος αὐτῷ δοκῶ τις, ὡς γοητεύειν μέν, ἃ 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 ἐρᾷ, ἐγὼ δὲ κινδύνους καὶ γραφάς.

Ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐς ἀνοήτους ἴωμεν λόγους, ἐρώμεθα τὸν κατήγορον, ὑπὲρ ὅτου χρὴ λέγειν πρώτου. καίτοι τί χρὴ ἐρωτᾶν; διῆλθε γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς στολῆς τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ λόγου, καί, νὴ Δί', ὧν σιτοῦμαί τε καὶ οὐ σιτοῦμαι. ἀπολογοῦ δὴ ὑπὲρ τούτων, θεῖε Πυθαγόρα, κρινόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὧν σὺ μὲν εὗρες, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπαινῶ. ἀνθρώποις ἡ γῆ φύει, βασιλεῦ, πάντα, καὶ σπονδὰς ἄγειν πρὸς τὰ ζῷα 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. Ἰνδοὶ τοίνυν Βραχμᾶνες αὐτοί τε οὐκ ἐπήνουν ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς Γυμνοὺς Αἰγυπτίων ἐδίδασκον μὴ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτά· ἔνθεν Πυθαγόρας ἑλών, Ἑλλήνων δὲ πρῶτος ἐπέμιξεν Αἰγυπτίοις, τὰ μὲν ἔμψυχα

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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. CHAP. VII

(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 Avoidance of animal food Rule of Pythagoras

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CAP. VII τῇ γῇ ἀνῆκεν, 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 ἠμπίσχετο, καὶ τὸ ὑπόδημα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον βύβλου ἐπλέξατο. ἀπέλαυσέ τε τοῦ καθαρὸς εἶναι πολλὰ μέν, πρῶτον δὲ τὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς αἰσθέσθαι· γενόμενος γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλένης ἡ Τροία ἐμάχετο, καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πάνθου παίδων κάλλιστος ὢν καὶ κάλλιστα ἐσταλμένος, ἀπέθανε μὲν οὕτω νέος, ὡς καὶ Ὁμήρῳ παρασχεῖν θρῆνον, 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 Τρωός, καὶ οὕτω τι ἀθάνατος, ὡς μηδ' ὅτι Εὔφορβος ἦν ἐκλελῆσθαι. τὸν μὲν δὴ πρόγονον τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ σοφίας εἴρηκα καὶ τὸ μὴ αὐτὸς εὑρών, κληρονομήσας δὲ ἑτέρου ταῦτ' ἔχειν. κἀγὼ μὲν οὐ κρίνω τοὺς τρυφῶντας ὑπὲρ τοῦ φοινικίου ὄρνιθος, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐκ Φάσιδος ἢ Παιόνων, οὓς πιαίνουσιν ἐς τὰς αὐτῶν δαῖτας οἱ τῇ γαστρὶ χαριζόμενοι πάντα, οὐδ' ἐγραψάμην πω οὐδένα

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

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

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

Ἀπολογώμεθα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς οὔσης ποτὲ ἡμῖν κόμης, ἐπειδή τις γραφὴ καὶ αὐχμοῦ εὕρηται.

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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. CHAP. VII

(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. The charge of wearing linen only

(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 The charge of wearing long hair

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κρίνετω δὲ μὴ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, ἀλλὰ τὰ ξανθὰ καὶ διεκτενισμένα μειράκια, τοὺς ἐραστὰς ἐξαψάμενα καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας, ἐφ' ἃς κωμάζει· καὶ ἑαυτὰ μὲν εὐδαίμονα ἡγείσθω 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 εὕρεμα, τὸ γὰρ κομᾶν ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίων ἥκει, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐπιτηδευθὲν 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 κομᾷ μεῖον οὐδὲν ἢ ἐπὶ Λυκούργῳ τε καὶ Ἰφίτῳ. σοφοῦ δὲ ἀνδρὸς κόμης φειδέσθω σίδηρος, οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν ἐπάγειν αὐτόν, οὗ πᾶσαι μὲν αἰσθητηρίων πηγαί, πᾶσαι δ' ὀμφαί, ὅθεν εὐχαί τε ἀναφαίνονται καὶ σοφίας ἑρμηνεὺς λόγος. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς μὲν γὰρ καὶ στρόφιον τῶν ἁλουργοτάτων περὶ αὐτὴν ἁρμόσας ἐσόβει περὶ τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγυιάς, ὕμνους ξυντιθείς, ὡς θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου ἔσοιτο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἠμελημένῃ κόμῃ χρώμενος, καὶ οὔπω 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, who seek by means of them to inflame the hearts of their lovers and the mistresses of their revels. Let them congratulate and compliment themselves upon their locks and on the myrrh which drips from them; but think me everything that is unattractive, and if a lover of anything, of abstention from love. For I am inclined to address them thus: O ye poor wretches, do not falsely accuse an institution of the Dorians; for the wearing of your hair long has come down from the 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; so far forth as in his head are all the springs of his senses, and all his intuitions, and it is the source from which his prayers issue forth and also his speech, the interpreter of his wisdom. And whereas Empedocles fastened a fillet of deep purple around his hair, and walked proudly about the streets of the Hellenes, composing hymns to prove that he had passed from humanity and was become a god; I only wear my hair dishevelled, and I have never needed to sing such hymns about it, yet am hailed before the law-courts as a criminal. And what shall I say of Empedocles? Which had he most reason to praise,

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ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονίαν ᾄδειν, παρ' οἷς οὐκ ἐσυκοφαντεῖτο ταῦτα;

Μὴ πλείω διαλεγώμεθα ὑπὲρ τῆς κόμης, ἐτμήθη γὰρ καὶ προὔλαβε τὴν κατηγορίαν ὁ φθόνος, δι' ὃν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑτέρας αἰτίας χρὴ ἀπολογεῖσθαι χαλεπῆς οὔσης, καὶ οἵας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ σοὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Διὶ παρασχεῖν φόβον· φησὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θεὸν ἡγεῖσθαί με, καὶ δημοσίᾳ τοῦτ' ἐκφέρειν ἐμβεβροντημένους ὑπ' ἐμοῦ· καίτοι καὶ πρὸ τῆς αἰτίας ἐκεῖνα διδάσκειν ἔδει, τί διαλεχθεὶς ἐγώ, τί δ' οὕτω θαυμάσιον εἰπὼν ἢ πράξας ὑπηγαγόμην τοὺς ἀνθρώπους προσεύχεσθαί μοι· οὔτε γάρ, ἐς ὅ τι ἢ ἐξ ὅτου μετέβαλον ἢ μεταβαλεῖ μοι ἡ ψυχή, διελέχθην ἐν Ἕλλησι, καίτοι γιγνώσκων, οὔτε δόξας περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ τοιαύτας ἀπέστειλα, οὔτ' ἐς λόγια καὶ χρησμῶν ᾠδὰς ἐξῆλθον, οἷα τῶν θεοκλυτούντων φορά, οὐδ' οἶδα πόλιν οὐδεμίαν, ἐν ᾗ ἔδοξε ξυνιόντας Ἀπολλωνίῳ θύειν. καίτοι πολλοῦ ἄξιος ἑκάστοις ἐγενόμην, ὁπόσα ἐδέοντό μου, ἐδέοντο δὲ τοιαῦτα· μὴ νοσεῖν οἱ νοσοῦντες, ὁσιώτεροι μύειν, ὁσιώτεροι θύειν, ὕβριν ἐκτετμῆσθαι, νόμους ἐρρῶσθαι. μισθὸς δ' ἐμοὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπῆρχε τὸ βελτίους αὐτοὺς αὑτῶν 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 go about in search of presages and oracular strains, as is the instinct of candidates for divine honours. Nor do I know of a single city in which a decree was passed that the citizens should assemble and sacrifice in honour of Apollonius. And yet I have been much esteemed in the several cities which asked for my aid, whatever the objects were for which they asked it, and they were such as these: that their sick might be healed of their diseases, that both their initiations and their sacrifices might be rendered more holy, that insolence and pride might be extirpated, and the laws strengthened. And whereas the only reward which I obtained in all this was that men were made much better than they were

The charge of Deification of Apollonius

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νεσθαι, σοὶ δὲ ἐχαριζόμην 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 δεσπότῃ τὸ σμῆνος, οὕτω που καὶ ἐγὼ τὰ πολιτικὰ παύων ἐλαττώματα σοὶ διωρθούμην τὰς πόλεις, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ θεὸν ἡγοῦντό με, σοὶ κέρδος ἡ ἀπάτη εἶχε, ξὺν προθυμίᾳ γάρ που ἠκροῶντό μου, δεδιότες πράττειν, ἃ μὴ δοκεῖ θεῷ. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦτο ᾤοντο, ὅτι δ' ἐστί τις ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς θεὸν ξυγγένεια, δι' ἣν μόνον ζῴων θεοὺς οἶδε, φιλοσοφεῖ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ ὅπη μετέχει τοῦ θείου. φησὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ εἶδος αὐτὸ θεῷ ἐοικέναι, ὡς ἀγαλματοποιία ἑρμηνεύει καὶ χρώματα, τάς τε ἀρετὰς θεόθεν ἥκειν 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, θειοτέρας, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, οὔσας ἢ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπῳ κεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν ἐν τῇ Πυθοῖ· ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ Λυκοῦργος ὁ ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἄρτι γεγραμμένων αὐτῷ τῶν νόμων, οἷς ἡ Λακεδαίμων τέτακται, προσειπὼν δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπόλλων βασανίζει τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαν, ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ χρησμοῦ

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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 polities, improved the cities for your benefit. Consequently if they did regard me as a god, the deception brought profit to yourself; for I am sure they were the more ready to listen to me, because they feared to do that which a god disapproved of. But in fact they entertained no such illusion, though they were aware that there is between man and God a certain kinship which enables him alone of the animal creation to recognise the Gods, and to speculate both about his own nature and the manner in which it participates in the divine substance. Accordingly man declares that his very form resembles God, as it is interpreted by sculptors and painters; and he is persuaded that his virtues come to him from God, and that those who are endowed with such virtues are near to God and divine. CHAP. VII

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-

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CAP. VII φάσκων ἀπορεῖν, πότερα χρὴ θεὸν ἢ ἄνθρωπον καλεῖν, προϊὼν δὲ ἀποφαίνεται καὶ ψηφίζεται τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην, ὡς ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ. καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον ἀγὼν ἦκεν, ἢ κίνδυνος ἐκ τούτων παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, 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 ὅλων εἴρηται, οὕτω τι ἐπαινοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ ἑτέρους διδάξασθαι Ἰνδῶν ὄντα. ὁ λόγος δὲ τῆς μὲν τῶν ὅλων 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 γῇ πάντα, ὧν μετουσία ἴση ἀνθρώποις, πλὴν τύχης. ἔστι δέ τις καὶ ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ κόσμος οὐχ ὑπερβάλλων τὰ σοφίας μέτρα, ὅν που καὶ αὐτός, ὦ βασιλεῦ, φήσεις ἀνδρὸς

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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. CHAP. VII

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 Theology of Apollonius

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CAP. VII δεῖσθαι θεῷ εἰκασμένου· καὶ τί τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τοῦδε; αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀτακτοῦσαι μανικώτερον ἅπτονται παντὸς σχήματος, καὶ ἕωλοι μὲν αὐταῖς νόμοι, σωφροσύνη δ' οὐδαμοῦ, θεῶν δὲ τιμαὶ ἄτιμοι, λαλιᾶς δ' ἐρῶσι 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, ὁπόσα, ὥσπερ ὁ μανδραγόρας, ὑπνηλὰ ἐνομίσθη. ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἀνδρός, ὃς ἐπιμελήσεται τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰς κόσμου, θεὸς ὑπὸ σοφίας ἥκων. οὐτοσὶ γὰρ ἀπόχρη αὐτὰς ἐρώτων τε ἀπάγειν, ἐφ' οὓς ἀγριώτερον τῆς ξυνήθους ὁμιλίας ἐκφέρονται, καὶ φιλοχρηματίας, δι' ἣν οὔπω πᾶν ἔχειν φασίν, ἐπεὶ μὴ καὶ τὸ στόμα ὑπέχουσιν ἐπιρρέοντι τῷ πλούτῳ. φόνων γὰρ ἀνασχεῖν μὲν αὐτὰς μὴ προσάπτεσθαι οὐκ ἀδύνατον ἴσως ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ, ἀπονῖψαι δὲ οὔτε ἐμοὶ δυνατὸν οὔτε τῷ πάντων δημιουργῷ θεῷ.

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, οἳ ποταμὸν Ἴστρον ἢ Ῥῆνον οἰκοῦσι, πόλις ᾤκισται μείων οὐδὲν Ἐφέσου τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ· ταύτην ὁρμη-

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

CHAP. VII

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 bests suits his accusation. For this is the sort of thing the accusation is. Let us suppose that among the Scythians or Celts, who live along the rivers Ister and Rhine, a city has been founded every whit as important as Ephesus in Ionia. Here you have a sally-port of barbarians, who refuse

The delivery of Ephesus from plague

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CAP. VII

τήριον βαρβάρων οὖσαν, οἳ μὴ ἀκροῶνταί σου, λοιμὸς μέν τις ἀπολεῖν ἔμελλεν, Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ἰάσατο. ἔστι μὲν γάρ τις καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπολογία σοφῷ ἀνδρί, ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ ἀντίξοον ὅπλοις, ἀλλὰ μὴ νόσοις αἱρεῖν βούληται· μὴ γὰρ ἐξαλειφθείη 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 Ἔφεσον τίς ἀφαιρήσεται τὸ σώζεσθαι, βεβλημένην μὲν τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ γένους ἐκ τῆς καθαρωτάτης Ἀθίδος, ἐπιδεδωκυῖαν δὲ παρὰ πάσας, ὁπόσαι Ἰωνικαί τε καὶ Λύδιοι, προβεβηκυῖαν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν διὰ τὸ ὑπερήκειν τῆς γῆς, ἐφ' ἧς ᾠκίσθη, μεστὴν δὲ φροντισμάτων οὖσαν φιλοσόφων τε καὶ ῥητορικῶν, ὑφ' ὧν ἡ πόλις οὐχ ἵππῳ, μυριάσι δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχύει, σοφίαν ἐπαινοῦσα; τίς δ' ἂν σοφὸς ἐκλιπεῖν σοι δοκεῖ τὸν ὑπὲρ πόλεως τοιαύτης ἀγῶνα, ἐνθυμηθεὶς μὲν Δημόκριτον ἐλευθερώσαντα λοιμοῦ ποτε Ἀβδηρίτας, ἐννοήσας δὲ Σοφοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, ὃς λέγεται καὶ ἀνέμους θέλξαι τῆς ὥρας πέρα πνεύσαντας, ἀκηκοὼς δὲ τὰ Ἐμπεδοκλέους, ὃς νεφέλης ἀνέσχε φορὰν ἐπ' Ἀκραγαντίνους ῥαγείσης;

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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 its beginnings from that purest of beings Atthis, and which grew in size beyond all other cities of Ionia and Lydia, and stretched herself out to the sea, on the promontory over which she is built, and is filled with studious people, both philosophers and rhetoricians, thanks to whom the city owes her strength, not to her cavalry, but to the tens of thousands of her inhabitants in whom she encourages wisdom? And do you think that there is any wise man who would decline to do his best in behalf of such a city, when he reflects that Democritus once liberated the people of Abdera from pestilence, and when he bears in mind the story of Sophocles of Athens, who is said to have charmed the winds when they were blowing unseasonably, and who has heard how Empedocles stayed a cloud in its course when it would have burst over the heads of the people of Acragas? CHAP. VII

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CAP. VII

Ἐπικόπτει με ὁ κατήγορος· ἀκούεις γάρ που καὶ σύ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καί φησιν, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ σωτηρίας αἴτιος Ἐφεσίοις ἐγενόμην, γράφεσθαί με, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ προεῖπον ἐμπεσεῖσθαί σφισι τὴν νόσον, τουτὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ σοφίαν εἶναι καὶ τερατῶδες, 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, τὼ 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, οὗ τὰ γύναια κακῶς ἤκουεν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς σελήνης ἕλξει.

Πόθεν οὖν τοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον πάθους ᾐσθόμην; ἤκουσας μὲν καὶ τοῦ κατηγόρου εἰπόντος, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διαιτῶμαι, κἀμοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ σιτίων, ὡς λεπτά. καὶ ἡδίω τῆς ἑτέρων συβάριδος, ἐν ἀρχῇ εἴρηται· τοῦτό μοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐν αἰθρίᾳ τινὶ ἀπορρήτῳ φυλάττει, κοὐκ ἐᾷ θολερὸν περὶ αὐτὰς οὐδὲν εἶναι, διορᾶν τε, ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρου αὐγῇ, πάντα γιγνόμενά τε καὶ ἐσό-

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

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 ῥέῃ, ἀλλὰ ξυνήσει αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ θύραις ὄντων, ὕστερον μὲν ἢ οἱ θεοί, θᾶττον 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· ἆρ' οὖν τὸ οὕτως διαιτᾶσθαι λεπτότητα μόνον ἐργάζεται τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἢ ἰσχὺν ἐπὶ τὰ μέγιστά τε καὶ θαυμασιώτατα; θεωρεῖν δ' ἔξεστιν, ὃ λέγω, καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλων μέν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ κἀκ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ περὶ τὴν νόσον ἐκείνην πραχθέντων· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ εἶδος, πτωχῷ δὲ γέροντι εἴκαστο, καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδὼν εἶλον, οὐ παύσας νόσον, ἀλλ' ἐξελών· ὅτῳ δ' εὐξάμενος, δηλοῖ τὸ ἱερόν, ὃ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ὑπὲρ τούτου ἱδρυσάμην, Ἡρακλέους μὲν γὰρ Ἀποτροπαίου ἐστί, ξυνεργὸν δ' αὐτὸν εἱλόμην, ἐπειδὴ σοφός τε καὶ ἀνδρεῖος ὢν ἐκάθηρέ ποτε λοιμοῦ τὴν Ἦλιν, τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις ἀποκλύσας, ἃς παρεῖχεν ἡ γῆ κατ' Αὐγέαν τυραννεύοντα.

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

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

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

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τέχνης, θεῷ παρεὶς τὸ θαυμάζεσθαι; τίς δ' ἂν Ἡρακλεῖ εὔξασθαι γόης ὤν; τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα οἱ κακοδαίμονες βόθροις ἀνατιθέασι καὶ χθονίοις θεοῖς, ὧν τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀποτακτέον, καθαρὸς γὰρ καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὔνους. ηὐξάμην αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ποτέ, λαμίας γάρ τι φάσμα κἀκεῖ περὶ τὴν Κόρινθον ἤλυε, σιτούμενον τῶν νέων τοὺς καλούς· καὶ ξυνήρατό μοι τοῦ ἀγῶνος οὐ θαυμασίων δεηθεὶς δώρων, ἀλλὰ μελιττούτης καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τι ἀνθρώπων ἐργάσασθαι, τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὸν Εὐρυσθέα μισθὸν τῶν ἄθλων ἠγεῖτο. μὴ ἄχθου, βασιλεῦ, τὰ Ἡρακλέους ἀκούων· ἔμελε γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ἐπειδὴ χρηστὸς καὶ σωτήριος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κελεύεις με ὑπὲρ τῆς θυσίας ἀπολογεῖσθαι, τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἐνδείκνυσαι, ἄκουε ἀπολογίας ἀληθοῦς· ἐγὼ γὰρ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράττων, οὕπω ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἔθυσα, 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, ῥῆκας, οὐδ' ἐκ τῆς ἀμίκτου ποθέν, οὐδ' ἐπέμιξά πω Μασσαγέταις ἢ Ταύροις, ὡς κἀκείνους ἂν τοῦ τῆς θυσίας ἔθους μετέβαλον· ἀνοίας δ' ἂν ποῖ ἤλαυνον, ἵνα πλεῖστα

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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. CHAP. VII

The charge of human sacrifice conducted with Nerva

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

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CAP. VII μὲν ὑπὲρ μαντικῆς διαλεγόμενος καὶ ὅπη ἔρρωται ἢ μή, ἄριστα δ' ἀνθρώπων ᾐσθημένος, ὅτι τὰς αὐτῶν βουλὰς οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ὁσίοις τε καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ μὴ μαντευομένοις φαίνουσι, μιαιφονίας ἅπτωμαι καὶ σπλάγχνων ἀθύτων ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀκαλλιερήτων; ἐφ' οἷς ἀπέλιπεν ἄν με καὶ ἡ τοῦ δαιμονίου ὀμφὴ μὴ καθαρὸν ὄντα.

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

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

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CAP. VII πέπονθε 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 κἀμοὶ ταπεινότερος τοῦ μετρίου φαίνεσθαι. πῶς οὖν πιθανὸν ἡγήσαιτο ἄν τις ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμῆσαι Νερούαν, ἀγαπῶντα, εἰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίας ἄρξοι, ἢ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων διαλέγεσθαί μοι τὸν μηδ' ὑπὲρ μικρῶν τεθαρρηκότα, ἢ ξυνάπτειν ἐμοὶ γνώμην ὑπὲρ ὧν μηδὲ πρὸς ἄλλον, εἰ τοὐμὸν ἐνεθυμήθη, ξυνῆψεν; ἢ πῶς ἔτ' ἐγὼ σοφὸς γνώμην ἑρμηνεύειν ἀνδρός, μαντικῇ μὲν πιστεύων, ἀπιστῶν δὲ σοφίᾳ; τὸν δὲ Ὀρφιτον καὶ τὸν Ῥοῦφον, τοὺς δικαίους μὲν καὶ σώφρονας, νωθροὺς δὲ ἄνδρας, ὡς εὖ οἶδα, εἰ μὲν ὡς τυραννησείοντας διαβεβλῆσθαί φασιν, οὐκ οἶδ' εἴτε τούτων πλέον διαμαρτάνουσιν, εἴτε Νερούα, εἰ δ' ὡς ξυμβούλῳ γεγονότε, πιθανώτερος ἀρχῇ ἐπιθέσθαι Νερούας, ἢ οἵδε ξυμβουλεῦσαι;

Ἀλλὰ μὴν τόν γε ὑπὲρ τούτων κρίνοντα κἀκεῖνα εἰκὸς ἦν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, τί ἐβούλετό μοι τὸ ξυλλαμ-

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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.

CHAP. VII

Orphitus and Rufus

(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:

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CAP. VII βάνειν τοῖς ἐπὶ νεώτερα ἥκουσι· χρήματα μὲν γὰρ οὔ φησι παρ' αὐτῶν γεγενῆσθαί μοι, οὐδὲ δώροις ἐπαρθέντα με ταῦτα εἰργάσθαι· σκεψώμεθα δέ, μὴ μεγαλων δεόμενος, ἀνεβαλόμην τὰς παρ' αὐτῶν εὐεργεσίας ἐς ὃν ᾧοντο ἄρξειν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ μεγάλα μὲν ἂν αἰτεῖν ὑπῆρξε, μειζόνων δ' ἀξιοῦσθαι· πῶς οὖν ταῦτα ἔσται δῆλα; ἐνθυμήθητι, Βασιλεῦ, σεαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἔτι πρὸ σοῦ ἄρχοντας, ἀδελφὸν δήπου τὸν σεαυτοῦ καὶ πατέρα, Νέρωνά τε, ἐφ' ὧν ἦρξαν, κατὰ τούτους γὰρ μάλιστα τοὺς βασιλέας βεβίωταί μοι ἐς τὸ φανερόν, τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον Ἰνδοῖς φοιτῶντι. τούτων δὴ τῶν ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ ἐς σὲ μῆκος, οὔτε ἐπὶ θύρας βασιλείους ἐφοίτησα πλὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τοῦ σοῦ πατρός, ἐπεὶ μήτε βασιλεύς πω ἐτύγχανεν ὢν ὡμολόγει τε δι' ἐμὲ ἥκειν, 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 ἔροιό με πλουσίους ἐνθυμηθεὶς καὶ πένητας, ποτέρου τῶν ἐθνῶν τούτων ἐμαυτὸν γράφω, τῶν πλουσιωτάτων φήσω, τὸ γὰρ δεῖσθαι μηδενὸς ἐμοὶ Λυδία καὶ τὸ Πακτωλοῦ πᾶν. πῶς οὖν ἡ τὰς παρὰ τῶν οὔπω βασιλέων δωρεὰς ἀνεβαλλόμην

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

CHAP. VII

Apollonius' retrospect of his life

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CAP. VII ἐς ὃν ἄρξειν αὐτοὺς ᾤμην χρόνον ὁ μηδὲ τὰς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐλόμενος, οἷς βέβαιον ἡγούμην τὸ ἄρχειν, ἢ βασιλειῶν μεταβολὰς ἐπενόουν μηδὲ ταῖς καθεστηκυίαις ἐς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι χρώμενος; καὶ μὴν ὁπόσα γίγνεται φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ κολακεύοντι τοὺς δυνατούς, δηλοῖ τὰ Εὐφράτου· τούτῳ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν τί λέγω χρήματα; πηγαὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσι πλούτου, κἀπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν ἤδη διαλέγεται κάπηλος, ὑποκάπηλος, τελώνης, ὀβολοστάτης, πάντα γιγνόμενος τὰ πωλούμενά τε καὶ πωλοῦντα, ἐντετύπωται δ' ἀεὶ 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, ἐπιτειχίζει τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πλοῦτον, ἑτέροις τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τουτονὶ βόσκων χρήμασι καὶ ὀξύνων ἐπ' ἐμὲ γλῶτταν ἀξίαν ἐκτετμῆσθαι.

Εὐφράτην μὲν δὴ καταλείπω σοί, σὺ γάρ, ἢν μὴ κόλακας ἐπαινῇς, εὑρήσεις τὸν ἄνθρωπον κακίω ὧν ἑρμηνεύω, τῆς δὲ λοιπῆς ἀπολογίας ἀκροῶ· τίς οὖν αὕτη καὶ ὑπὲρ τίνων; ᾔδετό τις, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παιδὸς Ἀρκάδος ἐν τῇ κατηγορίᾳ θρῆνος, τετμῆσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ νύκτωρ, εἰ δ' ὄναρ φησίν, οὔπω οἶδα, εἶναι δὲ πατέρων τε ἀγαθῶν ὁ

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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 often outstays the doorkeepers, just as greedy dogs would do; but he never yet bestowed a farthing upon any philosopher, but he walls up all his wealth within his own house, only supporting this Egyptian out of the money of others, and whetting against me a tongue which ought to have been cut out.

CHAP. VII

Greed of Euphrates

(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

The sacrifice of an Arcadian boy

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CAP. VII παῖς οὗτος καὶ τὸ εἶδος οἷοι Ἀρκάδων οἱ ἐν αὐχμῷ καλοί. τοῦτόν φασιν ἱκετεύοντά τε καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενον ἀπεσφάχθαι, κἀμὲ τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αἷμα βάψαντα θεοῖς ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας εὔχεσθαι. μέχρι τούτων ἐμὲ κρίνουσιν, ὁ δὲ ἐφεξῆς λόγος τῶν θεῶν ἅπτεται, φασὶ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀκοῦσαι μὲν ὧδέ μου εὐξαμένου, δοῦναι δὲ ἱερὰ εὔσημα, καὶ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι ἀσεβοῦντα. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀκρόασιν, ὡς οὐ καθαρά, τί ἄν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, λέγοιμι;

Ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν γέ μοι ἀπολογητέα, τίς ὁ Ἀρκὰς οὗτος; εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀνώνυμος τὰ πατέρων, μηδ' ἀνδραποδώδης τὸ εἶδος, ὥρα σοι ἐρωτᾶν, τί μὲν ὄνομα τοῖς γειναμένοις αὐτόν, τίνος δὲ οἰκίας οὗτος, τίς δ' ἐθρέψατο αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πόλις, τίνων δὲ βωμῶν ἀπαχθεὶς ἐνταῦθα ἐθύετο. οὐ λέγει ταῦτα καίτοι δεινὸς ὢν μὴ ἀληθεύειν. οὐκοῦν ὑπὲρ ἀνδραπόδου κρίνει με. ᾧ γὰρ μήτ' αὐτῷ ὄνομα μήθ' ὧν ἔφυ, μὴ πόλις μὴ κλῆρός ἐστιν, 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 δέ τινα ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ἵν' ἐνθένδε ἡμῖν ἀναχθείη ὁ Ἀρκάς· ἀνδράποδα μὲν

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

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

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CAP. VII γὰρ Ποντικὰ ἢ Λύδια ἢ ἐκ Φρυγῶν πρίαιτ' ἂν κἀνταῦθά τις, ὧν γε καὶ ἀγέλαις ἐντυχεῖν ἐστιν ἅμα φοιτώσαις δεῦρο, ταυτὶ γὰρ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ ὁπόσα βαρβάρων, πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἑτέρων ἀκροώμενοι οὔπω τὸ δουλεύειν αἰσχρὸν ἡγοῦνται· Φρυξὶ γοῦν ἐπιχώριον καὶ ἀποδίδοσθαι τοὺς αὑτῶν καὶ ἀνδραποδισθέντων μὴ ἐπιστρέφεσθαι, Ἕλληνες δὲ ἐλευθερίας ἐρασταὶ ἔτι, καὶ οὐδὲ δοῦλον ἀνὴρ Ἕλλην πέρα ὅρων ἀποδώσεται, ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἀνδραποδισταῖς οὔτε ἀνδραπόδων καπήλοις ἐς αὐτοὺς παριτητέα, ἐς δὲ Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ μᾶλλον, πρὸς γὰρ τῷ παρὰ πάντας ἐλευθεριάζειν Ἕλληνας δέονται καὶ ὄχλου δούλων. ἔστι δὲ πολυλήιος καὶ ποώδης ἡ 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 ἡ χώρα καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ παίδων γυμνάζονται. εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ τοιάδε ἦν τὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ἀλλ' εἶχον, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι, προσαποδίδοσθαι τοὺς αὑτῶν δούλους, τι τῇ θρυλουμένῃ σοφίᾳ ξυνεβάλλετο τὸ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας εἶναι τὸν σφαττόμενον ; οὐδὲ γὰρ σοφώτατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀρκάδες, ἵν' ἑτέρου τι ἀνθρώπου πλέον περὶ τὰ λογικὰ τῶν σπλάγχνων φαίνωσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀγροικότατοι ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ καὶ συώδεις τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ γαστρίζεθαι τῶν δρυῶν.

Ῥητορικώτερον ἴσως ἀπολελόγημαι τοὐμοῦ

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

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

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CAP. VII τρόπου, τὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀφερμηνεύων ἤθη καὶ παριὼν ἐς Πελοπόννησον τῷ λόγῳ. ἡ γὰρ ἐμοὶ προσήκουσα ἀπολογία τίς; οὐκ ἔθυσα, οὐ θύω, οὐ θιγγάνω αἵματος, οὐδ' εἰ βώμιον αὐτὸ εἴη, Πυθαγόρας τε γὰρ ὧδε ἐγίγνωσκεν οἵ τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παραπλησίως, καὶ κατ' Αἴγυπτον δὲ οἱ Γυμνοὶ καὶ Ἰνδῶν οἱ σοφοί, παρ' ὧν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Πυθαγόραν αἱ τῆς σοφίας ἀρχαὶ ἐφοίτησαν. κατὰ ταῦτα θύοντες οὐ δοκοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ γηράσκειν τε αὐτοῖς ξυγχωροῦσιν ἀρτίοις τὰ σώματα καὶ ἀνόσοις, καὶ σοφωτέροις ἀεὶ 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 ῥαίνοντες. ἐγὼ δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐκλαθόμενος ἔθυον τρόπον, ὃν μήτ' αὐτὸς εἴωθα μήτε τις ἀνθρώπων θύοι.

Ἀπαλλαττέτω με τῆς αἰτίας καὶ ὁ καιρός, ὃν εἴρηκεν ὁ κατήγορος· τὴν γὰρ ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, ἐν ᾗ ταῦτα εἰργάσθαι μοί φησιν, εἰ μὲν ἐγενόμην ἐν ἀγρῷ, ἔθυσα, εἰ δὲ ἔθυσα, καὶ ἔφαγον. εἶτά με, ὦ βασιλεῦ, θαμινὰ ἐρωτᾷς, εἰ μὴ ἐπεχωρίαζον τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε; καὶ σύ, βέλτιστε βασιλέων, ἐπεχωρίαζες, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν εἴποις θῦσαι

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

CHAP. VII

Condemnation of blood offerings

(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

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 διῃτᾶτο, καὶ μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων, ἃς βέλτιον ξενηλατεῖν ἢ ὑπάγειν γραφαῖς, ἐν αἷς τεκμήριον ἀδικημάτων ἔσται τὸ ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. καίτοι τὸ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἥκειν καὶ παραιτεῖται τάχα τῆς τοῦ νεώτερα πράττειν δοκεῖν αἰτίας· τὸ γὰρ ἐν πόλει ζῆν, ἐν ᾗ πάντες μὲν ὀφθαλμοί, πᾶσα δὲ ἀκρόασις ὄντων τε καὶ οὐκ ὄντων, οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ νεωτέρων ἅπτεσθαι 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 ἥκεις, ἀγῶνας ἡτοίμαζον καὶ κατηγορίας ἐπ' ἄνδρας χρηστούς, καὶ ἀπολέσαι τοὺς οὐκ ἀδικοῦντας καὶ πεῖσαι τὸν βασιλέα μὴ ἀληθῆ λέγων, ἵν' ἐγὼ μὲν εὐδοκιμοίην, μιαίνοιτο δὲ οὗτος, εἰ δ' ὡς φιλοσόφου πυνθάνῃ, τὸν Δημοκρίτου ἐπῄνουν γέλωτα, ὃν ἐς πάντα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γελᾷ, εἰ δ' ὡς ἐμοῦ, Φιλίσκος ὁ Μηλιεὺς ἐτῶν ξυμφιλοσοφήσας ἐμοὶ τεττάρων, ἐνόσει τότε, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ ἀπεκάθευδον οὕτω

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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. CHAP. VII

(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 ηὐξάμην ἴυγγας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς γενέσθαι μοι, καί, νὴ Δί', εἴ τινες Ὀρφέως εἰσὶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων μελῳδίαι, μηδ' ἐκείνας ἀγνοῆσαι, καὶ γὰρ ἄν μοι δοκῶ καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν πορευθῆναι δι' αὐτόν, εἰ ἐφικτὰ ἦν ταῦτα· οὕτω με ἀνήρτητο πᾶσιν οἷς φιλοσόφως τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν νοῦν ἔπραττε.

Ταῦτ' ἔστι μέν σοι, βασιλεῦ, καὶ Τελεσίνου ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ ὑπάτου, παρῆν γὰρ κἀκεῖνος τῷ Μηλιεῖ, θεραπεύων αὐτὸν νύκτωρ, ὁπόσα ἐγώ. εἰ δὲ Τελεσίνῳ ἀπιστεῖς, ἐπειδὴ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων ἐστί, καλῶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς μάρτυρας, εἰσὶ δ' οὗτοι, Σέλευκός τε ὁ ἐκ Κυζίκου καὶ Στρατοκλῆς ὁ Σιδώνιος· τούτους ἐρώτα, εἰ ἀληθῆ λέγω· καὶ μαθηταὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς τριάκοντα εἵποντο, τῶν αὐτῶν δήπου μάρτυρες· τὸ γὰρ προκαλεῖσθαι δεῦρο τοὺς τῷ Φιλίσκῳ προσήκοντας ἀναβολὰς ἴσως ἡγήσῃ τῆς δίκης, ἐπειδὴ αὐτίκα τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπῆραν ἐς τὰ Μηλιέων ἤθη κατὰ ὁσίαν τοῦ νεκροῦ. ἴτε, ὦ μάρτυρες, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρήγγελται ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ τούτου· ΜΑΡΤΤΡΕΣ. 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. CHAP. VII He was present at Philiscus' deathbed

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

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CAP. VII τείχους, ἀλλ' ἐπ' οἰκίας, οὐδὲ παρὰ Νερούᾳ, παρὰ Φιλίσκῳ δέ, οὐδὲ ἀποσφάττων ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς εὐχόμενος, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ βασιλείας, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας, οὐδ' ἀντὶ σοῦ χειροτονῶν νεώτερον, ἀλλ' ἄνδρα σώζων ἐμαυτῷ ὅμοιον.

Τί οὖν ὁ Ἀρκὰς ἐνταῦθα; τί δ' οἱ τῶν σφαγίων μῦθοι; τί δὲ τὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα πείθειν; ἔσται γάρ ποτε καὶ ὃ μὴ γέγονεν, ἂν ὡς γεγονὸς κριθῇ· τὸ δ' ἀπίθανον τῆς θυσίας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ποῖ τάξεις; ἐγένοντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρότερον σφαγίων μάντεις ἀγαθοὶ τὴν τέχνην καὶ οἷοι ὀνομάσαι, Μεγιστίας ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας, Ἀρίστανδρος ἐκ Λυκίας, Ἀμπρακία δὲ Σιλανὸν ἤνεγκε, καὶ ἐθύοντο ὁ μὲν Ἀκαρνὰν Λεωνίδᾳ βασιλεῖ Σπάρτης, ὁ δὲ Λύκιος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι, Σιλανὸς δὲ Κύρῳ βασιλείας ἐρῶντι, καὶ εἴ τι ἐν ἀνθρώπου σπλάγχνοις ἢ σαφέστερον ἢ σοφώτερον ἢ ἐτυμώτερον ἀπέκειτο, οὐκ ἄπορος ἦν ἡ θυσία, βασιλέων γε προϊσταμένων 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 κἀμοὶ νῦν κινδυνεύοντι ὑπὲρ τοιούτων, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλογα τῶν ζῴων εἰκός, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ θανάτου σφάττεται, μὴ θολοῦσθαί τι τῶν σπλάγ-

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

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

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CAP. VII χνων ὑπὸ ἀξυνεσίας ὧν πείσονται· ἄνθρωπον δὲ ἀεί τι ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντα θανάτου καὶ μήπω ἐφεστηκότος δεῖμα, πῶς εἰκὸς παρόντος ἤδη καὶ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄντος, δεῖξαί τι ἐπὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων μαντικὸν ἢ ὅλως εὔθυτον ;

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

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

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 diviniation 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

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CAP. VII

ἔργον, εἰ ἄσημα τὰ ἱερὰ ἔσται ; ἄσημα δ' αὐτὰ ἡ ἀνθρωπεία φύσις ἐργάζεται ξυνιεῖσα τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀποθνήσκοντες, οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὔψυχοι ξὺν ὀργῇ τελευτῶσιν, οἱ δ' ἀθυμότεροι ξὺν δέει. ἔνθεν ἡ τέχνη παρὰ τοῖς οὐκ ἀνεπιστήμοσι βαρβάροις χιμαίρας μὲν καὶ ἄρνας ἐπαινεῖ σφάττειν, ἐπειδὴ εὐήθη τὰ ζῷα καὶ οὐ πόρρω ἀναισθήτων, ἀλεκτρυόνας δὲ καὶ σῦς καὶ ταύρους, ἐπειδὴ θυμοειδῆ ταῦτα, οὐκ ἀξιοῖ τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἀπορρήτων. ξυνίημι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παροξύνων τὸν κατήγορον, ἐπειδὴ σοφώτερόν σε ἀκροατὴν εἴργασμαι, καί μοι δοκεῖς καὶ προσέχειν τῷ λόγῳ· εἰ δὲ μὴ σαφῶς τι αὐτοῦ φράζοιμι, ξυγχωρῶ σοι ἐρωτᾶν με.

εἴρηταί μοι τὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου γραφήν· ἐπεὶ δ', οἶμαι, χρὴ μηδὲ τὰς Εὐφράτου διαβολὰς ὑπερορᾶσθαι, σύ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, δικάζοις, ὁπότερος ἡμῶν φιλοσοφεῖ μᾶλλον· οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν ἀγωνίζεται μὴ τἀληθῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν, ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἀξιῶ, καὶ ὁ μέν σε ἡγεῖται δεσπότην, ἐγὼ δ' ἄρχοντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν ξίφος ἐπ' ἐμέ σοι δίδωσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον.

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

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

(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. Against Euphrates

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 The charge of disloyal discourse in Ionia

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CAP. VII μὲν λεχθέντα ἦν ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης, παράδειγμα δ' ἐγίγνετό μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ τῶν βασιλέων πράγματα, ἐπειδὴ μέγιστα τῶν ἀνθρωπείων δοκεῖ τὰ ὑμέτερα, Μοιρῶν τε ἰσχὺν ἐφιλοσόφουν καὶ τὸ οὕτως ἄτρεπτα εἶναι, ἃ κλώθουσιν, ὡς, εἰ καὶ βασιλείαν τῳ ψηφίσαιντο ἑτέρῳ δὴ ὑπάρχουσαν, ὁ δ' ἀποκτείνειε τοῦτον, ὡς μὴ ἀφαιρεθείη ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν, κἂν ἀναβιοίη ὁ ἀποθανὼν ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξάντων ταῖς Μοίραις. τὰς γὰρ ὑπερβολὰς τῶν λόγων ἐσαγόμεθα διὰ τοὺς τοῖς πιθανοῖς ἀπειθοῦντας, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ τοιόνδε ἔλεγον· ὅτῳ πέπρωται γενέσθαι τεκτονικῷ, οὗτος, κἂν ἀποκοπῇ τὼ χεῖρε, τεκτονικὸς ἔσται, καὶ ὅτῳ νίκην ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δρόμου ἄρασθαι, οὗτος, οὐδ' εἰ πηρωθείη τὸ σκέλος, ἁμαρτήσεται τῆς νίκης, καὶ ὅτῳ ἔνευσαν Μοῖραι τὸ ἐν τοξείᾳ κράτος, οὗτος, οὐδ' εἰ ἀποβάλοι τὰς ὄψεις, ἐκπεσεῖται τοῦ σκοποῦ. τὰ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἔλεγον ἐς τοὺς Ἀκρισίους δήπου ὁρῶν καὶ τοὺς Λαΐους Ἀστυάγη τε τὸν Μῆδον καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους, εὖ τίθεσθαι τὰ αὑτῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ δόξαντας, ὧν οἱ μὲν παῖδας, οἱ δὲ ἐκγόνους ἀποκτείνειν οἰηθέντες, ἀφῃρέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὸ βασιλεύειν, ἀναφύντων ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ξὺν τῷ πεπρωμένῳ. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἠγάπων κολακευτικήν, εἶπον ἂν καὶ τὰ σὰ ἐντεθυμῆσθαι, ὅτε ἀπείληψο μὲν ὑπὸ

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

CHAP. VII

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CAP VII Βιτελίου ἐνταῦθα, κατεπίμπρατο δὲ ὁ νεὼς τοῦ Διὸς περὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς τοῦ ἄστεος, ὁ δ' εὖ κείσεσθαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔφασκεν, εἰ μὴ διαφύγοις αὐτόν—καίτοι μειράκιον ἱκανῶς ἦσθα καὶ οὔπω οὕτος—ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ Μοίραις ἐδόκει ἕτερα, ὁ μὲν ἀπώλετο αὐταῖς βουλαῖς, σὺ δὲ τἀκείνου νῦν ἔχεις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἁρμονίᾳ κολακευτικῇ ἄχθομαι, δοκεῖ γάρ μοι τῶν ἐκρύθμων τε καὶ οὐκ εὐφθόγγων εἶναι, τεμνέσθω μοι ἥδε ἡ νευρά, καὶ μηδὲν ἡγοῦ τῶν σῶν ἐντεθυμῆσθαί με, ἀλλὰ διειλέχθαι μόνα τὰ ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης, ταυτὶ γάρ φησιν εἰρῆσθαί 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

ὤμοι ἐγών, ὅτε μοι Σαρπηδόνα[1]

καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἐς αὐτὸν ᾀδόντων, ἐν οἷς τοῦ υἱέος ἐξίστασθαί φησι ταῖς Μοίραις, λεγόντων τε αὖ ἐν ψυχοστασίᾳ, ὅτι Μίνω τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Σαρπηδόνος ἀποθανόντα χρυσῷ μὲν σκήπτρῳ ἐτίμησε καὶ δικάζειν ἔταξεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Αἰδωνέως ἀγορᾷ, Μοιρῶν δ' οὐ παρῃτήσατο. σὺ δ', ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοῦ χάριν ἄχθῃ 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.'

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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 :— CHAP. VII

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

And there are other such strains referring to himself, such as those in which he accuses the Fates of having deprived him of his son; and in the weighing of souls again the poets tell you that, although after her death he presented Minos the brother of Sarpedon with a golden sceptre, and appointed him judge in the court of Aidoneus, yet he could not exempt him from the decree of the Fates. And you, my prince, why should you resent my argument when the gods put up with it, whose fortunes are for Odyss. 11. 568

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CAP. VII οἷς πέπηγεν ἀεὶ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ μὴ ἀποκτεινόντων τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐπ' αὐτῷ; προσήκει γὰρ ταῖς Μοίραις ἕπεσθαι, 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 παγκρατὴς χρόνος,

ἄριστα δὴ ἀνθρώπων λέγουτι. ἐγκύκλιοι γὰρ αἱ κατ' ἀνθρώπους εὐπραγίαι καὶ ἐφήμερον, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ τοῦ ὄλβου μῆκος· τἀμὰ οὗτος καὶ τὰ τούτου ἕτερος καὶ ὁ δεῖνα τὰ τοῦ δεῖνος, ἔχων οὐκ ἔχει. ταῦτ' ἐννοῶν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παῦε μὲν φυγάς, παῦε δ' αἷμα, καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ μὲν ὅ τι βούλει χρῶ, ἀπαθὴς γὰρ ἥ γε ἀληθής, δάκρυα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀφαίρει, ὡς νῦν γε ἠχὼ μυρία μὲν ἐκ θαλάττης, πολλῷ δὲ πλείων ἐξ ἠπείρων φοιτᾷ θρηνούντων, ὅ τι ἑκάστῳ θρήνου ἄξιον. τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν φυόμενα πλείω ὄντα ἢ ἀριθμεῖσθαι ταῖς τῶν συκοφαντῶν γλώτταις ἀνῆπται, διαβαλλόντων σοί τε πάντας καὶ σέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, πᾶσιν."

VIII

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

οὐ γάρ με κτενέεις, ἐπεὶ οὔτοι μόρσιμός εἰμι,

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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:— CHAP. VII

'For the gods alone there comes no old age, nay, nor ever death; but all other things are confounded by all-mastering time . . .' Oed. Col. 607 sqq.

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: CHAP. VIII

Effect on Domitian of the Sage's sudden disappearance.

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

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

IX

CAP. IX Ἠκροᾶτο μὲν γὰρ ἑτέρας ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ 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 διαθεὶς καὶ παίγνιον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίας ἀποφήνας τὸν Ἕλλησί 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. CHAP. VIII

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. CHAP. IX

X

Such was the condition to which Apollonius reduced the despot, making him a plaything of his CHAP X

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

XI

CAP. XI Ἐτύγχανε μὲν δὴ ὁ Δάμις τῆς προτεραίας ἀφιγμένος καὶ τῷ Δημητρίῳ ξυγγεγονὼς 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 ᾗ τὰ περὶ τὴν Καλυψὼ μυθεύματα· ἀπεγίγνωσκον μὲν γὰρ ὡς οὐχ ἥξοντος, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῆς τυραννίδος χαλεπὰ ἦν πᾶσι, τὰ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσταττόμενα ἐτίμων διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἀπειπόντες οὖν ἐκάθηντο ἐς τὸ νύμφαιον, ἐν ᾧ ὁ πίθος, λευκοῦ δ' οὗτός ἐστι λίθου ξυνέχων πηγὴν ὕδατος οὔθ' ὑπερβάλλουσαν τοῦ στομίου οὔτ', εἴ τις ἀπαντλοίη, ὑποδιδοῦσαν. διαλεχθέντες δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς φύσεως τοῦ ὕδατος οὐ μάλα ἐσπουδακότως, διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀθυμίαν, ἐπανῆγον 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.

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XII

CAP. XII Ἀνολοφυραμένου δὲ τοῦ Δάμιδος, καί τε καὶ τοιοῦτον εἰπόντος, "ἆρ' ὀψόμεθά ποτε, ὦ θεοί, τὸν καλόν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἑταῖρον;" ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐφεστὼς ἤδη τῷ νυμφαίῳ ἐτύγχανεν, "ὄψεσθε," εἶπε, "μᾶλλον δὲ ἑωράκατε." "ζῶντα;" ἔφη ὁ Δημήτριος, "εἰ δὲ τεθνεῶτα, οὔπω πεπαύμεθα ἐπὶ σοὶ κλάοντες," προτείνας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὴν χεῖρα, "λαβοῦ μου," ἔφη, "κἂν μὲν διαφύγω σε, εἴδωλόν εἰμί σοι ἐκ Φερσεφάττης ἥκουν, οἷα φαίνουσιν οἱ χθόνιοι θεοὶ τοῖς ἀθυμοτέροις τὰ πένθη, εἰ δὲ ὑπομείναιμι ἁπτόμενον, πεῖθε καὶ Δάμιν ζῆν τέ με καὶ μὴ ἀποβεβληκέναι τὸ σῶμα." οὐκέθ' οἷοι ἀπιστεῖν ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες ἐξεκρέμαντο τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἠσπάζοντο, ὑπέρ τε τῆς ἀπολογίας ἠρώτων· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δημήτριος οὐδ' ἀπολελογῆσθαι αὐτόν, ἀπολέσθαι γὰρ ἂν καὶ μὴ ἀδικοῦντα, Δάμις δ' ἀπολελογῆσθαι μέν, θᾶττον 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, προῄει γὰρ ἤδη ἐς μεσημβρίαν." "πῶς οὖν," ἔφη ὁ Δημήτριος, "τοσήνδε ὁδὸν ἐν σμικρῷ τῆς ἡμέρας ἤνυσας;" καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "πλὴν

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XII

CHAP. XII

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

They mistake Apollonius at first for his ghost

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

"Πανταχοῦ μέν," ἢ δ' ὁ Δημήτριος, "τῶν σῶν ἔργων τε καὶ λόγων θεὸν ἀεί τινα προορᾶν ἡγοῦμαι, παρ' οὗ τὰ σὰ οὕτως ἔχει, τὴν δ' ἀπολογίαν, ἥ τις γέγονε, καὶ ἅττα ἡ κατηγορία εἶχε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ δικάζοντος ἦθος, καὶ ὅ τι ἤρετο καὶ ὅτῳ ξυγκατέθετο ἢ ὅτῳ μή, λέγε ὁμοῦ πάντα, ἵνα καὶ Τελεσίνῳ ἕκαστα φράζοιμι, οὐ γὰρ ἀνήσει ἐρωτῶν τὰ σά, ὅς γε καὶ πρὸ πεντεκαίδεκα ἴσως ἡμερῶν ἐμοὶ ξυμπίνων ἐν Ἀνθίῳ, κατέδαρθε μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, μεσούσης δ' αὐτῷ τῆς κύλικος ἔδοξεν ὄναρ πῦρ ἐν τῇ γῇ πελαγίσαν, τοὺς μὲν ἀπολαμβάνειν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τοὺς δὲ φθάνειν ὑποφεύγοντας, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ῥεῖν αὐτὸ παραπλησίως τῷ ὕδατι, σὲ δ' οὐχ ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ διανεῦσαι αὐτοῦ σχισθέντος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἐνυπνίῳ τούτῳ θεοῖς εὐξυμβόλοις ἔσπεισεν, ἐμοί τε παρεκελεύσατο ὑπὲρ σοῦ θαρρεῖν." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "οὐ θαυμάζω Τελεσῖνον," εἶπεν, "ὑπερκαθεύδοντα, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑπερεγρήγορέ μου πάλαι, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς δίκης πεύσεσθε μέν, οὐ μὴν ἐνταῦθα, δεῖλη τε γὰρ ἱκανῶς ἤδη καὶ βαδίζειν ὥρα ἐς ἄστυ, ἡδίους δ' οἱ καθ' ὁδὸν λόγοι παραπέμψαι βαδίζοντας. ἴωμεν οὖν διαλαλοῦντες

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

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

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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 παρατυχών, σὺ δ' ἠκροαμένος, οἶμαι, τούτου, μὰ Δία, οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν, εἰ μὴ ἐκλέλησμαι Δημητρίου, ἃ δ' οὔπω ἴστε, δίειμι, διείρων ἀπὸ τῆς προρρήσεως καὶ τοῦ γυμνὸς ἐσελθεῖν." διῄει 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 ᾤμην σεσωσμένον ἀφῖχθαί σε, σοὶ δ' ἀρχὴ κινδύνων ταῦτα, ξυλλήψεται γάρ σε καταγγελλόμενον καὶ πάσης ἀποστροφῆς εἰργόμενον." ὁ δ' ἐρρῶσθαι τῷ Δημητρίου δέει φράζων, "εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς," εἶπεν, "ὧδε αὐτῷ εὐάλωτοι ἦτε· ἀλλ' ὅπως μὲν τἀκείνου νῦν ἔχει, ἐγὼ οἶδα· κολακευόντων γὰρ ἀεὶ λόγων ἀκροατὴς γιγνόμενος, νῦν ἐπιπληττόντων ἠκρόαται, ῥήγνυνται δ' ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων αἱ τύραννοι φύσεις καὶ περὶ ταῦτα χολῶσιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀναπαύλης δεῖ γόνυ οὔπω κάμψαντι ἐκ τοῦ ἄθλου." καὶ ὁ Δάμις, "ἐγώ, Δημήτριε, διεκείμην μὲν οὕτως," ἔφη,

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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. CHAP. XII

XIII

CHAP. XIII

Damis stills the apprehensions of Demetrius

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 ἥκει, ξυνεβούλευες δέ που καὶ σὺ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ ἐς κινδύνους ἑκουσίους τε καὶ χαλεποὺς ἴοι, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐτύγχανε μὲν δεδεμένος, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο, ἄπορα δ' ἡγουμένῳ τὰ περὶ αὐτόν, ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ἔφη τὸ λελύσθαι εἶναι, καὶ τὸ σκέλος ἐλευθερώσας τοῦ δεσμοῦ ἔδειξε· τότε πρῶτον κατενόησα τοῦ ἀνδρός, θεσπέσιόν τε εἶναι αὐτὸν καὶ κρείσσω τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς σοφίας· ὅθεν, εἰ καὶ χαλεπωτέροις τούτων ἐντύχοιμι, οὐδὲν ἂν δείσαιμι ὑπὸ τούτῳ καὶ κινδυνεύων. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ πλησίον ἑσπέρα, βαδίζωμεν ἐς τὴν καταγωγὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιησόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός." καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὕπνου," ἔφη, "δέομαι μόνου, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐν ἴσῳ τίθεμαι λόγῳ, κἂν παρῇ τι αὐτῶν, κἂν ἀπῇ." μετὰ ταῦτα εὐξάμενος Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ἔτι τῷ Ἡλίῳ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἣν ᾤκει ὁ Δημήτριος, καὶ τὼ πόδε ἀπονιψάμενος παρακελευσάμενός τε τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Δάμιν δειπνεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ἄσιτοι αὐτῷ ἐφαίνοντο, ἔρριψεν ἐς τὴν κλίνην ἑαυτόν, καὶ ἐφυμνήσας τῷ ὕπνῳ τὸ Ὁμήρου ἔπος ἐκάθευδεν, ὡς οὐκ ἐπ' ἀξίοις φροντίσαι τοῖς παροῦσιν.

XIV

CAP. XIV

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

XIV

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

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CAP. XIV ἤδη τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ τυράννου, "διώξεται μέν," ἔφη, "με οὐδὲ αὐτὸς, οὐδὲ ἕτερος, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὁ πλοῦς ἔσται." "σφαλερός γε," εἶπε, "τὸ γὰρ χωρίον φανερώτατον· ὃν δὲ μηδ' ἂν ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ διαφύγοις, πῶς ἂν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ λάθοις;" "οὐ δέομαι," ἔφη, "λανθάνειν, εἰ γάρ, ὡς σὺ οἴει, τοῦ τυράννου ἡ γῆ πᾶσα, βελτίους οἱ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἀποθνήσκοντες τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ζώντων." καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν, "αἰσθάνῃ," ἔφη, "νεὼς ἀφιείσης ἐς Σικελίαν;" "αἰσθάνομαι," εἶπε, "καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καταλύομεν καὶ ὁ κηρύττων ἀγχοῦ θυρῶν, στέλλεταί τε ἡ ναῦς ἤδη· ξυμβάλλομαι δ' αὐτὸ τῇ τῶν ἐμπλεόντων βοῇ καὶ οἷς περὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ἀγκυρῶν πράττουσιν." "ἐπιβῶμεν," εἶπε, "τῆς νεὼς 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 ἀνέμῳ 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." CHAP. XIV

XV

CHAP. XV

The Sage and Damis sail for Olympia

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;

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CAP. XV

ἀφίκοντο δι' ἡμέρας ἕκτης ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ ἐκβολάς, ἀφ' ὧν ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος Ἀδρίᾳ καὶ Σικελικῷ πελάγει ἐπιχεῖται πότιμος. ἀποβάντες οὖν τῆς νεώς, καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἡγούμενοι τὸ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἥκειν, διῃτῶντο ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διός, οὐδαμοῦ ὑπὲρ Σκιλλοῦντα ἀποφοιτῶντες. φήμης δ' ἀθρόας τε καὶ ξυντύνου κατασχούσης τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ζῆν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἀφῖχθαι ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, καταρχὰς μὲν ἐδόκει μὴ ἐρρῶσθαι ὁ λόγος, πρὸς γὰρ τῷ μὴ ἐλπίδος τι ἀνθρωπείας ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔχειν, ἐπειδὴ δεδέσθαι αὐτὸν ἤκουσαν, οὐδὲ ἐκείνων ἀνήκοοι ἦσαν ἀποθανεῖν καταφλεχθέντα, οἱ δ' ἐλχθῆναι ζῶντα καταπαγέντων ἐς τὰς κλεῖδας αὐτοῦ ἀγκίστρων, οἱ δ' ἐῶσθαι ἐς βάραθρον, οἱ δ' ἐς βυθόν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἥκειν ἐπιστεύθη, οὐδ' ἐπ' Ὀλυμπιάδα οὐδεμίαν μετέωρος οὕτω ξυνῄει ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὡς ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον τότε, Ἦλις μὲν καὶ Σπάρτη αὐτόθεν, Κόρινθος δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ὁρίων, Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, εἰ καὶ Πελοποννήσου ἔξω, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλείποντο τῶν πόλεων, αἳ ἐπὶ θύραις εἰσὶ τῆς Πίσης, αὐτοὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἐπικυδέστατοι Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν στείχοντες καὶ νεότης ἡ ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς γῆς Ἀθήναζε φοιτῶσα. καὶ μὴν καὶ Μεγαρόθεν τινὲς ἐπεχωρίασαν τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ τότε, κἀκ Βοιωτῶν πολλοί, κἀργόθεν, Φωκέων τε καὶ Θετταλῶν ὅ τι εὐδόκιμον, οἱ μὲν ξυγγεγονότες ἤδη τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, ἀνακτησόμενοι σοφίαν, ἐπειδὴ πλειόνων τε καὶ

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and having traversed the gulf they arrived after six days at the mouth of the Alpheus, where that river pours its waters, still sweet, into the Adriatic and Sicilian Sea. Here then they disembarked, and thinking it well worth their while to go to Olympia, they went and stayed there in the temple of Zeus, though without ever going further away than Scillous. 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

CHAP. XV

Whither all Greece flocks to see him

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CAP. XV θαυμασιωτέρων ἀκροάσασθαι ᾠοντο, οἱ δ' ἄπειροι αὐτοῦ δεινὸν ἡγούμενοι τοιοῦδε ἀνδρὸς ἀνήκοοι φαίνεσθαι. πρὸς μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας, ὅτῳ τρόπῳ διαφύγοι τὸν τύραννον, οὐδὲν ᾤετο δεῖν φορτικὸν φράζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπολελογῆσθαί τε ἔφασκε καὶ σεσῶσθαι· πολλῶν δ' ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἡκόντων, οἳ ἐκήρυττον τὰ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, διέκειτο μὲν ἡ Ἑλλὰς οὐ πόρρω τοῦ προσκυνεῖν αὐτόν, θεῖον ἡγούμενοι ἄνδρα δι' αὐτὸ μάλιστα τὸ μηδ' ἐς κόμπον μηδένα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καθίστασθαι.

XVI

CAP. XVI Νεανίσκου δὲ τῶν ἡκόντων Ἀθήνηθεν μάλα εὔνουν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν 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 ἦρξεν, "εἴθε," ἔφη, "καὶ ἐν Παναθηναίοις," ἐπιστομίζων αὐτὸν τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων, ὡς κακῶς εἰδότα περὶ τῶν θεῶν, εἰ τυράννοις αὐτοὺς εὔνους ἡγοῖτο, τῇ δὲ ἐφεξῆς, ὡς οὐκ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς ἐφ' Ἁρμοδίῳ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι ψηφιζομένων 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. CHAP. XV

XVI

CHAP. XVI

Rebukes a partisan of Domitian

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

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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 οἴει 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 ἥδιστον 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 ξυντεθῆναι αὐτό." "καὶ τίς," ἔφη, "ὕλη, Ἀπολλώνιε, τοῦ γε ἀσωμάτου;" "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 CHAP. XVIII Discussions of what makes a festival

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CAP. XVIII

τάτη, τεμένη τε γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ δρόμοι καὶ σκηνὴ δήπου, ἔθνη τε ἀνθρώπων τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὁμόρου, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὑπερορίων τε καὶ ὑπὲρ θάλατταν." καὶ μὴν καὶ τεχνῶν πλείστων αὐτὴν ξυγκεῖσθαι 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 ἡ πανήγυρις, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμασιωτέρας ὕλης ἢ αἱ πόλεις, τὰ γὰρ τῶν σπουδαίων σπουδαιότατα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐλλογίμων ἐλλογιμώτατα ξυγκαλεῖ καὶ ξυνοικίζει."

"Ἆρ' οὖν," εἶπεν, "ὦ Ἰσαγόρα, καθάπερ ἔνιοι τείχη καὶ ναῦς ἡγοῦνται, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἡγησόμεθα, ἢ ἑτέρας ἐπ' αὐτῆς δέῃ δόξης;" "τελεία," ἔφη, "ὦ Τυανεῦ, ἥδε ἡ δόξα. καὶ δίκαιον ἕπεσθαι αὐτῇ." "καὶ μὴν ἀτελής," εἶπεν, "ἐνθυμουμένῳ περὶ αὐτῆς ὃν ἐγὼ τρόπον· δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι καὶ νῆες ἀνδρῶν δεῖσθαι, καὶ ἄνδρες νηῶν, καὶ μηδ' ἂν ἐνθυμηθῆναί ποτε ἀνθρώπους τὴν θάλατταν, εἰ μὴ ναῦς ἦν, σώζειν τε ἄνδρας μὲν τείχη, τείχη δὲ ἄνδρας, πανήγυρις δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον εἶναι μὲν καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ξύνοδος, εἶναι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον, ἐς ὃ χρὴ ξυνιέναι, καὶ τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον, ὅσῳ τείχη μὲν καὶ νῆες οὐδ'

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

"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

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CAP. XVIII ἂν ἐγένοντο, εἰ μὴ δι' ἀνθρώπων χεῖρας, τὰ δὲ χωρία ταῦτα ὑπὸ χειρῶν μὲν ἀνθρωπείων ἐφθάρη τὸ αὐτοσχέδια μὴ εἶναι ἀφαιρεθέντα, φύσεως δ' εὖ ἥκοντα ἐπάξια τοῦ ξυμφοιτᾶν ἐς αὐτὰ ἐνομίσθη, γυμνάσια μὲν γὰρ καὶ στοαὶ καὶ κρῆναι καὶ οἶκοι, τέχνῃ ταῦτα ἀνθρωπεία εἰργάσθη, καθάπερ τὰ τείχη καὶ αἱ νῆες, Ἀλφειὸς δὲ οὗτος καὶ ἱππόδρομος καὶ στάδιον καὶ ἄλση πρὸ ἀνθρώπων δήπου ἐγένετο, ὁ μὲν ἀποχρῶν ποτὸν εἶναι καὶ λουτρόν, ὁ δ' εὐρὺ πεδίον ἐναγωνίσασθαι τοῖς ἵπποις, τὸ δ' ἐγκονίσασθαι καὶ διαδραμεῖν ἀθληταῖς διὰ τὸ παρέχεσθαί τινα ὄρον, αὐλῶνα σταδίου μῆκος, τὰ δὲ ἄλση στεφανῶσαι τοὺς νικῶντας καὶ τοὺς δρομικοὺς τῶν ἀθλητῶν γυμνάσαι. ταῦτα γάρ που καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ ἐνθυμηθέντι, καὶ τὸ αὐτοφυὲς τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀγασθέντι ἐπάξιος ἐφάνη ὁ χῶρος τῶν ἔτι νῦν σπουδαζομένων ἐνταῦθα."

XIX

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

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come into being, unless there had been men's hands to build them, while these places, so far forth as they are deprived of their natural and original characteristics, are by the hands of men spoiled; for it was owing to their natural advantages that they were held worthy of being made their meeting-places; for though the 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."

CHAP. XVIII

XIX

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

CHAP. XIX

Visits the shrine of Trophonius at Lebadea

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CAP. XIX

μήπω ξυγγέγονα, καίτοι ἐπιφοιτήσας ποτὲ 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, ὁρᾶται δ' οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, μικρὸν δ' ἄνω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐν γηλόφῳ, ξυγκλείουσι δ' αὐτὸ σιδήρεοι ὀβελίσκοι κύκλῳ περιβάλλοντες, ἡ δὲ κάθοδος οἵα ἰζήσαντα ἐπισπάσασθαι. λευκῇ δ' ἐσθῆτι ἐσταλμένοι πέμπονται, μελιτούττας ἀπάγοντες ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν, μειλίγματα ἑρπετῶν, ἃ τοῖς κατιοῦσιν ἐγχρίπτει. ἀναδίδωσι δ' ἡ γῆ τοὺς μὲν οὐ πόρρω, τοὺς δὲ πορρωτάτω, καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ Λοκροὺς ἀναπέμπονται καὶ ὑπὲρ Φωκέας, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι περὶ τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὅρια. παρελθὼν οὖν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν, "βούλομαι," ἔφη, "καταβῆναι ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας."

Ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς λεγόντων, μὴ ἄν 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 χρᾷ τοῦ χρωμένου· ἑσπέρα δ' ὡς ἐγένετο, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στόμιον μετὰ τῶν ξυνακολουθούντων νέων, καὶ τέτταρας τῶν ὀβελίσκων ἀνασπάσας, οἳ ξυνέχουσι τὰς τῆς παρόδου κλεῖδας, ἐχώρει ὑποχθόνιος αὐτῷ τρίβωνι

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

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

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

XX

CAP. XX Ἀνάκειται τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο ἐν Ἀνθίῳ, καὶ σπουδάζεται διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν, τὸ δὲ Ἄνθιον 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 καί τινας 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.

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

Emerges from the cave of Trophonius with a volume of Pythagoras

XX

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

which volume is now in Antium

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XXI

CAP. XXI

Ἀφίκοντο δ' αὐτῷ κἀξ Ἰωνίας οἱ ὁμιληταὶ πάντες, οὓς ὠνόμαζεν Ἀπολλωνιείους ἡ Ἑλλάς, καὶ ξυμμιχθέντες τοῖς αὐτόθεν νεότης ἐγένοντο θαυμάσαι ἄξιοι τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν ὁρμῆς. 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 παρεῖχε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σοφίαν τοῖς ἐρῶσι, 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, καί τινος ἀποσκώψαντος μετελαύνειν αὐτὸν τὰ πρόβατα, ἐπειδὰν τοὺς ἀγοραίους προσιόντας μάθῃ, "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 ἀπέχθεσθαι

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XXI

CHAP. XXI

The Band of Apollonius accompany him

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

CHAP. XXII

He warns them against forensic orators

BUT certain persons accused him of dissuading his pupils from visiting the governors, and of influencing them to lead lives of quiet and retirement instead; and one of them uttered the jest that he drove away his sheep as soon as he found any forensic orator approaching. "Yes, by Zeus," said Apollonius, "lest these wolves should fall upon my flock." What was the meaning of this sally? He saw these forensic orators looked up to by the multitude as they made their way up from poverty to great riches; and he saw that they so welcomed the feuds of others, that they actually

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CAP. XXII πωλεῖν, ἀπῆγε τοὺς νέους τοῦ ξυνεῖναί σφισι καὶ τοὺς ξυγγενομένους αὐτοῖς ἐνουθέτει πικρότερον, οἷον ἀποπλύνων βαφῆς ἀτόπου· διεβέβλητο μὲν γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δεσμωτηρίων καὶ τῶν δεδεμένων τε καὶ ἀπολλυμένων οὕτω διετέθη πρὸς τὴν τέχνην, ὡς πάντα ταῦτα τῶν συκοφαντούντων καὶ τῶν δεινότητι ἐπηρμένων ἡγεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ τυράννου.

XXIII

CAP. XXIII Περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον, ὃν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐνεσπούδαζεν, ἐπεῖχε τὸν οὐρανὸν διοσημία τοιαύτη· τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλον περιελθὼν στέφανος ἐοικὼς ἴριδι τὴν ἀκτῖνα ἠμαύρου. ὅτι μὲν δὴ ἐς νεώτερα ἡ 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 βουλάς, τουτὶ γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σοφία ἐπαινεῖ." 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 reproved, as if to wash off them a monstrous stain. For he had been long before on bad terms with them; and his experience of the prisons in Rome, and of the persons who were confined and perishing in them, so prejudiced him against the forensic art, as that he believed all these evils were due to sycophants and lawyers puffed up by their own cleverness, rather than to the despot himself. 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

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CAP. XXIII νύκτα μεταστῇ πάντα, "θάρρει," ἔφη, "ἔσται γάρ τι ἐκ τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης φῶς."

XXIV

CAP. XXIV Μετὰ ταῦθ' ὁ μέν, ἐπειδὴ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἱκανῶς εἶχε, δυοῖν ἐνδιατρίψας ἐτοῖν, ἔπλει ἐς Ἰωνίαν ξυνεπομένης αὐτῷ τῆς ἑταιρείας, καὶ τὸν μὲν πλείω χρόνον ἐφιλοσόφει περὶ τὴν Σμύρναν τε καὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον, ἐπιὼν 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 ἀπεκτονὼς ἄνδρα ὕπατον, ᾧ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐδεδώκει, πρόσταγμα δ' ἐπεποίητο περὶ τὴν τρίτην ἢ τετάρτην ἡμέραν τοῦ φόνου κἀκείνην ἐς ἀνδρὸς φοιτᾶν· Στέφανος τοίνυν ἀπελεύθερος 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

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

XXIV

CHAP. XXIV

Quits Hellas for Ionia

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

XXV

CHAP. XXV

Stephanus assassinates Domitian

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

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CAP. XXV τῷ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς πήχει, καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιδέσμοις ἀναλαβὼν οἷον κατεαγυῖαν, ἀπιόντι τοῦ δικαστηρίου προσελθών, "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 Κλήμης, ὡς σὺ οἴει, ἀλλ' ἔστιν οὗ ἐγὼ οἶδα, καὶ ξυντάττει ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ σέ." μέγα δ' αὐτοῦ βοήσαντος 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, γεγονὼς δὲ περὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη ξυνεπλάκη τρωθείς, καὶ καταβαλὼν τὸν Στέφανον ἐπέκειτο, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὀρύττων καὶ τὰς παρειὰς ξυντρίβων πυθμένι χρυσῆς κύλικος αὐτοῦ κειμένης περὶ τὰ ἱερά, ἐκάλει δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν 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 Ἔφεσον. διαλεγόμενος

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

XXVI

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

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CAP. XXVI γὰρ περὶ τὰ τῶν ξυστῶν ἄλση κατὰ μεσημβρίαν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγίγνετο, πρῶτον μὲν ὑφῆκε τῆς φωνῆς, οἷον δείσας, εἶτ' ἐλλιπέστερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἡρμήνευσεν ἴσα τοῖς μεταξὺ λόγων διορῶσί τι ἕτερον, εἶτα ἐσιώπησεν, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν λόγων ἐκπεσόντες, βλέψας τε δεινὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν καὶ προβὰς τρία ἢ τέτταρα τῶν βημάτων, "παῖε τὸν τύραννον, παῖε," ἐβόα, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐκ κατόπτρου τινὸς εἴδωλον ἀληθείας ἕλκων, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ὁρῶν καὶ ξυλλαμβάνειν δοκῶν τὰ δρώμενα. ἐκπεπληγμένης δὲ τῆς Ἐφέσου, παρῆν γὰρ διαλεγομένῳ πᾶσα, ἐπισχὼν ὅσον οἱ διορῶντες, ἔστ' ἂν γένηταί τι τῶν ἀμφιβόλων τέλος, "θαρρεῖτε," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁ γὰρ τύραννος ἀπέσφακται τήμερον. τί λέγω τήμερον; ἄρτι, νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἄρτι, περὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν ῥημάτων, οἷς ἐπεσιώπησα." μανίαν δὲ ταῦθ' ἡγουμένων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἔφεσον, καὶ βουλομένων μὲν ἀληθεύειν αὐτόν, δεδιότων δὲ τὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως κίνδυνον, "οὐ θαυμάζω" ἔφη, "τῶν μήπω προσδεχομένων τὸν λόγον, ὃν μηδ' ἡ Ῥώμη γιγνώσκει πᾶσα· ἀλλ' ἰδοὺ γιγνώσκει, διαφοιτᾷ γάρ, καὶ πιστεύουσι μὲν ἤδη μύριοι, πηδῶσι δ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς δὶς τόσοι καὶ διπλάσιοι τούτων καὶ τετραπλάσιοι, καὶ πάντες οἱ

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CHAP. XXVI

Apollonius witnesses the deed though in Ephesus

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

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

XXVII

CAP. XXVII Ἔτ' ἀπιστουμένων τούτων, ἦλθον οἱ τῶν εὐαγγελίων δρόμοι, μάρτυρες τῆς σοφίας τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ τυράννου σφαγή, καὶ ἡ τοῦτο ἐνεγκοῦσα ἡμέρα, καὶ ἡ μεσημβρία, καὶ οἱ κτείνοντες, πρὸς οὓς ἡ παρακέλευσις, οὕτως εἶχεν, ὡς οἱ θεοὶ τούτων ἕκαστα διαλεγομένῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀνέφαινον.

Τριάκοντα δ' ἡμέραις μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐπιστείλαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Νερούα τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἤδη τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔχειν θεῶν τε βουλαῖς κἀκείνου, κατασχεῖν δ' ἂν αὐτὴν ῥᾷον, εἰ ξύμβουλος αὐτῷ ἔλθοι, τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα ἐκεῖνο γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν αἴνιγμα· "ξυνεσόμεθα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, χρόνον ἀλλήλοις πλεῖστον, ὃν μήτε ἡμεῖς ἑτέρου, μήτ' ἄλλος ἡμῶν ἄρξει," συνιεὶς ἴσως ἑαυτοῦ τε, ὡς μετ' οὐ πολὺ μεταστησομένου ἀνθρώπων, Νερούα τε, ὡς χρόνον βραχὺν ἄρξοντος, ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν γὰρ καὶ μῆνας τέτταρας τὰ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ προὔβη σωφρονεστάτῳ δόξαντι.

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

XXVII

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

Nerva accedes and invites the sage to Rome

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

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XXVIII

CAP. XXVIII

Ἵνα 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 ὀψὲ ὁ Δάμις ξυνεῖναί φησι τῆς τέχνης, τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστολὴν ἄριστά τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων ξυγγεγράφθαι, πεμφθῆναι δ' ἂν καὶ δι' ἑτέρου. 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 ἐπιστολὴν 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 μέν οἱ εἰπεῖν, ὥσπερ εἰώθασιν οἱ μηκέτ' ἀλλήλους ὀψόμενοι, τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ περιεῖναι τοῦ πεπεῖσθαι, ὅτι ἀεὶ ἔσται, παρεγγυῆσαι δὲ ὧδε· "ὦ Δάμι, κἂν ἐπὶ σεαυτοῦ φιλοσοφῇς, ἐμὲ ὅρα."

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XXVIII

CHAP. XXVIII

Apollonius refuses, but sends him a letter by Damis

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."

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XXIX

CAP. XXIX Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Τυανέα Δάμιδι τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ἀναγεγραμμένα ἐς τόνδε τὸν λόγον τελευτᾷ, περὶ γὰρ τρόπου, καθ' ὃν ἐτελεύτα, εἴγε ἐτελεύτα, πλείους μὲν λόγοι, Δάμιδι δὲ οὐδεὶς εἴρηται, ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο χρὴ παραλελεῖφθαι, 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 ἐνενήκοντα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ πρόσω τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐλθεῖν, ἀκέραιος ὢν πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἄρτιος, νεότητος δὲ ἡδίων. ἔστι γάρ τις ὥρα καὶ περὶ ῥυτίσιν, ἣ μάλιστα περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἤνθησεν, ὡς εἰκόνες τε δηλοῦσι τἀνδρὸς ἐν τῷ Τυανάδε ἱερῷ καὶ λόγοι μᾶλλον ὑμνοῦντες τὸ Ἀπολλωνίου γῆρας ἢ τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου ποτὲ νεότητα.

XXX

CAP. XXX Τελευτῆσαι 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 δουλεῦσαι," φάναι, "προσήκει σὲ αὐτῇ, τουτὶ γάρ σοι ἀγαθοῦ ἄρξει." τελευτήσαντος οὖν ἡ μὲν

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XXIX

CHAP. XXIX

Age reached by Apollonius

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

XXX

CHAP. XXX

Tales of his death, in Ephesus

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

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CAP. XXX

δουλεύειν ἐκείνῃ, ἡ δ' ἐκ μικρᾶς αἰτίας ἀποδόσθαι αὐτὴν καπήλῳ, παρ' οὗ πρίασθαί τις οὐδ' εὐπρεπῆ οὖσαν, ἀλλ' ἐρῶν οὗτος καὶ χρηματιστὴς ἱκανὸς ὤν, γυναῖκά τε ἀνειπεῖν καὶ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγγράψαι.

Οἱ δ' ἐν Λίνδῳ τελευτῆσαι αὐτόν, παρελθόντα ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν 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 θαυμαζόμενον, ἀφικέσθαι δ' ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Δικτύννης ἀωρί. φυλακὴ δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ κυνῶν ἐπιτέτακται, φρουροὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ πλούτου, καὶ ἀξιοῦσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ Κρῆτες μήτε τῶν ἄρκτων μήτε τῶν ὧδε ἀγρίων λείπεσθαι, οἱ δ' οὔθ' ὑλακτεῖν ἥκοντα σαίνειν τε αὐτὸν προσιόντες, ὡς μηδὲ τοὺς ἄγαν ἐθάδας. οἱ μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἱεροῦ προϊστάμενοι ξυλλαβόντες αὐτὸν ὡς γόητα καὶ λῃστὴν δῆσαι, μείλιγμα τοῖς κυσὶ προβεβλῆσθαί 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 ἐκέκλειντο, βοὴν δὲ ᾄδουσῶν παρθένων ἐκπεσεῖν. τὸ δὲ ᾆσμα ἦν· "στεῖχε γᾶς, στεῖχε ἐς οὐρανόν, στεῖχε." οἷον· ἴθι ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἄνω.

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

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

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XXXI

CAP. XXXI Περὶ ψυχῆς δέ, ὡς ἀθάνατος εἴη, ἐφιλοσόφει ἔτι, διδάσκων μέν, ὅτι ἀληθὴς 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 εἴη, λόγοι μὲν οἱ πλείους ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ γὰρ νεότης τις ἦν αὐτόθι σοφίας ἐρῶντες, τὸ δὲ μειράκιον οὐδαμῶς τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀθανασίᾳ ξυντιθέμενον, "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "ὦ παρόντες, τουτονὶ μῆνα δέκατον Ἀπολλωνίῳ διατελῶ εὐχόμενος ἀναφῆναί μοι τὸν ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς λόγον, ὁ δ' οὕτω τέθνηκεν, ὡς μηδ' ἐφίστασθαι δεομένῳ, μηδ', ὡς ἀθάνατος εἴη, πείθειν." τοιαῦτα μὲν τὸ μειράκιον τότε, πέμπτῃ δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέρᾳ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν σπουδάσαν, κατέδαρθε μὲν οὐ διελέγετο, τῶν δὲ ξυσπουδαζόντων νέων οἱ μὲν πρὸς βιβλίοις ἦσαν, οἱ δ' ἐσπούδαζον γεωμετρικοὺς ἐπιχαράττοντες τύπους τῇ γῇ, τὸ δ', ὥσπερ ἐμμανές, ἀναπηδῆσαν ὠμόυπνον, ἱδρῶτί τε πολλῷ ἐρρεῖτο καὶ ἐβόα, "πείθομαί σοι." ἐρομένων δ' αὐτὸ τῶν παρόντων, ὅ τι πέπονθεν, "οὐχ ὁρᾶτε," ἔφη, "ὑμεῖς Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν σοφόν, ὡς παρατυγχάνει τε ἡμῖν,

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XXXI

CHAP. XXXI

The Sage after death convinces a doubting apostle of his own immortality and of that of other souls

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 from an uneasy sleep, streaming with perspiration, and cried out: "I believe thee." And, when those who were present asked him what was the matter; "Do you not see," said he, "Apollonius the sage, how that he is present

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CAP. XXXI

ἐπακροώμενος τοῦ λόγου, καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς ῥαψῳδεῖ 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 ἥκειν ὑπὲρ ὧν μὴ ἐπίστευον· ἀκούετ' οὖν, οἷα τῷ λόγῳ ἐπιθειάζει·

ἀθάνατος ψυχὴ κοὐ χρῆμα σόν, ἀλλὰ προνοίας,
ἣ μετὰ σῶμα μαρανθέν, ἄτ' ἐκ δεσμῶν θοὸς ἵππος,
ῥηιδίως προθοροῦσα κεράννυται ἠέρι κούφῳ,
δεινὴν καὶ πολύτλητον ἀποστέρξασα λατρείην·
σοὶ δὲ τί τῶνδ' ὄφελος, ὅ ποτ' οὐκέτ' ἐὼν τότε δόξεις;
ἢ τί μετὰ ζῳοῖσιν ἐὼν περὶ τῶνδε ματεύεις;"

καὶ σαφὴς οὗτος Ἀπολλωνίου τρίπους ἔστηκεν ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπορρήτων, ἵν' εὔθυμοί τε καὶ τὴν αὑτῶν φύσιν εἰδότες, οἳ τάττουσι Μοῖραι, πορευοίμεθα. τάφῳ μὲν οὖν ἢ ψευδοταφίῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐδαμοῦ προστυχὼν οἶδα, καίτοι τῆς γῆς, ὁπόση ἐστίν, ἐπελθὼν πλείστην, λόγοις δὲ πανταχοῦ δαιμονίοις, καὶ ἱερὰ Τύανάδε βασιλείοις ἐκπεποιημένα τέλεσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ βασιλεῖς ἀπηξίουν αὐτὸν ὧν αὐτοὶ ἠξιοῦντο.

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

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THE EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

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ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΤΥΑΝΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ

α'.—Εὐφράτῃ.

Ἐμοὶ πρὸς φιλοσόφους ἐστὶ φιλία, πρὸς μέντοι σοφιστὰς ἢ γραμματιστὰς ἤ τι τοιοῦτο γένος ἕτερον ἀνθρώπων κακοδαιμόνων, οὔτε νῦν ἔστι φιλία, μήτε ὕστερόν ποτε γένοιτο. τάδε μὲν οὖν οὐ πρὸς σέ, πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ σὺ τούτων εἶς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ καὶ πάνυ πρὸς σέ· θεράπευέ σου τὰ πάθη, καὶ πειρῶ φιλόσοφος εἶναι, καὶ μὴ φθονεῖν τοῖς ὄντως φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἐπεί σοι καὶ γῆρας ἤδη πλησίον καὶ θάνατος.

β'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἡ ἀρετὴ φύσει κτήσει χρήσει, δι' ἣν ἕκαστον ἂν εἴη τῶν προειρημένων ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον. σκεπτέον, εἴ τί σοι τούτων ἐστίν, ἢ σοφιστείας παυστέον λοιπόν, ἢ προῖκά γε χρηστέον αὐτῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, ἐπείπερ ἤδη σοι καὶ τὰ Μεγαβύζου.

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THE EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

I.—To Euphrates.

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

II.—To the same.

Forasmuch as virtue cometh by nature, by acquirement, by use, each of these may be held to be worthy of acceptation. See then whether you have any one of them, and either give up the teaching of wisdom for the future or at least communicate it freely and for nothing to those who associate with you, for you already have the riches of Megabyzes.

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γ΄.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἐπῆλθες ἔθνη τὰ μεταξὺ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπὸ Συρίας ἀρξάμενος, ἐπιδεικνὺς σεαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ βασιλέως λεγομέναις. διπλῆ δέ σοι τότε καὶ πώγων λευκὸς καὶ μέγας, πλέον δὲ οὐδέν. εἶτα πῶς διὰ θαλάττης νῦν ὑποστρέφεις ἄγων φορτίδα μεστὴν ἀργυρίου, χρυσίου, σκευῶν παντοδαπῶν, ἐσθήτων ποικίλων, κόσμου τοῦ λοιποῦ, τύφου καὶ ἀλαζονείας καὶ κακοδαιμονίας; τίς ὁ φόρτος καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῆς καινῆς ἐμπορίας; Ζήνων τραγημάτων ἦν ἔμπορος.

δ΄.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ὀλίγων δεῖ σοῦ τοῖς παισίν, εἰ φιλοσόφου παῖδες εἴησαν. ἔδει μὲν οὖν μηδὲ φροντίσαι πλείω σοι γενέσθαι τῶν ἱκανῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μετὰ ἀδοξίας τινός. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐγένετο, δεύτερον ἂν εἴη μεγάλῃ σπουδῇ νεῖμαί σε τισὶ ἔνια τῶν ὄντων· ἔχεις δὲ καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους.

ε΄.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων ὁ περὶ ἡδονῆς οὐδενὸς ἔτι συνηγόρου δεῖται τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κήπου καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου διατριβῆς, πέφηνε γὰρ ὢν καὶ κατὰ τὴν στοὰν ἀληθέστατος. εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγων προκομιεῖς

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III.—To the same.

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

IV.—To the same

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

V.—To the same.

There is no need henceforth for any inmate of his garden, or follower of his school to plead the merit of one of the discourses of Epicurus which is entitled: "About Pleasure." For a genuine advocate thereof has turned up in the Porch itself. But if by way of

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τὰς Χρυσίππου σχολὰς καὶ δόγματα, γέγραπταί τι καὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς γράμμασιν· Εὐφράτης ἔλαβε καὶ πάλιν ἔλαβεν· Ἐπίκουρος δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἔλαβεν.

ς΄.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἠρόμην πλουσίους τινάς, εἰ πικραίνονται. τί δ' οὐ μέλλομεν; ἔφασαν, ἠρόμην οὖν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀνάγκης. καὶ ᾐτιῶντο τὸν πλοῦτον. σὺ δ', ὦ τάλαν, νεόπλουτος.

ζ΄.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἐὰν ὅτι τάχος εἰς Αἰγὰς ἀφίκῃ καὶ κενώσῃς ἐκεῖ τὴν ναῦν, ἰτέον ἐστί σοι πάλιν ὅτι τάχος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ κολακευτέον ὁμοίως νοσοῦντας, γέροντας, γραῦς, ὀρφανούς, πλουσίους, θρυπτομένους, Μίδας, Γέτας. πάντα φασὶ δεῖν τὸν ἔμπορον κάλων σείειν. ἐμοὶ δὲ εἴη τὴν ἁλιὰν τρυπᾶν ἐν Θέμιδος οἴκῳ.

η΄.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἆρά τι καὶ σὺ γράψαιο ἄν; εἰ γὰρ οὕτω γένοιο γενναῖος. καὶ ἔχοις δ' ἂν εἰπεῖν τὰ συνήθη ταῦτα καὶ πρόχειρα· "λουτρὸν ἅπαν Ἀπολλώνιος παραιτεῖται." καὶ τῆς οἰκίας οὐδέποτε

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contradiction you should bring out the lectures and tenets of Chrysippus, let me point out to you a certain passage in the Emperor's correspondence, namely this: "Euphrates has taken money of me and has taken it a second time. Now Epicurus would never have taken it."

VI.—To the same.

I lately asked some rich men, if they foster such bitter feelings. And they answered: "How can we do otherwise?" So I asked them what was the reason of their duress, and they blamed their wealth. But you, my poor wretch, only acquired your wealth yesterday.

VII.—To the same.

As soon as you have reached Aegæ in your hurry, and discharged your ship there, you have to return again post-haste to Italy, where you must fawn as usual upon the sick, the old men, old women, orphans, rich men, dandies, Midas, Getae. For they say that a merchant must let out every reef. For myself, I would rather clear out the salt-cellar in the house of Themis.

VIII.—To the same.

Perhaps then you would like to draw up a little indictment of me? I only wish you had the pluck to do so. And you would be able to repeat these hackneyed and obvious accusations: "Apollonius utterly declines to take a bath." Yes, and what's

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πρόεισι καὶ σωζομένους ἔχει τοὺς πόδας. "οὐδὲν ὁρᾶται τῶν τοῦ σώματος κινῶν." δι' ὅλου γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν κινεῖ. "κομᾷ τὴν κεφαλήν·" καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἕλλην, ὅτι Ἕλλην καὶ οὐ βάρβαρος. "ἐσθῆτα φορεῖ λινῆν." καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τὰ καθαρώτατα. "μαντικῇ χρῆται." πλείω γὰρ τὰ ἄδηλα, καὶ ἄλλως ἀμήχανον προαισθέσθαι τι τῶν ἐσομένων. "ἀλλ' οὐ πρέπον φιλοσόφῳ τὸ τοιοῦτον·" ὃ πρέπει καὶ θεῷ. "καὶ σωμάτων δὲ ὀδύνας ἀφαιρεῖ καὶ πάθη παύει·" τοῦτό που καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν κοινὸν τὸ ἔγκλημα· "σιτεῖται μόνος." οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐσθίουσι. "βραχέα λέγει καὶ ἐπὶ βραχύ." σιγῆσαι γάρ ἐστιν οὐκ ἀδύνατος. "σαρκῶν ἀπέχεται πασῶν καὶ θηρίων πάντων," διὰ τοῦτο ἄνθρωπός ἐστι. εἰ ταῦτα ἐρεῖς, Εὐφρᾶτα, γεγράφθαι, ἴσως ἐκεῖνο προσθήσεις, "εἴ τι ἦν, ἔλαβεν ἂν ἀργύριον, ὡς ἐγώ, δωρεάς, πολιτείας." εἴ τι ἦν, οὐκ ἂν ἔλαβεν. "ἀλλὰ τῇ πατρίδι μὲν ἔλαβεν ἄν." οὐ πατρὶς δέ, ἢ μὴ οἶδεν, ὃ ἔχει.

θ'.—Δίωνι.

Αὐλοῖς καὶ λύρᾳ κρεῖττόν ἐστι τέρπειν ἢ λόγῳ. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡδονῆς ὄργανα καὶ μουσικὴ τοὔνομα τῇ τέχνῃ, λόγος δὲ ταληθὲς εὑρίσκει. τοῦτό σοι

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

IX.—To Dion.

If your object is to please, you had better employ flute and lyre than argument; for they are the instruments which are made to minister to pleasure, and the art of doing so is named music. But

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πρακτέον, τοῦτό σοι ῥητέον, ἢν καὶ περὶ τούτου φιλοσοφῇς.

ι'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ζητοῦσί τινες τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν πέπαυμαι διαλεγόμενος ἐν πολλοῖς. εἰδέτωσαν οὖν, οἷς ἂν εἰδέναι μέλῃ τὸ τοιοῦτον· ἀδύνατος ὠφελῆσαι λόγος ἅπας, ὃς ἂν εἷς ὢν μὴ καὶ πρὸς ἕνα λέγηται. ὁ τοίνυν ἄλλως διαλεγόμενος δόξης ἥττων ὢν διαλέγοιτ' ἄν.

ια'.—Καισαρέων προβούλοις.

Πρῶτον εἰς πάντα θεῶν ἄνθρωποι δέονται καὶ περὶ παντός, ἔπειτα πόλεων, τιμητέον γὰρ δεύτερον πόλεις μετὰ θεοὺς καὶ τὰ πόλεως προκριτέον παντὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι· εἰ δὲ μὴ πόλις μόνον εἴη, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγίστη τῆς Παλαιστίνης, ἀρίστη τε τῶν αὐτόθι μεγέθει καὶ νόμοις καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ προγόνων κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρεταῖς, ἔτι τε ἤθεσι κατ' εἰρήνην, καθάπερ ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις, μάλιστα πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἐμοί τε θαυμαστέα τιμητέα τε καὶ ἄλλῳ δὲ ὁμοίως παντὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι· τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐκ λόγου κοινοῦ[1] τὸ προκριτικὸν ἂν εἴη τὸ κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῶν πολλῶν.[2] ὅταν δὲ καὶ

[1] Or perhaps we should render "by ordinary reasoning."

[2] Perhaps we should read in the Greek προκριτικόν, ἂν ᾖ with Olearius and render "for preferring your city, if the object under comparison were an ordinary city."

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argument finds out the truth; and at this you should aim in you actions, at this in your words, at least if you are really making a philosophic study of it.

X.—To the same.

Some people ask the reason why I have left off giving lectures to large audiences. Let all know then, who may be interested to understand such matters: No discourse can be really useful, unless, if it be single, it be also delivered to a single individual. Anyone then who discourses in any other manner is motived by vain glory to discourse.

XI.—To the Chief Councillors of Caesarea.

Men's first need is of gods for everything and above everything; their second of cities, for next after the gods we must honour our cities; and if we are men of sense we prefer our cities' welfare. Now if yours were only one city of many, instead of being, as it is, the greatest in Palestine, excelling all others there in size and in laws, and in institutions and in the warlike virtues of ancestors, and still more in the arts and manners of peace, I should still see reason to admire and honour your city more than all others, and so would every man who has any sense. By common report this would be the reason for preferring your city on a comparison of it with the run of cities. But whenever a city

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ἄρχῃ πόλις ποτὲ τῆς πρὸς ἕνα τιμῆς ἄνδρα, πόλις οὖσα, καὶ τοῦτον ἑαυτῆς ξένον καὶ ἄποθεν, τί ἢ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν ἢ ὑμῶν ἂν πρὸς τίσιν ἄξιον εἴη; τοῦτο μόνον ἴσως, εἰ θεοφιλής τις ὢν τύχοι διά τινα φύσεως ἐπιτηδειότητα, τὸ εὔχεσθαι τῇ πόλει τὰ ἀγαθὰ τυγχάνειν τε τῆς εὐχῆς, ὅπερ ἂν διατελέσαιμι κἀγὼ πράττων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἐπείπερ ἤσθην ἤθεσιν Ἑλληνικοῖς φαίνουσι τὸ ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων κοινῶν. Ἀπολλωνίδην δὲ τὸν Ἀφροδισίου νεανίαν ἐρρωμενεστάτης φύσεως ἀξίας τε τοῦ ὑμετέρου ὀνόματος, πειράσομαι χρήσιμον ὑμῖν παρασκευάζειν εἰς ἕκαστα μετὰ καὶ τύχης τινὸς ἀγαθῆς.

ιβ'.—Σελευκέων τοῖς προβούλοις.

Πόλις, ἥτις ἂν οὕτω πρός τε θεοὺς ἔχῃ καὶ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοὺς ἀξίους ἀποδοχῆς, αὐτή τε εὐδαίμων καὶ εἰς ἀρετὴν ὠφέλησε τοὺς μαρτυρηθέντας. ἄρξασθαι μὲν οὖν χάριτος οὐ δυσχερές, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις τὸ κάλλιστον, ἀμοιβὴν δ' οὐ ῥᾴδιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ὁμοίαν εὑρεῖν ἀδύνατον, τὸ γάρ που τῇ τάξει δεύτερον οὐδέποτε τῇ φύσει πρῶτον. ὥστε θεὸν ἀνάγκη παρακαλεῖν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀμείψασθαι τοὺς οὐ τῇ δυνάμει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις κρείττους γενομένους, ἀνθρώπων γὰρ οὐδεὶς τά γε τηλικαῦτα δυνατός· καὶ τὸ ἐθελῆσαι δ' ἄν με παρ' ὑμῖν

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

XII.—To the Chief Councillors of Seleucia.

Whatever city is so well affected as yours both towards the gods and towards such men as are worthy of acceptation, is both blessed in itself, and contributes to the excellence of those in whose favour it bears witness. Now though it is not difficult to lead the way in displaying graceful good-will, indeed it is the noblest of human acts, it is yet not easy to requite it; nay it is altogether impossible to find a true equivalent, for I imagine that what in time sequence is second, can never in nature be first. Consequently I am obliged to ask heaven to reward you who have shewn yourselves not only my superiors in ability, but also in deeds. For no man could possibly rise to such achievements as yours. It is a further proof of

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γενέσθαι τῆς ὑμῶν ἂν εἴη χάριτος καὶ αὐτὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἔγωγ' ἂν εὐξαίμην παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ γεγεννῆσθαι. οἱ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν τιμιώτεροι, διότι καὶ φίλοι, Ἱερώνυμος καὶ Ζήνων.

ιγ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Στράτων μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων οἴχεται, πᾶν ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ θνητὸν ἐπὶ γῆς καταλιπών. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς ἔτι κολαζομένους ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε, ζῆν ἄλλως λεγομένους, ἔχειν τινὰ τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν. ἄλλοις μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι ἔργον δικαίως γένοιτο νῦν ἢ καὶ ὕστερον, οἷς μὲν ὡς οἰκείοις, οἷς δ' ὡς αὐτὸ μόνον ἀνδράσι φίλοις οὐκ ἐν ἑτέρῳ γνωσθησομένοις χρόνῳ, τούτων εἴπερ ἦν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀληθές τι καὶ πρόσθεν. ἐγὼ μέντοι καὶ ταύτῃ βουλόμενος ἐξαιρέτως ὑμέτερος εἶναι, τὸν ἐκ Σελευκίδος υἱὸν αὐτῷ γενόμενον Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς ἀναθρέψω, καὶ μεταδώσω παιδείας τῆς ἐμῆς. πάντως δ' ἂν μετέδωκα καὶ χρημάτων ὁ τὰ μείζονα δούς, εἴπερ ἔχειν ἦν ἄξιον.

ιδ'.—Εὐφράτῃ.

Πυνθάνονταί μου πολλοὶ πολλάκις, τίνος ἕνεκεν οὐ μετεπέμφθην εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ἢ οὐ μεταπεμφθεὶς ἀφικόμην, ὥσπερ σὺ καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος. ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τοῦ προτέρου μὲν οὐκ ἀποκρινοῦμαι, μὴ

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your gracious good-will towards me that you also wish me to visit you, as I would pray to have visited you already. Your envoys are the more precious to me, because they are already my friends, I mean Hieronymus and Zenon.

XIII.—To the same Persons.

Straton has indeed passed away from among men, and has left upon earth all that he had of mortality; but we who are here, still undergoing punishment, in other words still living, ought to have some concern for his affairs. One of us then must do one thing, another another, and it is our duty to do it now rather than later; for if in the past we were some of us known as his relations, and some of us merely as his friends, now is the time to show with all sincerity that we are really such, nor must we delay doing our duty to an indefinite future, supposing these names meant anything. I myself, however, am desirous in this matter to be especially your friend, and therefore I undertake to bring up myself Alexander who was his son by Seleucis, and to impart to him my own education. And I should certainly have given him money also, who am bestowing what is so much more important, if it were right that he should receive it.

XIV.—To Euphrates.

I have been asked by many people on many occasions, why it is that I have never been sent for to Italy; or if I was sent for, why I did not come thither, like yourself and sundry other people. Now to the first question I shall give no answer, lest some

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καὶ δόξω τισὶν εἰδέναι τὴν αἰτίαν, οὐδ' εἰδέναι μοι μέλοι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τί ἂν καὶ δεοίμην ἕτερον λέγειν, ἢ ὅτι μᾶλλον ἂν μετεπέμφθην ἢ ἀφικόμην; ἔρρωσο.

ιε'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

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

ις'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Μάγους οἴει δεῖν ὀνομάζειν τοὺς ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου φιλοσόφους, ὧδέ που καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Ὀρφέως. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δεῖνος οἶμαι δεῖν ὀνομάζεσθαι μάγους, εἰ μέλλουσιν εἶναι θεῖοι τε καὶ δίκαιοι.

ιζ'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

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

ιη'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἡράκλειτος ὁ φυσικὸς ἄλογον εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν ἔφησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀληθές, ὥσπερ ἐστὶν ἀληθές, ἐγκαλυπτέος ἕκαστος ὁ ματαίως ἐν δόξῃ γενόμενος.

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

XV.—To the same.

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

XVI.—To the same.

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

XVII.—To the same.

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

XVIII.—To the same.

Heraclitus the natural philosopher used to say that man is by nature irrational. Well, if this be true, as it is true, then let everyone hide his face who vainly and idly is held in repute.

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ιθ'.—Σκοπελιανῷ σοφιστῇ.

Πέντε εἰσὶ σύμπαντες οἱ τοῦ λόγου χαρακτῆρες, ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὁ ἱστορικός, ὁ δικανικός, ὁ ἐπιστολικός, ὁ ὑπομνηματικός. ἐγκειμένων δὴ τῶν γενικῶν χαρακτήρων, τῇ τάξει πάλιν γίνεται πρῶτος μὲν ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου δύναμιν ἢ φύσιν ἴδιος ὤν, δεύτερος δὲ ὁ ἐν μιμήσει τοῦ ἀρίστου, τῶν ἐκ φύσεως εἴ τις ἐνδεὴς εἴη. τὸ δὲ ἄριστον δυσεύρετόν τε καὶ δυσεπίκριτον, ὥστε οἰκειότερος ἑκάστῳ χαρακτὴρ ὁ ἴδιος, ἐπείπερ καὶ βεβαιότερος.

κ'.—Δομετιανῷ.

Εἴ σοι δύναμίς ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ἐστίν, καὶ φρόνησιν ἂν εἴη σοι κτητέον· καὶ γὰρ εἰ φρόνησις ἦν, δύναμις δὲ ἀπῆν, ὁμοίως ἔδει σοι δυνάμεως. δεῖται γὰρ ἀεὶ τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου, ὥσπερ ὄψις φωτὸς καὶ φῶς ὄψεως.

κα'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Βαρβάρων ἀφεκτέον καὶ οὐκ ἀρκτέον αὐτῶν. οὐ γὰρ θέμις αὐτοὺς βαρβάρους ὄντας εὖ πάσχειν.

κβ'.—Λεσβώνακτι.

Δεῖ πένεσθαι μὲν ὡς ἄνδρα, πλουτεῖν δὲ ὡς ἄνθρωπον.

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XIX.—To Scopelianus, the Sophist.

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

XX.—To Domitian.

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

XXI.—To the same.

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

XXII.—To Lesbonax.

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

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κγ'.—Κρίτωνι.

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

κδ'.—Ἑλλανοδίκαις καὶ Ἠλείοις.

Ἀξιοῦτέ με τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν Ὀλυμπίων παραγενέσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπέμψατε πρέσβεις. ἐγὼ δὲ παρεγενόμην ἂν ἐπὶ σωμάτων θέαν καὶ ἅμιλλαν, εἰ μὴ τὸν μείζονα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀγῶνα καταλείψειν ἔμελλον.

κε'.—Πελοποννησίοις.

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

κς'.—τοῖς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θεηκόροις.

Θεοὶ θυσιῶν οὐ δέονται. τί οὖν ἄν τις πράττων χαρίζοιτο αὐτοῖς; φρόνησιν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κτώμενος, ἀνθρώπων τε τοὺς ἀξίους εἰς δύναμιν εὖ ποιῶν. ταῦτα φίλα θεοῖς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἀθέων.

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XXIII.—To Crito.

Pythagoras has declared that the divinest thing we have is the healing art. But if the divinest thing is the healing art, then we must take care of the soul as well as of the body; for surely a living creature cannot be in sound health, if in respect of its highest element it be diseased.

XXIV.—To the Presidents of the Olympic Games and to the Elians.

You invite me to attend the games of Olympia, and have sent me envoys to that effect. And I would come to be a spectator of your physical rivalries, if it did not involve my abandoning the greater arena of moral struggle.

XXV.—To the Peloponnesians.

The second phase of your relations with one another were the Olympic Games, and though in the first phase you were frankly enemies, in this second you still were not friends.

XXVI.—To the Priests in Olympia.

The gods are in no need of sacrifices. What then can one do in order to win their favour? One can, in my opinion, acquire wisdom, and, so far as one can, do good to such men as deserve it. This pleases the gods; atheists however can offer sacrifice.

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κζ'.—τοῖς ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερεῦσιν.

Αἵματι βωμοὺς μιαίνουσιν ἱερεῖς. εἶτα θαυμάζουσί τινες, πόθεν αἱ πόλεις ἀτυχοῦσιν, ὅταν μεγάλα δυσθετήσωσιν. ὦ τῆς ἀμαθίας. Ἡράκλειτος ἦν σοφός, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος Ἐφεσίους ἔπεισε μὴ πηλῷ πηλὸν καθαίρεσθαι.

κη'.—βασιλεῖ Σκυθῶν.

Ζάμολξις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ φιλόσοφος, εἴ γε μαθητὴς Πυθαγόρου ἐγένετο, καὶ εἰ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ἑκὼν ἂν ἐγένετο φίλος. εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας οἴει δεῖν ἀγῶνα καὶ πόνον ἔχειν, ἄκουε φιλόσοφος, τουτέστιν ἐλεύθερος.

κθ'.—νομοθέτῃ.

Αἱ ἑορταὶ νόσων αἰτίαι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πόνους ἀνιῶσι, τὸ ἐμπίπλασθαι δὲ αὔξουσιν.

λ'.—ταμίαις Ῥωμαίων.

Ἀρχὴν ἄρχετε πρώτην. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄρχειν ἐπίστασθε, διὰ τί τὸ παρ' ὑμᾶς χεῖρον ἑαυτῶν· αἱ πόλεις ἔχουσιν; εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐπίστασθε, μαθεῖν ἔδει πρῶτον, εἶτα ἄρχειν.

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XXVII.—To the Priests in Delphi.

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

XXVIII.—To the King of the Scythians.

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

XXIX.—To a Legislator.

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

XXX.—To the Roman Quaestors.

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

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λα'.—διοικηταῖς Ἀσίας.

Τί ὄφελος ἀγρίων δένδρων φυομένων ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοὺς κλάδους κόπτειν, ἐὰν δὲ τὰς ῥίζας;

λβ'.—Ἐφεσίων γραμματεῦσιν.

Λίθων ἐν πόλει καὶ γραφῶν ποικίλων καὶ περιπάτων καὶ θεάτρων οὐδὲν ὄφελος, εἰ μὴ νοῦς ἐνείη καὶ νόμος. νοῦς δὲ καὶ νόμος περὶ τούτων ἐστίν, οὐ ταῦτα.

λγ'.—Μιλησίοις.

Οἱ παῖδες ὑμῶν πατέρων δέονται, οἱ νέοι γερόντων, αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνδρῶν, οἱ ἄνδρες ἀρχόντων, οἱ ἄρχοντες νόμων, οἱ νόμοι φιλοσόφων, οἱ φιλόσοφοι θεῶν, οἱ θεοὶ πίστεως· προγόνων ἀγαθῶν ἐστε, τὰ παρόντα μισεῖτε.

λδ'.—τοῖς ἐν Μουσείῳ σοφοῖς.

Ἐγενόμην ἐν Ἄργει καὶ Φωκίδι καὶ Λοκρίδι καὶ ἐν Σικυῶνι καὶ ἐν Μεγάροις, καὶ διαλεγόμενος τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἐπαυσάμην ἐκεῖ. τί οὖν, εἴ τις ἔροιτο, τὸ αἴτιον; ἐγὼ φράσαιμ' ἂν ὑμῖν τε καὶ Μούσαις· ἐβαρβαρώθην οὐ χρόνιος ὢν ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος, ἀλλὰ χρόνιος ὢν ἐν Ἑλλάδι.

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XXXI.—To the Procurators of Asia.

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

XXXII.—To the Scribes of the Ephesians.

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

XXXIII.—To the Milesians.

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

XXXIV.—To the Wise Men in the Museum.

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

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λε'.—Ἑστιαίῳ.

Ἀρετὴ καὶ χρήματα παρ' ἡμῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐναν-
τιώτατα, μειούμενον γὰρ τὸ ἕτερον αὔξει τὸ
ἕτερον, αὐξανόμενον δὲ μειοῖ. πῶς οὖν δυνατὸν
ἀμφότερα περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι; πλὴν εἰ μὴ
τῷ τῶν ἀνοήτων λόγῳ, παρ' οἷς καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος
ἀρετή. μὴ δὴ τοσοῦτον ἡμῶν ἀναισθητεῖν ἐπίτρεπε
τοῖς αὐτόθι, μηδὲ ἔα πλουσίους ἡμᾶς ὑπολαμ-
βάνειν μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοσόφους. καὶ γὰρ αἴσχιστον
ἀποδημεῖν ἡμᾶς διὰ χρήματα δοκεῖν, ἐνίων, ὧν
μνήμην ἑαυτῶν καταλείπωσι, μηδὲ ἀρετὴν ἀσπα-
σαμένων.

λς'.—Κορινθίῳ Βάσσῳ.

Ἦν Πραξιτέλης Χαλκιδεὺς μαινόμενος ἄνθρω-
πος. οὗτος ἦλθέ ποτε ξιφήρης ἐπὶ θύρας τὰς ἐμὰς
ὑπὸ σοῦ σταλεὶς τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτου
τῶν Ἰσθμίων. τοῦ φόνου δ' ἦν μισθὸς δεδομένος ἡ
τῆς γυναικός σου κοινωνία, καί, μιαρὲ Βάσσε,
πολλάκις εὐεργέτης ἐγενόμην σου.

λζ'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Εἰ πυνθάνοιτο Κορινθίων τις, πῶς ὁ Βάσσου
πατὴρ ἀπέθανεν, ἐροῦσιν ἅπαντες οἱ ἀστικοὶ καὶ
οἱ μέτοικοι· φαρμάκῳ. τίνος δόντος; ἐροῦσι καὶ οἱ
ὅμοροι· τοῦ φιλοσόφου. καὶ ὁ μιαρὸς τῷ πτώματι
τοῦ πατρὸς ἑπόμενος ἔκλαιεν.

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XXXV.—To Hestiaeus.

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

XXXVI.—To Bassus of Corinth.

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

XXXVII.—To the same.

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

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λη'.—τοῖς ἐν Σάρδεσιν.

Ἀρετῆς μὲν ὑμῖν πρωτεῖον οὐκ ἔστι, ποίας γὰρ ἀρετῆς; εἰ δὲ κακίας φέρεσθε τὰ πρῶτα, πάντες ὑφ' ἓν φέρεσθε. τίνες τοῦτο φήσουσι περὶ τῶν ἐν Σάρδεσιν; οἱ ἐν Σάρδεσιν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδενὶ τῶν αὐτόθι φίλος, ὥστ' ἀρνεῖσθαί τι τῶν ἀτόπων δι' εὔνοιαν.

λθ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Αἰσχρὰ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ταγμάτων ὑμῶν· Κόδδαροι, Ξυρισίταυροι. ταῦτα τοῖς τέκνοις τίθεσθε τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ εὐτυχεῖτε γίνεσθαι τούτων ἄξιοι.

μ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Κόδδαροι, καὶ Ξυρισίταυροι. Τὰς δὲ θυγατέρας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας πῶς ἂν προσαγορεύοιτε; τῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν ταγμάτων εἰσὶ καὶ αὗται, καὶ θρασύτεραι.

μα'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Οὐδὲ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑμῖν εὐνοεῖν εἰκός, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οἰκέται, εἶθ', ὅτι τῶν ἐναντίων ταγμάτων οἱ πλεῖστοι. κἀκεῖνοι γὰρ ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ἀπὸ γένους.

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XXXVIII.—To the People of Sardis.

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

XXXIX.—To the same People.

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

XL.—To the same People.

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

XLI.—To the same People.

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

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μβ'.—Πλατωνικοῖς.

Ἐάν τις Ἀπολλωνίῳ χρήματα διδῷ, καὶ ὁ διδοὺς ἄξιος νομίζηται, λήψεται δεόμενος. φιλοσοφίας δὲ μισθὸν οὐ λήψεται, κἂν δέηται.

μγ'.—τοῖς οἰησισόφοις.

Εἰ λέγει τις εἶναι γνώριμος ἐμός, λεγέτω καὶ μένειν ἔνδον, ἀπέχεσθαι λουτροῦ παντός, ζῷα μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἔδειν σάρκας, ἀπαθὴς εἶναι φθόνου κακοηθείας μίσους διαβολῆς ἔχθρας, τοῦ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ὀνομάζεσθαι γένους, ἢ φυλακτέος πλάσματα φέρων τρόπου τε καὶ ἤθους καὶ λόγων ψευδῶν ἀλλοτρίου βίου πίστιν. ἔρρωσθε.

μδ'.—Ἑστιαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ.

Τί θαυμαστόν, εἴ με τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἰσόθεον ἡγουμένων, τινῶν δὲ καὶ θεόν, μόνη μέχρι νῦν ἡ πατρὶς ἀγνοεῖ, δι' ἣν ἐξαιρέτως ἐσπούδασα λαμπρὸς εἶναι; τουτὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ὡς ὁρῶ, γέγονε φανερόν, ὅς εἰμι ἀμείνων πολλῶν λόγους τε καὶ ἦθος. ἐπεὶ πῶς ἄν μου κατεγινώσκετε χαλεπὴν κατάγνωσιν ὡς ὑπομνήσεως τὴν

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XLII.—To the Platonic Thinkers.

If anyone offers money to Apollonius, and he considers the donor to be worthy, he will accept it, if he is in need; but for his philosophy he will take no reward, even though he be in want.

XLIII.—To those who are puffed up with Wisdom.

If anyone professes to be my disciple, let his profession be that he remains within his house, that he abstains from all bathing, that he kills no living creature, nor eats flesh, that he is exempt from feelings of jealousy, of spite, of hatred, of slander, of enmity, in order to bear the name of a free man and belong to their class. For surely he must beware of carrying about a pretence of manners and character and of language which he merely feigns, in order to make others believe that he leads the life which he does not. Farewell.

XLIV.—To Hestiaeus, his Brother.

Other men regard me as the equal of the gods, and some of them even as a god, but until now my own country alone ignores me, my country for which in particular I have striven to be distinguished. What wonder is there in this? For not even on you my brothers, as I perceive, has it clearly dawned that I am superior to most men, both in my language and in my character. For otherwise how could you judge me so harshly as to need to be reminded at all of matters about which, as about no others, even

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ἀρχὴν δεομένων, περὶ ὧν μόνων οὐδὲ τῶν ἀμαθεστάτων ἄν τις περιμείνειε διδαχθῆναι; λέγω δὲ πατρίδος τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν. καίτοι οὐ λέληθεν ὑμᾶς, ὡς καλῶς ἔχον ἐστὶ πᾶσάν τε γῆν πατρίδα νομίζειν, καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδελφοὺς καὶ φίλους, ὡς ἂν γένος μὲν ὄντας θεοῦ, μιᾶς δὲ φύσεως, κοινωνίας δ' οὔσης λόγου τε παντὶ καὶ πᾶσι καὶ παθῶν τῆς αὐτῆς, ὅπη γε καὶ ὅπως ἄν τις τύχῃ γενόμενος, εἴτε βάρβαρος, εἴτε καὶ Ἕλλην, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος. ἀλλ' ἔστι γάρ πως τὸ συγγενὲς ἀκατασόφιστον καὶ πᾶν ἀνακλητικὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ οἰκεῖον. οὕτως ὁ Ὁμηρικὸς Ὀδυσσεύς, ὥς φασιν, οὐδὲ ἀθανασίαν ὑπὸ θεᾶς διδομένην Ἰθάκης προὐτίμησεν. ὁρῶ δ' ἔγωγε τὸν νόμον τόνδε καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων πεφοιτηκότα. οὐ γάρ, ὁπόσον πτηνόν, καλιῶν ἀπόκοιτον ἰδίων, πᾶν τε βύθιον παρασύρεται μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ φέροντος, ἐπάνεισι δὲ μὴ νικηθέν, θηρία μὲν γὰρ οὔτε λιμὸς οὔτε κόρος ἔπεισεν ἔξω φωλεῶν μεῖναι, ἕνα τούτων ἡ φύσις ἤνεγκεν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ταῦτα σοφὸν λεγόμενον, ᾧ κἂν πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ γῇ πᾶσα παρέχῃ, μνήματα οὐκ ἔχει δεῖξαι τὰ πατέρων.

με'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Εἰ τῶν ὄντων τὸ τιμιώτατον φιλοσοφία, πεπιστεύμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς φιλοσοφεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς ὑπολαμβανοίμεθα μισάδελφοι, καὶ ταῦτα δι' αἰτίαν

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the dullest persons are likely to resent instruction, to wit about country and brethren? Nevertheless you must be aware that it is a noble thing to regard the whole earth as your country and all men as your brethren and friends, seeing that they are the family of one God, that they are of one nature, and that there is a communion of each and all in speech, and likewise in feelings, which is the same, no matter how or where a man has been born, whether he is barbarian or whether he is Hellene, so long only as he is a man. But there is, it must be admitted, a kinship which over-rides philosophical theory, and a familiarity which attracts to itself everything that shares it. So the Odysseus of Homer, as they relate, did not prefer even immortality, when a goddess offered it, to Ithaca. And for my own part I notice that this law pervades even the animal kingdom; for there is not a single bird that will sleep away from its own nest, and though the fishermen may drag the tenants of the deep from their lair, yet they will return unless they are overcome. As for wild beasts neither hunger nor satiety induces them to remain outside their holes. And man is one of these creatures that nature hath so produced, even though he bear the name of sage, for whom all the earth may supply everything else, but can never call up before his eyes the sepulchres of his fathers.

XLV.—To the same.

If philosophy be the most precious thing in existence, and if we are convinced that we are philosophers, we cannot rightly be supposed to hate our brethren, and that for a mean and illiberal

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ἀγεννῆ τε ἅμα καὶ ἀνελεύθερον. χρημάτων γὰρ δήπου χάριν ἡ ὑποψία, τούτων δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπειρώμεθα καταφρονεῖν, ὥστε τοῦ μὴ γράφειν εὐλογώτερον ἂν εἴη πρόφασιν ἑτέραν ὑπονοεῖν. ἐφυλαττόμην γὰρ ἀληθῆ μὲν γράφων ἀλαζὼν δοκεῖν, ψευδῆ δὲ ταπεινός, ὧν ἑκάτερον ἐπίσης ἀνιαρὸν ἀδελφοῖς τε καὶ φίλοις ἂν εἴη· νυνὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο δηλῶ—συγχωροίη γὰρ ἂν ἴσως τὸ δαιμόνιον—ὅτι συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἐν Ῥόδῳ φίλοις, μετ' ὀλίγον ἐκεῖθεν ἐπάνειμι πρὸς ὑμᾶς λήγοντος ἔαρος.

μς'.—Γορδίῳ.

Ἠδικῆσθαί φασιν Ἑστιαῖον ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ ταῦτα φίλου γεγονότος, εἴ γε σύ τινος φίλος. ὅρα δή, Γόρδιε, μὴ πεῖραν λάβῃς ἀνδρὸς οὐ δοκοῦντος, ἀλλὰ ὄντος. ἄσπασαι τὸν υἱὸν Ἀριστοκλείδην, ὃν εὔχομαι μὴ παραπλησίον σοι γενέσθαι. καὶ σὺ δ' ἦσθα νέος ἄμεμπτος.

μζ'.—Τυανέων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

Προστάττουσιν ὑμῖν ἐπανιέναι πείθομαι. τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ πρὸς ἕνα πόλει πρεπωδέστερον ἂν εἴη, εἰ ἕνεκα τιμῆς μεταπέμποιτο πολίτην ἑαυτῆς. καὶ ὃν

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

XLVI.—To Gordius.

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

XLVII.—To the Senate and People of Tyana.

You command me to return to you, and I obey. For the greatest compliment a city can pay to one of its own citizens is to recall him in order to do him honour. And during the whole time that I have

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ἀπεδήμησα δὲ χρόνον, ἀπεδήμησα περιποιῶν ὑμῖν, εἰ καὶ ἐπαχθὲς εἰπεῖν, εὔκλειάν τε καὶ ὄνομα καὶ εὔνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν πόλεων ἐπιφανῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν. εἰ δὲ καὶ μείζονος ἔτι καὶ κρείττονος ὑμεῖς ὑπολήψεως ἄξιοι, τό γε ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῆς ἐμῆς φύσεως ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξήρκει μόνον δυνάμεώς τε καὶ σπουδῆς. ἔρρωσθε.

μη'.—Διοτίμῳ.

Ἐπλανήθης οἰηθεὶς δεῖσθαί μέ τινος ἢ παρ' αὐτοῦ σοῦ, πρὸς ὃν οὐδὲν ἦν μοί ποτε κοινόν τι γεγονός, ἢ παρ' ἄλλου τινὸς ὁμοίου τε καὶ ὁμοίως. ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ ἀναλωθὲν εἴς τι τῶν σοι σωτηρίων πολύ τι. χαριεῖ δή μοι παθὼν εὖ δίχ' ἀναλώματος, τηρήσω γάρ μου τὸ ἔθος μόνως οὕτως. ὅτι δὲ τοῦτον ἔχω τὸν τρόπον καὶ ταύτην τὴν διάθεσιν πρὸς ἅπαντάς μου τοὺς πολίτας, ἐῶ γὰρ λέγειν ὡς καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἔξεστι μαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, εὖ παθόντων μέν, ὁσάκις ἐδεήθησάν τινος, ἀμοιβὴν δὲ αἰτηθέντων μηδεμίαν. μὴ δὴ δυσχεράνῃς, εἰ δεόντως ἐπιτιμηθεὶς ὁ ἐμὸς οἰκέτης ὑπὲρ τοῦ προσέσθαι τι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀπέδωκεν εὐθὺς ὃ ἔλαβε Λυσίᾳ τῷ φίλῳ σου, φίλῳ δὲ καὶ ἐμοῦ, ἐπεὶ μηδένα ἠπίστατο τῶν

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been away from your city, I have, although it may be presumptuous to say so, striven to win for you, by my sojourning abroad, good fame and name and good-will and the friendship of distinguished cities, and equally of distinguished men. And if you merit a still wider and higher consideration, it is only myself and my own natural gifts which are capable of an effort involving so much ability and seriousness. Farewell.

XLVIII.—To Diotimus.

You make a mistake in supposing that I want anything either from yourself, with whom I have never had anything in common, or from any body else like you, or under like circumstances. But in fact, even what I have expended on any object conducive to your welfare has been inconsiderable. I shall be best pleased, therefore, if you accept my kindness without incurring any expense yourself. For in no other way but this shall I retain my principles intact. And that this is my way, and this my attitude towards all my fellow-citizens, I might almost say towards all men, you can learn from the rest of the citizens who have accepted my kindness, as often as they stood in need thereof, but who have never been asked to make any return. Do not then take it amiss, if I have rebuked my servant as he deserved, for having in the first instance accepted anything, and if he at once handed back to Lysias your friend, and also a friend of my own, what he received, because he did not know personally any of your servants whom

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καταλελειμμένων σου παίδων. εἰ δὲ δύο λόγοι περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγονται, λεχθήσονται δὲ καὶ ἐσύστερον, τί θαυμαστόν; ἀνάγκη γὰρ περὶ παντὸς ἄκρου δοκοῦντος καθ' ὁτιοῦν ἐναντίους λέγεσθαι λόγους. οὕτως περὶ Πυθαγόρου, περὶ Ὀρφέως, περὶ Πλάτωνος, περὶ Σωκράτους οὐκ ἐλέχθη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγράφη τὰ ἐναντία, ὅπου γε μὴ τὰ ὅμοια καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ δέχονται τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον, ὡς ἂν ἔχοντές τι συγγενές, οἱ δὲ φαῦλοι τὸν ἐναντίον, καὶ ἔστι τοῦ τοιούτου γένους καταγελᾶν, λέγω δὲ τοῦ χείρονος. τοσοῦτο μόνον δίκαιον ὑπομνῆσαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ τὸ νῦν, ὅτι περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ θεοῖς εἴρηται ὡς περὶ θείου ἀνδρός, οὐ μόνον ἰδίᾳ τισὶ πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίᾳ. ἐπαχθὲς λέγειν τι περὶ αὐτοῦ πλεῖον ἢ μεῖζον. ὑγιαίνειν εὔχομαι.

μθ'.—Φερουκιανῷ.

Πάνυ τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ γράμμασιν ἥσθην, πολλὴν γὰρ οἰκειότητα καὶ γένους ἀνάμνησιν εἶχε, καὶ πέπεισμαι δι' ἐπιθυμίας εἶναί σοι θεάσασθαί με καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ θεαθῆναι. αὐτὸς οὖν ἀφίξομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅτι τάχιστα, ὅθεν ἔχου τῶν αὐτόθι. συμμίξεις δέ μοι πλησίον γενομένῳ πρὸ πῶν ἄλλων οἰκείων τε καὶ φίλων, ἐπεὶ καὶ προσήκει σοι τοῦτο.

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you had left behind. But that there are two accounts of me current, and that they will continue to circulate even in the future, need I be surprised? For it is inevitable in the case of everyone at all prominent in any way, that there should be contradictory accounts of him in circulation. It was so with Pythagoras, with Orpheus, with Plato, and with Socrates; not only were contrary statements made about them, but they were embodied in writing as well, and we need not be surprised seeing that even concerning God himself men's accounts differ from one another. However, good men by a sort of natural affinity will accept the truth, just as bad men will accept the opposite, and we can afford to laugh at such people, I mean the worst sort. This much only it is right for the moment to impress upon you about myself, that even the gods have spoken of me as of a divine man, not only on many occasions to private individuals, but also in public. I shall shock you if I speak more or more highly of myself. I pray for your good health.

XLIX.—To Pherucianus.

I am very delighted with the letters which you have sent me, for they reveal much intimacy and reminiscence of my family; and I am sure that you are most anxious to see me, and to be seen by me. I shall therefore visit you as soon as possible; wherefore please remain at home. And you shall converse with me, when I have arrived at your residence, in preference to any of your other friends and intimates; since it is right that you should do so.

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ν΄.—Εὐφράτῃ.

Ἐν γένει δαιμόνων καὶ ὁ σοφώτατος Πυθαγόρας ἦν. σὺ δ' ἔτι μοι δοκεῖς πορρωτάτω φιλοσοφίας εἶναι καὶ ἀληθινῆς ἐπιστήμης, ἢ οὐκ ἂν οὔτε κἀκεῖνον κακῶς ἔλεγες, οὔτε τινὰς τῶν ζηλούντων αὐτὸν διετέλεις μισῶν. ἄλλο τί σοι νῦν πρακτέον ἂν εἴη· φιλοσοφίας γὰρ ἤμβροτες, οὐδ' ἔτυχες οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ Μενελάου Πάνδαρος ἐν τῇ τῶν ὅρκων συγχύσει.

να΄.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἐπιτιμῶσί σοί τινες, ὡς εἰληφότι χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅπερ οὐκ ἄτοπον, εἰ μὴ φαίνοιο φιλοσοφίας εἰληφέναι μισθὸν καὶ τοσαυτάκις καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ παρὰ τοσούτων καὶ περὶ σοῦ πεπιστευκότων εἶναί σε φιλόσοφον.

νβ΄.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Ἐάν τις ἀνδρὶ Πυθαγορείῳ συγγένηται, τίνα παρ' αὐτοῦ λήψεται καὶ ὁπόσα, φαίην ἂν ἔγωγε· νομοθετικὴν γεωμετρίαν ἀστρονομίαν ἀριθμητικὴν ἁρμονικὴν μουσικὴν ἰατρικήν, πᾶσαν θείαν μαντικήν, τὰ δὲ καλλίω μεγαλοφροσύνην μεγαλοψυχίαν μεγαλοπρέπειαν εὐστάθειαν εὐφημίαν γνῶσιν θεῶν, οὐ δόξαν, εἴδησιν δαιμόνων, οὐχὶ

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L.—To Euphrates.

Even the most wise Pythagoras belonged to the class of demons; but you still seem to me to be utterly remote from philosophy, and from true science, or you would neither abuse that great man, nor persist in hating certain of those who follow him. You should turn to something else now. For "you have missed your cue" in philosophy, "nor have you hit it off" better than Pandarus, when he aimed at Menelaus, in the episode of the violation of oaths. *Iliad* iv. 140

LI.—To the same Person.

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

LII.—To the same Person.

If anyone converses with a Pythagorean, and asks what boons and how many he shall derive from him, I should myself answer as follows: he will acquire legislative science, geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, knowledge of harmony and of music, and of the physician's art, god-like divination in all its branches, and the still better qualities of magnanimity, greatness of soul, magnificence, constancy, reverence, knowledge and not mere opinion

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πίστιν, φιλίαν ἑκατέρων, αὐτάρκειαν ἐκτένειαν λιτότητα βραχύτητα τῶν ἀναγκαίων εὐαισθησίαν εὐκινησίαν εὔπνοιαν εὔχροιαν ὑγείαν εὐψυχίαν ἀθανασίαν, παρὰ σοῦ δέ, Εὐφρᾶτα, τί λαβόντες ἔχουσιν οἱ συνόντες; ἢ δηλονότι τὴν ἀρετήν, ἣν ἔχεις;

νγ΄.—Κλαύδιος Τυανέων τῇ βουλῇ.

Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν ὑμέτερον πολίτην Πυθαγόρειον φιλόσοφον, καλῶς ἐπιδημήσαντα τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τοὺς νέους ἡμῶν ὠφελήσαντα τιμήσαντες ἀξίαις τιμαῖς, αἷς πρέπει τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ἀληθῶς προϊσταμένους φιλοσοφίας, τὴν εὔνοιαν ἡμῶν ἠθελήσαμεν ὑμῖν δι' ἐπιστολῆς φανερὰν γενέσθαι. ἔρρωσθε.

νδ΄.—Ἀπολλώνιος δικαιωταῖς Ῥωμαίων.

Λιμένων καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ περιβόλων καὶ περιπάτων ἐνίοις ὑμῶν πρόνοια, παίδων δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ νέων ἢ γυναικῶν οὔθ' ὑμῖν οὔτε τοῖς νόμοις φροντίς. ἢ καλὸν ἂν εἴη τὸ ἄρχεσθαι;

νε΄.—τῷ ἀδελφῷ Ἀπολλώνιος.

Φύσιν ἔχει τῶν τελειωθέντων ἕκαστον ἀπιέναι, καὶ τοῦτο παντὶ γῆρας ἐστι, μεθ' ὃ μηκέτι μένει.

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

LIII.—Claudius, to the Senate of Tyana.

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

LIV.—Apollonius, to the Censors of Rome.

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

LV.—Apollonius to his brother.

Everything when it hath reached maturity hath a natural tendency to vanish away, and this is

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μὴ ὁή σε λυπείτω τῆς γυναικὸς ἡ ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀποβολή, μηδέ, ἐπεὶ θάνατός τι λέγεται, κρεῖττον αὐτοῦ τὸ ζῆν ὑπολάμβανε, χεῖρον ὂν τῷ παντὶ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι. γενοῦ δὴ ἀδελφὸς τὸ μὲν κοινότατον φιλοσόφου, τὸ δ' ἐξαίρετον Πυθαγορείου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου, καί σου τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν αὐτὴν ποίησον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεκαλοῦμέν τι τῇ προτέρᾳ, κἂν εἰκότως ἐδοκοῦμεν ἀποδειλιᾶν, εἰ δ' ἡ μὲν σεμνή τε διετέλεσεν οὖσα καὶ φίλανδρος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιζητήσεως ἀξία, τί καὶ διανοηθέντες οὐκ ἂν ὅμοια καὶ περὶ τῆς μελλούσης προσδοκοίημεν; ἦν εἰκὸς ἂν ἐθελῆσαι καὶ ἀμείνονα γενέσθαι μηδαμοῦ τῆς προτέρας ἀμελείᾳ κακωθείσης. δυσωπείτω δέ σε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν οὕτω μέχρι νῦν ἔχοντα· τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ μὲν γὰρ σοὶ οὐδὲ γόνος οὐδέπω, τῷ νεωτάτῳ δὲ ἐλπὶς μὲν ἔτι παιδοποιίας, ἐν προκοπῇ δέ γε τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἑνὶ τρεῖς γεγόναμεν, τρισὶ δ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲ εἷς. ἴσος δὲ καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τῷ βίῳ τῷ μεθ' ἡμᾶς. εἰ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀμείνους τοῦ πατρός—ἄλλως δέ, καθ' ὃ πατήρ, χείρους—πῶς οὐκ ἂν βελτίους ἐξ ἡμῶν εἰκὸς ἂν ὑπάρξαι; γενέσθωσαν οὖν τινες, οἷς παραθησόμεθα γοῦν ὀνόματα, ὡς ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι

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old age for every man, after which he remaineth no more. Let not therefore the loss of thy wife in the flower of her age grieve thee beyond measure, nor, because such a thing as death is spoken of, imagine that life is superior thereto, when it is altogether inferior in the eyes of one who reflects. Make thyself then the brother of one that is a philosopher, in the common acceptation of the word, and in particular is a Pythagorean and Apollonius, and restore the former estate of thy household. For if we had found anything to blame in thy former wife, we might reasonably expect thee to shrink from another union; but inasmuch as she was consistently holy and pure and attached to her husband and therefore worthy of your regrets, what should lead us to expect that a second wife should not resemble her? Nay she would in all probability be encouraged to improve in virtue by the fact that her predecessor was not forgotten nor wronged by neglect of her memory. And I would pray thee seriously to concern thyself about the condition of thy brethren as up to the present it is. For thy elder brother has never yet had offspring; and though thy younger brother may still look forward to having a child, yet it is only in the far future; and so here are we three sons, the children of a single father, and we three between us have not a single son. Wherefore there is great risk no less for our country than for the life of our posterity. For if we are better than our father,—though of course, so far forth as he was our father, we are worse,—how can we not reasonably expect our descendants to be still better? I trust then that there may be some to whom we may at least hand on our names, as our ancestors devised

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συνύφηναν. ὑπὸ δακρύων οὐχ οἷός τε ἐγενόμην πλείονα γράψαι, καὶ οὐδὲ εἶχον ἀναγκαιότερα τούτων.

νς'.—Σαρδιανοῖς.

Κροῖσος ἀπέβαλε τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχὴν Ἅλυν διαβάς, ἐλήφθη ζῶν, ἐδέθη πέδαις, ἐπὶ πυρὰν ἀνεβιβάσθη, τὸ πῦρ εἶδεν ἡμμένον αἰρόμενον εἰς ὕψος· ἔζησεν, ἐδόκει γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τετιμημένος. τί οὖν ὕστερον; οὗτος ὁ πρόγονος ὑμῶν ἅμα καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ τοσαῦτα παθὼν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν, τραπέζης ἐκοινώνησε τῷ πολεμίῳ, σύμβουλος ἦν εὔνους, πιστὸς φίλος. ὑμῖν δὲ ἄσπονδα καὶ ἀκήρυκτα καὶ ἀμείλικτα, ἔτι τε ἀνίερα καὶ ἄθεα τὰ πρὸς γονεῖς πρὸς τέκνα, τὰ πρὸς φίλους συγγενεῖς φυλέτας. ἐχθροὶ γεγόνατε μήτε Ἅλυν διαβάντες, μήτε δεξάμενοί τινα ἄνθρωπον ἔξωθεν. καὶ ἡ γῆ φέρει καρπὸν ὑμῖν. ἄδικος ἡ γῆ.

νζ'.—συγγραφεῦσι λογίοις.

Φῶς παρουσία πυρός, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως γένοιτο, πῦρ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος, καὶ ᾧ γίνεται, καίεται γοῦν, φῶς δὲ ταῖς ὄψεσι μόνον αὐγὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρέχεται μὴ βιαζόμενον αὐτάς, ἀλλὰ πεῖθον. τοίνυν καὶ λόγος ὁ μὲν ὥσπερ πῦρ καὶ πάθος, ὁ

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these for us. For my tears I am not able to write thee more, but I have nothing more important than this to write.

LVI.—To the People of Sardis.

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

LVII.—To certain learned Publicists.

Light is the presence of fire, without which it could not be. Now fire is itself an affection, and that whereunto it comes, is of course burnt up. But light can only supply its own radiance to our eyes, on condition of using not force to them, but persuasion. Speech therefore in its turn, resembles in its one aspect, fire which is the affection, and in its other,

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δὲ ὥσπερ αὐγὴ καὶ φῶς ἐστιν· ὃ κρεῖττον ὄν, εἰ μὴ μεῖζον εὐχῆς τὸ ῥηθησόμενον, εἴη μοι.

νη΄.—Ο ὐ α λ ε ρ ί ῳ.

Θάνατος οὐδεὶς οὐδενὸς ἢ μόνον ἐμφάσει, καθάπερ οὐδὲ γένεσις οὐδενὸς ἢ μόνον ἐμφάσει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ οὐσίας τραπὲν εἰς φύσιν ἔδοξε γένεσις, τὸ δὲ ἐκ φύσεως εἰς οὐσίαν κατὰ ταὐτὰ θάνατος, οὔτε γιγνομένου κατ' ἀλήθειάν τινος, οὔτε φθειρομένου ποτέ, μόνον δὲ ἐμφανοῦς ὄντος ἀοράτου τε ὕστερον, τοῦ μὲν διὰ παχύτητα τῆς ὕλης, τοῦ δὲ διὰ λεπτότητα τῆς οὐσίας, οὔσης μὲν αἰεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς, κινήσει δὲ διαφερούσης καὶ στάσει. τοῦτο γάρ που τὸ ἴδιον ἀνάγκῃ τῆς μεταβολῆς οὐκ ἔξωθεν γινομένης ποθέν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ὅλου μεταβάλλοντος εἰς τὰ μέρη, τῶν μερῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὅλον τρεπομένων ἑνότητι τοῦ παντός. εἰ δὲ ἐρήσεταί τις· τί τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ποτὲ μὲν ὁρατόν, ποτὲ δὲ ἀόρατον, ἢ τοῖς αὐτοῖς γινόμενον ἢ ἄλλοις; φαίη τις ἄν, ὡς ἔθος ἑκάστου ἐστὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε γενῶν, ὃ πληρωθὲν μὲν ἐφάνη διὰ τὴν τῆς παχύτητος ἀντιτυπίαν, ἀόρατον δέ ἐστιν, εἰ κενωθείη διὰ λεπτότητα τῆς ὕλης, βίᾳ περιχυθείσης ἐκρυείσης τε τοῦ περιέχοντος αὐτὴν αἰωνίου μέτρου, γεννητοῦ δ' οὐδαμῶς οὐδὲ φθαρτοῦ.

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the radiance which is light. And I pray that the latter which is better may be mine, unless indeed that which I speak of is beyond the reach of my prayer.

LVIII.—To Valerius.

There is no death of anyone save in appearance only, even as there is no birth of anyone or becoming, except only in appearance. For when a thing passes from essence into nature we consider that there is a birth or becoming, and in the same way that there is death when it passes from nature into essence; though in truth a thing neither comes into being at any time nor is destroyed. But it is only apparent at one time and later on invisible, the former owing to the density of its material, and the latter by the reason of the lightness or tenuity of the essence, which however remains always the same, and is only subject to differences of movement and state. For this is necessarily the characteristic of change caused not by anything outside, but by a conversion of the whole into the parts, and by a return of the parts into the whole, due to the oneness of the universe. But if someone asks: What is this, which is at one time visible, and at another invisible, as it presents itself in the same or in different objects? It may be answered, that it is characteristic of each of the several genera of things here, when it is full, to be apparent to us because of the resistance of its density to our senses, but to be unseen in case it is emptied of its matter by reason of its tenuity, the latter being perforce shed abroad, and flowing away from the eternal measure which confined it; albeit the measure itself is never created nor destroyed.

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Τί δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς πλάνης ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀνέλεγκτον; οἴονται γάρ τινες, ὃ πεπόνθασιν, αὐτοὶ τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, μὴ εἰδότες, ὡς ὁ γεννηθεὶς διὰ γονέων γεγέννηται, οὐχ ὑπὸ γονέων, καθάπερ τὸ διὰ γῆς φυὲν οὐκ ἐκ γῆς φύεται, πάθος τε οὐδὲν τῶν φαινομένων περὶ ἕκαστον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον περὶ ἓν ἑκάστου. τοῦτο δὲ τί ἂν ἄλλο τις εἰπὼν ἢ τὴν πρώτην οὐσίαν ὀρθῶς ἂν ὀνομάσειεν; ἣ δὴ μόνη ποιεῖ τε καὶ πάσχει, πᾶσι γινομένη πάντα διὰ πάντων, θεὸς ἀίδιος, ὀνόμασι καὶ προσώποις ἀφαιρουμένη τὸ ἴδιον ἀδικουμένη τε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔλαττον. τὸ δὲ μεῖζον· κλαίεταί τις, ὅταν θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γένηται τόπου μεταβάσει καὶ οὐχὶ φύσεως. ὡς δὲ ἔχει τὸ ἀληθές, οὐ πενθητέον σοι θάνατον, ἀλλὰ τιμητέον καὶ σεβαστέον. τιμὴ δὲ ἡ ἀρίστη τε καὶ πρέπουσα, εἰ ἀφεὶς θεῷ τὸν ἐκεῖ γενόμενον ἀνθρώπων τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰ νῦν ἄρχοις, ᾗ πρότερον ἦρχες. αἰσχρόν, εἰ χρόνῳ, μὴ λογισμῷ γένοιο βελτίων, εἰ χρόνος καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς λύπης ἔπαυσε. μέγιστον ἀρχὴ ἱκανή, καὶ μεγίστων

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Why is it then that error has passed unrefuted on such a scale? The reason is that some imagine that they have themselves actively brought about what they have merely suffered and experienced; because they do not understand that a child brought into the world by parents, is not begotten by its parents, any more than what grows by means of the earth grows out of the earth; nor are phenomenal modifications or affections of matter properties of the individual thing, but it is rather the case that each individual thing's affections are properties of a single phenomenon. And this single phenomenon cannot be rightly spoken of or characterised, except we name it the first essence. For this alone is agent and patient, making itself all things unto all and through all, God eternal, which in so far as it takes on the names and person of individuals, forfeits its peculiar character to its prejudice. Now this is of lesser importance; what is of greater is this, that some are apt to weep so soon as ever God arises out of mankind,[1] by mere change of place and not of nature. But in very truth of things, you should not lament another's death, but prize and reverence it. And the highest and only befitting honour you can pay to death, is to resign unto God him that was here, and continue to rule as before over the human beings entrusted to your care. You dishonour yourself if you improve less through your judgment than by lapse of time, seeing that time alleviates the sorrows even of the wicked. High

[1] The idea is that by death the divine substance which was confined in a personality or name (which was the same thing) is released, so that where there was only a human being, there is now God.

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ἄρχων ἄριστος, ὃς ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἄρχῃ. ποῦ δὲ καὶ ὅσιον ἀπεύχεσθαι τὸ βουλήσει θεοῦ γενόμενον; εἰ τάξις ἐστὶ τῶν ὄντων, ἔστι δέ, καὶ θεὸς ἐπιστατεῖ ταύτης, ὁ δίκαιος οὐ βουλήσεται ἀπεύχεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθά, πλεονεκτικὸν γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τάξιν τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἡγήσεται δὲ τὰ γινόμενα συμφέρειν. πρόελθε καὶ θεράπευσαι, δίκασον καὶ παρηγόρησον τοὺς ἀθλίους, τῶν δὲ δακρύων οὕτως ἀποτρέψεις. οὐ τὰ ἴδια τῶν κοινῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἰδίων προτιμητέον. οἷον δέ σοι καὶ τὸ τῆς παραμυθίας εἶδος· σὺν ὅλῳ τὸν υἱὸν ἔθνει πεπένθηκας. ἄμειψαι τοὺς μετὰ σοῦ λελυπημένους, ἀμείψῃ δέ, ἐὰν λυπούμενος παύσῃ, τάχιον ἢ ἐὰν μὴ προέλθῃς. φίλους οὐκ ἔχεις; υἱὸν δὲ ἔχεις. καὶ νῦν τὸν τεθνηκότα; φήσει τις τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων. τὸ γὰρ ὂν οὐκ ἀπόλλυται, διὰ τοῦτο ὄν, ὅτι ἔσται διὰ παντός, ἢ καὶ τὸ μὴ ὂν γίνεται, πῶς δ' ἂν γένοιτο μὴ ἀπολλυμένου τοῦ ὄντος; εἴποι ἂν ἕτερός τις, ὡς ἀσεβεῖς τε καὶ ἀδικεῖς. ἀσεβεῖς μὲν τὸν θεόν, ἀδικεῖς δὲ τὸν υἱόν, μᾶλλον δὲ κἀκεῖνον ἀσεβεῖς· βούλει δὲ μαθεῖν οἷόν ἐστι θάνατος; ἄνελέ με πέμψας μετὰ ταύτην τὴν φωνήν, ἣν ἐὰν μὴ μεταμφιέσῃ, παραχρῆμα κρείττονά με σεαυτοῦ πεποίηκας.

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command is the most important of things; and he will best succeed in the most important office, who has first learnt to govern himself. And what piety moreover is there in deprecating that which has happened by the will of God? If there is an order of reality, and there is, and if God presides over it, the just man will not desire to deprecate his blessings; for such conduct savours of avarice and violates that order; but he will consider that what happens is for the best. Go forward then and heal yourself, dispense justice and console the wretched; so will you wipe away men's tears. You must not prefer your private welfare to the public, but the public to your private. And think what manner of consolation is offered you: the entire province has mourned with you for the loss of your son. Reward those who have grieved with you, and you will far sooner reward them by ceasing to mourn than by confining yourself in your house. "You have no friends?" But you have a son. "What, the one who is just dead (you will ask)?" "Yes," will be the reply of all who reflect; "for that which exists is not lost, but exists by the very fact that it will be for ever. Or would you argue that that which has no existence comes into being? But how can that be without the destruction of that which is?" Another might say, that you are impious and unjust. Impious towards God, and unjust towards your son, nay impious towards him rather than towards God. Would you then learn what death is? Send and slay me the moment I have uttered these words, and unless you can clothe them afresh with flesh, you have there and then made me superior to yourself.

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Ἔχεις χρόνον, ἔχεις γυναῖκα ἔμφρονα φίλανδρον, ὁλόκληρος εἶ, παρὰ σεαυτοῦ λαβὲ τὸ λεῖπον. Ῥωμαῖός τις[1] τῶν πάλαι γεγονότων, ἵνα σώσῃ τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς νόμον τε καὶ κόσμον, υἱὸν ἴδιον ἀπέκτεινε καὶ στεφανώσας ἀπέκτεινε. πόλεων ἄρχεις πεντακοσίων Ῥωμαίων ὁ εὐγενέστατος. ταῦτα σαυτὸν διατίθης, ἐξ ὧν οὐδ' οἰκίας τις εὐσταθῶς ἄρξει, μήτι γε πόλεών τε καὶ ἐθνῶν. Ἀπολλώνιος εἰ παρῆν, Φαβοῦλλαν ἂν μὴ πενθεῖν ἔπεισεν.

νθ'.—Βασιλεὺς Βαβυλωνίων Γάρμος Νεογύνδῃ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεῖ.

Εἰ μὴ περίεργος ἦς, οὐκ ἂν ἦς ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις πράγμασι δίκαιος, οὐδὲ ἂν ἄρχων ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἐδίκαζες Βαβυλωνίοις. πόθεν γάρ σοι γνώριμος ἦν ὁ ἡμέτερος δῆμος; νῦν δὲ ἐπείρασας ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐμήν, ὑποκοριζόμενος ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ τοιαύτας ἀρχὰς καθιείς, καὶ πρόσχημα ποιούμενος τῆς πλεονεξίας τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν. περανεῖς δὲ οὐδέν, οὔτε γὰρ λαθεῖν ἂν δύναιο.

ξ'.—Εὐφράτῃ.

Ἦν Πραξιτέλης Χαλκιδεὺς μαινόμενος ἄνθρωπος. οὗτος ὤφθη παρὰ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς ἐμαῖς, ξίφος ἔχων ἐν Κορίνθῳ μετὰ σοῦ γνωρίμου.

[1] Titus Manlius. See Livy, VIII. 7.

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

LIX.—The King of the Babylonians, Garmos, to Neogyndes, the King of the Indians.

If you were not of a prying disposition, you would not be laying down the law in other people's affairs; nor as sovereign in India would you be playing the judge for Babylonians. For how came you to know anything about my people? But just recently you have made an attempt upon my kingdom, by trying to cajole me with your letters and by insinuating into my realm such magistrates as these, and you try to cloak under the veil of philanthropy your own aggressive designs. But you will not succeed at all, for you cannot deceive me or take me in.

LX.—To Euphrates.

Praxiteles of Calchis was a madman. He appeared at my door in Corinth, together with your friend with a sword in his hand. What then is

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τίς οὖν ἡ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αἰτία; οὐ γὰρ πώποτε σὰς βοῦς ἤλασα,

ἐπειὴ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ
οὔρεά τε σκιόεντα θάλασσά τε ἠχήεσσα

τῆς τε ἐμῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῆς σῆς.

ξα'.—Λεσβώνακτι.

Ἀνάχαρσις ὁ Σκύθης ἦν σοφός, εἰ δὲ Σκύθης, ὅτι καὶ Σκύθης.

ξβ'.—Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀπολλωνίῳ.

Τὰν δεδομενὰν τιμὰν σοι ἀπεστάλκαμεν τόδε ἀντίγραφον σαμανάμενοι τᾷ δαμοσίᾳ σφραγῖδι ἵνα ἴδῃς.

Ψήφισμα Λακεδαιμονίων, καθὼς οἱ γέροντες ἐπέκριναν Τυνδάρεω εἰσηγησαμένω· ταῖν ἀρχαῖν ἔδοξε τέλεσί τε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ Ἀπολλώνιον Πυθαγόρειον ἦμεν πολίταν, ἔχειν τε καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἴκων ἔγκτασιν. ἐστάκαμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπίσαμον εἰκόνα γραπτὰν καὶ χαλκᾶν ἀρετῆς χάριν. ὧδε γὰρ οἱ πατέρες ἀμῶν ἐτίμων ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς. ἐνόμιζον γὰρ ἦμεν Λυκούργω παῖδας, ὅσοι σύμφωνον θεοῖς τὸν βίον αἱρέοντο.

ξγ'.—Ἀπολλώνιος ἐφόροις καὶ Δακεδαιμονίοις.

Ἄνδρας ὑμῶν ἐθεασάμην ὑπήνην μὴ ἔχοντας, τοὺς μηροὺς καὶ τὰ σκέλη λείους τε καὶ λευκούς,

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the reason of his attempting my life? For I have never driven off your oxen, seeing that between your philosophy and mine "there intervene very many shadowy mountains and an echoing sea." *Iliad* i. 154 *sq.*

LXI.—To Lesbonax.

Anacharsis the Scythian was a sage, but, if he was a Scythian, then it was because he was a Scythian.

LXII.—The Lacedaemonians to Apollonius.

We send you this copy of a decree conferring honour upon yourself, which we have sealed with the public seal, for your recognition thereof.

"The decree of the Lacedaemonians, according to the resolution taken by their senate on the motion of Tindarus.

"It was resolved by the government and people to make Apollonius the Pythagorean a citizen, and to bestow upon him the right to possess land and houses. And we have also set up an inscribed image, painted and made of bronze, to commemorate his virtues. For this is the way in which our fathers did honour to good men; for they regarded as sons of Lycurgus all who have chosen a way of life in accordance with the will of the gods."

LXIII.—Apollonius to the Ephors and to the Lacedaemonians.

I have seen your men without any beards, with their thighs and legs smooth and white, clad in soft

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μαλακὰς χλανίδας ἠμφιεσμένους καὶ λεπτάς, δακτυλίους πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς περικειμένους, ὑποδεδεμένους ὑπόδημα τὸ Ἰωνικόν. οὐκ ἐπέγνων οὖν τοὺς λεγομένους πρέσβεις, ἡ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφασκεν.

ξδ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Καλεῖτέ με πολλάκις βοηθὸν ὑμῖν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν νέων ἐσόμενον. ἡ Σόλωνος δὲ πόλις οὐ καλεῖ με. Λυκοῦργον αἰδεῖσθε.

ξε'.—Ἐφεσίων τοῖς ἐν Ἀρτέμιδι.

Ἔθος ὑμῖν ἅπαν ἁγιστείας, ἔθος δὲ βασιλικῆς τιμῆς. τἄλλ' ὑμεῖς ἑστιάτορες μὲν καὶ δαιτυμόνες οὐ μεμπτοί, μεμπτοὶ δὲ σύνοικοι τῇ θεῷ νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας, ἣ οὐκ ἂν ὁ κλέπτης τε καὶ λῃστὴς καὶ ἀνδραποδιστὴς καὶ πᾶς, εἴ τις ἄδικος ἢ ἱερόσυλος, ἦν ὁρμώμενος αὐτόθεν· τὸ γὰρ ἱερὸν τῶν ἀποστερούντων μυχός ἐστιν.

ξς'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Ἦλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνὴρ Ἕλλην τὴν φύσιν, οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος, οὐδὲ Μεγαρεύς γε, λῷον δ' ὄνομα[1] παροικήσων ὑμῶν τῇ θεῷ. δότε μοι τόπον, ἔνθα μὴ καθαρσίων δεήσει μοι, καίπερ ἔνδον ἀεὶ μένοντι.

[1] Or perhaps ὄνομα signifies "a person."

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

LXIV.—To the Same.

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

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

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

LXVI.—To the same Persons.

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

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ξζ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Ἀνεῖται θύουσι τὸ ἱερόν, εὐχομένοις ὑμνοῦσιν ἱκέταις Ἕλλησι βαρβάροις ἐλευθέροις δούλοις, ὑπερφυῶς θεῖος ὁ νόμος. ἐπιγινώσκω τὰ σύμβολα τὰ Διός τε καὶ Λητοῦς, ἐὰν ᾖ μόνα ταῦτα.

ξη'.—Μιλησίοις.

Σεισμὸς ὑμῶν τὴν γῆν ἔσεισεν, καὶ γὰρ ἄλλων πολλῶν πολλάκις. ἀλλ' ἔπασχον μὲν ἃ ἠτύχουν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἐλεοῦντες δέ, οὐ μισοῦντες ἀλλήλους ἐφαίνοντο. μόνοι δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ θεοῖς ὅπλα καὶ πῦρ ἐπηνέγκατε, καὶ θεοῖς τοιούτοις, ὧν καὶ οἱ ἑτέρωθεν δέονται καὶ μετὰ κινδύνους καὶ πρὸ κινδύνων. ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλόσοφον ἄνδρα πρόκριτον ὑμεῖς Ἑλλήνων δημοσίᾳ τὸ πάθημα φήναντα πολλάκις, καὶ προαγορεύσαντα γενομένους τοὺς σεισμούς, αὐτόν, ὅτε ἔσεισεν ὁ θεός, ποιεῖν ἐλέγετε καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν. ὦ τῆς δημοσίας ἀμαθίας. καὶ πατὴρ ὑμῶν λέγεται Θαλῆς.

ξθ'.—Τραλλιανοῖς.

Πολλοὶ πολλαχόθεν ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλας αἰτίας, νεώτεροί τε καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, φοιτῶσι παρ' ἐμέ. τὰς φύσεις οὖν ἑνὸς ἑκάστου σκέπτομαι καὶ τοὺς τρόπους, ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα συνετώτατα, τό τε πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἑκάστου δίκαιον ἦθος ἢ

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LXVII.—To the same Persons.

Your temple is thrown open to all who would sacrifice, or offer prayers, or sing hymns, to suppliants, to Hellenes, barbarians, free men, to slaves. Your law is transcendentally divine. I could recognise the tokens of Zeus and of Leto, if these were alone.

LXVIII.—To the Milesians.

An earthquake has shaken your land, as has often happened with the countries of many other people. But as the misfortunes which they suffered were unavoidable, so they exhibited towards one another feelings of pity and not of hatred. You alone have hurled against the gods both missiles and fire, and against such gods as people in either case must have, both after danger and before it. Nay more, when a distinguished philosopher of Hellenic race had often warned you publicly of the disaster in store for you, and had foretold the earthquakes that have happened, him, when the god actually shook your land, you began to accuse daily of having brought it about. Alas, for your public folly; and yet your forefather's name was Thales.

LXIX.—To the Trallians.

Many from all parts, some for one reason and some for another, flock to me both young and old. I then scan the nature of each individual and his manners, as closely as I can, and I mark his disposition towards his own city, to see whether it is just or the reverse;

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τοὐναντίον. εἰς τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι προκρῖναι Τραλλιανῶν ὑμῶν οὐ Λυδούς, οὐκ Ἀχαιούς, οὐκ Ἴωνας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοὺς τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδος Θουρίους Κροτωνιάτας Ταραντίνους, ἢ τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν ἐκεῖ λεγομένων εὐδαιμόνων Ἰταλιωτῶν ἢ ἑτέρων τινῶν. τίς οὖν ἡ αἰτία, δι' ἣν ἀποδέχομαι μὲν ὑμᾶς, οὐ γίνομαι δὲ τοιούτοις ἀνδράσι σύνοικος, καίπερ ὢν γένος ὑμέτερον; ἄλλοτέ ποτ' ἂν εἴποιμι. νῦν δὲ μόνον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινεῖν καιρὸς ἄνδρας τε τοὺς ἡγουμένους ὑμῶν, ὡς πολὺ κρείττους τῶν παρ' ἑτέροις ἀρετῇ καὶ λόγῳ, καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν παρ' οἷς γεγένηνται.

ο'.—Σαίταις.

Ἀθηναίων ἀπόγονοί ἐστε, καθάπερ ἐν Τιμαίῳ Πλάτων φησίν, οἱ δὲ τὴν κοινὴν ὑμῶν θεὸν ἐξορίζουσι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Νηὶθ μὲν τὴν ὑφ' ὑμῶν, Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὀνομαζομένην, οὐ μένοντες Ἕλληνες. ὅπως δ' οὐ μένοντες, ἐγὼ φράσω· γέρων σοφὸς οὐδεὶς Ἀθηναῖος, οὐ γὰρ ἔφυ γένυς πᾶσα παντός, ὅτι μηδεμία μηδενός. ὁ κύλαξ παρὰ ταῖς πύλαις, ὁ συκοφάντης πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν, ὁ μαστροπὸς καὶ πρὸ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν, ὁ παράσιτος πρὸ τῆς Μουνυχίας καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, ἡ θεὸς δὲ οὐδὲ Σούνιον ἔχει.

οα'.—Ἴωσιν.

Ἕλληνες οἴεσθε δεῖν ὀνομάζεσθαι διὰ τὰ γένη καὶ τὴν ἔμπροσθεν ἀποικίαν, Ἕλλησι δ' ὥσπερ

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

LXX.—To the people of Sais.

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

LXXI.—To the Ionians.

You think that you ought to be called Hellenes because of your pedigrees, and because you were

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ἔθη καὶ νόμοι καὶ γλῶττα καὶ βίος ἴδιος, οὕτω καὶ σχῆμα καὶ εἶδος ἀνθρώπων. ἀλλ' ὑμῶν γε οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα μένει τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς νέας ταύτης εὐδαιμονίας ἀπολωλέκατε τὰ τῶν προγόνων σύμβολα. καλῶς οὐδὲ τοῖς τάφοις ἐκεῖνοι δέχοιντ' ἂν ἅτε ἀγνῶτας αὐτοῖς γενομένους, εἴ γε πρότερον ἡρώων ἦν ὀνόματα καὶ ναυμάχων καὶ νομοθετῶν, νυνὶ δὲ Λουκούλλων τε καὶ Φαβρικίων καὶ Λευκανίων τῶν μακαρίων. ἐμοὶ μὲν εἴη μᾶλλον ὄνομα Μίμνερμος.

οβ'.—Ἑστιαίῳ.

Ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἀπολλώνιος ἦν τρὶς τοῦ Μηνοδότου, σὺ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐθέλεις ὀνομάζεσθαι Λουκρίτιος ἢ Λουπερκός. τίνος σὺ τούτων ἀπόγονος; αἰσχρόν, εἰ ὄνομα μὲν ἔχοις τινός, τὸ δὲ εἶδος αὐτοῦ μὴ ἔχοις.

ογ'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Πατρίδος ἐσμὲν πορρωτέρω σὺν δαίμονι, ἤδη δὲ τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα ἐν νῷ ἐβαλόμαν. ὁδεύει μοῖρα πρὸς τέλος ἀνδρῶν, οἳ τὰν πρώταν λελόγχασι τιμάν. ἄρξει δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν παιδάρια καὶ μικρὸν ἐπάνω τούτων μείρακες. ἐνταῦθά που δέος, μὴ σφαλῇ τὰ ὑπὸ νέων κυβερνώμενα. σοὶ δ' οὐ δέος, ἐπεὶ βεβιώκαμεν.

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

LXXII.—To Hestiaeus.

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

LXXIII.—To the same.

I am far away by God's will from my country, but I always ponder in my mind my city's affairs. The generation of those who won the first honour hastens to its end, and in future it will be a reign of children, and a little later on of babes. Here then is what we have to fear, lest the state governed by youth should go wrong; but you need not fear, for our lives are over.

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οδ'.—τοῖς Στωικοῖς.

Ὥρα καὶ λιμὸς ἦν Βάσσῳ, καίπερ ὄντων τῷ πατρὶ συχνῶν χρημάτων. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἔφυγε Μέγαράδε σὺν ἑνὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἐραστῶν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ μαστροπῶν—τροφῆς γὰρ ἀμφοτέροις ἔδει καὶ ἐφοδίων—ἔπειτα ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Συρίαν. ὑπεδέχετο δὲ τὸν ὡραῖον Εὐφράτης, καὶ εἴ τις ὁμοίως ἐδεῖτο τοῦ τότε καλοῦ, ὥστε ἂν αἱρεῖσθαί τι τῶν ἀτόπων δι' εὔνοιαν.

οε'.—τοῖς ἐν Σάρδεσιν.

Ὁ παῖς Ἀλυάττεω σῶσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἀδύνατος ἐγένετο καὶ ἀμήχανος, καίπερ ὢν βασιλεύς τε καὶ Κροῖσος, ὑμεῖς δὲ ποίῳ πεποιθότες ἄρα λέοντι πόλεμον ἄσπονδον ἤρασθε, παῖδες, νέοι πάντες, ἄνδρες, γέροντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρθένοι καὶ γυναῖκες; Ἐρινύων νομίσαι ἄν τις τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ οὐχὶ Δήμητρος. ἡ δὲ θεὰ φιλάνθρωπος· ὑμῖν δὲ τίς οὗτος ὁ χόλος;

ος'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Εἰκὸς εἰς πόλιν ἀρχαίαν τε καὶ μεγάλην ἐθελῆσαι φιλόσοφον ἀρχαῖον παραγενέσθαι, καὶ παρεγενόμην ἂν αὐτὸς ἑκών, κληθῆναι μὴ περι-

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LXXIV.—To the Stoics.

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

LXXV.—To the people of Sardis.

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

LXXVI.—To the same Persons.

It is quite right that an old-fashioned philosopher like myself should be anxious to visit a city so old and considerable as your own; and I would willingly have visited it, without waiting for the invitation

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μείνας, ὡς ὑφ' ἑτέρων πολλῶν, εἰ ποιήσειν μίαν ὑμῶν τὴν πόλιν ἔμελλον ἤθει καὶ φύσει καὶ νόμῳ καὶ θεῷ, καὶ τὸ ὅσον ἐπ' ἐμοὶ πάντως ἂν ἐποίησα, στάσις δέ, ὡς ἔφη τις, πολέμου χαλεπώτερον.

οζ'.—Φοιτηταῖς.

Διὰ φιλοσοφίαν εἴρηται τῶν εἰρημένων ἕκαστον, οὐ δι' Εὐφράτην. μὴ τὸ Πραξιτέλους ξίφος ἢ τὸ Λυσίου φάρμακον πεφοβῆσθαί μέ τις δόξῃ. καὶ τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν Εὐφράτου.

οη'.—Ἰάρχᾳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν σοφοῖς.

—οὐ μὰ τὸ Ταντάλιον ὕδωρ, οὗ με ἐμυήσατε.

οθ'.—Εὐφράτῃ.

Οὐκ ἐπιλογιζομένη ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ τοῦ σώματος αὔταρκες οὐ δύναται ἑαυτὴν αὐτάρκη ποιῆσαι.

π'.—τῷ αὐτῷ.

Οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων βραχυλογώτατοι. οἱ οὖν ἀδολέσχαι εἰ ἠνιῶντο, ὡς ἀνιῶσι, οὐκ ἂν ἐμακρηγόρουν.

πα'.—τοῖς γνωρίμοις.

Σιμωνίδης ἔλεγε μηδέποτε αὐτῷ μεταμελῆσαι σιγήσαντι, φθεγξαμένῳ δὲ πολλάκις.

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

LXXVII.—To his Disciples.

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

LXXVIII.—To Iarchas and his Sages.

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

LXXIX.—To Euphrates.

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

LXXX.—To the same Person.

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

LXXXI.—To his Disciples.

Simonides used to say that he had never had cause to repent of being silent, though he had often repented of having spoken. (33, 12.)

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πβ'.—τοῖς αὐτοῖς.

Πολυλογία πολλὰ σφάλματα ἔχει, τὸ δὲ σιγᾶν ἀσφαλές.

πγ'.—Δηλίῳ.

Ψεύδεσθαι ἀνελεύθερον, ἀλήθεια γενναῖον.

πδ'.—τοῖς γνωρίμοις.

Μηδέν με δόξητε ῥᾳδίως ἄλλοις παραινεῖν, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς μάζης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς ἀκολούθου ταύτῃ διαίτης ὤν, τοιαῦτα ὑμῖν παρεγγυῶ.

πε'.—Εἰδομένῃ.

Ἐζηλώσαμεν τὴν αὐτάρκειαν, οὐχ ὅπως τοῖς εὐτελέσι καὶ λιτοῖς πάντως χρώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅπως θαρρῶμεν πρὸς αὐτά.

πς'.—Μακεδόνι.

Τῆς ὀξυθυμίας τὸ ἄνθος μανία.

πζ'.—Ἀριστοκλεῖ.

Τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς πάθος μὴ καθομιλούμενον, μηδὲ θεραπευόμενον, φυσικὴ νόσος γίνεται.

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LXXXII.—To the same Persons.

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

LXXXIII.—To Delius.

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

LXXXIV.—To his Disciples.

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

LXXXV.—To Idomena.

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

LXXXVI.—To Macedon.

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

LXXXVII.—To Aristokles.

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

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πη'.—Σατύρῳ.

Οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν μὲν ἰδίων ἁμαρτημάτων συνήγοροι γίνονται, τῶν δὲ ἀλλοτρίων κατήγοροι.

πθ'.—Δαναῷ.

Οὐ κάμνει τὰ πράγματα πρασσόμενα.

ϛ'.—Δίωνι.

Τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ γενέσθαι πόνος.

ϛα'—τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.

Οὐδενὶ φθονητέον· ἀγαθοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἄξιοι, κακοὶ δ' ἂν εὐτυχῶσι, κακῶς ζῶσι.

ϛβ'.—Διονυσίῳ.

Καλύν, πρὶν παθεῖν, διδαχθῆναι, πηλίκον ἐστὶν ἡσυχία.

ϛγ'.—Νουμηνίῳ.

Οὐ θρηνητέον οἵων φίλων ἐστερήθημεν, ἀλλὰ μνημονευτέον, ὅτι μετὰ τῶν φίλων τὴν καλλίστην βιοτὴν ἐβιοτεύσαμεν.

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LXXXVIII.—To Satyrus.

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

LXXXIX.—To Danaus.

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

XC.—To Dion.

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

XCI.—To his Brothers.

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

XCII.—To Dionysius.

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

XCIII.—To Numenius.

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

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ϛδ'.—Θεαιτήτῳ.

Τὸ λυπούμενον ἀλλοτρίοις κακοῖς παραμυθοῦ.

ϛε'.—Κορνηλιανῷ.

Βραχὺς ὁ βίος ἀνθρώπῳ εὖ πράττοντι, δυστυχοῦντι δὲ μακρός.

ϛϛ'.—Δημοκράτει.

Ὁ ὑπὲρ μικρῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀνυπερβλήτως ὀργιζόμενος οὐκ ἐᾷ διαγνῶναι τὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα, πότε ἔλαττον καὶ πότε μεῖζον ἠδίκησεν.

ϛζ'.—Λύκῳ.

Οὐ τὸ πένεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ το δι' αἰσχρὰν αἰτίαν πένεσθαι ὄνειδος.

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XCIV.—To Theaetetus.

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

XCV.—To Cornelianus.

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

XCVI.—To Democrates.

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

XCVII.—To Lycus.

It is not poverty that is disgraceful by nature, but poverty due to a disgraceful reason is a reproach. (95, 9.)

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THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

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ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑ

ΤΠΟ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΤΥΑΝΕΑ

ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΙ ΠΑΡΑΛΗΦΘΕΙΣΑΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΝ

I

CAP. I

Ἆρ' οὖν, ὦ φιλότης, κἀκεῖνά σε τοῦ συγγραφέως ἄξιον ἀποθαυμάζειν, ἃ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ σωτῆρί τε καὶ διδασκάλῳ τὸν Τυανέα συγκρίνων παρεδοξολόγει; πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ Φιλαλήθει, οὕτω γὰρ εὖ ἔχειν αὐτῷ τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιγράφειν ἐδόκει λόγον, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη σπουδαῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἵστασθαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἴδια τυγχάνοντα, σφόδρα δὲ ἀναιδῶς ἐξ ἑτέρων οὐκ αὐτοῖς μονονουχὶ νοήμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥήμασι καὶ συλλαβαῖς ἀποσεσυλημένα· ἃ τύχοι μὲν ἂν καὶ αὐτὰ τῆς προσηκούσης κατὰ καιρὸν ἀπελέγξεως, δυνάμει δ' ἤδη, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἰδίας κατ' αὐτῶν γραφῆς, ἀνατέτραπται καὶ προαπελήλεγκται ἐν

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THE TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS,

THE SON OF PAMPHILUS, AGAINST THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA WRITTEN BY PHILOSTRATUS, OCCASIONED BY THE PARALLEL DRAWN BY HIEROCLES BETWEEN HIM AND CHRIST

I

CHAP. I

So then, my dear friend, you find worthy of no little admiration the parallel[1] which, embellished with many marvels, this author has drawn between the man of Tyana and our own Saviour and teacher. For against the rest of the contents of the "Lover of Truth" (Philalethes), for so he has thought fit to entitle his work against us, it would be useless to take my stand at present; because they are not his own, but have been pilfered in the most shameless manner, not only I may say in respect of their ideas, but even of their words and syllables, from other authorities. Not but what these parts also of his treatise call for their refutation in due season; but to all intents and purposes they have, even in advance of any special work that might be written in answer to them, been upset and exposed beforehand in a work which in

Most of the *Philalethes* already answered by Origen

[1] Or perhaps we should render "the parallel this writer has paradoxically drawn," etc.

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CAP. I ὅλοις ὀκτὼ συγγράμμασι τοῖς Ὠριγένει γραφεῖσι πρὸς τὸν ἀλαζονικώτερον τοῦ Φιλαλήθους ἐπιγεγραμμένον Κέλσου Ἀληθῆ λόγον, ᾧ τὰς εὐθύνας ἀπαραλείπτως, ἐν ὅσοις εἰρήκαμεν, ὁ δεδηλωμένος παραγαγὼν συλλήβδην ὅσα εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν παντί τῳ εἴρηταί τε καὶ εἰρήσεται, προλαβὼν διελύσατο, ἐφ' ἃ τοὺς ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς διαγνῶναι ἔχοντας φιλαλήθως ἀναπέμψαντες, φέρε μόνην ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τὴν κατὰ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τοῦ Φιλαλήθους τουτουὶ λόγου παράθεσιν ἐπισκεψώμεθα, μηδέν τι σπουδαῖον ἡγούμενοι πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἑτέρωθεν ὑποσεσυλημένων αὐτῷ διαμάχεσθαι. μόνα δὲ εἰκότως νυνὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐποψόμεθα, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνῳ παρὰ τοὺς πώποτε καθ' ἡμῶν γεγραφότας ἐξαίρετος νῦν τούτῳ γέγονεν ἡ τοῦδε πρὸς τὸν ἡμέτερον σωτῆρα παράθεσίς τε καὶ σύγκρισις.

II

CAP. II Θαυμάζει γοῦν καὶ ἀποδέχεται θείᾳ τινὶ καὶ ἀρρήτῳ σοφίᾳ, οὐχὶ δὲ γοητείας σοφίσμασι τεθαυματουργηκέναι φάσκων αὐτόν, καὶ ταῦτα ἀληθῶς οὕτως ἔχειν ὡς ἔτυχε πιστεύων, καὶ ἀναποδείκτως ἀπισχυριζόμενος. ἄκουε δ' οὖν, ἃ φησιν αὐταῖς συλλαβαῖς· "ἄνω δὲ καὶ κάτω θρυλοῦσι, σεμνύνοντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὡς τυφλοῖς

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as many as eight books Origen composed against the book which Celsus wrote and—even more boastfully than the "Lover of Truth,"—entitled "True Reason." The work of Celsus is there subjected to an examination in an exhaustive manner and on the scale above mentioned by the author in question, who in his comprehensive survey of all that anyone has said or will ever say on the same topic, has forestalled any solution of your difficulties which I could offer. To this work of Origen I must refer those who in good faith and with genuine "love of truth" desire accurately to understand my own position. I will therefore ask you for the present to confine your attention to the comparison of Jesus Christ with Apollonius which is found in this treatise called the "Lover of Truth," without insisting on the necessity of our meeting the rest of his arguments, for these are pilfered from other people. We may reasonably confine our attention for the present to the history of Apollonius, because Hierocles, of all the writers who have ever attacked us, stands alone in selecting Apollonius, as he has recently done, for the purposes of comparison and contrast with our Saviour. CHAP. I

II

I NEED not say with what admiring approval he attributes his thaumaturgic feats not to the tricks of wizardry, but to a divine and mysterious wisdom; and he believes they were truly what he supposes them to have been, though he advances no proof of this contention. Listen then to his very words: "In their anxiety to exalt Jesus, they run up and down prating of how he made the blind to see and worked CHAP. II

Hierocles blames the deifying of Jesus

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CAP. II ἀναβλέψαι παρασχόντα καί τινα τοιαῦτα δράσαντα θαυμάσια." εἶτά τινα μεταξὺ εἰπὼν ἐπιλέγει· "ἐπισκεψώμεθά γε μήν, ὅσῳ βέλτιον καὶ συνετώτερον ἡμεῖς ἐκδεχόμεθα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἦν περὶ τῶν ἐναρέτων ἀνδρῶν ἔχομεν γνώμην." καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Προκοννήσιον Ἀριστέαν καὶ Πυθαγόραν ὡς ἂν ἀρχαιοτέρους παρελθὼν ἐπιφέρει λέγων· "ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν Νέρωνος βασιλείαν Ἀπολλώνιος ἤκμασεν ὁ Τυανεύς, ὃς ἐκ παιδὸς κομιδῇ νέου καὶ ἀφ' οὗπερ ἐν Αἰγαῖς τῆς Κιλικίας ἱεράσατο τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ Ἀσκληπιῷ, πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ διεπράξατο, ὧν τὰ πλείω παρεὶς ὀλίγων ποιήσομαι μνήμην." εἶτα καταλέγει ἀπὸ πρώτου ἀρξάμενος τὰ παράδοξα, μεθ' ἃ καὶ ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν· "τίνος οὖν ἕνεκα τούτων ἐμνήσθην; ἵν' ἐξῇ συγκρῖναι τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀκριβῆ καὶ βεβαίαν ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ κρίσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν κουφότητα, εἴπερ ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸν τὰ τοιαῦτα πεποιηκότα οὐ θεόν, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς κεχαρισμένον ἄνδρα ἡγούμεθα, οἱ δὲ δι' ὀλίγας τερατείας τινὰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν θεὸν ἀναγορεύουσι." τούτοις ἐπιφέρει μεθ' ἕτερα φάσκων· "κἀκεῖνο λογίσασθαι ἄξιον, ὅτι τὰ μὲν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος καί τινες τούτοιν παραπλήσιοι κεκομπάκασιν, ἄνθρωποι ψεῦσται καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι καὶ γόητες, τὰ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου Μάξιμος ὁ Αἰγιεὺς καὶ Δάμις ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁ συνδιατρίψας αὐτῷ καὶ Φιλόστρατος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἥκοντες, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς τιμῶντες διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν, ἀνδρὸς γενναίου καὶ θεοῖς φίλου πράξεις μὴ βουλόμενοι

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

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CAP. II λαθεῖν." ταῦτα ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς Ἱεροκλεῖ τῷ τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιγεγραφότι Φιλαλήθη λόγον εἴρηται.

III

CAP. III Δάμις μὲν οὖν ὁ τὰ πολλὰ ξυνδιατρίψας τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσσυρίων γῆς ὁρμώμενος, αὐτόθι τε πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας χώρας αὐτῷ συμμίξας, τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῷ γενομένην συνουσίαν ἱστόρησεν, ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος κομιδῇ βραχέα τῶν κατὰ μέρος αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων ἀνεγράψατο, ὅ γε μὴν Ἀθηναῖος Φιλόστρατος τὰ φερόμενα πάντα ὁμοῦ, ἀπό τε τῶν Μαξίμου καὶ αὐτοῦ Δάμιδος καὶ ἄλλων, συναγαγεῖν ἑαυτὸν φήσας, πάντων μάλιστα ἐντελῆ τὴν ἀπὸ γενέσεως καὶ μέχρι τελευτῆς ἱστορίαν τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα βίου πεποίηται.

IV

CAP. IV Εἰ δὴ οὖν ἐξὸν τὴν ἐπικατηγορουμένην ἡμῶν εὐχέρειάν τε καὶ κουφότητα καὶ τὴν τοῦ Φιλαλήθους ἀκριβῆ καὶ βεβαίαν ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ παραθεῖναι κρίσιν, φέρε διαπυθώμεθα, οὐχ ὅστις θειότερος γεγόνει, οὐδ' ὁποῖος θαυμασιώτερά τε καὶ πλείω διεπράξατο παράδοξα, οὐδ' ὡς μόνος παρὰ τοῖς

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they deserved to the actions of a man at once noble and a friend of the gods." These are the very words used by Hierocles in his treatise against us which he has entitled "Lover of Truth." CHAP. II

III

Now Damis who spent so much of his time with Apollonius was a native of Assyria, where for the first time, on his own soil, he came into contact with him; and he wrote an account of his intercourse with the person in question from that time onwards. Maximus however wrote quite a short account of a portion only of his career. Philostratus, however, the Athenian, tells us that he collected all the accounts that he found in circulation, using both the book of Maximus and that of Damis himself and of other authors; so he compiled the most complete history of any of this person's life, beginning with his birth and ending with his death. CHAP. III

Sources of Life of Apollonius

IV

If then we may be permitted to contrast the reckless and easy credulity which he goes out of his way to accuse us of, with the accurate and well-founded judgment on particular points of the "Lover of Truth," let us ask at once, not which of them was the more divine nor in what capacity one worked more wondrous and numerous miracles than the other; nor let us lay stress on the point that our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ was the only man of CHAP. IV

Inferior rôle accomplished by Apollonius

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CAP. IV ἀνέκαθεν πρὸ μυρίων ὅσων ἐτῶν γενομένοις Ἑβραίων σοφοῖς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἤξειν εἰς ἀνθρώπους κατὰ θείαν ἐπίπνοιαν προπεφήτευτο, οὐδ' ὡς πλείους ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς θείας διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ λόγον προὐτρέψατο, οὐδ' ὡς γνησίους καὶ ὄντως ἀληθεῖς ἐκτήσατο φοιτητάς, μονονουχὶ καὶ ὑπεραποθνήσκειν ἑτοίμως τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ παρεσκευασμένους, οὐδ' ὡς μόνος σώφρονος βίου διδασκαλεῖον καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον συνεστήσατο, οὐδ' ὡς τῇ ἰδίᾳ θεότητί τε καὶ ἀρετῇ πᾶσαν ἔσωσε τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν μυρία πλήθη πανταχόθεν ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν ἑαυτοῦ διδασκαλίαν ἐπαγόμενος, οὐδ' ὡς τῶν πώποτε μόνος πρὸς ἁπάντων σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων, ἀρχόντων τε καὶ ἀρχομένων, πλείστοις ἔτεσιν ἤδη πολεμούμενος, κρείττων καὶ πολὺ δυνατώτερος τῶν πικρῶς ἐλαυνόντων ἀπίστων ἀποδέδεικται θείᾳ καὶ ἀρρήτῳ δυνάμει, τοὺς μὲν κατὰ καιρὸν ἐπανισταμένους αὐτοῦ τῇ θείᾳ διδασκαλίᾳ ῥᾳδίως μετιών, τὸν δὲ παγέντα πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ παραδοθέντα θεῖον λόγον εἰς ἄπειρον αἰῶνα καθ' ὅλης κρατύνων τῆς οἰκουμένης, οὐδ' ὡς εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν τῆς ἐνθέου δυνάμεως τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείκνυται, μοχθηρούς τινας καὶ φαύλους δαίμονας, ψυχαῖς ἀνθρώπων καὶ σώμασιν ἐφεδρεύοντας, ἀπελαύνων διὰ μόνης τῆς ἀρρήτου προσηγορίας αὐτοῦ, ὡς αὐτῇ πείρᾳ κατειλήφαμεν, ταῦτα γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ζητεῖν, μὴ καὶ τὸ ἐρωτᾶν, ἀνόητον· μόνην δὲ ἐπισκεψώμεθα τὴν τοῦ Φιλοστράτου γραφήν, δι' ἧς εὐθυνοῦμεν,

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whom it was prophesied, thanks to their divine inspiration, by Hebrew sages who lived far back thousands of years ago, that he should once come among mankind; nor on the fact that he converted to his own scheme of divine teaching so many people; nor that he formed a group of genuine and really sincere disciples, of whom almost without exaggeration it can be said that they were prepared to lay down their lives for his teaching at a moment's call; nor that he alone established a school of sober and chaste living which has survived him all along; nor that by his peculiar divinity and virtue he saved the whole inhabited world, and still rallies to his divine teaching races from all sides by tens of thousands; nor that he is the only example of a teacher who, after being treated as an enemy for so many years, I might almost say, by all men, subjects and rulers alike, has at last triumphed and shown himself far mightier, thanks to his divine and mysterious power, than the infidels who persecuted him so bitterly, those who in their time rebelled against his divine teaching being now easily won over by him, while the divine doctrine which he firmly laid down and handed on has come to prevail for ages without end all over the inhabited world; nor that even now he displays the virtue of his godlike might in the expulsion, by the mere invocation of his mysterious name, of sundry troublesome and evil demons which beset men's bodies and souls, as from our own experience we know to be the case. To look for such results in the case of Apollonius, or even to ask about them, is absurd. So we will merely examine the work of Philostratus, and by close scrutiny of it show that

CHAP. IV

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CAP. IV ὡς οὐχ ὅτι γε ἐν φιλοσόφοις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν ἐπιεικέσι καὶ μετρίοις ἀνδράσιν ἄξιον ἐγκρίνειν, οὐχ ὅπως τῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν Χριστῷ παρατιθέναι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ τοῦ παρὰ τῷ Φιλαλήθει παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἥκοντος, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς μὴ τιμῶντος συγγραφέως. τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Φιλόστρατος, ἐξ οὗ ῥᾳδίως ἂν καταμάθοιμεν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἡκόντων, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἐξητασμένως μὴ ἀπηκριβωμένων τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἱστορίας. τούτων γὰρ ἡμῖν διευκρινηθέντων ὁμοῦ, τοῦ τε Φιλαλήθους τὰ ἀνωτάτω τε καὶ καθ' ὅλων δικαστήρια διειληφότος, ἡ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν βεβαία καί, ὡς αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ δοκεῖ, ἀκριβὴς ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ κρίσις φανερὰ καταστήσεται, ἡμῶν τε αὖ, οἳ μωροὶ καὶ βεβουκολημένοι νενομίσμεθα παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἡ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπικαλουμένη εὐχέρειά τε καὶ κουφότης.

V

CAP. V Ἄλλος μὲν οὖν ὁμόσε χωρῶν αὐτόθεν διέβαλλεν ἄν, βλασφημῶν ὡς ἐχθρὸν αὐτῷ καὶ πολέμιον τὸν καθ' οὗ τὸν λόγον ἐποιεῖτο, ἐγὼ δέ, ἑταῖρε, σοφόν τινα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τὸν Τυανέα γεγονέναι ἡγούμην, καὶ ἔτι γε τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχεσθαι διανοίας ἑκὼν εἶναι

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Apollonius was not fit to be classed, I will not say among philosophers, but even among men of integrity and good sense, much less to be compared with our Saviour Christ, so far as we can depend on the work of a writer who, though according to the "Lover of Truth," he was highly educated, was in any case no respecter of truth. For such is his description of Philostratus the Athenian among others. In this way we shall easily appreciate the value of the rest of the authorities, who though, according to him, they were most highly educated, yet never by actual sifting of the facts, established them with any accuracy in the case of Apollonius. For when we have thoroughly examined these facts, we shall no doubt obtain a clear demonstration of the solidity and, as he imagines to himself, of the accuracy in detail of the condemnation which the "Lover of Truth," who has at the same time taken possession of the supreme courts all over the province, passes on Christians, and at the same time of what they are pleased to call our reckless and facile credulity, for we are accounted by them to be mere foolish and deluded mortals. CHAP. IV

V

ANOTHER controversialist, by way of beginning the affray, would without demur abuse and malign the man against whom he directed his arguments, on the ground that he was his enemy and adversary; I, however, my friend, used to regard the man of Tyana as having been, humanly speaking, a kind of sage, and I am still freely disposed to adhere to this CHAP. V

The laws of Nature

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CAP V

βουλοίμην, καί σοι τὴν αὐτὸς ἐμαυτοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐκθείην ἂν ἐρωτῶντι· φιλοσόφων μὲν ὅτῳ τις βούλοιτο συγκαταλέγειν τὸν ἄνδρα, πέρα μηδὲν διενοχλῶν ταῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ μυθολογίαις, μὴ φθονεῖν, εἰ δ' ὑπερπηδᾶν τοὺς ὅρους καὶ φιλοσοφίας ὑπέρτερα φρονεῖν εἴτε τις Δάμις Ἀσσύριος, εἴτε Φιλόστρατος, εἴτε τις συγγραφεὺς ἢ λογογράφος θρασύνοιτο, λόγῳ μὲν ἐκτρεπόμενος γοητείαν, ἔργοις δὲ πλέον ἢ ῥήμασιν ἐπιφορτίζων τὸν ἄνδρα, προσωπείου δίκην τὴν Πυθαγόρειον ἐπιμορφαζόμενος ἀγωγήν, οἰχήσεται μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὄνος δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ λέοντος ἐπικρυπτόμενος δέρρει, σοφιστής τις ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγείρων κατὰ τὰς πόλεις, αὐτό τε τοῦτο γόης ἀτεχνῶς ἀντὶ φιλοσόφου φωραθήσεται.

VI

CAP. VI

Πῶς δὲ τοῦτό φημι καὶ πόθεν ὁρμώμενος, ἐρωτᾷς; μάνθανε· ὅροι φύσεως ἀρχὰς καὶ μέσα καὶ τέλη τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας περιειληφότες, μέτρα καὶ θεσμοὶ ἅπασι, δι' ὧν τόδε τὸ πᾶν μηχάνημά τε καὶ ἀρχιτεκτόνημα τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τελεσιουργεῖται, διατέθειται νόμοις ἀλύτοις καὶ δεσμοῖς ἀρρήκτοις, τῆς τὰ πάντα οἰκονομούσης προνοίας τὸ πάνσοφον βούλημα διαφυλάττοντες. οὔκουν κινήσειέ τι καὶ μεταθείη τις ἂν

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opinion; and I would like to set before you, if you ask it, my own personal opinion of him. If anyone wishes to class him with any philosopher you like, and to forget all the legends about him and not bore me with them, I am quite agreeable. Not so if anyone ventures, whether he be Damis the Assyrian, or Philostratus, or any other compiler or chronicler, to overleap the bounds of humanity and transcend philosophy, and while repelling the charge of wizardry in word, yet to bind it in act rather than in name upon the man, using the mask of Pythagorean discipline to disguise what he really was. For in that case his reputation for us as a philosopher will be gone, and we shall have an ass instead concealed in a lion's skin; and we shall detect in him a sophist in the truest sense, cadging for alms among the cities, and a wizard, if there ever was one, instead of a philosopher. CHAP. V

VI

Do you ask me what I mean and what are my reasons for speaking thus? I will tell you. There are bounds of nature which prescribe and circumscribe the existence of the universe in respect of its beginnings and of its continuance and of its end, being limits and rules imposed on everything. By these this entire mechanism and edifice of the whole universe is constantly being brought to perfection; and they are arranged by unbreakable laws and indissoluble bonds, and they guard and observe the all-wise will of a Providence which dispenses and disposes all things. Now no one can change or alter the place and order of anything that has been once CHAP VI

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CAP. VI τῆς τάξεως τῶν ἅπαξ διατεθειμένων. κεκράτηται δ' οὖν θεσμῷ φύσεως τὸν θεῖον ὑπεραναβαίνειν νόμον πᾶς, ὅτῳ τις θρασύτερος τῶν ἐπέκεινα ἐπιβαίνειν ἔνεστι πόθος. οὔτ' οὖν παρὰ φύσιν ὁ ἔνυδρος ἐπὶ τὴν χέρσον μεταβὰς βιῶναι δυνήσεται ἰχθύς, οὔτε τὸ ἐν χέρσῳ τραφὲν τοῖς ὕδασιν ἐγκαταδύσεται, τὴν ἐκεῖσε διηνεκῆ μονὴν ἀσπαζόμενον, οὔτε μέγα πηδήσας μετέωρός τις τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀρθήσεται πρὸς ἀέρα, συμπεριπολεῖν ἀετοῖς ἐπιθυμῶν· καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνοί γε κἂν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔλθοιεν βρίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τοῦ πτεροῦ χαλάσαντες καὶ ἀνέντες τὴν φύσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο θείοις ὥρισται νόμοις, ἐκ τοῦ ὕψους τὸ μετέωρον ὑποκαταβαίνειν δύνασθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἔμπαλιν τὸ ταπεινὸν καὶ γεῶδες ἐπὶ τὸ μετέωρον αἵρεσθαι. ταύτῃ δὴ καὶ τὸ θνητὸν ἀνθρώπων γένος, ψυχῆς μετέχον καὶ σώματος, ὅροις περιγέγραπται θείοις. οὔτ' οὖν τῷ σώματι δι' ἀέρος ἔλθοι ποτὲ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς τις καταφρονήσας διατριβῶν, μὴ οὐχὶ τοὐπιτίμιον αὐτίκα τῆς ἀνοίας παρασχών, οὔτε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀρθεὶς φρονήματι καθίξεται τῶν ἀνεφίκτων, ἢ μελαγχολίας νοσήματι ἂν περιπέσοι.

Σωφρονοῖ δ' ἂν ἀρτίοις μὲν τὸ σῶμα ποσὶν ἐπὶ γῆς φερόμενος, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν παιδείᾳ καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ σκληρίπτων· εὔξαιτο δὲ καί τινα συνεργὸν ἄνωθέν ποθεν ἐκ τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν διατριβῶν ἐλθεῖν. καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖσε διδάσκαλον αὐτῷ φανῆναι σωτηρίας.

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arranged; and if anyone is so venturesome as to wish to transcend his limits, he is restrained from transgressing divine law by the rule and decree of nature. So it is that the fish that lives in the waters is unable in defiance of nature to change on to dry land and live there; and on the other hand the creature bred on dry land will not plunge into the waters, and embrace there any permanent repose or abode; nor by any huge leap can any tenant of earth raise himself aloft into the air, from a desire to soar about with the eagles; and in turn, although of course the latter can alight upon the earth, by depressing and lowering their faculty of flight, and by relaxing the working of their wings, and renouncing the privilege of nature,—for this too is determined by the divine laws, namely that beings able to soar aloft are able to descend from on high,—yet the converse is not possible, so that the lowly habitant of earth should ever raise himself into the welkin. In this way then the mortal race of men, while provided with soul and body, is yet circumscribed by divine bounds. Consequently he can never traverse the air with his body, however much he scorns to linger upon the paths of earth, without instantly paying the penalty of his folly; nor by spiritual exaltation can he in his thinking attain to the unattainable, without falling back into the disease of melancholy. CHAP. VI

It is wisest then for him, on the one hand to transport his body along the ground with the feet given him for the purpose, and on the other hand to sustain his soul with education and philosophy. But he may well pray that some one may come to help him from aloft from the paths of heaven, and reveal himself to him as a teacher of the salvation that is

Possibility of a Saviour descending to earth

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CAP. VI ἐρρωμένῳ γάρ τοι παραδείγματι, νοσοῦντι μὲν τὸν ἰατρὸν ἐπιφοιτᾶν θέμις, καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον εἰσαγομένῳ τοῖς μαθήμασι συμφέρεσθαι, καὶ τὸν ἄνω που καὶ ἐν ὕψει συγκατιέναι τοῖς ταπεινοῖς, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἀνάπαλιν. ὅθεν δὴ θείαν μὲν φύσιν, εὐεργέτιν οὖσαν καὶ σώτειραν καὶ προνοητικὴν τῶν ἐπιόντων ἀνθρώποις ποτὲ εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἐλθεῖν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀπείργοι λόγος ὅρῳ θείας προνοίας καὶ τούτου συγκεχωρημένου, ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ἦν κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα, ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς ἐγγίνεται φθόνος· οὔκουν σωμάτων μόνων, ἀγαθὸς ὤν, ὁ τόδε τὸ πᾶν διακυβερνῶν ἐπιμελήσεται, πολὺ πλέον δὲ ψυχῶν, αἷς τὸ ἀθάνατόν τε καὶ αὐτοκρατορικὸν κεχάρισται γέρας. ταύταις δῆτα οἷα τῆς οἰκονομίας ἁπάσης κύριος ὤν, καὶ χαρίτων, ὧν ἄν, δωρούμενος αὐτάς, εὐεργετῇ τὴν φύσιν, οὖσαις ἀντιληπτικαῖς, ἀκτῖνας ὥσπερ τοῦ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ φωτὸς δωρήσεται ἀφθόνως, τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν, ἔστιν ὅτε, τοὺς μάλιστα προσεχεῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐπίταδε σωτηρίαν τε καὶ ἀντίληψιν ἐκπέμπων, ὧν εἴ τῳ εὐτυχῆσαι γένοιτο, τὴν διάνοιαν οὗτος ἀποκαθαρθεὶς καὶ τὴν τῆς θνητότητος ἀποσκεδάσας ἀχλύν, θεῖος ἀληθῶς ἀναγραφήσεται, μέγαν τινὰ θεὸν ἀγαλματοφορῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ. κινήσειε δῆτ' ἂν οἷα τηλικοῦτος τὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων γένος, καὶ μᾶλλον ἡλίου τὴν οἰκουμένην καταλάμψειε, τοὔργον τῆς αἰδίου θεότητος καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα συνορᾶσθαι καταλείπων χρόνον, οὐ μεῖον τῶν ἐξ ἀψύχου ὕλης δημιουργημάτων τὸ τῆς ἐνθέου παράδειγμα φύσεως παρεσχημένος. καὶ ταύτῃ

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there. For the following is a valid example to use : CHAP. VI
as it is right for the physician to visit the sick, and for the teacher to accommodate himself to the pupil who is entering upon his studies, and for a superior to quit his heights and condescend to the lowly, yet the converse is not right or possible. It follows then that there is no reason to prevent a divine nature, being beneficent and inclined to save and take providential care of things to come, from associating itself with men, for this is allowed also by the rule of divine providence; for according to Plato God was good, and no good being can ever feel any jealousy of any thing. It follows that the controller of this universe, being good, will not care for our bodies alone, but much more for our souls, upon which he has conferred the privilege of immortality and free-will. On these then, as lord of the entire economy and of gifts of grace his bestowal of which will benefit our nature, he will, they being able to appreciate his bounty, bestow plenteously an illumination as it were of the light which streams from him, and will despatch the most intimate of his own messengers from time to time, for the salvation and succour of men here below. Of these messengers anyone so favoured by fortune, having cleansed his understanding and dissipated the mist of mortality, may well be described as truly divine, and as carrying in his soul the image of some great god. Surely so great a personality will stir up the entire human race, and illuminate the world of mankind more brightly than the sun, and will leave the effects of his eternal divinity for the contemplation of future ages, in no less a degree affording an example of the divine and inspired nature than creations of artists

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CAP. VI μὲν ἀνθρωπεία φύσις τῆς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον κοινωνήσαι ἄν, ἄλλως δ' οὐ θέμις τοὺς ὅρους ὑπερβαίνειν, οὐδ' ἄπτερον ἔχοντα τὸ σῶμα τὰ τῶν πτηνῶν ἐπιτηδεύειν, οὐδ' ἄνθρωπον ὄντα τὰ τῶν δαιμόνων πολυπραγμονεῖν.

VII

CAP. VII Τίνα δῆτα ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον εἰσάγεις, ὦ συγγραφεῦ; εἰ μὲν δὴ θεῖον καὶ φιλοσόφου κρεῖττονα, τήν τε φύσιν ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον, τήρει μοι δι' ὅλης τῆς ἱστορίας τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ τοῦργον εἰσέτι νῦν ἐπιδείκνυθι τῆς θειότητος. ἦ γὰρ οὐκ ἀτοπώτατον τεκτόνων μὲν καὶ οἰκοδόμων καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν δημιουργῶν τελευτὴν ἐπὶ μήκιστον τοῦργον διαρκεῖν, ἀθάνατόν που σχεδὸν τῶν συστησαμένων τὴν μνήμην στηλιτεῦον, θείαν δὲ ἄρα φύσιν, ἀνθρώποις ἐπιλάμψασαν, σκότιόν που καὶ μινυνθάδιον ἀποτελεῖν, οὐχὶ δὲ εἰς αἰῶνα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, μὴ εἰς ἕνα τινὰ Δάμιν ἢ καὶ ἄλλους βραχεῖς πτωχεύουσαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' εἰς μυρίων ὅσων ὠφελείας οὐ τῶν καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐγνωρίζετο μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γενησομένων τὴν πάροδον ποιουμένην; ταύτῃ τοι καὶ τοὺς πάλαι σοφοὺς ζηλωτάς τε καὶ διαδόχους ποιήσασθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀθάνατον ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀνθρώποις παρεσχημένους τὸ κατόρθωμα. εἰ δὲ

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made of lifeless matter. To this extent then human nature can participate in the super-human; but otherwise it cannot lawfully transcend its bounds, nor with its wingless body emulate the bird, nor being a man must one meddle with what appertains to demons. CHAP. VI

VII

In what light then, this being so, do you envisage for us Apollonius, my good compiler? If as a divine being and superior to a philosopher, in a word as one superhuman in his nature, I would ask you to keep to this point of view throughout your history, and to point me out effects wrought by his divinity enduring to this day. For surely it is an absurdity that the works of carpenters and builders should last on ever so long after the craftsmen are dead, and raise as it were an immortal monument to the memory of their constructive ability; and yet that a human character claimed to be divine should, after shedding its glory upon mankind, finish in darkness its short-lived career, instead of displaying for ever its power and excellence. Instead of being so niggardly liberal to some one individual like Damis and to a few other short-lived men, it should surely make its coming among us the occasion of blessings, conferred on myriads not only of his contemporaries, but also of his posterity. This I ween is how the sages of old raised up earnest bands of disciples, who continued their tradition of moral excellence, sowing in men's hearts a spirit truly immortal of progress and reform. If on the other hand you attribute to this CHAP VII

Was Apollonius a divine being?

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CAP. VII θνητὴν ὑπογράφεις τἀνδρὸς τὴν φύσιν, ὅρα μὴ πλέον, ἢ προσῆκε, ταύτῃ χαριζόμενος δίκην ἀποίσεις παραλογίας.

VIII

CAP. VIII Ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰσῆκται αὐτῷ θεῖος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ θαλαττίου δαίμονος σχῆμά τε καὶ προσωπεῖον ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἀναλαμβάνων. κυούσῃ γάρ, ὥς φησι, τῇ αὐτοῦ μητρὶ φάσμα ἦλθε θαλαττίου δαίμονος, Πρωτεὺς ὁ παρὰ τῷ Ὁμήρῳ ἐξαλλάττων. ἡ δὲ οὐδὲν δείσασα ἤρετο αὐτόν, τί ἀποκυήσοι, ὁ δέ, "ἐμέ," εἶπε· "σὺ δὲ τίς;" εἰπούσης, "Πρωτεύς," ἔφη, "ὁ Αἰγύπτιος." εἶτα δὲ λειμῶνά τινα, καὶ κύκνους τὴν γυναῖκα μαιεύεσθαι γράφει, ὁπόθεν αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εἴη ληφθέν, μὴ εἰπών· οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τούτου ὑφηγητὴν Δάμιν τὸν Ἀσσύριον ὑπογράψεται. ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐς μακρὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἱστορίας αὐτῷ Δάμιδι, οἷα δὴ θείας ὄντα φύσεως, τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον εἰσάγει αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα λέγοντα· "ἐγώ, ὦ ἑταῖρε, πασῶν τῶν φωνῶν ξυνίημι, μαθὼν οὐδεμίαν·" καί, "μὴ θαυμάσῃς, οἶδα γὰρ καὶ ἃ σιωπῶσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι." καὶ πάλιν ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τιμώμενον πρὸς τοῦ δαίμονος, καὶ πρόγνωσιν φυσικήν τινα καὶ ἀδίδακτον ἔχειν ἐκ παιδός, κρείττονά τε ἀτεχνῶς ἀνθρώπου φῦναι αὐτὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς γενέσεως

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man a mortal nature, take care lest by endowing him with gifts which transcend mortality, you convict yourself of fallacy and miscalculation. CHAP. VII

VIII

But enough of this. His hero is introduced to us as a divine man, who assumes from birth the guise and personality of a demon of the sea. For he says that to his mother when she was about to bear her child, there appeared the figure of a demon of the sea, namely Proteus, who in the story of Homer ever changes his form. But she, in no way frightened, asked him what she would bring to birth; and he replied: "Myself." Then she asked: "And who are you?" "Proteus," he replied, "of Egypt." And then he writes about a certain meadow and about swans, that assisted the lady to bear her child, though without telling us whence he derived this particular; for assuredly he does not attribute this story to Damis the Assyrian writer. But a little further on in the same history he represents Apollonius as using, in token of his being of a divine nature these very words to Damis himself: "I myself, my companion, understand all languages though I have learned none." And again he says to him: "Do not be surprised, for I know what men are thinking about, even when they are silent." And again in the temple of Asclepius he was much honoured by the god, and is said to have possessed a certain natural gift of prescience, which he did not acquire by learning, from very childhood. We learn, in a word, that he was born superior to mankind in CHAP. VIII

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CAP. VIII καὶ δι' ὅλης ἡμῖν τῆς ἱστορίας ὑπογράφει. λύσαντος γοῦν ἑαυτόν ποτε ἀπὸ δεσμῶν ἐπιφέρει λέγων "τότε πρῶτον ὁ Δάμις φησὶν ἀκριβῶς ξυνεῖναι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου φύσεως, ὅτι θεία τε εἴη καὶ κρείττων ἀνθρώπου. μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, πῶς γὰρ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ; μηδὲ εὐξάμενον, μηδὲ εἰπόντα τι καταγελάσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ." ἐπὶ τελευτῇ δὲ τάφον μὲν αὐτοῦ μηδόλως ποι γῆς εὑρίσκεσθαι, χωρῆσαι δὲ εἰς οὐρανὸν αὐτῷ σώματι μεθ' ὕμνων καὶ χορείας λέγει. εἰκότως δὴ οὖν οἷα ὄντα τοσοῦτον "θειότερον ἢ Πυθαγόρας Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε καὶ Πλάτων φιλοσοφίᾳ" τὸν ἄνδρα προσεληλυθέναι φησίν. οὐκοῦν ἐν θεοῖς ἡμῖν διὰ τούτων ἀναγεγράφθω ὁ ἄνθρωπος.

IX

CAP. IX. Καὶ ὁ φθόνος ἀπέστω τῆς τῶν φωνῶν ἁπασῶν αὐτοφυοῦς καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτου συνέσεως. τί δῆτα οὖν ἐς διδασκάλου ἄγει αὐτόν, καὶ τὸν μηδεμίαν φωνὴν μεμαθηκότα διαβάλλει ὡς ἂν ἐξ ἀσκήσεως καὶ μελέτης, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ φύσεως Ἀττικὸν γενόμενον τὴν γλῶτταν; φησὶ γάρ τοι, ὡς "προϊὼν ἐς ἡλικίαν γράμματά τε καὶ μνήμης ἰσχὺν ἐδήλου καὶ μελέτης κράτος καὶ ἡ γλῶττα αὐτῷ ἀττικῶς εἶχε." καὶ "γεγονότα δὲ αὐτὸν ἔτη τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἄγει ἐς Ταρσοὺς ὁ πατὴρ παρ' Εὐθύδημον τὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης, ὃς ῥήτωρ

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general, and so he is described from the first moment of his birth throughout his history. Anyhow on one occasion after he had loosed himself from his bonds, his historian adds the remark: "Then Damis declares he for the first time clearly understood the nature of Apollonius, that it was divine and superior to humanity. For without offering any sacrifice,—for how could he offer one in the prison?—and without offering any prayer, without a single word, he just laughed at his fetters." And at the end of the book[1] we learn that his grave was nowhere to be found on earth; but that he went to heaven in his physical body accompanied by hymns and dances. Naturally if he was so great as he is described in the above, he may be said "to have wooed philosophy in a more divine manner than Pythagoras, or Empedocles, or Plato." For these reasons we must surely class the man among the gods. CHAP. VIII

IX

WELL, we will not grudge him his natural and self-taught gift of understanding all languages. But if he possessed it, why was he taken to a school-master, and if he had never learnt any language whatever, why does his historian malign him and declare that, not by nature, but by dint of close study and application, he acquired the Attic dialect? For he tells us outright "that as he advanced in youth he displayed a knowledge of letters and great power of memory, and force of application, and that he spoke the Attic dialect." We also learn that "when he reached his fourteenth year his father took him to Tarsus, to Euthydemus of Phoenicia, who was a good CHAP. IX

If Apollonius was divine why did he need schooling?

[1] Or render: "And at death we," etc.

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CAP. IX

τε ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ ἐπαίδευε τοῦτον, ὁ δὲ τοῦ διδασκάλου εἴχετο." εἶτα "ξυνεφιλοσόφουν αὐτῷ Πλατώνειοί τε καὶ Χρυσίππειοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου. διήκουε δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων, οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτους ἀπεσπούδαζε, τοὺς δὲ Πυθαγορείους ἀρρήτῳ τινὶ σοφίᾳ ξυνελάμβανε." τοσαῦτα ὁ μηδεμίαν μαθὼν φωνὴν θείᾳ τε δυνάμει "ἃ καὶ σιωπῶσιν ἄνθρωποι" προλαβὼν ἐξεπαιδεύετο.

X

CAP. X

Ὁ δὲ διαλιπὼν αὖθις αὐτὸν θαυμάζει, ἐς ὅσον συνέσεως τῆς τῶν ζῴων φωνῆς ἦλθε, καὶ ἐπιφέρει λέγων, "καὶ ἐς ξύνεσιν δὲ τῆς τῶν ζῴων φωνῆς ἦλθε, καὶ ἔμαθε δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τῶν Ἀραβίων πορευόμενος, ἄριστα γιγνωσκόντων τε καὶ πραττόντων αὐτό. ἔστι γὰρ τῶν Ἀραβίων κύκνων ἤδη καὶ ὀρνίθων μαντευομένων ἀκούειν, ὁπόσα οἱ χρησμοί. ξυμβάλλονται δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων σιτούμενοι τῶν δρακόντων οἱ μὲν καρδίαν φασίν, οἱ δὲ ἦπαρ." ἐνταῦθα πάντως που δρακόντων καρδίας δήπου καὶ ἥπατος τὸν Πυθαγόρειον ἐμψύχων τε τροφῆς ἀπεχόμενον καὶ μηδὲ θύειν δαίμοσιν ἐπιτολμῶντα, εἰκὸς ἦν ἀπογεύσασθαι, ὡς ἂν καὶ τῆς παρὰ τούτοις κοινωνήσοι σοφίας. πρὸς γὰρ

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rhetor, and gave him his education, while Apollonius clung to his teacher." We further learn that "he had as fellow-students members of the school of Plato and of Chrysippus and members of the Peripatetic set. That he also diligently listened to the doctrines of Epicurus, because he did not despise even them, though he grasped the teachings of Pythagoras with a certain indescribable wisdom." So varied was the education of one who had never learnt any language, and who by his divine power anticipated "the thoughts of men even when they are silent." CHAP IX

X

And after an interval our author again expresses his admiration at the ease with which Apollonius understood the language of animals, and he goes on to tell us the following: "And moreover he acquired an understanding of the language of animals; and he learnt this, too, in the course of his travels through Arabia, where the inhabitants best know this language and practise it. For the Arabians have a way of understanding without difficulty swans and other birds when they presage the future in the same way as oracles. And they get to understand the dumb animals by eating, so they say, some of them the heart and others the liver of dragons." In this instance, then, it seems anyhow to have been the case that the Pythagorean who abstained from animal food and could not even bring himself to sacrifice to the gods, devoured the heart and liver of dragons, in order to participate in a form of wisdom that was in vogue among the Arabs. After learning CHAP. X

He knew the language of animals

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CAP. X τοιῶνδε διδασκομένῳ, πῶς ἂν ἄλλως μὴ οὐχὶ τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς διδασκάλοις ζηλώσαντι κατωρθοῦτο τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα; ἔχομεν δὴ οὖν πρὸς τοῖς καταλελεγμένοις καὶ τοὺς Ἀραβίων σοφούς, διδασκάλους τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰωνιστικὴν τἀνδρὸς ἐπιστήμης, ἀφ' ἧς εἰκότως ὁρμώμενος ὕστερόν ποτε τὸν στρουθόν, ὅ τι καὶ βούλοιτο συγκαλῶν τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐπὶ τροφήν. προειπών, θαῦμα μέγιστον παρέχειν ἔδοξε τοῖς παροῦσι. ταύτῃ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀπεσφαγμένην ὅσον οὔπω λέαιναν ἅμα τοῖς ὀκτὼ σκύμνοις κατὰ τὴν εἰς Ἀσσυρίους ὁδὸν θεασάμενος, αὐτίκα τῷ θεάματι συμβαλὼν τῆς ἐσομένης αὐτῷ παρὰ Πέρσαις διατριβῆς τὸν χρόνον ἐμαντεύσατο.

XI

CAP. XI Ἀκόλουθα δὲ τῇ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀραβίοις φοιτήσει ἐγχειρεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς ἱστορεῖ· τῷ γάρ τοι Δάμιδι, ὃς μόνος φοιτητὴς ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἑταῖρος, ἀπαγορεύσας παρὰ τοὺς μάγους ἰέναι, μόνος αὐτός, ὡς ἂν μὴ μετ' ἀγνώμονος δηλαδὴ τὰ τῆς μαγείας μανθάνοι, μεσημβρίας τε καὶ ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας τὰς μετ' αὐτῶν ἐποιεῖτο σχολάς. ἔτι δὲ Οὐαρδάτῃ Βαβυλωνίῳ εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντα, βασιλεῖ ὧδέ πως λέγειν αὐτὸν παρατίθεται· "σοφία δέ μοι Πυθαγόρου Σαμίου ἀνδρός, ὃς θεούς τε θεραπεύειν ὧδέ με ἐδιδάξατο, καὶ ξυνιέναι σφῶν ὁρωμένων τε καὶ οὐχ ὁρωμένων, φοιτᾶν τε ἐς διαλέξεις θεῶν." τίς δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα συγχωρή-

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under such masters, how could he attain to their accomplishments otherwise than by imitating their example? We must therefore add to the teachers whom we have already enumerated the sages of Arabia who taught him his knowledge of augury; and this no doubt inspired him subsequently to foretell what the sparrow meant when he called his fellows to a meal, and so to impress the bystanders with the idea that he had worked a mighty miracle. And in the same way when he saw the freshly-slain lioness with her eight whelps by the side of the road which led into Assyria, he immediately conjectured from what he saw the length of their future stay in Persia, and made a prophecy thereof. CHAP. X

XI

And in just keeping with his visits to the Arabians were the studies he undertook among the Persians also, according to the account given by the same author. For after forbidding Damis, so we are told, to go to the magi, though Damis was his only pupil and companion, he went alone to school with them at midday and about midnight; alone in order not to have as his companion in the study of magic one who was clearly without a taste for such things. And again when he came to converse with Vardan the Babylonian king, it is related that he addressed him as follows: "My system of wisdom is that of Pythagoras, a man of Samos, who taught me to worship the gods in this way and to recognize them, whether they are seen or unseen, and to be regular in converse with the gods." Who can possibly allow CHAP. XI

His visits to the Magi

He professed the wisdom of Pythagoras

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CAP. XI σειεν, ὅτε Πυθαγόρᾳ μὲν οὐδεμία τις τοιαύτη καταλέλειπται γραφή, οὐδ' ἀπόρρητά τινα συγγράμματα, ὡς κἂν ὑπονοῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐκείνων ὁρμᾶσθαι, ὁ δέ γε διδάσκαλος αὐτῷ τῆς κατὰ Πυθαγόραν φιλοσοφίας, οὐδέν τι διαφέρειν τῶν Ἐπικουρείων πρὸς αὐτοῦ μεμαρτύρηται τοῦ Φιλοστράτου, ὧδέ πως εἰρηκότος, "διδάσκαλος μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ τῶν Πυθαγόρου λόγων οὐ πάνυ σπουδαῖος, οὐδ' ἐνεργῷ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ χρώμενος, γαστρός τε ἥττων καὶ ἀφροδισίων, καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον ἐσχημάτιστο. ἦν δὲ οὗτος Εὔξενος ὁ ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τοῦ Πόντου. τὰς δὲ Πυθαγόρου γνώμας ἐγίγνωσκεν, ὥσπερ οἱ ὄρνιθες ἃ μανθάνουσι παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων." φεῦ τῆς ἀτοπίας, εἰ παρὰ τούτου λέγοι τις τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς διαλέξεως τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτὸν εἰληφέναι. ἀλλὰ δὴ συγκεχωρήσθω καὶ ἑτέρων ὑφηγητῶν αὐτὸν ἀκηκοέναι, καίτοι γε τοῦ συγγραφέως τοῦτο μηδαμῶς ἐπισημηναμένου· τίς δὴ οὖν τούτων σύνεσίν τε καὶ φοίτησιν εἰς διαλέξεις θεῶν ὁρωμένων καὶ οὐχ ὁρωμένων αὐτός τε ὡς ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου μαθὼν εἰδέναι, διδάσκεσθαί τε ἑτέρους ἐπηγγέλλετο; καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ περιβόητος Πλάτων, πάντων γε μᾶλλον τῆς Πυθαγόρου κεκοινωνηκὼς φιλοσοφίας, οὔτ' Ἀρχύτας, οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ τὰς Πυθαγόρου γραφῇ παραδοὺς ὁμιλίας Φιλόλαος, οὐδ' εἴ τινες ἄλλοι γνώριμοι τἀνδρὸς γεγονότες, οἳ δόξας τε αὐτοῦ καὶ γνώμας γραφῇ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν παραδεδώκασιν, ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ τινὶ ἐσεμνύναντο σοφίᾳ. οὐκοῦν ἑτέρωθεν, ἀλλ'

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this to be true of him, seeing that Pythagoras himself has left no scripture of the kind, nor any secret writings, such that we can even suspect him to have had such resources at his disposal? As for his teacher of the Pythagorean philosophy, it is testified that he was in no way better than the Epicureans by Philostratus himself, who speaks of him as follows: "He had as a teacher of the system of Pythagoras not a very good man, nor one who put his philosophy into practice; for he was the slave of his belly and his desires and modelled his life on that of Epicurus. And this man was Euxenus of Heraclea in Pontus. But he had a good acquaintance with the tenets of Pythagoras, just as birds have of what they learn to say from men." What ridiculous nonsense to pretend that Apollonius can have derived from this man, his gift of conversing with the gods. But let us for the moment admit that there were other expounders of the system from whom he may have learned, although the author anyhow gives no hint of any such thing. Still we must ask: was there then ever any one of these teachers that professed either to know himself, by having learnt from Pythagoras personally, or to teach others, how to recognize and frequent in their conversations gods, whether seen or unseen? Why, even the famous Plato, although more than anyone else he shared in the philosophy of Pythagoras, and Archytas too, and Philolaus the one man who has handed down to us in writing the conversations of Pythagoras, and any others who were disciples of the philosopher and have handed down to his posterity his opinions and tenets in writing,—none of these ever boasted of any such form of wisdom. It follows then that he learnt

CHAP. XI

He learned from no follower of Pythagoras

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CAP. XI οὐκ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου τὰ τοιαδὶ μαθὼν, προσχήματι σεμνολογῶν ἐπιγράφεται τὴν τοῦ φιλοσόφου πρόσρησιν. ἵνα δὲ καὶ παραλογώτατα τὸ ψεῦδος ὡς ἀληθές τις γεγονέναι συγχωρήσειεν, οὐκ οἶδ', ὅπως ἐξ αὐτοῦ λέγων ἐκείνου τοῦ Σαμίου, πρὸ μυρίων ὅσων ἐτῶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενομένου, τὰ περὶ τούτων αὐτὸν μεμαθηκέναι. οὐκοῦν πρὸς τοῖς Ἀραβίοις καὶ τοῦτον διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ τῆς δὴ νομιζομένης ἀπορρήτου περὶ θεῶν ἐπιστήμης ἐπιγραπτέον. εἰ δὴ οὖν θείας ἦν φύσεως, κατέψευσται αὐτοῦ τοὺς διδασκάλους ὁ λόγος, εἰ δ' ἀληθὴς ἦν οὗτος, ψευδὴς ἦν ὁ μῦθος, καὶ οὐκ ἀληθὴς ἡ περὶ τοῦ θεῖον γεγονέναι αὐτὸν γραφή.

XII

CAP. XII Οὔπω μοι τοῦ Πρωτέως τὸ φάσμα πολυπραγμονεῖν ἔπεισι καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτου πίστιν αἰτεῖν, οὐδὲ τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ κύκνων τὰς ἀποδείξεις, οὓς γελοίως τὴν μητέρα τίκτουσαν αὐτὸν μαιοῦσθαι ἱστορεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῆς περὶ τοῦ σκηπτοῦ μυθολογίας τὸν μάρτυρα παρέχειν ἀξιῶ, οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τούτων, ὡς ἔφην, Δάμις ἡμῖν συνίστωρ ἀφίξεται, μακρῷ ὕστερον ἐν Νίνῳ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας τἀνδρὶ συνάψας. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν εὖ μάλα προθύμως τοῖς εἰκόσι τε καὶ ἀληθείας ἐχομένοις πειθόμενος, εἰ καὶ μείζονά τινα καθ'

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

XII

I HAVE no wish to enquire curiously about the ghost of Proteus, or to ask for confirmation of it, nor to demand proof of his ridiculous story that swans surrounded his mother and assisted her to bring him into the world; equally little do I ask him to produce evidence of his fairy-tale about the thunderbolt; for as I said before he cannot anyhow claim the authority of Damis for these particulars, inasmuch as the latter joined him much later on in the city of Nineveh of Assyria. I am however quite ready to accept all that is probable and has an air of truth about it, even though such details may be somewhat exaggerated and highly-coloured out of CHAP. XII

Eusebius will accept all that is probable

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CAP. XII

ὑπερβολὴν ἐς ἔπαινον ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ λέγοιτ' ἄν. πιστὰ καὶ παραδεκτέα εἶναί μοι δοκῶ, ὅτι μὴ μόνα τὰ τερατώδη καὶ λήρου πλέα. οὔκουν φθονοίην, εἴ φησιν ὁ συγγραφεὺς γένος τε ἀρχαῖον καὶ τῶν οἰκιστῶν ἀνημμένον τῷ ἀνδρὶ γεγονέναι, καὶ πλουτῶν, εἰ οὕτως ἔτυχεν, ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ἅπαντας, διδασκάλων τε νέον ὄντα οὐ μόνον τῶν δεδηλωμένων τυχεῖν, ἀλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ, καὶ τούτων αὐτὸν διδάσκαλον καὶ καθηγητὴν γεγονέναι. ἔστω δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐντρεχὴς καὶ τὰ κοινὰ ὡς τὸν εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ θεραπείας χάριν ἀφιγμένον διὰ γνώμης ἀρίστης ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς ἀρρωστίας νοσοῦντι γὰρ δὴ ὑδέρου πάθει κατάλληλον ἐγκρατείας ὑποθέσθαι δίαιταν τῷ κάμνοντι, καὶ ταύτῃ αὐτὸν ὑγιᾶ καταστῆσαι, καὶ τούτῳ γε τῆς φρονήσεως ἀποδεκτὸν τὸ μειράκιον, καὶ ὡς τὸν πολυτελῶς θύειν παρεσκευασμένον εἶρξεν, οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ κακίᾳ διαβεβοημένον, καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἁπάντων πλουσιώτατόν τε καὶ περιφανέστατον αὐτὸν ὑποτίθεται. καὶ ἐν σώφροσι δ' αὐτὸν φθόνος οὐδεὶς ἐγγράφειν, ὅτι τε πρὸς τὸν ἐραστὴν πειρώμενον αὐτοῦ τῆς ὥρας διελοιδορήσατο, καὶ γυναικείας ὅτι καθαρὸν ἑαυτὸν μίξεως διὰ τέλους ὡς ὁ λόγος φησίν, ἤγαγε.

Πιστὰ δ' ἔστω καὶ τὰ τῆς πενταετοῦς κατὰ Πυθαγόραν σιωπῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τά, ὅπως ταύτην διήνυσεν, ἐπαίνου ἄξια. ταῦτα δὴ καὶ ὅσα

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

We can also believe the story of his keeping silence for five years in the spirit of Pythagoras; and the way moreover in which he accomplished this vow of silence was praiseworthy. All this and the like

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CAP. XII τοιαῦτα ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς φιλοσοφίας καὶ ἀληθείας οὐ πόρρω δεχοίμην ἄν, περὶ πολλοῦ τὸ εὔγνωμόν τε καὶ φιλάληθες τιμώμενος· τό γε τοι κρεῖττον ἀνθρώπου τὴν φύσιν ὑποτίθεσθαι καὶ παρὰ πόδας ἐναντιολογεῖν τῆς τε δοθείσης ἀμνημονεῖν ὑποθέσεως, ἔχειν ψόγον ἂν καὶ διαβολὴν αὐτῷ τε τῷ γράφοντι καὶ πολὺ πρότερον τῷ γραφομένῳ περιάψειν ἡγοῦμαι.

XIII

CAP. XIII Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου συγγράμματος. ἐπίωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου. τὴν ἀπὸ Περσίδος ἐπ' Ἰνδοὺς πορείαν ἄγει παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος. εἶτά τι πεπονθὼς ἀπειρόκαλον, ὥσπερ τι παράδοξον, δαιμόνιόν τι, ὃ καὶ ἔμπουσαν ὀνομάζει, κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἰδόντα λοιδορίαις ἅμα τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀπελάσαι φησί, καὶ ζῴων δὲ εἰς τροφὴν αὐτοῖς προσαχθέντων, εἰρηκέναι αὐτὸν τῷ Δάμιδι, ὡς ἄρα συγχωροίη αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις σιτεῖσθαι τῶν κρεῶν, τὸ γὰρ ἀπέχεσθαι αὐτῶν, αὐτοῖς μὲν εἰς οὐδὲν ὁρᾶν προβαῖνον, ἑαυτῷ δὲ εἰς ἃ ὡμολόγηται πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐκ παιδός. καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσειεν, ὅτι μηδ' αὐτόν, ὃν μόνον ἐδόκει τοῦ βίου ζηλωτὴν

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is merely human, and in no way incongruous with philosophy or with truth, and I can therefore accept it, because I set a very high value upon candour and love of truth. Nevertheless to suppose that he was a being of superhuman nature, and then to contradict this supposition at a moment's warning, and to forget it almost as soon as it is made—this I regard as reprehensible and calculated to fasten a suspicion not only on the author, but yet more on the subject of his memoir. CHAP. XII

XIII

CHAP. XIII

Criticisms of the second book of Philostratus

THESE particulars we have taken from the first book of Philostratus; and let us now go on to consider the contents of the second. The story takes him on his travels and brings him from Persia to India. He next shows a want of good taste by relating, as if it were a miracle, how Apollonius and his companions saw some sort of demon, to which he gives the name of Empusa, along the road, and of how they drove it away by dint of abuse and bad words. And we learn that when some animals were offered them for food, he told Damis that he was quite willing to allow him and his companions to eat the flesh, for as far as he could see their abstinence from meat had in no way advanced their moral development, though in his own case it was imposed by the philosophic profession he had made in childhood. And yet is it not incredible to anyone that he should not have hindered Damis, as his best friend, and as the only disciple and follower of his life that he had, and the

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CAP. XIII κεκτῆσθαι καὶ προὔτρεπεν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν, εἶργε οἷα φίλτατον τῆς τῶν ἐμψύχων, ὡς ἂν οὐ ὁσίας κατὰ Πυθαγόραν τροφῆς, ὁ δ' οὐκ' οἶ ὁποίῳ λόγῳ λέγων μὲν οὐ συνοίσειν ἑαυτῷ κείνοις δ' οὐδὲν ὁρᾶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποχῆς προβαῖνο ὡμολόγει;

XIV

CAP. XIV Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Φιλόστρατος ὁ τἀληθὲς τιμᾶν πρὸ τοῦ Φιλαλήθους μεμαρτυρημένος, ὅρα τῆς ἀληθείας ὁποῖα δείγματα παρίστησι· γενόμενον παρ' Ἰνδοῖς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον παραστήσασθαί φησιν ἑρμηνέα, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ προσδιαλέγεσθαι Φραώτῃ, τοῦτο δ' εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὄνομα, καὶ ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν κατ' αὐτὸν πασῶν γλωσσῶν συνεὶς νῦν αὖ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἑρμηνέως δεῖται. καὶ πάλιν ὁ τὰ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀνθρώπων εἰδὼς καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς θεὸν

κωφοῦ τε ξυνιεὶς καὶ οὐ λαλέοντος ἀκούων

δι' ἑρμηνέως ἀνερωτᾷ, ὁποία τις εἴη τῷ βασιλεῖ δίαιτα, ἡγεμόνα τε ἀξιοῖ τῆς ἐς Βραχμᾶνας πορείας γενέσθαι τινὰ αὐτῷ. καὶ μεταξὺ ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ ταῦτα βάρβαρος ὢν τὴν φύσιν, τὸν ἑρμηνέα ἐκποδὼν μεταστησάμενος, Ἑλλάδι χρῆται πρὸς αὐτὸν τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ, παιδείαν καὶ πολυμάθειαν

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only one whom he was trying to convert to his philosophy, that he should not, I repeat, have tried to hinder him from consuming the flesh of living animals, that being an unholy food according to Pythagoras, and that instead of doing so, he should tell him for reasons inexplicable to me that it will do no good to himself, and admit that he saw no moral advantage in them produced by such abstinence? CHAP. XIII

XIV

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

"Understood the dumb and heard him who spake not"

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

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

XV

CAP. XV. Ἀλλὰ καὶ λαλοῦντος Ἑλλάδι γλώσσῃ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἐκπλήττεται, ᾗ φησιν ὁ Φιλόστρατος ἀκόλουθα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἑαυτῷ γράφων. πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἐξεπλάγη μὴ οὐχὶ βάρβαρον οἰηθείς; καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον θαυμάσας οὔποτ' ἂν ἑλληνίσαι προσεδόκησεν· εἶθ', ὥσπερ τι παραδόντα παράδοξον καταπλαγείς, καὶ τὸ τούτου ἔτ' ἀγνοῶν αἴτιον, "εἰπέ μοι," ἔφη ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, πόθεν οὕτως ἔχεις φωνῆς Ἑλλάδος; φιλοσοφία τε ἡ περὶ σὲ πόθεν ἐνταῦθα; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐς διδασκάλους γε, οἶμαι, ἀναφέρεις, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ εἶναι Ἰνδοῖς εἰκὸς διδασκάλους τούτου." αὗται αἱ παράδοξοι τοῦ πάντα προγνώσει διειληφότος φωναί, ἃς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀμειβόμενος, ὅτι τε σχοίη διδασκάλους καὶ οἵτινες οὗτοι, ἕκαστά τε πατρόθεν τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν συμβεβηκότων φράζει.

Εἶτα καί τισι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δικάζοντος περὶ θησαυροῦ φωραθέντος ἐν ἀγρῷ, πότερα τῷ πριαμένῳ ἢ τῷ τὸ χωρίον ἀποδομένῳ δέοι νεῖμαι τοῦτον, ὁ πάντα φιλόσοφος καὶ θεοῖς κεχαρισμένος ἐρωτηθεὶς ἐπικρίνει τῷ πριαμένῳ, λογισμὸν δὴ αὐτοῖς

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his wealth of learning. But Apollonius none the less neglected on this occasion to display, as he should have done, his own perfect acquaintance with their tongue. CHAP. XIV

XV

CHAP. XV

Eusebius ridicules the prescience of Apollonius

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

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

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CAP. XV ῥήμασιν ἐπειπών, "ὡς οὐκ ἂν οἱ θεοὶ τὸν μὲν ἀφείλοντο καὶ τὴν γῆν, εἰ μὴ φαῦλος ἦν, τῷ δ' αὖ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆν δοῦναι, εἰ μὴ βελτίων ἦν τοῦ ἀποδομένου." ὡς κατ' αὐτὸν δὴ συνάγεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους καὶ πλούτῳ διαφέροντας, κἂν αἰσχρότατοι καὶ πανωλέστατοι τυγχάνοιεν, τρισευδαίμονας καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ἡγεῖσθαι, μόνους δ' ἄρα κακοδαίμονάς τε καὶ ἀθλίους τοὺς πενεστάτους, κἂν Σωκράτης, κἂν Διογένης, κἂν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος Πυθαγόρας τυγχάνῃ, κἂν ἄλλος, οἱ πάντων ἀνδρῶν σωφρονέστατοί τε καὶ ἐπιεικέστατοι. εἴποι γὰρ ἄν τις ἑπόμενος τῷ λόγῳ, μὴ ἂν κατ' αὐτὸν τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς μὲν πένητας, τούτους δὴ αὐτούς, οἳ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν διήνεγκαν, ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τροφήν, μὴ οὐχὶ πάντως φαύλους ὄντας τὸν τρόπον, τοῖς δὲ τὸ ἦθος ἀκολαστοτέροις ἄφθονα καὶ τὰ μὴ ἀναγκαῖα παρασχεῖν, εἰ μὴ βελτίους ἐτύγχανον τῶν πρότερων, ἐξ ὧν παντί τῳ καταφανὴς ἡ τοῦ συμπεράσματος ἀτοπία.

XVI

CAP. XVI Ταῦτα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου παραθέμενοι, ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον, τὰ κατὰ τοὺς βεβοημένους ἐποψόμενοι Βραχμᾶνας· ἔνθα δὴ τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα καὶ εἴ τί περ ἄλλο τερατῶδές ποτε μυθολόγοις

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"That the gods would never have deprived the one of the land, if he had not been a bad man; nor would ever have given the other riches under the soil, unless he had been better than the seller." We must conclude then, if we are to believe him, that men who are comfortably off and richer than their neighbours, are to be esteemed thrice happy and beloved of the gods, even though they should be the most shameless and abandoned of mankind; on the other hand only the poorest, say, even a Socrates, or a Diogenes, or the famous Pythagoras himself, or any other of the most temperate and fairest-minded of men, are to be esteemed ill-starred wretches. For if one follows the reasoning here used, one must allow that on its showing the gods would never have deprived the poor, that is to say, the very men who excel others, if judged by the standard of philosophy, even of a bare living and of the necessities of life, unless they had been utterly vile in character, and at the same time they have endowed those who are abandoned in their character with a plenty even of things that were not necessary to them, unless they proved themselves better than the others just mentioned; from which the absurdity of the conclusion is manifest to everyone. CHAP. XV

XVI

After setting before you these incidents out of the second book, let us pass on to the third, and consider the stories told of the far-famed Brahmans. For here we shall have to admit that the tales of Thule, and any other miraculous legends ever in- CHAP. XVI Absurdities in the third book

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CAP. XVI τισὶν ἀναπέπλασται, εὖ μάλα πιστὰ καὶ ἀληθέστατα, ὡς ἐν παραθέσει τούτων, ἀναφανήσεται οἷς καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐπιστῆσαι ἄξιον, τῆς τοῦ Φιλαλήθους ἕνεκεν αὐθαδείας ἡμῖν μὲν εὐχέρειαν καὶ κουφότητα τρόπου περιάπτοντος, αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τοῖς αὐτῷ παραπλησίοις τὴν ἀκριβῆ καὶ βεβαίαν μετὰ συνέσεως κρίσιν. ὅρα γοῦν, ἐφ' οἷς σεμνύνεται παραδόξοις, τῶν ἡμετέρων θείων εὐαγγελιστῶν προκρίνων τὸν Φιλόστρατον, ὡς μὴ μόνον παιδείας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἥκοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθείας ἐπιμεμελημένον.

XVII

CAP. XVII Πρῶτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας πορείᾳ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, γυνή τις αὐτῷ τὴν χροιὰν εἰσάγεται ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐς ὀσφὺν λευκοτάτη, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μέρος τοῦ σώματος μέλαινα. τὰ δέ, προϊόντων τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας ὁδοῦ, ὄρη καταπεφυτευμένα τὸ πέπερι, καὶ τούτου πίθηκοι γεωργοί, καὶ παράδοξοί τινες τὸ μέγεθος δράκοντες, ὧν ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς λαμπάδες ἀπορριπτοῦνται πυρός, οὓς εἴ τίς ἀνέλοι, εὕροι ἄν, φησι, παραδόξους λίθους ἐν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς τῷ τοῦ Γύγου τοῦ παρὰ τῷ Πλάτωνι παραπλησίους. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ πρὸ τοῦ τῶν Βραχμάνων λόφου. ὡς δὲ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοντο, σανδαράκινον ἐνταῦθα φρέαρ ὕδατος ἰδεῖν παραδόξου, καὶ κρατῆρα πλησίον πυρός, οὗ φλόγα ἀναπέμπεσθαι μολιβδώδη,

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vented by any story-tellers, turn out to be by comparison with these quite reliable and perfectly true. It is anyhow worth our while to examine these, because this self-styled lover of truth has not scrupled to fasten on ourselves a charge of reckless credulity and levity of character, while claiming for himself and for those like him an accurate judgment, well based on an understanding of the fact. Note then the sort of miracles on which he prides himself, when he prefers Philostratus to our own divine evangelists, on the ground that he was not only a most highly educated man, but most attentive to the truth. CHAP. XVI

XVII

CHAP. XVII

Ridicules the tales of the Brahmans

To begin with then, on the way to the Brahmans, Philostratus introduces us to a lady who met Apollonius, and who, from her head down to her loins, was wholly white in colour, while the rest of her person was black. The mountains again, as they went forward on the road to the Brahmans, were planted with pepper trees, and the apes cultivated the same; and then there were certain dragons of extraordinary size, from whose heads were thrown off sparks of fire, and if you slew one of them, he says that you found marvellous stones upon the head rivalling the gem of Gyges, as mentioned in Plato. And all this was before they reached the hill on which the Brahmans lived. And when they reached this, we read that they saw there a well of sandarac, full of wonderful water, and hard by a crater of fire, from which there arose a lead-coloured flame; and

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CAP. XVII δύο τε πίθους λίθου μέλανος, τὸν μὲν ὄμβρων, τὸ δὲ ἀνέμων, ἀφ' ὧν τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας, οἷς ἂν εἰς τῆς χώρας ἵλεῳ, χορηγεῖν. ἀλλά γε καὶ ἀγάλματα παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου καὶ Διονύσου Λιμναίου, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν, Ἰάρχαν δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων διδάσκαλον καλεῖσθαι, ὃν καὶ ἰδεῖν καθεζόμενον πολλοῦ γε δεῖ φιλοσοφικῷ, σατραπικῷ δ' ἂν μᾶλλον σχήματι ἐφ' ὑψηλοτάτου δίφρου. χαλκοῦ δὲ μέλανος οὗτος ἦν καὶ πεποίκιλτο χρυσέοις ἀγάλμασιν, οἷα δὴ εἰκὸς τεχνουργῶν βαναύσων τρόπον πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ μοχθοῦντας τοὺς φιλοσόφους τεχνουργεῖν, ἢ καὶ θαυματοποιῶν δίκην αὐτόματον ἀποτελεῖν τὸ δημιούργημα, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν διδασκάλων δίφροι χαλκοῖ μέν, φησιν, ἄσημοι δ' ἦσαν καὶ ἧττον ὑψηλοί. ἔδει γάρ που πάντως τυράννου σχήματι προνομίας τῆς ἐν ἀγάλμασι καὶ χρυσῷ τὸν τῆς θείας φιλοσοφίας ἀξιοῦσθαι διδάσκαλον.

XVIII

CAP. XVIII Πρῶτον δὲ τὸν Ἰάρχαν ἰδόντα φησὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐξ ὀνόματός τε προσειπεῖν Ἑλλάδι τῇ φωνῇ, καὶ ἣν αὐτῷ παρὰ Φραώτου κομίζοι, ἐπιστολὴν αἰτῆσαι, κατὰ πρόγνωσιν ἤδη τοῦτο προειληφότα· ἐνδείξασθαί τε τὸ ἔνθεον τῆς προγνώσεως προειρηκότα, ὡς ἄρα ἐνὶ γράμματι τῷ δέλτα λείποι ἡ ἐπιστολή· ἄρξασθαί τε

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there were two jars there of black stone, the one of which contained rain, and the other winds, from which the Brahmans supply such people of the country as they are pleased to favour. Besides this they found among them images of Athene Polias and of Apollo Pythius, and of Dionysus of the Lake and of certain other Hellenic gods. And the master of them all was named Iarchas, and they saw him sitting on a very lofty throne in a state of pomp that was far from philosophic, but rather appropriate to a satrap. And this throne was made of black bronze and was decorated with golden images, such as we might of course expect philosophers to fabricate when they take to working like base mechanics at forge and steel, even if they do not like conjurers make their handiwork to move by itself. But the thrones upon which the rest of them, who were inferior teachers to him, were sitting, were, he says, of bronze, but not incised and not so high. For I suppose they could not help bestowing upon the teacher of so divine a philosophy the privilege of having images and gold on his throne, just as if he were a tyrant.

CHAP. XVII

XVIII

CHAP. XVIII

Prescience and pride of Iarchas

And we are told that Iarchas, the moment he saw Apollonius, addressed him by name in the Greek tongue, and asked him for the letter which he brought from Phraotes, for he had already received this by dint of his foreknowledge; and by way of parading the inspired character of his prescience, he told him before he set eyes on the epistle, that it was one letter short, namely of a *delta*; and he began

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CAP. XVIII

ἀπειροκάλως εὐθὺς ἀπὸ πρώτης ὁμιλίας, ἀπειροπλούτου δίκην, ἐνεπιδείκνυσθαι τὸ τῆς προγνώσεως πλεονέκτημα, πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καταλέγοντα τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, γένος τε καὶ τροφὴν καὶ παιδείαν, καὶ τὰς κατὰ χρόνους ἀποδημίας καὶ τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν πορείαν, καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν πεπραγμένα τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὡμιλημένα. εἶτα δέ φησιν αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ θαυμάσιος συγγραφεὺς τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας ἅμα τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ χρισαμένους ἠλεκτρίνῳ φαρμάκῳ λούσασθαι, καὶ περιστάντας ὡς ἐν χορῷ τὴν γῆν τύψαι ταῖς ῥάβδοις, τὴν δὲ κυρτωθεῖσαν ἀναπέμψαι αὐτοὺς εἰς δίπηχυ τοῦ ἀέρος, ἑστάναι τε αὐτοὺς μετεώρους ἐν αὐτῷ ἀέρι ἐπί τι χρόνου διάστημα· ἔλκειν δὲ καὶ πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, ὅτε βούλοιντο, αὐτομάτως. τούτοις δ' ἐπιφέρει παράδοξον ὁ θαυματολόγος, ὡς ἄρα τρίποδες Πυθικοὶ τέτταρες ἐξεκυκλήθησαν αὐτόματοι φοιτῶντες, καὶ εἰκάζει δὴ οὖν αὐτοὺς τοῖς Ὁμηρείοις, οἰνοχόους τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκ χαλκοῦ διακόνους τὴν ὕλην ἵστησι τέτταρας· ἐπιλέγει δέ, ὡς ἄρα καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτομάτως ὑπεστόρνυτο αὐτοῖς πόας. τῶν δὲ τριπόδων οἱ μέν δύο, φησίν, οἴνου ἀπέρρεον, οἱ δὲ ἕτεροι δύο, ὁ μὲν ὕδατος θερμοῦ κρᾶσιν παρεῖχεν, ὁ δ' αὖ ψυχροῦ. τοὺς δὲ οἰνοχόους τοὺς χαλκοῦς ἀρύεσθαι εὐμέτρως τοῦ τε οἴνου καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, περιελαύνειν τε κύκλῳ τὰς κύλικας, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πότοις.

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at once in a vulgar manner in that very first interview, like a man who has got wealth for the first time and does not know how to use it, to show off his superiority as a seer, by running off the names of Apollonius' father and mother, and telling him all about his family and upbringing and education, and about his periodical voyages abroad, and about his journey thither to himself, and about what he had done himself or said to his companions on the road. And next this wonderful author tells us that the Brahmans, after anointing themselves together with Apollonius with an amber-like drug, took a bath, and then standing round as if in chorus, struck the earth with their staves, and the earth arched itself up and elevated them some two cubits into the air, so that they stood there levitated up in the air itself for some considerable length of time. And he relates that they drew down fire from the sun without any effort on their part and whenever they chose. And the miracle-monger adds another marvel to these, when he tells that there were four tripods like those of Pytho which wheeled themselves forth, moving of their own accord; and he goes so far as to compare these to the tripods in Homer, and he says that there were set upon them cup-bearers to serve in the banquet, four in number and made of bronze. And in addition he tells us that the earth too strewed grass beneath them of her own accord and unasked. And of these tripods two, he says, ran with wine, and of the other two, the one supplied hot water and the other cold. And the cup-bearers of bronze drew for the guests in due mixture both the wine and the water, and pushed round the cups in a circle, just as they are handed round in a symposium.

CHAP. XVIII

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XIX

CAP. XIX Ταῦτα Ἱεροκλεῖ τὰ ἀνωτάτω καὶ καθόλου δικαστήρια πεπιστευμένῳ, μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνετάσεως ἀληθῆ καὶ πιστὰ εἶναι δοκεῖ, καὶ ἡμῶν μὲν εὐχέρεια καὶ κουφότης πλείστη ὅση κατεγνωσται παρ' αὐτῷ, αὐτὸς δὲ τοιαῦτα Φιλοστράτῳ πιστεύων, αὐτοῖς δὴ ῥήμασι σεμνύνεται λέγων· "ἐπισκεψώμεθά γε μήν, ὅσῳ βέλτιον καὶ συνετώτερον ἡμεῖς ἐκδεχόμεθα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἡμῖν περὶ τῶν ἐναρέτων ἀνδρῶν ἔχομεν γνώμην."

XX

CAP. XX Ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ δὴ τῷ συμποσίῳ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν Φιλόστρατον βασιλεὺς ἐγχωριάζων Ἰνδοῖς εἰσάγεται συμπίνων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, τοῦτον δὲ ἐνυβρίζειν καὶ ἐμπαροινεῖν φιλοσοφίᾳ, μεθύσκεσθαί τε παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀντιπαρεξάγειν Ἡλίῳ καὶ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι ἱστορεῖ· καὶ πάλιν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον δι' ἑρμηνέως τὰ παρὰ τούτου μανθάνειν, καὶ αὖ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλέγεσθαι, ὑφερμηνεύοντος τοῦ Ἰάρχα· καὶ πῶς οὐ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ὅπως τὸν οὕτως ὑβριστὴν καὶ ἀτοπώτατον παροινεῖν καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι παρὰ τηλικούτοις εἰκὸς ἦν, οὐδὲ παρεῖναι ἄξιον ἐν φιλοσόφων, μή τί γε καὶ ἰσοθέων ἑστίᾳ; τί δέ μοι ἰσοθέους τούτους καλεῖ

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XIX

CHAP. XIX

Credulity of Hierocles

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

XX

CHAP XX

Drinking bouts of the Brahmans

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

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CAP. XX καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἐνυβρίζειν τοὺς ἄνδρας; ὁπ
πυθομένου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, τίνας ἑαυτοὺς ἡγοῖ
ται, θεοὺς ἔφη ὁ Ἰάρχας, ὃς καὶ τοῖς συμπότα
οἷα δὴ θεός, φιλοσόφου μὲν ἥκιστα τρόπῳ, πολλ
γε δεῖ, μή τί γε μᾶλλον, οὗ ἔφησε, θεοῦ ἀξίας
ἐς τὴν φιάλην ἐπικύπτων ἐξῆρχεν, ἡ δέ, φησὶν
συγγραφεύς, ὡς ἄρα ἐπότιζεν ἱκανῶς πάντα
καὶ ἐπεδίδου, καθάπερ αἱ ἀπόρρητοι πηγαὶ τοὺ
ἀνιμωμένοις.

XXI

CAP. XXI Μετὰ ταῦτα κοιναὶ λόγων ὁμιλίαι καὶ σπου
δαιολογίαι τῶν φιλοσόφων, τοῦ μὲν Ἰάρχα
διδάσκοντος, ὡς ἄρα ποτὲ αὐτῷ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐ
ἑτέρῳ ἀνθρώπου βασιλέως γένοιτο σώματι, κα
τοιαδί τινα αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα εἴη, τοῦ δὲ Ἀπολ
λωνίου, ὡς νηὸς Αἰγυπτίας ποτὲ γένοιτο κυβερ
νήτης, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διαπράξαιτο, πεύσεις τε
καὶ ἀποκρίσεις ἑκάστου, ὧν καὶ τῆς σοφίας
ἄξιον μηδαμῶς παρεκθέσθαι τὴν μνήμην. ἐρέσθαι
δέ φησι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, εἰ ἔστι παρ' αὐτοῖς
χρύσεον ὕδωρ — ὦ τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ παραδόξου
πύσματος — καὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπων δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν οἰ
κούντων καὶ Πυγμαίων ἄλλων καὶ σκιαπόδων
ἀνερωτᾶν, καὶ εἰ γίγνοιτο παρ' αὐτοῖς ζῷον τετρά
πουν, ὃ λέγεται μαρτιχόρα, ὃ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνθρώ-

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chaff them about their dignity? Why, when Apollonius asked them whom they considered themselves to be, "Gods," answered Iarchas; who, I suppose in his quality as god, as little as could be in the style of philosopher, save the mark, nay, surely betraying an equally scant respect for the dignity of the god whom he professed himself to be, set the example of drinking to his fellow-banqueters by stooping down over the bowl, which, as our author is careful to tell us, supplied plenty of drink for all of them, and refreshed itself, as do holy and mysterious wells for those who fill their pitchers from them.

CHAP. XX
The peers the gods.

XXI

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

CHAP. XXI
Folly of questions asked in India by Apollonius

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CAP. XXI πῳ εἰκάσθαι, λέοντι δὲ ὡμοιῶσθαι τὸ μέγεθος· τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν ἐκφέρειν πηχυαίας καὶ ἀκανθώδεις τὰς τρίχας, ἃς βάλλειν ὥσπερ τοξεύματα ἐς τοὺς θηρῶντας· καὶ τοιαῦτα μὲν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀνερωτᾶν, τὸν δὲ Ἰάρχαν διδάσκειν αὐτὸν περὶ μὲν τῶν Πυγμαίων, ὡς ἄρα εἶεν οἰκοῦντες μὲν ὑπόγειοι, διατρίβοντες δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν Γάγγην ποταμὸν ζῶντες, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς ἀνύπαρκτα εἴη.

XXII

CAP. XXII Ἔριον ἐπὶ τούτοις φυόμενον αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς ἐσθῆτος ὕλην ὁ Φιλόστρατος ἀναγράφει, πάντως δήπου τῶν φιλοσόφων ἱστὸν ἐποιχομένων καὶ ταλασιουργίαις ἐς ἐσθῆτος κατεργασίαν ἐκπονουμένων—οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰσῆκται παρ' αὐτοῖς γυναικεῖον φῦλον—εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο φήσειεν αὐτόματον αὐτοῖς παραδόξως δὴ ἱερὰν ἐς ἐσθῆτα μεταφύεσθαι. φέρειν δ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ῥάβδον καὶ δακτύλιον ἀπόρρητον ἔχοντα ἰσχύν. εἶτα παραδοξοποιαὶ τοῦ Βραχμᾶνος, ὡς δαιμονῶντα δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἀνακαλέσαιτο, ὡς χωλεύοντα καταψήσας τὸν γλουτὸν θεραπεύσειεν, ὡς τυφλῷ τὸ βλέπειν καὶ ἀδρανεῖ τινι τὴν χεῖρα σῴαν χαρίζοιτο. πολλὰ κἀγαθὰ γένοιτο πραγμάτων ἡμᾶς ἀπολύσαντι τῷ συγγραφεῖ· δῆλα γάρ, ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτε βροντὰς

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rivals a lion in size, while from its tail projects hairs like thorns a cubit long, which it is accustomed to shoot out like arrows at those who hunt it. Such then were the questions which Apollonius put to the sages, and Iarchas instructed him about the pigmies, and told him that they were indeed people dwelling underground, but spent their lives on the other side of the river Ganges; but as to the other things which he asked about, Iarchas said that they never had existed at all. CHAP XXI

XXII

CHAP. XXII

Silly tales of the Brahmans

After that Philostratus described a wool which the earth grew for them to supply material for their dress, from which we must infer that these philosophers plied the loom and occupied themselves with spinning wool in order to make their raiment, for we do not hear of any woman being smuggled into their community; but perhaps he means that by a miracle the wool grew of its own initiative into their sacred garments. And we hear that each of them carried a staff and a ring which was imbued with mysterious power. There follow a series of miraculous performances on the part of the Brahman,—how for example he recalled to his senses by means of a letter one who was possessed with a demon, how by stroking a man who was lame he healed his dislocated hip, how he vouchsafed to restore a man's hand that was withered, and to a blind man gave sight. Our blessings on an author who saves us so much trouble. Can we doubt that these stories are true, when his very insistence on

Eusebius doubts the miracles of healing wrought by Iarchas

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CAP. XXII καὶ ἀνέμους ἐν πίθοις τρίποδάς τε ἐκ λίθου φοι-
ῶντας αὐτομάτως καὶ οἰνοχόους ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ περι-
ελαύνειν ἐν κύκλῳ τὰς κύλικας προιστορήσας, δι-
τῆς περὶ τούτων ὡς ἀληθῶν ἀφηγήσεως καὶ τὰ
λοιπῶν ἁπάντων ἐξέφηνέ τε καὶ διήλεγξε τὴ
μυθολογίαν. εἰρηκέναι δέ φησιν ὁ Φιλόστρατο
τὸν Δάμιν δίχα τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας καὶ τῇ
Ἰάρχᾳ συμφιλοσοφῆσαι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, εἰλῆ-
φέναι τε παρ' αὐτοῦ δακτυλίους ἑπτὰ ἐπωνύμους
ἀστέρων, οὓς καὶ φορεῖν αὐτὸν καθ' ἕνα πρὸς τὰ
ὀνόματα τῶν ἡμερῶν.

Ταῦτα δὲ νῦν εἰπὼν ὁ τἀληθὲς τιμᾶν παρὰ
τῷ Φιλαλήθει νενομισμένος μεθ' ἕτερα τῆς
γραφῆς, ὡς ἂν δὴ γοητείαν τῶν Βραχμάνων
καταγνούς, καὶ ταύτης ἐλεύθερον καταστῆσαι
τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον φροντίσας, ἐπιφέρει φάσκων
κατὰ λέξιν· "ἰδὼν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τοὺς
τρίποδας καὶ τοὺς οἰνοχόους καὶ ὅσα αὐτό-
ματα ἐσφοιτᾶν εἶπον, οὔθ', ὅπως σοφίζοιντο αὐτὰ,
ἤρετο, οὔτε ἐδεήθη μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπῄνει μέν,
ζηλοῦν δὲ οὐκ ἠξίου." καὶ πῶς, ὦ οὗτος, οὐκ
ἠξίου; ὁ δίχα τοῦ Δάμιδος σπουδὴν ποιούμενος
συμφιλοσοφεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν μόνον ἑταῖρον, ὅ
τι καὶ πράττοι, λανθάνειν δέον ἡγούμενος; πῶς
δὲ οὐκ ἠξίου ζηλοῦν ὁ τοὺς τῶν ἀστέρων ἐπωνύ-
μους καταδεχόμενος δακτυλίους, καὶ τούτους ἀναγ-
καῖον τιθέμενος διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου φέρειν πρὸς

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the truth of his earlier tales, I refer to those of lightning and wind kept in jars, and of tripods of stone walking about of their own accord and of cup-bearers of bronze passing round the cups in a circle, fully betrays and exposes the mythical character of everything else which he has to tell us. Philostratus moreover declares that Damis related how carefully Apollonius excluded himself from being present at the philosophical sessions which he held with Iarchas; and he says that Apollonius was given by the latter seven rings which were called after the stars, and that he wore these one by one upon the days respectively called by their names. CHAP. XXII

Though we learn this much on this occasion from a gentleman who is esteemed by the Lover of Truth to have had a respect for facts, further on in his book, as if by way of condemning the wizardry of the Brahmans, and as if he was anxious to acquit Apollonius of the charge of having dabbled therein, he adds the following remark, which I repeat textually: "But when he saw among the Indians the tripods and the cup-bearers and the other figures which I have said entered of their own accord, he did not either ask how they were contrived, or desire to learn; but although he praised them, he disclaimed any wish to imitate them." And how, my good fellow, did he disclaim any wish of the kind? Is this the man who was careful to exclude Damis from the philosophical seances he held with them, and who thought it his duty to conceal from his only companion all that he had done in those seances? And how could he have disclaimed any wish to imitate them when he accepted the seven rings named after the stars, and held it needful to wear these all through the

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CAP. XXII τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἡμερῶν, καίτοι γε ἀπόρρητον, ὡς φῂς αὐτός, ἔχοντας ἰσχύν; εἰ δὲ καὶ δοθείη τὸ μὴ ζηλοῦν ἠξιωκέναι αὐτόν, ὡς μὴ εὖ πράττοντα οὐκ ἐζήλου δηλονότι. πῶς οὖν ἐπῄνει, ἐφ' οἷς μὴ ἠξίου ζηλοῦν; εἰ δ' ὡς θείως ἐνεργοῦντας ἐπῄνει, πῶς οὐκ ἐζήλου τὰ ἐπαίνων ἄξια; ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ τὴν παρὰ τούτοις διατριβὴν παλινοστοῦντα αὐτὸν ἅμα τοῖς ἑταίροις ἐληλυθέναι φησὶν ἐς τὴν τῶν Ὠρειτῶν χώραν, ἔνθα χαλκαῖ μὲν αὐτοῖς αἱ πέτραι, χαλκῆ δὲ ἡ ψάμμος, χαλκοῦ δὲ ψῆγμα οἱ ποταμοὶ ἄγουσι.

XXIII

CAP. XXIII Καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τρίτον σύγγραμμα, ἐπίωμεν δ' ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. ἐπανελθόντα φησὶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδῶν χώρας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κοινωνὸν τῶν θεῶν πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἀνακεκηρῦχθαι, οἳ καὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας ὡς αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὑγείᾳ παρέπεμπον, καὶ δῆτα ὡς ἐξ Ἀράβων καὶ μάγων καὶ Ἰνδῶν παράδοξόν τινα καὶ θεῖον ἡμῖν αὐτὸν ἀγαγών, παραδόξων ἐντεῦθεν ἀφηγημάτων κατάρχεται. καίτοι ἄν τις εἴποι εὐλόγως, ὅτι δὴ εἰ θειοτέρας ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον φύσεως ἦν, πάλαι, ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν ἔδει, πρὸ τῆς δὲ ἑτέρων μεταλήψεως τῶν θαυμασίων κατάρχεσθαι, περιττὴ δ' ἂν καὶ

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

CHAP. XXII

XXIII

CHAP. XXIII

The predictions of Apollonius

All this is contained in the third book of Philostratus, and let us now pass on to those which follow. We learn that when he had returned from the country of the Indians to the land of Hellas, the gods themselves proclaimed him to be the companion of the gods, inasmuch as they sent on to him the sick to be healed. And, indeed, as if his visit to the Arabs and to the Magi and to the Indians had turned him into some miraculous and divine being, our author, now that he has got him home again, plunges straight into a lengthy description of his miracles. And yet one might fairly argue that if he had been of a diviner than merely human nature, then he ought long before, and not only now, after entering into relation with other teachers, to have begun his career of wonder-working; and it was

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CAP. XXIII ἡ ἐξ Ἀράβων αὐτῷ μάγων τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν διὰ σπουδῆς ἐπεχειρεῖτο πολυμίθεια, εἰ δή τις κατὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑπῆρξεν ὑπόθεσιν· ἀλλ' οὗτός γε κατὰ τὸν φιλαλήθη συγγραφέα νῦν δὴ πάρεστι, μετὰ τοσούτους διδασκάλους τὴν σοφίαν ἐνεπιδεικνύμενος. καὶ πρῶτα μέν, οἷα ἐξ Ἀράβων καὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς οἰωνιστικῆς ὁρμώμενος τὸν στρουθόν, ὅ τι καὶ βούλοιτο τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐπὶ τροφὴν παρακαλῶν ἐφερμηνεύει τοῖς παροῦσιν, εἶτα δὲ λοιμοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ προαισθόμενος προμαντεύεται τοῖς πολίταις. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν καὶ τούτου ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν ἀπολογίᾳ αὐτὸς παρατίθεται. ἐρομένου γάρ τοι αὐτόν, ὁπόθεν ὁρμώμενος τοῦτο προείποι, "λεπτοτέρᾳ," ἔφη, "χρώμενος, ὦ βασιλεῦ, διαίτῃ πρῶτος τοῦ δεινοῦ ᾐσθόμην."

Καὶ τρίτον δ' αὐτοῦ θαῦμα γεγονὸς ἱστορεῖ, ὡς δὴ ἀλεξήσαντος τὸν λοιμόν, ὅπερ εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ἐπὶ τέλει κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαις οὐ τέθεικεν ὁ συγγραφεύς, ὅτι μὴ παρῆν, ὡς εἰκός, αὐτῷ δι' ἀπολογίας ἀπολύσασθαι τὸ ἔγκλημα, φέρε δ' οὖν ὅμως αὐτοὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐς φανερὸν ὑποθώμεθα, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ταύτην εὐθύνοντες. εἴ τινι γὰρ οὐκ εἴη σαφές, ὅτι δὴ πολὺ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ ἀπατηλὸν γοητείας τε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔμπλεων,

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superfluous for him to take so much trouble to acquire the multifarious lore of Arabs and of Magi and of Indians, if he was really what the initial assumption made by Philostratus assumes him to have been. But anyhow, according to this truth-loving author, we have now got him back again, ready to show off the wisdom which he has acquired from so great masters; and as one fresh from Arabia and equipped with the science of augury in vogue among the inhabitants of that country, he begins by interpreting to the bystanders what the sparrow wanted and intended when it summoned its fellows to their dinner. Next he has a presentiment of the plague in Ephesus, and warns the citizens of what is coming. And he himself sets before us in his Apology to Domitian the explanation of this presentiment. For when the latter asked him what was his prediction, he answered: "Because, my prince, I use a very light diet, I was the first to scent the danger." CHAP XXIII

Story of the Ephesian plague

And then he relates a third miracle of him, which was nothing less than that of his averting the plague. Although the author has been careful not to include this story in the final counts retained against Apollonius, probably because it was impossible for him to rebut a charge founded upon it by any defence which he could offer, we nevertheless will, if you will allow us, publish the story and give it full publicity, because our doing so will render needless any further criticism of it. For if anybody feels the shadow of doubt about the matter, the very manner in which the story is told will convince him that fraud and make-believe was in this case everything, and that if

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CAP. XXIII αὐτὸς ὁ τρόπος ἀπελέγχει τῆς ἱστορίας. τὸν γ-
τοι λοιμὸν ὑποτίθεται ἐν εἴδει πτωχεύοντος κ
ῥάκεσιν ἠμφιεσμένου πρεσβύτου ἀνδρὸς ἐωρᾶσθα
ὃν καταλεύειν ἐπικελευσαμένου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνί
πρότερον μὲν πῦρ βάλλειν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, εἶ
ὕστερον βληθέντα λίθοις, κύνα συντετριμμένον κα
παραπτύοντα ἀφρόν, ὡς οἱ λυττῶντες, φανῆνα
εἰρηκέναι δ' αὐτὸν περὶ τούτου καὶ ἐν τῇ πρ
τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Δομετιανὸν ἀπολογίᾳ ταῦτ
γράφει· "τὸ γὰρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ εἶδος, πτωχῷ ἐ
γέροντι εἴκαστο, καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδὼν εἶλον, ο
παύσας νόσον, ἀλλ' ἐξελών." τίς δὴ οὖν ἐ
τούτοις οὐ μέγα τὴν τοῦ θαυματοποιοῦ γελάσετα
παραδοξοποιίαν, ζῷον ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ λίθων ὑπ
πῖπτον βολαῖς, συντριβόμενόν τε πρὸς ἀνθρώπω
καὶ ἀφρὸν παραπτῦον τὴν τοῦ λοιμοῦ φύσι
ἀκούων, ὃς οὐδ' ἄλλ' ὁτιοῦν τυγχάνει ἢ φθορ
καὶ κάκωσις ἀέρος, ἐπὶ τὸ νοσῶδες τρεπομένου τοῖ
περιέχοντος ἐκ πονηρῶν τε καὶ φαύλων ἀναθυμι
σεων, ᾗ λόγος ἰατρικὸς παραδίδωσι, συνισταμένου
καὶ ἄλλως δ' ἂν τὸ φάσμα διευθυνθείη, ἐπείπε
μόνῃ τῇ τῶν Ἐφεσίων πόλει, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖ
ὁμόροις τὸν λοιμὸν ἐπισκῆψαί φησιν ὁ λόγος
ὅπερ πῶς οὐκ ἂν γεγόνει κάκωσιν τοῦ περιέχοντος
πεπονθότος; οὐ γὰρ δὴ κατακλεισθὲν μόνῳ ἀ
ἐφήδρευσε τῷ περὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον ἀέρι τὸ νόσημα.

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ever anything reeked of wizardry this did. For he pretends that the plague was seen in the form of an aged man, a beggar and dressed in rags; who, when Apollonius ordered the mob to stone him, began by shooting fire from his eyes, but afterwards, when he had been overwhelmed by the stones thrown at him, he appeared as a dog all crushed and vomiting foam, as mad dogs do. And he writes that Apollonius mentioned this episode also in the defence he addressed to the autocrat Domitian, as follows: "For the form of the plague—and it resembled an aged beggar—was both seen by me, and when I saw it I overcame it, not by staying the course of the disease, but by utterly destroying it." Who, I would ask, after reading this would not laugh heartily at the miracle-mongering of this thaumaturge? For we learn that the nature of the plague was a living creature and as such exposed at once to the eyes of the bystanders and to the showers of stones they hurled at it, and that it was crushed by men, and vomited foam, when all the time a plague is nothing in the world but a corruption and vitiation of the atmosphere, the circumambient air being changed into a morbid condition composed of noxious and evil exhalations, as medical theory teaches us. And on other grounds, too, this story of the phantom plague can be exploded; for the story tells us that it only afflicted the city of Ephesus, and did not visit the neighbouring populations; and how could this not have been the case, if the surrounding atmosphere had undergone vitiation? for the infection could not have been confined to one spot, nor have beset the air of Ephesus alone.

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CAP. XXIV Τέταρτον αὐτῷ παράδοξον Ἀχιλλέως ἦν ψυχὴ πρότερον μὲν ἐν χλαμύδι πεντάπηχυς, εἶτα δωδεκάπηχυς τὸ μέγεθος παρὰ τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ μνήματι φαινομένη, Θετταλούς τε καταιτιωμένη ὅτι δὴ τὰ ἐναγίσματα αὐτῷ, ὡς ἔθος ἦν, οὐκ ἐπετέλουν, μηνιῶσά τε εἰσέτι Τρωσὶ τῶν ἐς αὐτὸν πεπλημμελημένων, καὶ προστάττουσα τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ πέντε λόγους, οὓς ἂν αὐτός τε βούλοιτο καὶ αἱ Μοῖραι συγχωροῖεν, ἀνερέσθαι. εἰθ' ὁ πάντα εἰδὼς καὶ τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσιν αὐχῶν ἔτι ἀγνοεῖ, εἰ τάφου τύχοι Ἀχιλλεύς, καὶ εἰ Μουσῶν θρῆνοι καὶ Νηρηίδων ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγόνασι, καὶ περὶ τούτων αὐτὸν ἀνερωτᾷ καὶ διαπυνθάνεται εἰ Πολυξένη ἐπισφαγείη αὐτῷ, καὶ εἰ Ἑλένη ἐς Τροίαν ἐληλύθοι, ὡς σεμνά γε καὶ κατεπείγοντα εἰς τὸν φιλόσοφον βίον τοῦ ἥρωος· καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξια ἐρωτήματα. θαυμάζει δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις, εἰ τοσοῦτοι ἥρωες παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐνὶ χρόνῳ γεγόνασι, καὶ εἰ ἀφίκετο ἐς Τροίαν Παλαμήδης· τὸν δὴ θεῶν ὁρωμένων τε καὶ οὐχ ὁρωμένων ὁμιλητὴν τοιαῦτα ἀγνοεῖν, καὶ περὶ τοιούτων ἀνερωτᾶν, ποίας οὐχὶ γένοιτ' ἂν αἰσχύνης; εἰ μὴ ἄρα, ἐπειδὴ νεκροῖς ὁμιλῶν εἰσῆκται, ἐπὶ τι

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CHAP. XXIV
The ghost of Achilles

THE fourth wonder which he relates is how the soul of Achilles appeared close by his own sepulchre, dressed the first time in a tunic, and five cubits high, and subsequently growing till it was twelve cubits in stature, and accusing the Thessalians for not continuing according to custom to offer him the due funeral rites, and furthermore still nursing wrath against the Trojans for the wrongs which they had committed against him, and bidding Apollonius ask him questions on five topics, such as he himself might desire to learn about, and the Fates permit him to know of. We next learn that the omniscient one, who boasted of his prescience of future events, was still ignorant of whether Achilles had been buried, and of whether the Muses and Nereids had bestowed their dirges upon him. And accordingly he asked Achilles about these matters, and enquires most earnestly whether Polyxena had been slain over his tomb, and whether Helen had really come to Troy, —questions surely of a most solemn kind, and such as to stimulate others to lead the philosophical life of the hero, besides being in themselves of much importance. Thereupon he falls to wondering if there had ever been among the Hellenes so many heroes all at one time, and whether Palamedes had ever reached Troy. Surely it was disgraceful in the extreme that one who was the companion of gods, whether seen or unseen, should know so little of such matters as to need to ask questions again and again about them? Unless, indeed, because in this scene he is introduced as associating with the dead, the

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CAP. XXIV ψυχρότερον μεταποιεῖ τὰς πεύσεις ὁ συγγραφεύς, ὡς ἂν ὑπεκλύσειε τὴν ὑπόνοιαν τοῦ πέρα τῶν προσηκόντων αὐτὸν περιειργάσθαι δοκεῖν· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀπολογούμενον αὐτὸν ὑπογράφει, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ νεκρομαντείαν ὁ τρόπος αὐτῷ τῆς φανείσης ὄψεως γένοιτο, "οὔτε γὰρ βόθρον," εἶπεν, "Ὀδυσσέως ὀρυξάμενος, οὐδ' ἀρνῶν αἵμασι ψυχαγωγήσας, ἐς διάλεξιν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἦλθον, ἀλλ' εὐξάμενος ὁπόσα τοῖς ἥρωσιν Ἰνδοί φασι δεῖν εὔξασθαι." καὶ ταῦτα νῦν πρὸς τὸν ἑταῖρον ἀποσεμνύνεται ὁ μηδὲν μαθεῖν παρ' Ἰνδῶν, μηδὲ ζηλῶσαι τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς σοφίαν πρὸς τοῦ συγγραφέως μεμαρτυρημένος.

XXV

CAP. XXV Τί δῆτα οὖν, ὦ οὗτος, εἰ μή τις ἦν κακοήθης περιεργία, μηδὲ τὸν ἕνα σοι καὶ γνήσιον καὶ μόνον ἑταῖρον Δάμιν κοινωνὸν ἐποιοῦ τῆς θαυμαστῆς ταύτης ὄψεώς τε καὶ ὁμιλίας; τί δ' οὐχὶ καὶ δι' ἡμέρας τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐξῆν, ἀλλὰ τῶν νυκτῶν ἀωρὶ καὶ μόνον; τί δὲ καὶ ἤλαυνον τὴν τοῦ ἥρωος ψυχὴν ἀλεκτρυόνων βοαί; "ἀπῆλθε γάρ," φησι, "ξὺν ἀστραπῇ μετρίᾳ, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνες ἤδη ᾠδῆς ἤπτοντο." δαίμοσι μὲν οὖν πονηροῖς γένοιτ' ἂν ἴσως ὁ τῆς ὥρας ἐπιτήδειος εἰς περιέργους ὁμιλίας καιρός, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ἡρωίδι ψυχῇ, ἣν τῆς παχείας τοῦ

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author intentionally gives a frigid turn to his questions, in order to avert the suspicion of his having irreligiously pryed into the secrets of magic. For we may notice he represents him as arguing in his Apology that there was no colour of necromancy in the manner in which the spectre appeared to him, and says: "For without digging any trench like Odysseus, and without tempting the souls of the dead with the blood of lambs, I managed to converse with Achilles, merely by using the prayers which the Indians declare we ought to make use of in addressing heroes." This is how Apollonius now brags to his companion, although our author testifies that he had learned nothing from the Indians nor felt attracted by their wisdom. CHAP. XXIV

XXV

CHAP. XXV

Eusebius suggests that an evil spirit appeared to Apollonius

WHAT then is the reason, my good fellow, supposing that there was no devilish curiosity here at work, why he would not allow Damis, whom you admit to have been his sole and genuine and single companion, to share with him in this marvellous vision and interview? And why, too, was he not able to do all this by daytime, instead of doing it in the dead of night and alone? Why, too, did the mere cry of the cocks drive away the soul of the hero? For he says, "It vanished with a mild flash of lightning, for indeed the cocks were already beginning to crow." I cannot but think that evil demons would have found such an hour seasonable and appropriate for their devilish interviews, rather than the soul of a hero which, having been freed from the

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CAP. XXV σώματος ἐλευθερωθεῖσαν ὕλης ἀγαθὴν καὶ παν
ρετον εἶναι χρεών. ὅ γε μὴν εἰσηγμένος ἐνταῦ
δαίμων βάσκανος καὶ φθονερὸς τὸν τρόπον, ὀργίλ
τε καὶ ταπεινὸς τὴν διάθεσιν ὑποτετύπωται.
οὐχὶ τοιοῦτος ὁ τὸν Ἀντισθένην μειράκιόν
σπουδαῖον ὡς ἂν δὴ φιλοσόφῳ συνέπεσθαι
Ἀπολλωνίῳ πειρώμενον ἀπείργων; προστάτ
γὰρ τὸ μὴ ποιεῖσθαι αὐτὸν συνέμπορον τῆς ἑαυτ
φιλοσοφίας, ἐπιλέγων τὴν αἰτίαν· "Πριαμίδης
γάρ," φησιν, "ἱκανῶς ἐστι καὶ τὸν Ἕκτορα ὑμνῆ
οὐ παύεται." πῶς δὲ οὐκ ὀργίλος καὶ ταπεινὸς
Θετταλοῖς, ὅτι μὴ θύοιεν αὐτῷ, θυμούμενος, κα
Τρωσίν, ὅτι δὴ πρὸ μυρίων ὅσων ἐτῶν εἰς αὐτ
διημαρτήκασι, μὴ καταλλασσόμενος, καὶ ταῦτ
θύουσι καὶ συνεχῶς σπενδομένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ
Παλαμήδους τάφον αὐτῷ ἀγάλματι φαύλως ἐρρι
μένῳ ἀναλαβεῖν ἐγκελευόμενος;

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CAP. XXVI Τὸ μέντοι πέμπτον καὶ ἕκτον θαῦμα οὐ
πολλῆς ἂν δέοιτο τοῦ λόγου διατριβῆς εἰ
ἔνδειξιν τῆς τοῦ γράφοντος εὐχερείας· δαίμονας
γὰρ ἀπελαύνει ἄλλῳ ἄλλον, ᾗ φασι, δαίμονι
τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀκολάστου μειρακίου, τὸν δὲ ἐπι
πλάστως εἰς γυναικείαν μορφὴν σχηματιζόμενον

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crass matter of the body, must necessarily be good and unsullied. In any case the demon conjured up on this occasion is represented as of a malignant and envious disposition, both rancorous and mean in humour. For how else can we characterise one who drove away Antisthenes, a poor youth so serious that he was endeavouring to become a follower of the philosopher Apollonius? For Achilles insists that he shall not initiate him in his philosophy, and he adds the reason: "For," says he, "he is too much of a descendant of Priam, and the praise of Hector is never out of his mouth." And how could he be other than rancorous and mean, if he was wrath with the Thessalians for not sacrificing to him, and still refused to be reconciled to the Trojans, because thousands of years before they had sinned against him, and that although the latter were continually sacrificing and pouring out libations to him? The only exception is that he ordered Apollonius to restore the tomb of Palamedes, which together with his statue had fallen into decay. CHAP. XXV

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THE fifth and sixth miracles however in this book do not stand in need of much argument and discussion, so thoroughly do they prove our writer's easy credulity. For Apollonius, as they say, drives out one demon with the help of another. The first of the demons is expelled from an incorrigible youth, while the second disguises itself by assuming the form of a woman: and the latter our clever author CHAP. XXVI

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CAP. XXVI τουτονὶ δὲ τὸν δαίμονα ἔμπουσαν καὶ λάμιαν αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν ὁ σοφώτατος ἀποκαλεῖ. τό γε μὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως μετὰ ταῦτα κόριον, ὅ τι δὴ μετὰ θάνατον ἐπὶ δευτέραν ζωὴν ἤγαγεν, ἀπιστότατον καὶ αὐτῷ δόξαν τῷ Φιλοστράτῳ παραιτητέον. ἐν δισταγμῷ μέντοι ἀμφιβάλλει, μὴ ἄρα σπινθήρ τις ψυχῆς ἐνυπάρχων τῇ παιδὶ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας ἐλελήθει. λέγεσθαι γάρ φησιν, "ὡς ψακάζοι μὲν ὁ Ζεύς, ἡ δὲ ἀτμίζοι ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου." καὶ γὰρ δὴ εἰ ἀληθῶς αὐτῷ τοιόνδε ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης ἐπέπρακτο, οὐκ ἂν ἐλελήθει βασιλέα τε πρῶτον καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν ὑπάρχους ἅπαντας, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν φιλόσοφον Εὐφράτην ἐγχωριάζοντα κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης διατρίβοντα, ὃς δὴ εἰς ὕστερον τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαν, ὡς δὴ κατὰ γόητος, ὑποβάλλειν ἱστόρηται. πάντως γὰρ ἂν καὶ τοῦτο, εἰ δὴ τοῦτο γεγονὸς ἦν, ταῖς ἄλλαις κατ' αὐτοῦ διαβολαῖς πρὸς τοῦ κατηγόρου συγκατείλεκτο. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν μέρει καὶ κατ' εἶδος αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα τοσαῦτα, μυρία δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κατὰ πρόγνωσιν αὐτὸν λέγων προμαντεύσασθαί τε καὶ προειρηκέναι γράφει, καὶ ὡς Ἀθήνησι βουληθέντα μυηθῆναι τὰ Ἐλευσίνια ὁ τῇδε εἶρξεν ἱερεύς, μὴ ἄν ποτε φήσας μυήσεσθαι γόητα, μηδὲ τὰ Ἐλευσίνια ἀνοῖξαι ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ καθαρῷ τὰ δαιμόνια. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἀσελγῶς ἀγείροντι κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ τὰς Νέρωνος μετὰ κιθάρας ἐπὶ μισθῷ διεξιόντι

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CHAP. XXVI

The girl raised from the dead in Rome

calls by no other names than those of Empusa and Lamia. As for the damsel whom he is said subsequently to have brought back again to life in Rome after she had died, the story clearly impressed Philostratus himself as being extremely incredible, and we may safely reject it. Anyhow he hesitates and doubts, whether after all a spark of life might have not lingered on in the girl unnoticed by her attendants. For he says that according to report "it was raining at the time, and a vapour exhaled from the face of the girl." Anyhow if such a miracle had really been wrought in Rome itself, it could not have escaped the notice first of the emperor and after him of his subordinate magistrates, and least of all of the philosopher Euphrates who at the time was in the country and was staying in Rome, who indeed, as we learn later on, is related to have launched against Apollonius the accusation of being no other than a wizard. It would certainly too, had it actually occurred, have been included by the accuser among the other charges levelled against him. Well, just these and no more are the more particular and special achievements of Apollonius, although there are a myriad other cases in the book in which his sooth-sayings and prophecies are set down to his gift of foreknowledge; and we learn that at Athens, when he desired to be initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, the priest there would not admit him, and declared that he would never initiate a wizard nor throw open the Eleusinian mysteries to a man who was addicted to impure rites. We also hear about a lewd fellow who went begging about Rome, rehearsing the songs of Nero on his lyre for pay; and we are told that

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CAP. XXVI ᾠδάς, μισθὸν ἐπιδοῦναι τοῖς ἑταίροις τῆς σοφῆς ταύτης ἐπιτηδεύσεως ὁ φιλοσοφώτατος διὰ τὸν Νέρωνος φόβον προστάττει.

XXVII

CAP. XXVII Ἐν τούτοις καὶ τοῦ τετάρτου περιγραφέντος, ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῆς εἰπών τινα περὶ προγνώσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποθαυμάσας ὁ συγγραφεύς, ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν "ὅτι μὲν δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα δαιμονίᾳ κινήσει προέλεγε καὶ ὅτι τοῖς γόητα ἡγουμένοις τὸν ἄνδρα οὐχ ὑγιαίνει ὁ λόγος, δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα, σκεψώμεθα δὲ κἀκεῖνα· οἱ γόητες, ἡγοῦμαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ κακοδαιμονεστάτους ἀνθρώπων, οἱ μὲν ἐς βασάνους εἰδώλων χωροῦντες, οἱ δ' ἐς θυσίας βαρβάρους, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐπᾷσαί τι ἢ ἀλεῖψαι, μεταποιεῖν φασι τὰ εἱμαρμένα, ὁ δὲ εἵπετο μὲν τοῖς ἐκ Μοιρῶν, καὶ προέλεγεν, ὡς ἀνάγκη ἔσεσθαι αὐτά, προέλεγε δὲ οὐ γοητεύων, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν οἱ θεοὶ ἔφαινον· ἰδὼν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τοὺς τρίποδας καὶ τοὺς οἰνοχόους καὶ ὅσα αὐτόματα ἐσφοιτᾶν εἶπον, οὔθ' ὅπως σοφίζοιντο αὐτὰ ἤρετο, οὔτε ἐδεήθη μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπῄνει μέν, ζηλοῦν δὲ οὐκ ἠξίου." ταῦτα δὲ λέγων δῆλός ἐστι τοὺς περιβοήτους Ἰνδῶν φιλο-

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

XXVII

CHAP. XXVII

The charge of wizardry true

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

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CAP. XXVII

σόφους γόητας ἀποφαίνων. περὶ γάρ τοι γοήτων ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον μνημονεύει καὶ τούτων, σοφίζεσθαι δὴ τὰ παράδοξα λέγων αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῦ περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος, τῆς τοιασδὶ αὐτῶν σοφιστείας ὡς ἂν μὴ ἀστείας ἀλλότριον ὑποτιθέμενος. οὐκοῦν εἰ φαίνοιτο τούτους θεοὺς ἀποκαλῶν καὶ διδασκάλους ἐπιγραφόμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὥρα ταῖς κατὰ τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπάγειν διαβολαῖς. εἰσῆκται δὴ οὖν παρ' οἷς φησι γυμνοῖς Αἰγυπτίων, ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα φάσκων· "οὐκ ἀπεικός τε παθεῖν μοι δοκῶ φιλοσοφίας ἠττηθεὶς εὖ κεκοσμημένης, ἣν ἐς τὸ πρόσφορον Ἰνδοὶ στείλαντες ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς τε καὶ θείας μηχανῆς ἐκκυκλοῦσιν. ὡς δὴ ἐν δίκῃ μὲν ἠγάσθην, ἐν δίκῃ δὲ ἡγοῦμαι σοφούς τε καὶ μακαρίους, ὥρα μανθάνειν." καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησίν· "οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ θεοί τέ εἰσι καὶ κεκόσμηνται κατὰ τὴν Πυθίαν." καὶ Δομετιανῷ δὲ εἰσῆκται λέγων "καὶ τίς πρὸς Ἰάρχαν σοι πόλεμος ἢ πρὸς Φραώτην τοὺς Ἰνδούς; οὓς ἐγὼ μόνους ἀνθρώπων θεούς τε ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἀξίους τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης;" καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ ὁμοίως θεούς τε καὶ διδασκάλους τἀνδρὸς ἐπιγράψας ὁ λόγος τοὺς δεδηλωμένους, δακτυλίους τε παρ' αὐτῶν εἰληφέναι ὁμολογήσας αὐτόν, ἐπιλέλησται νῦν, καὶ συνδιαβάλλων τοῖς διδασκάλοις τὸν μαθητὴν οὐκ ἐπαίει.

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For notice that when he is arguing about wizards, he mentions them too and says that their marvels were cleverly contrived indeed, but that his hero held himself carefully aloof from such their contrivances, on the ground that they were not moral. If therefore we find Apollonius calling these Indians gods, and enrolling himself as their disciple, we have no alternative but to bring him also under the imputation under which his teachers lay. And accordingly he is introduced as saying among the so-called Naked sages of the Egyptians, the following,—I quote his very words: "It is then not unreasonable on my part, I think, to have yielded myself to a philosophy so highly elaborated, to a philosophy which, if I may use a metaphor from the stage, the Indians mount, as it deserved to be mounted, upon a lofty and divine mechanism before they wheel it out upon the stage. And that I was right to admire them, and that I am right in considering them wise and blessed, it is now time to learn." And after a little he says: "For they are not only gods, but are adorned with all the gifts of the Pythian prophetess." And he is introduced to Domitian with these words on his lips: "What war have you with Iarchas or with Phraotes, both of them Indians, whom I consider to be the only men that are really gods and that deserve this appellation?" And there are other passages also in which this history of Philostratus recognises the persons above mentioned as gods and teachers of the sage, and admits him to have accepted rings from them, but now he forgets all about it, and does not see that in maligning the teachers, he maligns the disciple.

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CAP. XXVIII

Ὑποβὰς δ' ἐν τῇ γραφῇ αὐλητὴν ὑποτίθεται καὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ὥσπερ τινὸς οὔσης μεγίστης καὶ σοφωτάτης ἐπιστήμης, τρόπους αὐλήσεως μάλα σπουδαίως μακροῖς τοῖς διεξηγήμασιν εἴροντα διεξέρχεται· καὶ αὐτοκράτορα Οὐεσπασιανὸν οἷα δὴ θεῷ προσεύξασθαι αὐτῷ ἱστορεῖ, καὶ τὸν μὲν ὡς εὐχῇ εἰρηκέναι τὸν Οὐεσπασιανόν· "ποίησόν με βασιλέα," τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι· "ἐποίησα." καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν μισήσειεν εὐλόγως τῆς ἀλαζονείας τὴν φωνήν, μανίας τὸ μηθὲν ἀποδέουσαν, ὅτε γε ἤδη αὐτὸς θεὸς καὶ βασιλέων ποιητὴς εἶναι φρυάττεται ὁ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας κυβερνήτης νεώς; τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος γεγονέναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὁμιλίαις μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν δεδήλωκε.

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CAP. XXIX

Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς δοκιμάζοι τῶν φιλοσόφων συμβούλους τῶν πρακτέων, γνωρίσαι αὐτῷ ἀξιοῦντι, κατὰ λέξιν φησίν· "ἀγαθοὶ δὲ τούτων σύμβουλοι καὶ οἵδε οἱ ἄνδρες, τὸν Δίωνα δείξας καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην μήπω αὐτῷ ἐς διαφορὰν ἥκοντα." καὶ αὖθις, "ὦ βασιλεῦ," εἶπεν, "Εὐφράτης καὶ Δίων πάλαι σοι γνώριμοι

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CHAP. XXVIII

Apollonius the king-maker

AND a little lower down in the book he brings a flute-player upon the stage, and he relates at length how Apollonius delivered himself with great gravity of long essays upon the different modes of playing the flute, as if it were the most important and clever of the sciences. And he relates how the Emperor Vespasian offered him prayers just as if he were a god, for we learn that Vespasian said in a tone of prayer: "Do thou make me Emperor," whereupon Apollonius answered: "I have made you so." What else can anyone do but loathe this utterance for its boastfulness, so nearly does it approach downright madness, for one who was the pilot of a ship in Egypt to boast of being himself a god already and a maker of kings? For Apollonius himself has informed us a little before in the course of his conversation with the Indian that his soul had previously been that of a pilot.

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CHAP. XXIX

Relations with Euphrates

AND to the same Emperor, when the latter asks him to notify to him those whom he most approved of among philosophers as advisers and counsellors of his policy, Apollonius replies in these words: "'These gentlemen here are also good advisers in such matters,' and he pointed to Dion and to Euphrates, because he had not yet quarrelled with the latter." And again, he said, "My sovereign, Euphrates and Dion have long been known to you

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CAP. XXIX

ὄντες πρὸς θύραις εἰσὶν οὐκ ἀφρόντιδες τῶν σῶν. κάλει δὴ κἀκείνους ἐς κοινὸν λόγον, σοφὰ γὰρ τὼ ἄνδρε." πρὸς ἃ Οὐεσπασιανός, "ἀκλείτους," ἔφη, "θύρας παρέχω σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν." εὖγε τῆς προγνώσεως τοῦ ἥρωος· Εὐφράτης μὲν ἀγαθός τε καὶ σοφός, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐς διαφοράν πω αὐτῷ ἐληλύθει· εἰ δ' ἔλθοι—ὅσον οὔπω δὲ τοῦτ' ἔσται—ὅρα οἷα περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς πρὸς Δομετιανὸν γράφει· "καὶ μὴν ὁπόσα γίγνεται φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ κολακεύοντι τοὺς δυνατοὺς δηλοῖ τὰ Εὐφράτου· τούτῳ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν, τί λέγω χρήματα; πηγαὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσι πλούτου, κἀπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν ἤδη διαλέγεται κάπηλος ὑποκάπηλος τελώνης ὀβολοστάτης, πάντα γιγνόμενος τὰ πωλούμενά τε καὶ πωλοῦντα, ἐντετύπωται δὲ ἀεὶ ταῖς τῶν δυνατῶν θύραις, καὶ προσέστηκεν αὐταῖς πλείω καιρὸν ἢ οἱ θυρωροί, ἀπελήφθη δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θυρωρῶν πολλάκις, ὥσπερ τῶν κυνῶν οἱ λίχνοι· δραχμὴν δὲ οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρί ποτε προέμενος, ἐπιτειχίζει νῦν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πλοῦτον, ἑτέροις τὸν Αἰγύπτιον τουτονὶ βόσκων χρήμασι καὶ ὄξυνων ἐπ' ἐμὲ γλῶτταν ἀξίαν ἐκτετμῆσθαι. Εὐφράτην μὲν δὴ καταλείπω σοί, σὺ γάρ, ἢν μὴ κόλακας ἐπαινῇς. εὑρήσεις τὸν ἄνθρωπον κακίω ἢ ἑρμηνεύω." ὁ δὴ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν σοφὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν τὸν Εὐφράτην μαρτυρόμενος, πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱὸν ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ διεξιών, δῆλος ἂν εἴη

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and they are at your door, and are much concerned for your welfare. Summon them also therefore to your conference, for they are both of them wise." Whereupon Vespasian answered: "I throw my doors open wide to wise men." What can we think of the prescience of our hero? On this occasion Euphrates is both good and wise, because he has not yet quarrelled with him; but when he has,—and before long he is going to,—then see how the same person writes to the Emperor Domitian: "And yet if you want to know how much a philosopher may attain by flattery of the mighty you have only to look at the case of Euphrates. For in his case why do I speak of wealth from that source? Why, he has perfect fountains of wealth, and already at the banks he discusses prices as a merchant might or a huckster, or a tax-gatherer or a low money-changer; for all these rôles are his if there is anything to buy or sell. And he clings like a limpet to the doors of the mighty, and you see him standing at them more regularly than any doorkeeper would do; indeed he is often caught by the doorkeepers, just as greedy dogs might be. But he never yet bestowed a farthing on a philosopher, but he walls up all his wealth within his house; only supporting this Egyptian out of other people's money, and sharpening his tongue against me, when it ought to be cut out. However I will leave Euphrates to yourself: for unless you approve of flatterers, you will find the fellow worse than I represent him." Surely one who first bears witness to Vespasian the father that Euphrates is a wise and good man, and then inveighs against him in this style to his son, is openly convicted of praising

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τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπαινῶν τε καὶ ψέγων. ἆρ' οὖν ὁ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων προειληφὼς γνῶσιν ἡγνόει, ὃς ἦν τε καὶ ἔσται τὸν τρόπον ὁ Εὐφράτης; καὶ γὰρ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ διαβάλλειν αὐτὸν ὡς δὴ το ἦθος μοχθηρότατον βούλεται. πῶς δὴ οὖν τὸν τοιόνδε συνίστη βασιλεῖ, ὡς καὶ ἀκλείστους αὐτῷ διὰ τὰς παρ' αὐτοῦ συστάσεις τῶν βασιλείων ἀναπεπετάσθαι τὰς πύλας; ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τυφλῷ, φασί, δῆλον ὡς ἄρα πρόγνωσιν μὲν συκοφαντεῖται πρὸς τοῦ συγγραφέως ὁ ἄνθρωπος, εἴη δ' ἂν ἄλλως γενναῖος, πάλαι μὲν πρὸ πείρας ἀφθόνως ἑταίροις, ἀτὰρ καὶ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ τῆς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια παρόδου κοινωνῶν, ὕστερον δὲ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἕνεκα τοιαῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγων. οὕπω μοι διαβάλλειν ὁ λόγος βούλεται τὸν ἄνδρα, ὡς ἂν τὸν Εὐφράτην συκοφαντοῦντα, φιλοσόφων γενόμενον τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδοξότατον, ὡς καὶ ἐς δεῦρ', οἷς μέτεστι φιλοσοφίας, ἆδεσθαι, ὃ καὶ μέγιστον λάβοι ἄν τις, εἰ βούλοιτο, παράδειγμα τῆς κατὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου διαβολῆς. εἰ γὰρ οὖν ὁ Εὐφράτης παρ' αὐτοῖς πάσῃ φιλοσοφίᾳ διαπρέψαι ὁμολογηθείη, ὥρα μισοπονηρίαν μὲν ἐκείνου κατηγορεῖν, ἐπεξιόντος τοῖς ἀτόπως ὑπὸ τοῦδε δρωμένοις, τουτονὶ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνου κατηγορούμενον φαύλην περιβάλλεσθαι δόξαν, ὅτι δὴ μὴ τὸν ἀρέσκοντα τῷ φιλοσόφῳ μετῄει βίον.

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and blaming the same person. Was it then the case that this man, who was endowed with knowledge of the future, did not know what the character of Euphrates was, nor what it was going to be? For it is not now the first time, but already in the case of Vespasian himself he is inclined to accuse him of being the worst of characters. How then is it that he recommended such a person to the sovereign so warmly, that in consequence of his recommendation the latter threw open wide the doors of his palace to him? Why, is it not clear to a blind man, as they say, that in the matter of foreknowledge the fellow is traduced by his own historian; though on other ground he might be regarded as an honest man, if we could suppose that originally, and before he learned by experience, he wished to gain access to the palace as freely for his friends, Euphrates included, as for himself, but was afterwards moved by his quarrel to use such language of him. I have no wish in thus arguing to accuse Apollonius of having falsely blamed Euphrates, who was the most distinguished philosopher of all the men of his age, so much so that his praises are still on the lips of students of philosophy. Not but what anyone who was minded to do so could take this as a palmary example of slander and back-biting and use it against Apollonius. For if Euphrates be really by their admission a leader in all philosophy, it is open to us to accuse his rival of censoriousness, when he attacks him for his monstrous conduct; and to suppose that the latter contracted his evil reputation because he was thus attacked by him for pursuing,—that was the accusation,—a life so little satisfactory to a philosopher.

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XXX

CAP. XXX Πάλιν ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ παραδοξολογῶν ὁ μυθολόγος ἄγει μὲν αὐτόν, ἅμα τοῖς ἑταίροις καμήλῳ ὀχούμενον, ἐφ' οὓς φησιν Αἰγυπτίων γυμνοὺς φιλοσόφους, ἔνθα δὴ προστάξαντος τοῦ γυμνοῦ πτελέα, φησί, τὸ δένδρον προσαγορεύει τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐνάρθρῳ καὶ θήλει τῇ φωνῇ, καὶ τούτοις γε ἡμᾶς ὁ Φιλαλήθης πιστεύειν ἀξιοῖ. εἶτα Πυγμαίους ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ τὴν τούτων ἱστορεῖ χώραν καὶ Ἀνθρωποφάγους καὶ Σκιάποδας, σάτυρόν τε πρὸς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου μεθυσκόμενον. ἐξ ἐκείνων δ' αὖθις ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὁμιλίαι τε πάλιν αὐτῷ καὶ προγνώσεις ἀνακοινοῦνται πρὸς Τίτον, καὶ δηχθέντα ἔφηβον ὑπὸ λυττῶντος κυνός, ὃν δὴ καὶ ἐμαντεύσατο, ὅς τις εἴη τὴν ψυχήν, ὅτι ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ποτὲ βασιλεὺς Ἄμασις, τῆς συμφορᾶς ἀπαλλάττει, μέχρι καὶ τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιτείνας τὸ φιλάνθρωπον.

XXXI

CAP. XXXI Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ πρὸ τῆς κατηγορίας αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα, ἐπιστῆσαι δ' ἄξιον δι' ὅλης τῆς πραγματείας, ὡς ὅτι κἂν ἀληθεύειν δοθῇ τῷ συγγραφεῖ τὰ παράδοξα, συνεργείᾳ δαίμονος ἕκαστον αὐτῷ διαπεπρᾶχθαι τούτων σαφῶς

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CHAP. XXX

The visit to the Naked Sages of Ethiopia

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

XXXI

CHAP. XXXI

Apollonius' miracles due to the co-operations of evil demons

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

[1] Eusebius confuses the mad dog of VI 43 with the tame lion of V 42.

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CAP. XXXI δείκνυται. τό τε γὰρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ προαισθέσθαι ἴσως μὲν οὐδὲ περίεργον ἂν δόξειεν, εἰ ἀπὸ λεπτοτάτης καὶ καθαρᾶς διαίτης κατείληπτο, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔφησεν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐξ ὁμιλίας δαίμονος αὐτῷ προμεμήνυτο. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὅσα κατὰ πρόγνωσιν διειληφώς τε καὶ προειρηκὼς εἰσῆκται, εἰ καὶ μυρίοις ἐλέγχοις ἐξ αὐτῆς πάρεστι τῆς τοῦ Φιλοστράτου γραφῆς εὐθύνειν, ὅμως ἵνα συγχωρηθείη καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι ἀληθές, κατὰ περίεργον μηχανὴν εἴποιμ' ἂν πρὸς δαίμονος αὐτῷ παρέδρου τινὰ τῶν μελλόντων, οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντα, κατειλῆφθαι. τοῦτο δὲ παρίστησι σαφὲς τὸ μὴ δι' ὅλου καὶ περὶ πάντων τὴν πρόγνωσιν αὐτὸν ἀποσώζειν, ἀπορεῖν δὲ ἐν πλείστοις καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι δι' ἄγνοιαν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἄν, εἰ θείας ἀρετῆς μετῆν αὐτῷ, πεπόνθει. καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ παῦσαι τὸν λοιμόν, ὁποῖον εἴληχε τὸ δρᾶμα, ὅτι φάσμα καὶ οὐδέν τι πλέον ἦν, προδεδήλωται. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ Ἀχιλλέως παρὰ τῷ αὐτοῦ μνήματι τί ἂν διατρίβοι, τὰς ἐν μακάρων νήσοις, ὡς ἂν φήσειέ τις, ἀπολείπουσα διαγωγάς, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο δαίμονος ἦν ἐπιφανείας παρουσία; καὶ τοῦ ἀσελγοῦς δὲ μειρακίου σαφῶς ἔνοικον δαίμονα, καὶ πάλιν, ἣν ἔφησεν ἔμπουσάν τε καὶ λάμιαν ἐμπεπαρῳνηκέναι τῷ Μενίππῳ, μείζονι τάχ' ἴσως ἐξελήλακε δαίμονι, ὁμοίως τε

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presentiment of the plague, though it might not seem to be magical and uncanny, if he owed it, as he himself said, to the lightness and purity of his diet, yet might quite as well have been a premonition imparted to him in intercourse with a demon. For though the other stories of his having grasped and foretold the future by virtue of his prescience can be refuted by a thousand arguments which Philostratus' own text supplies, nevertheless, if we allow this particular story to be true, I should certainly say that his apprehension of futurity was anyhow in some cases, though it was not so in all, due to some uncanny contrivance of a demon that was his familiar. This is clearly proved by the fact that he did not retain his gift of foreknowledge uniformly and in all cases; but was at fault in most cases, and had through ignorance to make enquiries, as he would not have needed to do, if he had been endowed with divine power and virtue. And the very cessation of the plague, according to the particular turn which was given to the drama, has already been shown to have been a delusion and nothing more. Moreover, the soul of Achilles should not have been lingering about his own monument, quitting the Islands of the Blest and the places of repose, as people would probably say. In this case too it was surely a demon that appeared to Apollonius and in whose presence he found himself? Then again the licentious youth was clearly the victim of an indwelling demon; and both it and the Empusa and the Lamia which is said to have played off its mad pranks on Menippus, were probably driven out by him with the help of a more important demon; the same is

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CAP. XXXI αὖ καὶ τὸν τὰς φρένας παρατραπέντα νεανία ὑπὸ τοῦ λυττῶντος κυνός, αὐτόν τε τὸν δαιμονῶντα κύνα τῇ αὐτῃ μετήλλαξε μεθόδῳ. ὅρα δὴ οὐ ἔφην, τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτῷ παραδοξοποιίαν, ὡς δι δαιμονικῆς ἀπετελεῖτο ὑπουργίας. τὸ γὰρ τῆ ἀναβιωσάσης κόρης, εἴγ' ἔμπνους ὑπῆρχε, σπιν θῆρα ψυχῆς κατὰ τὸν συγγραφέα καὶ ἰκμάδα ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου φέρουσα, περιαιρετέον τῆ θαυματοποιίας· οὐ γὰρ ἄν, ὡς καὶ πρόσθεν ἔφην σιωπῇ τὸ τηλικοῦτο παρεδόθη ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμη βασιλέως ἐπιπαρόντος γεγενημένον.

XXXII

CAP. XXXII Μυρία μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα πάρεστιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναλέξασθαι συγγραμμάτων, τό τε ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐέλεγκτον καὶ ἀσύστατον μυθῶδές τε καὶ τερατῶδες ἀπευθύνειν. ὅμως, ἐπεί γε οὐδὲ πολλῆς τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα δεῖται σπουδαιολογίας, οὐχ ὅτι γε ἐν θείοις καὶ παροδόξοις καὶ θαυμασίοις, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν φιλοσόφοις παρά τισι τῶν νῦν μνήμης ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῦ, τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀρκεσθέντες μετίωμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἕβδομον περὶ αὐτοῦ σύγγραμμα.

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true also of the youth who had been driven out of his mind by the mad dog; and the frenzied dog itself was restored to its senses by the same method. You must then, as I said, regard the whole series of miracles wrought by him, as having been accomplished through a ministry of demons; for the resuscitation of the girl must be divested of any miraculous character, if she was really alive all the time and still bore in herself a vital spark, as the author says, and if a vapour rose over her face. For it is impossible, as I said before, that such a miracle should have been passed over in silence in Rome itself, if it happened when the sovereign was close by. CHAP. XXXI Ch. 29

XXXII

THERE are a thousand other examples then which we may select from the same books, where the narrative refutes itself by its very incongruities, so enabling us to detect its mythical and miracle-mongering character. At the same time we need not devote too much attention and study to the gentleman's career, seeing that those of our contemporaries among whom his memory survives at all, are so far from classing him among divine and extraordinary and wonderful beings, that they do not even rank him among philosophers. This being so, let us be content with the remarks we have made, and proceed to consider the seventh book of his history. CHAP. XXXII

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XXXIII

CAP. XXXIII

Κατηγορεῖται δῆτα γοητείαν ὁ ἀνήρ. εἶτα Δημητρίῳ φιλοσόφῳ ἀποτρέποντι αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην παρόδου, μὴ πειθόμενος, ἐπαχθῆ τινα καὶ φορτικὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ὧδέ πως λέγει· "ἐγὼ δὲ γιγνώσκω μὲν πλεῖστα ἀνθρώπων, ἅτε εἰδὼς πάντα, οἶδα δὲ ὧν οἶδα τὰ μὲν σπουδαίοις, τὰ δὲ σοφοῖς, τὰ δὲ ἐμαυτῷ, τὰ δὲ θεοῖς." καὶ δὴ ὁ ἐν τούτοις πάντ' εἰδέναι μεγαλαυχούμενος, προϊὼν ἄγνοιάν τινων πρὸς τοῦ λόγου κατηγορεῖται. εἶτα Δάμις αὐτῷ μεταπλάττεται, διὰ θανάτου φόβον τὸν φιλόσοφον ἐπικρυπτόμενος. ἄκουε δ' οὖν τοῦ συγγραφέως, ἃ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν ἀπολογούμενος· "αἰτία μὲν ἥδε τοῦ μεταβαλεῖν τὸν Δάμιν τὸ τῶν Πυθαγορείων σχῆμα, οὐ γὰρ κακίᾳ γε αὐτὸ μεθεῖναί φησιν, οὐδὲ μεταγνούς, τέχνην δὲ ἐπαινέσας, ἣν ὑπῆλθεν ἐς τὸ συμφέρον τοῦ καιροῦ."

XXXIV

CAP. XXXIV

Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Φιλόστρατος τέσσαρας αἰτίας, τὰς δὴ εὐχερεῖς αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀπολογίαν νομισθείσας, ἐκτίθησιν, ἀπὸ πλείστων καὶ ἄλλων αὐτὰς ὁμολογῶν ἀνειλέχθαι, ὧν ἡ μέν τις ἦν, τί δῆτα

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

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After this Philostratus sets forth four counts of the indictment which he imagines it will be easy for his hero to defend himself from, and he admits that he has collected these out of a great many others. Of these the first was: What induced him CHAP. XXXIV

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CHAP. XXXIV

μαθὼν οὐ τὴν αὐτῆν ἅπασιν ἔχοι στολήν, ἡ δέ τοῦ χάριν οἱ ἄνθρωποι θεὸν αὐτὸν νενομίκασι τρίτην, πόθεν προείποι Ἐφεσίοις τὸν λοιμόν ἐπὶ ταύταις, τίνι βαδίσας εἰς ἀγρὸν ἀνατέμοι τὸν παῖδα τὸν Ἀρκάδα. πρὸς ταύτας δέ φησι καὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν αὐτὸν γεγραφέναι. πρότερον δ' ἱστορεῖ δεσμοῖς αὐτὸν παραδοθῆναι καί τι θαυμαστὸν ἐνταῦθα κατεργάσασθαι. τῷ γάρ τοι Δάμιδι μάλα λυπηρῶς, ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ τοῦ διδασκάλου, διακειμένῳ αὐτόματον ἐπιδεῖξαι λελυμένον τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὸ σκέλος, εἶτα πάλιν ἀναλαβόντ' αὐτὸν τῆς λύπης ἐνθεῖναι εἰς τὸ πρότερον σχῆμα τὸν πόδα. μετὰ τοῦτο κρινόμενον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ βασιλέως Δομετιανοῦ γράφει δὴ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολυθῆναι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων λύσιν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἀκαίρως, μοι δοκεῖν, ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα ἀναφωνῆσαι, "δός, εἰ βούλει, κἀμοὶ τόπον, εἰ δὲ μή, πέμπε τὸν ληψόμενόν μου τὸ σῶμα, τὴν γὰρ ψυχὴν ἀδύνατον. μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ' ἂν τὸ σῶμα τοὐμὸν λάβοις·

οὐ γάρ με κτενέεις, ἐπεὶ οὔτοι μόρσιμός εἰμι."

καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ περιβοήτῳ ῥήματι ἀφανισθῆναι τοῦ δικαστηρίου φησὶν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ καταστρέφει δρᾶμα.

XXXV

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Ὁ μὲν οὖν συγγραφεὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ δεσμωτήριον θαύματος, κατὰ φαντασίαν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ παρέδρου δαίμονος τῷ Δάμιδι ἑωραμένου, ἐπι-

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to wear a different robe from everybody else? and the second: Why was it that men esteemed him to be a god? the third, How had he managed to predict the plague to the Ephesians? and last of all: In whose behoof had he gone to a certain field and cut up the Arcadian boy? To meet these then he alleges Apollonius to have written an apology. But first of all he relates how he was cast into prison, and the miracle which he wrought there. For we hear that Damis was extremely downcast at the misfortunes which he imagined had befallen his teacher; whereupon Apollonius showed him his leg released without effort from the chain. Then having thus alleviated his follower's grief, he put his foot back again into its former condition and habit. After that he was brought to trial before the Emperor Domitian, and we read that he was acquitted on the charges, and that after being so acquitted he, with curious inopportuneness, as it seems to me, cried out in the court exactly as follows: "Accord me too, if you will, an opportunity to speak; but if not, then send someone to take my body, for my soul you cannot take. Nay you cannot even take my body, 'for thou shalt not slay me, since I tell thee I am not mortal.'" And then after this famous utterance, we are told that he vanished from the court, and this is the conclusion of the whole drama. CHAP. XXXIV

XXXV

Now in regard to the miracle in the prison, which it seems was an illusion, imposed on the eyes of Damis by the familiar demon, our author adds the CHAP. XXXV

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CAP. XXXV φέρει λέγων, "τότε πρῶτον ὁ Δάμις φησὶν ἀκριβῶς ξυνεῖναι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου φύσεως, ὅτι θεία τε εἰη καὶ κρείττων ἀνθρώπου, μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ; μηδὲ εὐξάμενον, μηδὲ εἰπόντα τι, καταγελάσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ, καὶ ἐναφῆμόσαντα αὐτῷ τὸ σκέλος τὰ τοῦ δεδεμένου πράττειν." ἐγὼ δὲ οὔποτ' ἂν καταγνοίην βραδυτῆτα τοῦ φοιτητοῦ, εἰ τὸν πάντα βίον συνὼν αὐτῷ, καὶ διά τινων περιέργων ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἀποτελοῦντα τὰ παράδοξα, οὐδέν τι διαφέρειν αὐτὸν ἡγεῖτο τῆς θνητῆς φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν μετὰ τοσαύτην θαυματουργίαν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀγνοεῖ, εἰκότως δ' ἀγωνιᾷ καὶ δέδιε ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου, μή τι πάθοι παρὰ προαίρεσιν. εἰ δὲ δὴ πρῶτον ἄρτι μετὰ τὴν τοσαύτην διατριβήν, ὅτι δὴ θεῖος εἴη καὶ κρείττονος ἀνθρώπου φύσεως, συνίησι, τὴν τούτου συνιδεῖν ἄξιον αἰτίαν, ἣν αὐτὸς ὁ συγγραφεὺς δηλοῖ λέγων, "μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, μηδὲ ἐπευξάμενον, μηδέ τι τῶν ἀπορρήτων εἰρηκότα" τὸ παράδοξον ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν πεποιηκότα. οὐκοῦν τὰ πρότερον διὰ περιέργου μηχανῆς ἐτελεῖτο τῷ ἀνδρί, διὸ μηδὲ καταπλήττεσθαι αὐτά, μηδὲ θαυμάζειν τὸν Δάμιν· εἰκότως δὲ νῦν τοῦτο πρῶτον πέπονθεν, ὡς ξένου τινὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρὰ

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following remark; "Damis says that it was then for the first time that he truly understood the nature of Apollonius, to wit that it was divine and superhuman; for without offering any sacrifice,—and how indeed in prison could he have offered one?—and without a single prayer, without even a word, he quietly laughed at the fetters, and then inserting his leg in them afresh, he comported himself like any other prisoner." I should be the last to accuse his pupil of being a dull-witted man, because, after being with him all his life, and witnessing him work miracles by means of certain uncanny agencies, he failed to regard him as in any way superior to the rest of mortal men; but now after such a display of thaumaturgic energy as the above, he is still ignorant of his true character; and taking him to be a mere man he is full of anxiety (as in that case he might well be), and full of apprehension in his behalf, lest any affliction should come upon him against his own wish and will. But if indeed it was now for the first time, after having passed so long a time with him, that he realised that he was indeed divine, and superior to the rest of the human race, then it behoves us to scrutinize the reason which our author alleges for his doing so, in these words: "For without any sacrifice, and without a single prayer, and without uttering a single mysterious word" he saw that he had wrought this miracle. It follows that the fellow's earlier feats were accomplished by the help of some uncanny trick, and that is why, as he says, Damis was not astounded at these things, nor filled with wonder by them. Naturally, then he now for the first time experienced these feelings, because he felt that his master had accomplished

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CAP. XXXV τὰ συνήθη διαπεπραγμένου. πρὸς τὸ δειχθὲν δὲ τοῦ δεσμοῦ φάσμα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἀναχώρησιν, τὰς πρός Δομετιανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου φωνὰς παραθείμην ἄν· δεσμοῖς γάρ τοι αὐτὸν παραδοθῆναι προστάξαντος βασιλέως, πάνυ γε ἀκολούθως ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος συνελογίσατο ὠδί πως· "εἰ μὲν γόητά με ἦγῇ, πῶς δήσεις; εἰ δὲ δήσεις, πῶς γόητα εἶναι φήσεις;" ἀντικρούσει γοῦν αὐτῷ τις ὠδί πως ἐκ τούτων ὁρμώμενος· εἰ μὲν οὐ γόης, πῶς λέλυταί σου τὸ σκέλος; εἰ δὲ λέλυται, πῶς οὐ γόης; καὶ εἰ τῷ ὑπομεῖναι τὸν δεσμὸν οὐ γόης, τῷ μὴ ὑπομεῖναι καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ὡμολόγηται γόης. καὶ αὖ πάλιν, εἰ ὑπομείνας τὸ δικαστήριον οὐ γόης, τῷ δὲ διαδρᾶναι τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν βασιλέα, λέγω καὶ τοὺς ἐν κύκλῳ δορυφόρους, σαφῶς ἀναπέφανται γόης. ὃ δή μοι δοκῶ, συνῃσθημένος ὁ λόγος θεραπεύει τὸ γεγονός, ὡς δὴ ἄνευ θυσιῶν καὶ ἐπῳδῶν ἀρρήτῳ τινὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον δυνάμει τοῦ παραδόξου πεφηνότος.

XXXVI

CAP. XXXVI Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν αὖθις ὁ τῆς φύσεως παραστήσεται ἔλεγχος· αὐτίκα γάρ τινος ἐπιστάντος αὐτῷ καὶ φήσαντος, "ἀφίησί σε, ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, τουτωνὶ τῶν δεσμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ

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something which was quite unusual and contrary to his habitual performances. In reference however to the phantom chains shown to Damis and to his departure from the law-courts, I will quote the words which Apollonius himself addresses to Domitian. For when the monarch ordered him to be thrown into chains, Apollonius, with perfect consistency, argued as follows: "If you think me a wizard, how will you bind me? And if you bind me, how can you say that I am a wizard." Surely one may invert this argument and use it against him somewhat as follows, keeping to his own premisses: If you are not a wizard, then how was your leg liberated from the chains? and if it was liberated, then how are you not a wizard? And if, because he submits to the chains, he is not a wizard, then if he does not submit to them, he is a wizard by his own admission. And again if, because he submitted to be brought to trial, he was not a wizard, he was yet clearly revealed as such when he ran off and eluded the court and retinue of the Emperor, I mean of course the bodyguard that stood round him. Now I believe that our author is aware of this, and endeavours to gloze over the fact, when he pretends that this miracle was exhibited without sacrifice or any sort of incantation by some ineffable and superhuman power. CHAP. XXXV

XXXVI

MOREOVER we have not got to go far, before a fresh test of his character is supplied to us; for presently a messenger presents himself and says: "O Apollonius, the Emperor releases you from these chains, and permits you to reside in the jail where CHAP. XXXVI

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CAP. XXXVI

ἐλευθέριον δεσμωτήριον συγχωρεῖ οἰκεῖν," ὁ κρείττων ἢ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τῶν μελλόντων προγνώστης,

κωφοῦ τε ξυνιεὶς καὶ οὐ λαλέοντος ἀκούων,

ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν, ὡς εἰκός, περιχαρείας ἀποπεσὼν τῆς προγνώσεως πυνθάνεται, λέγων, "τίς οὖν ὁ μετασκευάσων με ἐντεῦθεν;" ὁ δέ, "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "καὶ ἔπου."

XXXVII

CAP. XXXVII

Εἶτα καὶ λόγον ἀπολογίας ὁ θειότατος μάλα γε πεφροντισμένως συντάττει, ἀγνοῶν, ὅτι δῆτα εἰς μάτην αὐτῷ σπουδασθήσεται ἡ γραφή. οἴεται μὲν γὰρ ἀκούσεσθαι αὐτοῦ ἀπολογουμένου βασιλέα, καὶ ὡς ἀκουσομένου γε σφόδρα πιθανῶς παρασκευάζεται τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ὁ δὲ ταύτην μὴ ἀναμείνας εἰς οὐ δέον αὐτοῦ τὴν σπουδὴν κατεστήσατο. ἄκουε δὴ οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτων, οἷά φησιν ὁ ἔλεγχος· "ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ λόγος αὐτῷ συνεγράφη τις ὡς πρὸς ὕδωρ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἀφήσοντι, ξυνεῖλε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ τύραννος ἐς ἃς εἴρηκα ἐρωτήσεις, ἀναγεγράφθω καὶ ὁ λόγος." ὅρα δή, πῶς τοῦ μέλλοντος πορρωτάτω τυγχάνων ὁ πάντα θειότατος, μετὰ πλείστης ὅσης φροντίδος ὡς πρὸς ὕδωρ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ποιησόμενος ἐσπούδαζεν.

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prisoners are not bound"; whereupon Apollonius, CHAP. XXXVI
who is superior to mankind and has foreknowledge of what is coming, and according to the poet

"Hath understanding of the dumb and heareth him
who speaks not"

is so overjoyed, as well he might be, at the news, that he suddenly drops out of his gift of foreknowledge, and asks outright: "Who then will get me out of this place?" and the messenger replied: "I myself, so follow me."

XXXVII

NEXT this most divine of men composes in the CHAP. XXXVII
most careful of manners an harangue in defence of himself, quite unaware that after all his composition would prove a mere waste of effort. For he imagines that the Emperor will listen to his defence of his case, and on that assumption he arranges his apology along extremely plausible lines; but the latter by refusing to wait, renders all his trouble useless and unnecessary. I would ask you then to listen to the following, for what he says is a refutation of himself: "But inasmuch as he had composed an oration which he meant to deliver in defence of himself by the clock, only the tyrant confined him to the questions which I have enumerated, I have determined to publish this oration also." Note then how utterly at fault this entirely divinest of beings was about the future, if he took so much trouble and care to proportion the length of his apology to the time allowed him by the water-clock.

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XXXVIII

CAP. XXXVIII

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ διεξιτητέον καὶ τὴν εἰς μάτην αὐτῷ πεποιημένην ἀπολογίαν, ἅ, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν ταύτῃ, Δομετιανῷ προσφωνῶν ἀπαυθαδίζεται λέγων, ὡς ἄρα Οὐεσπασιανὸς "σὲ μὲν βασιλέα ἐποίησεν, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐγένετο." βαβαὶ τῆς ἀλαζονείας, ἣν οὔτι γε ὁ τυχών, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἰ φιλόσοφός τις ἀληθῶς, καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ὑπεραίρων ἐγεγόνει φύσιν, ἐτερατεύσατο ἂν μὴ οὐχὶ δίκην ἀνοίας παρὰ τοῖς ἔμφροσιν ὑποσχών. εἶτα δὲ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ὑποψίας ἑαυτὸν ἀπολυόμενος ταῦτα περὶ γοήτων φησίν. "ἀλλὰ τοὺς γόητας ψευδοσόφους φημί, τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς. καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἄπιστα εἶναι." καταμάθοι δ' οὖν τις ἔκ τε τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας καὶ τῶν ἐν μέρει δεδηλωμένων, πότερα ἐν θείοις καὶ φιλοσόφοις ἢ ἐν γόησιν αὐτὸν κατατακτέον, ἐπιστήσας οἷς τε αὐτὸς περὶ γοήτων καὶ ψευδοσόφων εἴρηκε καὶ οἷς δεδήλωκεν ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστορία· δρύες τε γὰρ καὶ πτελέαι ἐνάρθρῳ καὶ θήλει φωνῇ λαλοῦσαι, καὶ τρίποδες αὐτόματοι φοιτῶντες, καὶ χάλκεοι θεράποντες διακονούμενοι, πίθοι τε ὄμβρων καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ σανδαράκινον ὕδωρ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα εἰσῆκται, παρ' οἷς ἡγεῖτο θεοῖς, οὓς καὶ οὐκ ὤκνει διδασκάλους ἐπιγράφεσθαι, τίνος ἂν εἶεν παραστατικὰ ἢ τῶν "τὰ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὄντα

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CHAP. XXXVIII

But we must not omit to pass in review the defence which he so vainly composed, for it contains among many examples of the arrogance with which he addressed Domitian, the following utterance, to wit, when he says "as Vespasian made you Emperor, so I made him." Heavens, what braggadocio! No ordinary person anyhow, nor any real philosopher either, transcending the rest of mankind, could indulge in such high-faluting bombast without exposing himself in the eyes of sensible men to a charge of being mad. Next in trying to rid himself of the suspicion which weighed upon him, he holds the following language concerning magicians and wizards; "But I call wizards men of false wisdom, for with them the unreal is made real, and the real becomes incredible." One may learn then from the whole treatise and from the particular episodes set forth therein, whether we ought to rank him among divine and philosophic men or among wizards. We have only to observe what he himself has said about wizards and falsely wise men together with what is published in his own history. For when oak trees and elms talk in articulate and feminine tones, and tripods move of their own accord, and waiters of copper serve at table, and jars are filled with showers and with winds, and water of sandarac and all the other things of the kind are introduced among those whom he accounted gods and also did not hesitate to entitle his teachers, of whom else are all these things characteristic, except of people who can exhibit "the unreal as real and the real as

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CAP. XXXVIII

ἄπιστα εἶναι" παραδεικνύντων; οὓς αὐτὸς γόητας ὀνομάζων, ψευδοσόφους ὑπάρχειν ἀποφαίνεται. ἤτοι οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ θεῖος καὶ ἐνάρετος καὶ θεοῖς κεχαρισμένος τὸ σοφίας ἀναδησάμενος βραβεῖον, αὐτοῦ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν, ὅσοι μετ' ἐκεῖνον, θειότερος ἀληθῶς καὶ μακρῷ εὐδαιμονέστερος ἂν κριθείη, ἢ ἔμπαλιν ψευδοσοφίας ἁλοὺς κακοδαιμόνων ἀποίσεται τὰ πρωτεῖα.

XXXIX

CAP. XXXIX

Πάλιν δ' ἐν τῇ γραφῇ περὶ Μοιρῶν ἰσχύος φιλοσοφῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ φησί, διδάσκοντα οὕτως ἄτρεπτα εἶναι, ἃ κλώθουσιν, ὡς εἰ καὶ βασιλείαν τῳ ψηφίσαιντο ἑτέρῳ ἤδη ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ' ἂν ἀποκτείνειέ τις τοῦτον, ὡς μὴ ἀφαιρεθείη ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν, καὶ ἂν ἀναβιῴη ἀποθανὼν ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξάντων ταῖς Μοίραις. καὶ τούτοις ἐπιλέγει αὐταῖς συλλαβαῖς· "ὅτῳ πέπρωται γενέσθαι τεκτονικῷ, οὗτος, κἂν ἀποκοπῇ τὼ χεῖρε, τεκτονικὸς ἔσται, καὶ ὅτῳ νίκην ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δρόμου ἄρασθαι, οὗτος δ', οὐδ' εἰ πηρωθείη τὸ σκέλος, ἁμαρτήσεται τῆς νίκης, καὶ ὅτῳ ἔνευσαν Μοῖραι τὸ ἐν τοξικῇ κράτος, οὗτος οὐδ' εἰ ἀποβάλοι τὰς ὄψεις, ἐκπεσεῖται τοῦ εὐσκόπου." τούτοις τὸν ἄρχοντα κολακεύων ἐπιφέρει λέγων, "τὰ δὲ τῶν

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incredible"? In himself calling the latter wizards, he shows that they are people whose wisdom is false. Is it then on the strength of these things that this divine man, endowed with all virtue and the darling of the gods, is to bind on his brow the prize of wisdom, and to be accounted truly more divine than Pythagoras and his successors, and to be considered far more blessed than he; is he not rather to be found guilty of false wisdom and carry off the first prize for wretches?

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CHAP. XXXIX

The discourse about the Fates in Ionia

In the same book we are told that he had reasoned in Ionia about the power of the Fates, and had taught that the threads they spin are so immutable that, if they decree a kingdom to another which already belongs to some one, then, even if that other were slain by the possessor for fear lest he should ever have it taken away by him, the latter would yet be raised from the dead and live again in fulfilment of the decrees of the Fates; and he continues in these very words: "He who is destined to become a carpenter, will become one, even though his hands have been cut off; and he who has been predestined to carry off the prize for running in the Olympic games, will never fail to win, even though he break his leg; and the man to whom the Fates have decreed that he shall be an eminent archer, will not miss the mark, even though he lose his eyesight." And then by way of flattering the sovereign he adds the following: "And in drawing

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βασιλέων ἔλεγον ἐς τοὺς Ἀκρισίους δήπου ὁρῶν καὶ τοὺς Λαΐους Ἀστυάγην τε τὸν Μῆδον καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους εὖ τίθεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα δόξαντας, ὧν οἱ μὲν παῖδας, οἱ δὲ ἐγγόνους ἀποκτείνειν οἰηθέντες, ἀφῃρέθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὸ βασιλεύειν, ἀναφύντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ξὺν τῷ πεπρωμένῳ· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἠγάπων κολακευτικήν, εἶπον ἂν καὶ τάδε ἐντεθυμῆσθαι, ὅτε ἀπείληψο μὲν ὑπὸ Βιτελλίου, κατεπίμπρατο δὲ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Διὸς περὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς τοῦ ἄστεος, ὁ δ' εὖ κείσεσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔφασκεν, εἰ μὴ διαφύγοις αὐτόν—καίτοι μειράκιον ἱκανῶς ἦσθα, καὶ οὔπω οὗτος—ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἐπεὶ Μοίραις ἐδόκει ἕτερα, ὁ μὲν ἀπώλετο αὐταῖς βουλαῖς, σὺ δὲ τὰ ἐκείνου νῦν ἔχεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἁρμονίᾳ κολακευτικῇ ἄχθομαι, δοκεῖ γάρ μοι τῶν ἐκρύθμων τε καὶ οὐκ εὐφθόγγων εἶναι, τετμήσθω μοι ἥδε ἡ νευρὰ καὶ μηδὲν ἡγοῦ τῶν σῶν ἐντεθυμῆσθαί με." διὰ τούτων δὲ ὁμοῦ τὸν ἄνδρα κόλακα καὶ ψεύστην καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόσοφον ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας παρίστησι λόγος, τοσαῦτα γὰρ πρότερον εἰπὼν κατὰ τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ κολακεύει νῦν ὁ γεννάδας, καὶ καθυποκρίνεται ὡς οὐδέν τι κατ' αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ Μοιρῶν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνάγκης ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ κεκινημένων.

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my examples from royalty, I had reference, I admit, to the Acrisii and to the house of Laïus, and to Astyages, the Mede, and to many other monarchs who thought that their power was well established, and of whom some were supposed to have slain their own children and others their descendants, yet were deprived by them of their thrones, when they grew up and issued forth against them out of obscurity in accordance with destiny. Well, if I were inclined to flattery I should have said that I had your own history in my mind, when you were blockaded by Vitellius, and the temple of Jupiter was burnt on the brow of the hill overlooking the city. And Vitellius declared that his own fortune was assured, so long as you did not escape him, although you were at the time quite a stripling, and not the man you are now. And yet because the Fates had decreed otherwise, he perished with all his counsels, while you are now in possession of his throne. However, since I abhor the forced concords of flattery, for it seems to me that they are everything that is out of time and out of tune, let me at once cut this string out of my lyre, and request you to consider that on that occasion I had not your fortunes in my mind." In this passage, a treatise written ostensibly in the interest of truth draws a picture of a man who was at once a flatterer and a liar, and anything rather than a philosopher; for after inveighing so bitterly on the earlier occasion against Domitian, he now flatters him, generous fellow that he is, and pretends that the doctrines he mooted in Ionia about the Fates and Necessity, so far from being directed against him rather told in his favour.

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Ἀνάλαβε δῆτα τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὦ συγγραφεῦ, καὶ τῆς μέθης διανήψας τὰ πρότερόν σοι γραφέντα λαμπρᾷ καὶ φιλαλήθει δίελθε τῇ φωνῇ, μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος, ὡς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διατρίβων "ἀφίστη Δομετιανοῦ τοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁπάντων ἐρρώννυε σωτηρίας, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐπιστολιμαίους ὁμιλίας οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς αὐτοῖς ᾤετο, τῶν δὲ ἑταίρων τοὺς σωφρονεστάτους ἄλλοτε ἄλλον ἀπολαμβάνων, "διάκονον," ἔλεγε, "ποιοῦμαί σε ἀπορρήτου λαμπροῦ, βαδίσαι δέ σε χρὴ ἐς Ῥώμην παρὰ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα καὶ διαλεχθῆναί οἱ," καὶ ὡς "διελέγετο μὲν ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης καὶ τὸν λόγον διήει, ὅτι μηδὲ οἱ τύραννοι τὰ Μοιρῶν οἷοι βιάζεσθαι," καὶ ὡς "χαλκῆς εἰκόνος ἱδρυμένης Δομετιανοῦ πρὸς τῷ Μέλητι, ἐπιστρέψας ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς παρόντας, "ἀνόητε," εἶπεν, "ὡς πολὺ διαμαρτάνεις Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης· ᾧ γὰρ μετὰ σὲ τυραννεῦσαι πέπρωται, τοῦτον καὶ εἰ ἀποκτείνειας, ἀναβιώσεται." ὁ δὴ μετὰ τοὺς τοιουσδὶ λόγους κολακεύων τὸν τύραννον, καὶ μηδέν τι τούτων ὡς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρῆσθαι αὐτῷ κατειρωνευόμενος, πῶς οὐ μοχθηρίας ἁπάσης ἂν καὶ ἀνελευθερίας κριθείη, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ψευδηγόρους τινὰς καὶ κατηγόρους τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀληθεῖς συγγραφέας θείη τις τοὺς ταῦτα μνήμῃ παραδεδωκότας; καὶ ποῦ τοῦ Φιλαλήθους "οἱ παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἥκοντες, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς τιμῶντες

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

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CAP. XXXIX συγγραφεῖς, Δάμις τε ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁ καὶ συνδιατρίψας τῷ δηλουμένῳ καὶ Φιλόστρατος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος," ἀφ' ὧν ταῦτα παρατίθεται, οὓς σαφῶς οὕτως ἐναντιολογοῦντας, κομπάζοντάς τε ἀληθῶς, καὶ τοῖς μαχομένοις παρισταμένους ψεύστας ἐναργῶς καὶ ἀπαιδεύτους καὶ γόητας, τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ φέγγος διήλεγξεν;

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CAP. XL Ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀπαλλαγέντα τοῦ δικαστηρίου, ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ ἱστορεῖ βουλόμενον εἰς Τροφωνίου κατελθεῖν, μὴ ἐπιτρέπεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, γόητα καὶ τούτων ἡγουμένων αὐτόν. καίτοι ἄξιον ἀπορῆσαι παραθέμενον τὰς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ Φιλοστράτου λέξεις, ἐν αἷς ἀπορῶν, ὅτι δὴ γόητα αὐτὸν ὑπειλήφασιν, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα θαυμάζει, λέγων "Ἐμπεδοκλέα μὲν καὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Δημόκριτον τοῖς αὐτοῖς μάγοις ὡμιληκότας οὔπω ὑπῆχθαι τέχνῃ, Πλάτωνά τε παρὰ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱερέων τε καὶ προφητῶν πολλὰ παρειληφότα, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀναμίξαντα λόγοις, οὐδαμῶς δόξαι τισὶ μαγεύειν, τουτονὶ δὲ οὔπω γιγνώσκεσθαι παρ' ἀνθρώποις, ὅτι δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθινῆς ὁρμῷτο σοφίας, μάγον δὲ αὐτὸν πάλαι τε καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν νενομίσθαι, τῷ μάγοις

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at once most highly educated and respectful of the truth, namely Damis the philosopher who even lived with the man in question and Philostratus the Athenian?" For these are the authors who lay these facts before us, and they are clearly convicted by the light of truth, since they thus contradict themselves, of being vapouring braggarts and nothing else, convicted by their inconsistencies of being downright liars, men devoid of education and charlatans. CHAP. XXXIX

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CHAP. XL

Apollonius refused at Lebadea

THE story proceeds to tell us that after all this, Apollonius, liberated from the court, made up his mind to descend into the cave of Trophonius in Lebadea; but the people there would not allow him to do so, because they too regarded him as a wizard. Surely it is legitimate in us to be puzzled, when one compares what one reads at the beginning of the book of Philostratus, I mean the passage where he owns that he is puzzled at people having regarded his hero as a wizard, and expresses his surprise at the circumstance, remarking withal, that "although Empedocles and Pythagoras and Democritus had consorted with the same Magi without ever stooping to the magic art, and Plato had derived much from the priests and prophets in Egypt, and had mingled their ideas with his own discourses, without ever being held by anyone to be a magician, yet men so far had failed to recognise his hero as one inspired by the purest wisdom, but had long since accounted him a magician and still did so, because he had

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CAP. XL. Βαβυλωνίων Ἰνδῶν τε Βραχμᾶσι καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων Γυμνοῖς ὡμιληκέναι." τί δῆτα οὖν εἰρήσεται πρὸς αὐτόν; ὦ οὗτος, τῷδε τῷ ἀνδρὶ τί τοιοῦτο ἐπεχειρεῖτο, ὡς μόνον γόητα πάλαι τε καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν νενομίσθαι παρὰ τοὺς τηλικούτους ἄνδρας, οἳ τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτῷ, ὡς φῄς, διδασκάλων πεπειραμένοι, διέπρεψαν μὲν καὶ καθ' οὓς ἐγνωρίζοντο χρόνους, καὶ εἰς τοὺς μετέπειτα δὲ τῆς σφῶν φιλοσοφίας ἀοίδιμον καταλελοίπασι τὴν ἀρετήν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα πέρα τῶν προσηκόντων ἐγχειρῶν τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι φανερὸς καθειστήκει; αὐτίκα τῶν νῦν εἰσιν, οἳ περιέργους μηχανὰς τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀνακειμένας προσηγορίᾳ κατειληφέναι λέγουσιν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔμοιγε τούτοις φίλον προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τἀνδρὸς ἀκόλουθα τοῖς προτέροις συντάττων, οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ἐξέφηνεν εἰδέναι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἱστορεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Λίνδῳ παρελθόντα ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἄλλους δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ, καὶ τοσαύτην ἄγνοιαν τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν τέλους κατασκεδάσας βούλεται αὐτὸν ἐς οὐρανὸν αὐτῷ σώματι χωρῆσαι. ἐσδραμόντος γὰρ ἐς ἱερόν φησι κλεισθῆναι τὰς πύλας καὶ τινὰ ᾠδὴν ἀδόκητον παρθένων ἐκπεσεῖν, τὸ δὲ ᾆσμα εἶναι· "στεῖχε, στεῖχε ἐς οὐρανόν, στεῖχε." λέγει δέ, ὡς μήτε τάφῳ μήτε κενοταφίῳ τοῦ ἀνδρός πω περιτύχοι, καίτοι τῆς γῆς, ὁπόση ἐστίν, φήσας ἐπελθεῖν πλείστην, καὶ βούλεται αὐτῷ ἡ διάνοια μηδὲ ὅλως θανάτου τὸν ἄνδρα θιγεῖν, πρότερον μὲν γὰρ

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consorted with the Magi of Babylon and the Brahmans of India, and the Naked sages of Egypt." What answer then can we make to him, except this?—My good fellow, what was your hero up to in this line, for him alone to have been regarded both long ago and now as a wizard in contrast with these great men; who though, as you admit, they had made trial of the same teachers as he, yet were eminent both in the age in which they flourished, and also bequeathed to posterity in their philosophy a gift of such excellence that its praises are still sung. Is such a contrast possible, unless he was caught by men of good sense meddling with things that were unlawful? There are still among our contemporaries those who say that they have found superstitious devices dedicated in the name of this man; though I admit I have no wish to pay attention to them. However as regards his death, although Philostratus follows in his book the accounts of earlier writers, he declares that he knows nothing of the truth; for he says that people in Ephesus related that Apollonius died there, while others said that he died in Lindus after entering the temple of Athene, and others in Crete; and after shedding so much doubt on the manner of his end, he yet inclines to believe that he went to heaven body and all. For he says that after he had run into the temple, the gates were closed and a strange hymn of maidens was heard to issue from the building, and the words of their song were: "Come, come, to heaven, come." But he says that he had never come across any sepulchre or cenotaph of his hero, although he had visited the greater part of the whole earth; but what he would like us to believe is that his hero never encountered

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Death of Apollonius

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CAP. XL ἀμφιβάλλων περὶ τοῦ τρόπου, καθ' ὃν ἐτελεύτα, φησὶν " εἴγε ἐτελεύτα," ὕστερον δὲ διαρρήδην καὶ ἐς οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν χωρῆσαι φάσκει. ὅθεν ὡς δὴ τοιοῦτον ὄντα, καὶ κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον τῆς γραφῆς καὶ καθ' ὅλην τὴν γραφήν, Πυθαγόρου καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους θειότερόν φησι προσεληλυθέναι φιλοσοφίᾳ.

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CAP. XLI Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις περιγραφομένου τοῦ λόγου, βραχέ' ἄττα περὶ Μοιρῶν καὶ εἱμαρμένης φέρε διαλάβωμεν, ὅ τι καὶ βούλοιτο δι' ὅλης αὐτῷ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ὁ λόγος, τὸ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀναιρῶν, ἀνάγκην δὲ εἰσάγων καὶ εἱμαρμένην καὶ Μοίρας, διαθροῦντες, ταύτῃ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐντελῶς καὶ ἡ ἐν δόγμασι ψευδοδοξία τἀνδρὸς διευθυνθήσεται. εἰ δὴ οὖν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας λόγον ψυχὴ πᾶσα ἀθάνατος, τὸ γὰρ ἀεικίνητον ἀθάνατον, τὸ δ' ἄλλο κινοῦν καὶ ὑφ' ἑτέρου κινούμενον, παῦλαν ἔχον κινήσεως, παῦλαν ἔχει ζωῆς, καὶ αἰτία ἑλομένου, θεὸς ἀναίτιος, τίς αἱρεῖ λόγος, ἄκουσαν, οὐχὶ δὲ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ἀψύχου δίκην σώματος ἔξωθέν ποθεν κινουμένην, καὶ ὥσπερεὶ νευροσπαστουμένην ὧδε κἀκεῖσε, τὴν ἀεικίνητον

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

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

Condemns Apollonius' doctrine of Fate as destructive of responsibility

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CAP. XLI

ἄγεσθαι φύσιν μηδὲν μηδαμῶς ἐξ ἰδίας ὁρμῆς καὶ κινήσεως ἐνεργοῦσαν, μηδὲ εἰς ἑαυτὴν τὴν τῶν δρωμένων ἀναφέρουσαν αἰτίαν· ταύτῃ τε μήτε φιλοσοφοῦσαν ἐπαινετέαν τυγχάνειν, μήτ' αὖ ψεκτήν, κακίας ἔμπλεων καὶ πονηρίας; τί δῆτα οὖν Εὐφράτῃ λοιδορούμενος καταμέμφῃ, ὦ τᾶν, εἰ μὴ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξ εἱμαρμένης ἐπὶ τὸ κέρδος ἐκδούς, ὡς αὐτὸς ἀξιοῖς, ὠλιγώρει φιλοσοφίας; τί δὲ καὶ γόησιν ἐνυβρίζεις, ψευδοσόφους ἀποκαλῶν, ὑπὸ Μοιρῶν, ὡς ἦγῇ, καθελκομένους ἐπὶ τὸν κακοδαίμονα βίον; τί δὲ κακίαν ἁπλῶς ὀνομάζεις, καὶ πονηρός τις ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ κρίνεται παρὰ σοί, τὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἱμαρμένον ἀποπληρῶν ὅρον; καὶ ἔμπαλιν τίνι λόγῳ Πυθαγόραν σεμνολογῶν θαυμαστὸν ἐπιγράφῃ διδάσκαλον, καὶ Μοιρῶν παίγνιον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐραστὴν ὄντα φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἀπολείπεις ἐπαινῶν; Φραώτης δὲ καὶ Ἰάρχας οἱ Ἰνδῶν φιλόσοφοι, τί μᾶλλον παρὰ σοὶ θεῶν ἀπηνέγκαντο δόξαν, μηδέν τι παιδείας ἴδιον μηδ' ἀρετῆς ἀπενεγκάμενοι κλέος; Νέρωνος δ' ὡσαύτως καὶ Δομετιανοῦ τί οὐχὶ Μοίραις καὶ ἀνάγκῃ τὴν ἀκόλαστον περιάπτεις ἀγερωχίαν, πάσης αἰτίας καὶ παντὸς ἐγκλήματος ἐλευθέρων τοὺς ἄνδρας; ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τῳ πέπρωται, ὡς φῄς, δρομικῷ καὶ τοξικῷ καὶ τεκτονικῷ, οὕτω δὴ καὶ εἰ γόητι τὸν τρόπον ὄντι μάγῳ ἀναφανῆναι μιαφόνῳ τε καὶ

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and thither. The nature which ever moves itself would, on such an hypothesis, effect nothing of its own initiative and movement, nor could it refer to itself the responsibility of its actions. In such a case, when it reasoned of truth it would surely not be worthy of praise; nor on the other hand be blameworthy, because it was filled with vice and wickedness? Why then, I would ask you, my good fellow, do you revile Euphrates and find fault with him, if it is not of his own initiative, but by the force of destiny, that he devoted himself to gain, as you pretend, and neglected the philosophical ideal? And why do you insult wizards, by calling them false sophists, if they are dragged down by the Fates, as you believe, to their miserable life? And why do you keep in your vocabulary at all such a word as vice, when any evil man is unjustly condemned by you, since it is by necessity that he fulfils his destined term? And again on what principle do you solemnly enroll yourself a disciple of the wonderful teacher Pythagoras, and insist on praising one who, instead of being a lover of philosophy, was a mere toy in the hands of the Fates? And as for Phraotes and Iarchas, the philosophers of the Indians, what have they done to win from you the reputation of being gods, unless the glory they acquired by their culture and virtue was their own? And in the same way with regard to Nero and Domitian, why do you not saddle upon the Fates and on Necessity the responsibility for their unbridled insolence, and acquit them of all responsibility and blame? But if as you say a man who is destined to be a runner, or an archer or a carpenter, cannot avoid being so, surely also if it has been destined that a man should be a wizard, and,

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πονηρῷ καὶ ἀκολάστῳ, πάντως που ἐξ ἀνάγκης τοιόσδε τις ἀποβήσεται. τί δῆτα οὖν περινοστῶν τοῖς μὴ οἵοις τε τυχεῖν διορθώσεως ἀρετὴν προκηρύττεις; ἢ τί καταμέμφῃ τοῖς τὴν μοῖραν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀτοπωτάτοις; τί δὲ καί, εἰ αὐτῷ σοι πέπρωτο θείῳ ὄντι τὴν φύσιν ὑπερᾶραι βασιλέων δόξης, εἰς διδασκάλων ἐφοίτας καὶ φιλοσόφων, Ἀραβίους τε καὶ Βαβυλωνίων μάγους καὶ σοφοὺς Ἰνδῶν ἐπολυπραγμόνεις; πάντως γάρ που, καὶ τῆς τούτων δίχα κοινωνίας, τὰ ἐκ Μοιρῶν ἐτελεῖτό σοι.

Τί δὲ καὶ οἷς νομίζεις θεοῖς τὰ μελιττοῦτα καὶ τὸν λιβανωτὸν εἰς μάτην ῥιπτεῖς, εὐσέβειάν τε ἐπιμορφαζόμενος ἐπ' εὐχὰς τρέπεσθαι τοὺς ἑταίρους παρορμᾷς; αὐτός τε εὐχόμενος τί παρὰ θεῶν αἰτεῖς, ὁπότε καὶ τούτων ὁμολογεῖς τὴν εἱμαρμένην κρατεῖν; καὶ μὴν ἔδει τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς παραμειψάμενον, Ἀνάγκῃ μόνον καὶ Μοίραις θύειν, καὶ τοῦ Διὸς αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον τὴν εἱμαρμένην προτιμᾶν. οὕτω δ' ἄν σοι θεοὶ μὲν οὐκέτ' ἂν ἦσαν, καὶ εἰκότως, ἅτε μηδὲ ἀνθρώπους οἷοί τε ὠφελεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ πέπρωτο τοὺς Ἐφεσίους ἁλῶναι λοιμῷ πολίτας, τί τἀναντία νομοθετῶν παρακρούῃ τὴν εἱμαρμένην; μᾶλλον δὲ πῶς ὑπερῆρας τὴν Μοῖραν, τρόπαιον ὥσπερ κατ' αὐτῆς ἀράμενος; εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κλωθοῦς ἐπὶ τῇ

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that being his character, a magician or a murderer and a wicked man and a reprobate, come what will, he must of necessity end by being such a person. Why then do you go wandering about, preaching the virtues to those who are incapable of reform? Why do you blame those who are the monsters they are, not of their own choice, but by predestination? And why too, if it was decreed by fate that you yourself being of a divine nature should transcend the glory of kings, did you visit schools of teachers and philosophers, and trouble yourself about Arabians and about the Magi of Babylon, and the wise men of India? For in any case surely, even without your holding communications with them, the decrees of the Fates were bound to be fulfilled in your case. CHAP. XLI

And why do you vainly cast before those whom you consider to be gods, your honey-cake and your frankincense, and putting on the cloak of religion encourage your companions to be diligent at their prayers? And what do you yourself in your prayers ask of the gods, inasmuch as you admit that they too are subject to Destiny? Nay you ought to make a clean sweep of all the other gods, and sacrifice to Necessity alone and to the Fates, and pay your respects rather to Destiny than to Zeus himself. In that case no doubt you would have no gods left; and rightly too, seeing that they are not even able to help mankind. And again, if it were decreed by fate that the citizens of Ephesus should be afflicted with pestilence, why did you sanction the opposite and so try to thwart destiny? Nay, why did you dare to transcend destiny, and as it were raise a trophy over her? And again in the case of the maiden raised to life, the thread of Clotho had reached its

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CAP. XLI κόρῃ τὸ νῆμα πέρας εἰλήχει, πόθεν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς μετὰ θάνατον ἀναδησάμενος τῷ μίτῳ τὸν ἄτρακτον, ζωοποιὸς αὐτῇ παραπέφηνας;

Ἀλλ' ἴσως Μοῖραι καὶ σὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἦγον. οὔτι πω φήσεις κατ' ἀξίαν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ὃς πρὸ τῆς εἰς τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα παρόδου τῶν ἐν θαλάττῃ καὶ κύμασι διατριβόντων γεγονέναι σεαυτὸν λέγεις, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ὡς εἰκὸς καὶ τοῦτο. οὔκουν θαυμάσιος οὔτε τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως καὶ τροφῆς, οὔτε τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδείας, οὔτε τῆς ἐν ἀκμῇ σώφρονος ἀγωγῆς, οὔτ' ἀσκήσεως τῆς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ, ἦν δ' ἄρα τις Μοιρῶν ἀνάγκη καὶ εἰς Βαβυλωνίους ἐλαύνουσα, ὠθούμενος δ' ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς Ἰνδῶν ὡμίλεις σοφοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Γυμνοὺς οὐχ ἡ προαίρεσις, οὐδ' ὁ φιλοσοφίας πόθος, Μοῖρα δὲ ἦγεν ἄγχουσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ Γάδειρα καὶ τὰς Ἡρακλείους στήλας, ἐῷον τε καὶ ἑσπέριον Ὠκεανὸν ἁλᾶσθαι καὶ αὐταῖς ἀτράκτοις εἰς μάτην ἐξεβιάζετο περιστρέφεσθαι. εἰ δὲ δὴ μετειληφέναι τι σοφίας αὐτὸν ἐκ τούτων εἴποι τις, Μοῖρα καὶ τούτων αἰτία, καὶ οὐκέτ' ἂν ἐν φιλομαθέσιν ὁ ἀνὴρ καταλεχθείη, οὐδ' ἂν εὐλόγως θαυμασθείη τῆς οὐ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἀνάγκην αὐτῷ πορισθείσης φιλοσοφίας. ἐν ἴσῳ δ' ἂν συγκρινόμενος εἴη κατ' αὐτὸν Πυθαγόρας αὐτὸς καί τι

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limit, and that being so why did you, when she was dead, bind a fresh thread on the spindle, by coming forward yourself in the rôle of the saviour of her life? CHAP. XLI

But perhaps you will say the Fates drove you also on to these courses. Yet you cannot say that they did so out of respect to your merits; far from it, seeing that before you passed into this body of yours, you were yourself, by your own account, a sea-faring man who spent his life upon the waves, and that of necessity, for even this could not have been otherwise. There is therefore nothing remarkable about your earliest birth, or your upbringing, or your education in the circle of arts, or in your wise self-discipline in the prime of your life, or of your training in philosophy; for it was after all some necessity of the Fates that led you to Babylon, and you were as it were driven on to associate with the sages of India; and it was not your own will and choice, nor a love of philosophy either, but Fate that led you in her noose to the Naked sages of the Egyptians, and to Gadeira and to the pillars of Hercules; and it was she who forced you to wander about the eastern and western oceans, and along with her spindles whirled you idly around. But if anyone admits, as they must, that his endowment with wisdom was due to these causes, then it was destiny that was responsible for them; and we must no longer reckon your hero among those who are fond of learning, nor can we with any pretence of reason admire a philosophy which was provided, not intentionally, but by necessity, for him. And we shall have to class on one and the same level, according to him, Pythagoras himself with any pretentious and abject slave, and

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CAP. XLI τερατῶδες καὶ ἀπερριμμένον ἀνδράποδον, Σωκράτης αὐτὸς φιλοσοφίας ὑπεραποθνήσκων καὶ οἱ τοῦτον θανάτου ἄξιον γραψάμενοι, Διογένης τε καὶ τὰ Ἀθηναίων μειράκια, καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὁ σοφώτατος οὐκ ἂν διαφέροι τοῦ ἀφρονεστάτου, καὶ ὁ ἀδικώτατος τοῦ δικαιοτάτου, ὅ τε ἀκολαστότατος τοῦ σωφρονεστάτου, καὶ ὁ δειλότατος τοῦ ἀνδρειοτάτου, εἱμαρμένης καὶ Μοιρῶν παιγνίων τούτων ἁπάντων ἀποδεδειγμένων.

XLII

CAP. XLII Ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρὸς ταῦτα τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ κῆρυξ ἀναβοήσεται λέγων· ὦ ἄνθρωποι, θνητὸν καὶ ἐπίκηρον γένος, ποῖ δὴ φέρεσθε τὸν τῆς ἀγνωσίας ἄκρατον ἐμπιόντες; λήξατε ποτὲ καὶ διανήψατε τῆς μέθης, καὶ διανοίας ὀρθοῖς ὄμμασι τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐνοπτρίσασθε πρόσωπον. οὐ θέμις ἀλήθειαν πολεμεῖν ἑαυτῇ καὶ μάχεσθαι, οὐδὲ δυοῖν ἐναντιωτάτοιν μίαν ὑφεστάναι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας τὰ πάντα κρατούσης θείοις νόμοις διατέτακται τὸ πᾶν, ἀνθρώπων τε ψυχῆς ὅρος αὐτοκράτορά τε καὶ κριτήν, ἡγεμόνα τε καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ καθίστησι, φυσικοῖς νόμοις καὶ φιλοσόφων δόγμασιν ἐκδιδάσκων, ὡς ἄρα τῶν ὄντων τὰ μέν ἐστιν ἐφ' ἡμῖν, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν μέν, ὅσα γένοιτ' ἂν κατὰ προαίρεσίν τε καὶ πρᾶξιν, ἃ καὶ φύσει ἐλεύθερα ἀκώλυτα ἀπαρεμπόδιστα

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Socrates himself, who died in behalf of philosophy with those who accused him and clamoured for his death, Diogenes, too, with the golden youth of Athens; and, to sum up, the wisest man will not differ from the most imprudent, nor the unjustest from the justest, nor the most abandoned from the most temperate, nor the worst of cowards from the greatest of heroes; for they have all been demonstrated to be playthings of destiny and of the Fates. CHAP. XLI

XLII

However, the herald of truth will raise his voice against such arguments, and say: O ye men, mortal and perishable race, whither are you drifting, after drinking the unmixed cup of ignorance? Be done with it at last, wake up and be sober; and, raising the eyes of your intelligence, gaze upon the august countenance of truth. It is not lawful for truth to be in conflict and contradiction with herself; nor that of two pronounced opposites there should exist but one and the same ground and cause. The universe is ordered by the divine laws of the providence of God that controls all things, and the peculiar nature of man's soul renders him master of himself and judge, ruler and lord of himself; and it teaches him through the laws of nature, and the tenets of philosophy, that of things which exist some are within our own control, but others not; and within our control is everything which comes into being in accordance with our will and choice and action, and these are naturally free, unhindered and unimpeded. But such CHAP. XLII

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CAP. XLII τυγχάνει· τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀσθενῆ δοῦλα κωλυτὰ ἀλλότρια, ἃ καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἐκτός, ἄψυχά τε ὄντα καὶ ἄλογα, καὶ πάντῃ τῆς ἰδίας τοῦ λογικοῦ ζῴου φύσεως ἀλλοτρίαν τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει. τῶν δ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν τὴν ἐπὶ θάτερα ὁρμὴν ἀρετῆς τε καὶ κακίας ἕκαστος ἐν αὐτῇ κέκτηται προαιρέσει, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν ὅλων δεσπόζον τε καὶ ἡγεμονοῦν εὐθέως περαίνει κατὰ φύσιν περιπορευόμενον, τῷ δ' αἰεὶ συνέπεται δίκη τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρός, τῶν δ' ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις ὁρμῶν οὐ Μοίρας, οὐδὲ εἱμαρμένης, οὐδ' ἀνάγκης αἰτία· αἰτία ἑλομένου, θεὸς ἀναίτιος. εἰ δὴ θρασύνοιτό τις τῷ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀντιπολεμῶν, μὴ παρακαλυπτέσθω οὗτος· ἀθεότητα ἀναφανδὸν διεξαγορευέτω, μὴ πρόνοιαν, μὴ θεόν, μηδέ τι ἄλλο πλὴν Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης ὁμολογῶν, καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τούτοις γυμνῇ προσκαταλεγέτω κεφαλῇ, μὴ σοφόν, μὴ ἄφρονα, μὴ δίκαιον, μὴ ἄδικον, μὴ ἐνάρετον, μὴ φαῦλον, μὴ γόητα, μὴ θεῖον ἐν ἀνθρώποις γίνεσθαι φύσει, μὴ φιλοσοφίαν εἶναι, μὴ παιδείαν, μηδ' ὅλως τέχνην τινά, μηδὲ ἐπιστήμην, μή τινα ἄλλον τὴν φύσιν ἀγαθὸν ἢ πονηρὸν ἀποκαλείτω, πάντα δὲ συλλήβδην ἀνάγκῃ καὶ Μοιρῶν ἀτράκτοις περιδινεῖσθαι. ἄθεος δῆτα καὶ δυσσεβὴς οὗτος ἐν εὐσεβῶν καὶ ἐν φιλοσόφων ἀπογεγράφθω κριτηρίῳ. εἰ δ', ἐπικαλυπτόμενος ἕτερα, δοξάζειν ἐπιχειροῖ πρόνοιαν

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things as are not in our control are weak and servile, restrained and alien to ourselves; for example, our bodily processes and external objects which are both lifeless and destitute of reason, and in their manner of existence wholly foreign to the proper nature of a reasonable living creature. As for things which are in our control, each one of us possesses in the will itself alternative impulses of virtue and vice; and while the principle which controls the universe and governs it executes its rounds in direct accordance with nature, it is at the same time always accompanied by a justice which punishes infractions of the divine law; but for the motives on which we act the responsibility lies not with destiny nor fate, nor with necessity. It lies with him who makes the choice, and God is not to be blamed. If therefore anyone is so foolhardy as to controvert the fact of our responsibility, let him be duly exposed; aud let him openly proclaim that he is an atheist, seeing that he does not recognise either providence or God or anything else except the Fates and necessity. And let him bare-headed enumerate the consequences of these doctrines, let him cease to call anyone wise or foolish, just or unjust, virtuous or vicious, or charlatan; let him deny that anyone is divine in our humanity, that there is any philosophy, any education, in a word any art of any kind, or science, let him not call anyone else by nature good or evil, but admit that everything whatever is whirled round in an eddy of necessity by the spindles of the Fates. Let such a person then be registered as an atheist and impious man in the tribunal of the pious and of philosophers. And if anyone under the cloak of other opinions undertakes

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CAP. XLII καὶ θεούς, Μοῖραν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ εἱμαρμένην τις ἀνακηρύττοι, μαχομένοις καὶ ἐναντίοις παριστάμενος δόγμασιν, ἐν ἄφροσι δίκην ἀνοίας παρασχὼν καταγεγράφθω. ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐν φιλοσόφων διατριβαῖς ἀξιοῖεν ἔτι καταλέγειν τινὲς τὸν ἄνδρα, λελέξεται, ὡς ἄρα εἰ ἀποκαθήρειαν τῆς ἔξωθεν λύμης, ἀτὰρ καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς γραφῆς ἐπεισκυκλουμένης αὐτῷ σκευῆς, φθόνος πᾶς αὐτοῖς ἐκποδὼν ἂν εἴη· ὅρους δ' εἰ ἀληθείας προϊών τις ὑπὲρ φιλοσόφους ἐκθειάζειν αὐτὸν πειρῷτο, λάθοι ἂν αὐτῷ γόητος ἀτεχνῶς διαβολὴν ἐπεντρίβων, ὡς ταυτὶ τὰ συγγράμματα σοφιστικῶς ἀναπεπλασμένα οὐδὲν πλὴν ἐλέγχου καὶ δεινῆς τἀνδρὸς διαβολῆς παρὰ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσιν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ περιέχειν.

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to entertain ideas of Providence and of the gods, yet in addition to these champions the cause of Destiny and Fate, so upholding conflicting and opposed opinions, let him be classed among the senseless and condemned to pay the penalty of his folly. This then is so. But if after this there still remain those who are disposed to register this man's name in the schools of philosophers, it shall be said that, even if they succeed in clearing him from the filth thrown by others, nay in disentangling him from the pinchbeck properties in which the author of this book has wheeled him in upon the stage, we shall raise no objection to their doing so. At the same time if anyone ventures to overpass the limits of truth and tries to deify him as no other philosopher has been deified, he will at the best, though unawares, be rubbing into him the accusation of wizardry; for this work of pretentious sophistry can only serve, in my opinion, to convict him, and lay him open in the eyes of all men of sense to this terrible accusation. CHAP. XLII

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