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PHILOSTRATUS

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PHILOSTRTATUS

I
APOLLONIUS OF TYANA. (?)  
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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
F. C. CONYBEARE, M.A.
LATE FELLOW AND PRELECTOR OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD

IN TWO VOLUMES

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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 vi
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
aretaologi 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
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 Gymnososophists 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...
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

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.
PHILOSTRATUS

BOOK I
ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

ΤΑ ΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΤΑΝΕΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ

Α'

I

CAP. I. Οἱ τῶν Σάμιον Πυθαγόραν ἐπανοῦντες τάδε ἐπ’ αὐτῷ φασίν· ὡς Ἰων μὲν οὐπώ εὑη, γένοιτο δὲ ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτὲ Εὐφορβός, ἀναβιοὶ τε ἀποθανὼν, ἀποθάνου δὲ, ὡς φίλαι Ὀμῆρος; ἐσθητά τε τὴν ἀπὸ θυγατερίων παρατείνον καὶ καθαρεύοι βρώσεως, ὁπόση ἐμψύχουν, καὶ θυσίας· μὴ γὰρ αἰμάτειν τοὺς βωμοὺς, ἀλλὰ ἡ μελιττοῦτα καὶ ὁ λιβανωτὸς καὶ τὸ ἐφυμνῆσαι, φοιτᾶν ταῦτα τοῖς θεοῖς παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, γιγνώσκειν τε, ὡς ἀσπάζοιντο τὰ τοιαύτα οἱ θεοὶ μᾶλλον ἡ τὰς ἐκατόμβας καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ἐπὶ τοῦ κανοῦ. ξυνεῖναι γὰρ δὴ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ μανθάνειν παρ’ αὐτῶν, ὅπῃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις χαίρουσι καὶ ὅπῃ ἄχθουται, περί τε φύσεως ἑκείθεν λέγειν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῦ θείου καὶ δόξας ἀνομοίους ἀλλή-
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
CAP. λας περὶ αὐτοῦ δοξάζειν, ἐαυτῷ δὲ τὸν τε Ἄπολλων ἥκειν ὀμολογοῦντα, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐγώ, ἐξευθείαν δὲ καὶ μὴ ὀμολογοῦντας τὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὰς Μοῦσας καὶ θεοὺς ἑτέρους, ὅψ τὰ εἶδη καὶ τὰ ὄνομα ταύτω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους γιγνώσκειν. καὶ ὁ τι ἀποφήναιτο ὁ Πυθαγόρας, νόμον τούτο οἷς ὀμιλητὰ ἡγοῦντο καὶ ἐτίμων αὐτὸν ὡς ἐκ Δίως ἦκοντα, καὶ ἡ σιωπὴ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου σφίσιν ἐπήκειτο· πολλὰ γὰρ θεία τε καὶ ἀπόρρητα ἦκοντο, ὅτι καὶ τὸ σιωπᾶν λόγοις. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν Ἀκραγαντίνων Ἐμπεδοκλέα βαδίσαι φασὶ τὴν σοφίαν ταύτην, τὸ γὰρ

χαίρετ', ἐγὼ δ' ὤμμιν θεὸς ἀμβροτος, οὐκέτι θυμῆτος καὶ

ἡδη γὰρ ποτ' ἐγὼ γενόμην κόρη τε κόρος τε καὶ ὁ ἐν Ὅλυμπίᾳ βοῦς, ὅν λέγεται πέμμα ποιησάμενος θύσαι, τὰ Πυθαγόρου ἐπαινοῦντος εἰη ἄν. καὶ πλεῖον ἑτερα περὶ τῶν τὸν Πυθαγόρου τρόπουν φιλοσοφησάντων ἱστοροῦσιν, ὅτι οὐ προσήκει με νῦν ἀπτεσθάι σπεύδοντα ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον, νῦν ἀποτελέσαι προοθέμην.
Life of Apollonius, Book I

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

"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.
CAP. II

'Αδελφα γὰρ τούτους ἐπιτηδεύσαντα Ἀπολλώνιον, καὶ θειότερον ἢ ὁ Πυθαγόρας τῇ σοφίᾳ προσελθόντα τυραννίδος τε ὑπεράραντα, καὶ γενόμενον κατὰ χρόνους οὕτ' ἀρχαίους οὕτ' αὖ νέους οὕτω οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ γνωστοκούσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄληθείας σοφίας, ἦν φιλοσόφως τε καὶ ύγίως ἐπησκησεν, ἀλλὰ ὁ μὲν τὸ, ὁ δὲ τὸ ἐπανεῖ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, οἱ δὲ, ἐπειδὴ μάγοις Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ Ἰνδῶν Βραχμᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ Γυμνοῖς συνεγένετο, μάγον ἤγοινται αὐτὸν καὶ διαβάλλουσιν ὡς βιαίως σοφόν, κακῶς γνωστοκούτες. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε γὰρ καὶ Πυθαγόρας αὐτὸς καὶ Δημόκριτος, ὀμιλήσαντες μάγοις καὶ πολλὰ δαμόνια ἐπιτύμπανες, οὐπω ὑπήκοθαν τῇ τέχνῃ. Πλάτων τε βαδίσας ἐσ Αἴγυπτον καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐκεί προφητῶν τε καὶ ἱερέων ἐγκαταμίξας τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ λόγοις, καὶ καθ' ἀπερ ζωγράφος ἐσκιαγραφημένοις ἐπιβαλῶν χρώματα, οὕτω μαγευέων ἑδοξε, καὶ τοιο πλείστα ἀνθρώπων φθονηθέις ἐπὶ σοφίας. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ προαισθέσθαι πολλὰ καὶ προγνῶσι διαβάλλων ἄν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐσ τὴν σοφίαν ταύτην, ἡ διαβεβληστεῖ γε καὶ Σωκράτης ἐφ' ὦς παρὰ τοῦ δαμονίου προεγίνοσκε, καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας ἐφ' ὦς προὐλεγε· καὶ τοῖς οὐκ οἴδε τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν Ὀλυμπίασι μὲν, ὅποτε ἦκιστα ὑπὲρ, παρελθόντα ὑπὸ κωδίως ἐς τὸ στάδιον ἐπὶ προρρήσει ὄμβρου, οἰκίαν
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 Brahmins 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
CAP. ΙΙ

τε, ώς πεσείται, προειπόντα μὴ ψεύσασθαι, πεσεῖν γάρ, νῦκτα τε ώς ἔξ ἡμέρας ἔσται, καὶ ώς λίθοι περὶ Ἀιγὸς ποταμοῦ τοῦ ὦρανοῦ ἔκδοθήσονται, προ-
αναφωνῆσαντα ἀληθεύσαι; καὶ σοφία τἀῦτα τού Ἀναξαγόρου προστιθέντες ἀφαιροῦνται τὸν Ἀπολ-
λῶνιον τὸ κατὰ σοφίαν προγνωσκεῖν καὶ φασίν,
ὡς μᾶγῳ τέχνη τοῦ ἔπραττεν. δοκεῖ οὖν μοι μὴ
περιδεῖν τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἀγνοιῶν, ἄλλῃ ἐξακρι-
βοσαί τὸν ἀνδρὰ τοῖς τε χρόνοις, καθ᾽ ὃς εἰπὲ τι
ἡ ἐπραξε, τοῖς τε τῆς σοφίας τρόποις, ὑφ᾽ ὃν
ἐφανε τοῦ δαιμόνιος τε καὶ θείος νομισθήναι.
ζυγειλεκταί δὲ μοι τὰ μὲν ἐκ πόλεων, ὁπόσαι
αὐτοῦ ἥρων, τὰ δὲ ἔξ ἱερῶν, ὁπόσα ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ
ἐπανήχθη παραλευμένα τοὺς θεσμοὺς ἤδη, τὰ δὲ
ἔξ ὑν εἰπον ἐτεροι περὶ αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖ-
νου ἐπιστολῶν. ἐπέστελλε δὲ βασιλεύσας σοφισταῖς
φιλοσόφοις Ἑλείως Δελφοῖς Ἰνδοῖς Ἀἰγυπτίως
ὑπὲρ θεῶν ὑπὲρ ἑθῶν ὑπὲρ νόμων, παρ᾽ οἷς ὁ τι
ἀμαρτάνοιτο, ἐπηνώρθου. τὰ δὲ ἀκριβέστερα
ὡδε συνελεξάμην.

III

CAP. ΙΙΙ

Ἐγένετο Δάμις ἀνήρ οὐκ ἄσοφος τὴν ἀρχαίαν ποτὲ
οἰκῶν Νίνον· οὗτος τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ προσφιλο-
σοφήσας ἀποδημίας τε αὐτοῦ ἀναγραφεῖν, ὃν
8
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.

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
CAP. ΚΟΙΝΩΝΗΣΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΦΗΣΙ, ΚΑΙ ΓΝΩΜΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΓΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ὈΠΟΣΑ ΕΣ ΠΡΟΓΝΩΣΙΝ ΕΙΠΤΕ. ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΗΚΩΝ ΤΙΣ Τῷ ΔΑΜΙΔΙ ΤΑΣ ΔΕΛΤΟΥΣ ΤΩΝ ὩΠΟΜΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΟΥΠΟ ΓΥΝΩΝΟΣΚΟΜΕΝΑΣ ΕΣ ΓΥΝΩΝΙΝ ᾿ΗΓΑΓΕΝ ὮΥΛΙΑ Τῇ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΔΙ. ΜΕΤΕΧΟΝΤΙ ΔΕ ΜΟΙ ΤΟῦ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤῼΝ ΚΥΚΛΟΥ—ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΣΟΥ ΡΗΤΟΡΙΚΟΥΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΛΟΓΟΥΣ ᾿ΕΠΗΜΕΙ ΚΑΙ ᾿ΗΣΑΠΑΖΕΤΟ—ΜΕΤΑΓΡΑΨΑΙ ΤΕ ΠΡΟΣΕΤΑΞΕ ΤΑΣ ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΑΣ ΤΑΥΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤῼΣ ᾿ΑΠΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΣ ΑΥΤῶΝ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΘΕΝΑΙ, Τῷ ΓΑΡ ΝΙΝΩ ΣΑΦῶΣ ΜΕΝ, ΟΥ ΜΗΝ ΔΕΞΙΩΣ ΤΑ ᾿ΑΠΗΓΓΕΛΛΕΤΟ. ἘΝΕΤΥΧΟΝ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΞΙΓΙΟΝ ΤΟῦ ΑΙΓΙΕΩΣ ΒΙΒΛΙΩ ΞΥΝΕΙΛΗΦΟΤΙ ΤΑ ᾿ΕΝ ΑΙΓΑΙΟΝ ῾ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΑ, ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΑΙ ΔΕ Τῷ ῾ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΩ ΤΕΓΡΑΦΑΙ, ΠΑΡ’ ὌΝ ὩΝΤΑΡΧΕΙ ΜΑΘΕΙΝ, ὍΣ ΥΠΟΘΕΙΑΖΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΝ ἘΓΕΝΕΤΟ. ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΜΟΙΡΑΓΕΝΕΙ ΓΕ ΠΡΟΣΕΚΤΕΟΝ, ΒΙΒΛΙΑ ΜΕΝ ΞΥΝΘΕΝΤΙ ΕΣ ῾ΑΜΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ ΤΕΤΤΑΡΑ, ΠΟΛΛΑ ΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΝ ᾿ΑΝΔΡΑ ἈΓΝΟΗΣΑΝΤΙ. ὍΣ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΝ ΞΥΝΗΓΑΓΟΝ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΔΙΕΣΠΑΣΜΕΝΑ, ΚΑΙ ὍΣ ΕΠΕΜΕΛΗΘΕΝ ΤΟΥ ΞΥΝΘΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΥΤΑ, ΕΥΡΗΚΑ, ἘΧΕΤΟ ΔΕ ὁ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΤῸ ΤΕ ᾿ΑΝΔΡΙ ΤΙΜΗΝ, ἘΣ ΟΥΝ ΞΥΝΗΓΕΡΑΠΤΑΙ, ΤΟΪΣ ΤΕ ΦΙΛΟΜΑΘΕΣΤΕΡΟΙΣ ᾿ΩΦΕΛΕΙΑΝ. ᾿Η ΓΑΡ ᾿ΑΝ ΜΑΘΟΙΕΝ, ᾿Α ΜΗΠΟ ΤΕ ΓΥΝΩΝΟΣΚΟΥΣΙΝ.

IV

CAP. ῾ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΩ ΤΟΙΝΥΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΜΕΝ ᾿ΗΝ ΤΥΑΝΑ ΠΟΛΙΣ ᾿ΕΛΛΑΣ ἐΝ Τῷ ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΚΩΝ ᾿ΕΘΝΕΙ, ΠΑΤΗΡ ΔΕ ὈΜΩΝΥΜΟΣ, ΓΕΝΟΣ ἈΡΧΑΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΙΣΤΩΝ ἈΝΗΜΜΕΝΟΝ, ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ ὩΠΕΡ ΣΟΥΣ ΕΚΕΙ, ΤΟ ΔΕ ᾿ΕΘΝΟΣ ΒΑΘΥ. ΚΥΟΥΣΗ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΟΝ Τῇ ΜΗΤΡΙ ΦΆΣΜΑ ΗΛΘΕΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΝ.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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.

IV

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
CAP. IV

δαίμονος, ὁ Πρωτεύς ὁ παρὰ τῷ Ὄμηρῳ ἐξαλλάττων ἦ δὲ οὐδὲν δείγασα ἤρετο αὐτὸν, τί ἀποκυνήσου; ὁ δὲ ἔμε εἴπε: "οὐ δὲ τίς;" εἰπούσης "Πρωτεύς," ἐφη, "ὁ Αἰγύπτιος θεὸς." ὡστὶς μὲν δὴ τὴν σοφίαν ὁ Πρωτεύς ἐγένετο, τί ἄν ἔξηγοῦμην τοῖς γε ἀκούουσι τῶν ποιητῶν, ὡς ποικίλος τε ἦν καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλος καὶ κρείττων τοῦ ἀλώναι, γυμνόσκειν τε ὡς ἔδοκε οἱ κρείττων, καὶ μεμνησθαι χρή τοῦ Πρωτέως, μάλιστα ἐπειδὰν προῖδων ὁ λόγος δεικνύῃ τὸν ἄνδρα πλείω μὲν ὃ ὁ Πρωτεύς προγόνωτα, πολλῶν δὲ ἀπόρων τε καὶ ἀμηχάνων κρείττων γενόμενον εἰν αὐτῷ μάλιστα τῷ ἀπειλήθηθαι.

V

CAP. V

Τεχθῆναι δὲ ἐν λειμῶνι λέγεται, πρὸς ὃν νῦν τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτῷ ἐκπέπτόνηται. καὶ μηδὲ ὁ τρόπος ἀγνοείσθω, ὃν ἀπετέχθη, ἀγούσῃ γὰρ τῇ μητρὶ τὸκον ὄναρ ἐναρ ἐγένετο βαδίσαι ἐς τὸν λειμῶνα καὶ ἀνθῆ κείραι, καὶ δῆτα ἀφικομένη αἱ μὲν δωσαί προσείχου τοῖς ἀνθεσιν ἐσκεδασμέναι κατὰ τὸν λειμῶνα, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐς ψυνον ἀπήχθη κλιθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πόλι. κύκνοι τοῖνυν, οὗς ὁ λειμῶν ἔβοσκε, χορὸν ἐστήσαντο περὶ αὐτὴν καθεύδουσαν, καὶ τὰς πτέρυγας, ὡσπερ εἰώθασιν, ἄραντες ἀθρόνοι ἤχησαν, καὶ γὰρ τί καὶ ἕξειρον ἢν ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι, ἢ δὲ ἔξειρορὲ τε ὑπὸ τῆς φώς καὶ ἀπέτεκεν, ἰκανὴ δὲ πᾶσα
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.

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
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CAP. έκπληξις μακεύσασθαι καὶ πρὸ τῆς ὥρας. οἱ δὲ ἔγχωροι φασίν, ὡς ὦμοι τε τίκτουτο, καὶ σχηπτός ἐν τῇ γῇ πεσεῖσθαι δοκῶν ἐμμετεωρισθείη τῷ αἷθερι καὶ ἀφανισθείη ἄνω, τὸ, οὕμαι, ἐκφανές καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ τὸ ἄγχον θεῶν καὶ ὁπόσα ὦδε ὁ ἀνήρ ἐγένετο, φαίνοντες οἱ θεοὶ καὶ προσημαίνοντες.

VI

CAP. 'Εστι δὲ τι περὶ Τύανα ὕδωρ Ὀρκίου Διός, ὡς φασί, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀσβαμαίων, οὐ περὶ ἄναδίδοται ψυχρά, παφλαξέει δὲ, ὦσπερ ὁ θερμανόμενος λέβης. τούτῳ εὐόρκοις μὲν ὠλεών τε καὶ ἥδι ὕδωρ, ἐπιόρκοις δὲ παρὰ πόδας ἡ δίκη ἀποσκῆπτει γὰρ καὶ ἐσ ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ἐν χεῖρας καὶ ἐν πόδις, καὶ ὕδεροις ἀλίσκονται καὶ φθοιας, καὶ οὐδ' ἀπελθεῖν δυνατὸν, ἀλλ' αὐτόθι ἔχονται καὶ ὄλοφῦρονται πρὸς τῷ ὑδατὶ ὀμολογοῦντες ἅ ἐπιώρκησαν ὁι μὲν δὴ ἔγχωροι φασὶ παῖδα τοῦ Διὸς τῶν Ἀπολλώνιον γεγονέναι, ὁ δ' ἀνήρ Ἀπολλώνιον ἕαυτὸν καλεῖ.

VII

CAP. Ἡροῖν δὲ ἐς ἡλικίαν, ἐν ἡ γράμματα, μῆνης τε ἵσχυν ἐδήλου καὶ μελέτης κράτος, καὶ ἡ γλῶττα Ἀττικῶς εἶχεν, οὐδ' ἀπήχθη τὴν φωνῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους, ὀφθαλμοὶ τε πάντες ἐς αὐτὸν ἐφέροντο, καὶ γὰρ περὶ βλεπτος ἦν τὴν ὥραν. γεγονότα δὲ αὐτὸν
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.

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.

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
CAP. VII

VII

Εὐθύδημον τὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης. ὁ δὲ Εὐθύδημος ῥήτωρ τε ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ ἐπαιδευε τοῦτον, ὁ δὲ τοῦ μὲν διδασκάλου εἰχέτο, τὸ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἥθος ἀτοπικὸν τε ἡγεῖτο καὶ ὦ ἐρηστὸν ἐμφιλοσοφῆσαι, τρυφής τε γὰρ οὐδαμοῦ μᾶλλον ἀπτοται, σκωπτόλαι τε καὶ ύβρισται πάντες, καὶ δεδώκας τῇ ὀθόνῃ μᾶλλον ἡ τῇ σοφίᾳ Ἀθηναίων, ποταμὸς τε αὐτοὺς διαρρέη Κύδνος, ὁ παρακάθηνται, καθάπερ τῶν ὀρνίθων οἱ ύγροί. τὸ τοῦ "παύσασθε μεθύντες τῷ ὕδατι" Ἀπολλωνίῳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ εἰρηται. μεθύσθησιν οὖν τὸν διδάσκαλον δεθεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς Αἰγάς τᾶς πλησίον, ἐν αἷς ἤσυχία τε πρόσφορος τῷ φιλοσοφήσει καὶ σπουδᾶλι νεανικῶτεραι καὶ ἱερὰν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καὶ ὁ Ἀσκληπιῖος αὐτὸς ἐπίδηλος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. ἐνταῦθα ξυνεφιλοσοφοῦν μὲν αὐτῷ Πλατώνειοι τε καὶ Χρυσίππειοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου, διήκουν δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων, οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτοις ἀπεσπούδαζε, τοὺς δὲ γε Πυθαγορείους ἀρρήτω τῳ σοφίᾳ ξυνέλαβε: διδασκαλὸς μὲν γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ τῶν Πυθαγόρου λόγων οὐ πάνω σπουδῶν, οὐδὲ ἐνεργῷ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ χρώμενος, γαστρός τε γὰρ ἦπτων ἦν καὶ ἀφροδισίων καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἐπικούρον ἐσχημάτιστον ἦν δὲ οὕτως Εὐξενός ὁ Ἑρακλείας τοῦ Πόντου, τὰς δὲ Πυθαγόρου δόξας ἐγνώσκεν, ὦσπερ οἱ ὀρνίθες
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 opinions of Pythagoras just as
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII

ἀ μανθάνουσιν παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὸ γὰρ "χαίρε" καὶ τὸ "ὲν πράττε" καὶ τὸ "Ζεὺς ἱλέως" καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα οἱ ὄρνιθες εὐχονται, οὔτε εἰδότες ὅ τι λέγουσιν οὔτε διακείμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ ἐρρυθμισμένοι τὴν γλώτταν ὁ δὲ, ὃσπερ οἱ νέοι τῶν ἄετῶν ἐν ἀπαλῷ μὲν τῷ πτερῷ παραπέτονται τοὺς γειναμένους αὐτοὺς μελετώμενοι ὑπ` αὐτῶν τὴν πτήσιν, ἐπείδαιν δὲ αἰρεθαι δυνηθῶσιν, ὑπερπέτονται τοὺς γονέας, ἀλλὰς τε κἂν λίχους αἰσθανόνται καὶ κνίσης ἕνεκα πρὸς τῇ γῇ πετομένους, οὔτω καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος προσείχε τε τῷ Ἐὐξένῳ παῖς ἐτί, καὶ ἦγετο ὑπ` αὐτοῦ βαίνων ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγου, προεξείνω δὲ ἐς ἔτος δέκατον καὶ ἔκτον ὅρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πυθαγόρου βίον, πτερωθεὶς ἐπ` αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τινὸς κρείττονος. οὐ μὴν τὸν γε Ἐὐξένου ἐπαύσατο ἀγαπῶν, ἀλλ` ἐξαιτήσας αὐτῷ προάστειον παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐν ὧ κήποι τε ἀπαλοὶ ἦσαν καὶ πηγαί, "σὺ μὲν ξῆθι τὸν σεαυτοῦ τρόπου," ἔφη, "ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν Πυθαγόρου ξῆσομαι."

VIII

Ἡγουμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἐὐξένου μεγάλης διανοίας ἀπτεσθαὶ καὶ ἐρομένου, ὅπουθεν ἄρξουτο, "ὄθεν περ οἱ ιατροί," ἔφη, "καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι καθαίροντες τὰς γαστέρας τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ νοσεῖν ἐόσιν, τοὺς δὲ ἱόνται." καὶ εἴπερ τοῦτο τὰς μὲν ἐμψύχους βρώσεις ὡς οὔτε καθαρὰς καὶ τὸν νόσον παχυνούσας παρητήσατο, τραγήματα δὲ καὶ λάχανα ἐσιτεῖτο, καθαρὰ εἶναι φάσκων, ὅπόσα ἦ 18
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 felt an impulse towards the life of Pythagoras, being fledged and winged thereto by some higher power. Notwithstanding he did not cease to love Euxenus, nay, he persuaded his father to present him with a villa outside the town, where there were tender groves and fountains, and he said to him; "Now you live there your own life, but I will live that of Pythagoras."

VIII

Now Euxenus realised that he was attached to a 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,
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CAP. VIII

γῇ αὐτῇ δίδωσι, καὶ τὸν οἶνον καθαρὸν μὲν ἐφαι-
σκευ—ἐίναι πώμα ἐκ φυτοῦ οὕτως ἡμέρου τοῖς
ἀνθρώποις ἥκοντα, ἐναντιοῦσθαι δὲ τῇ τού νοῦ
συντάσσει διαθολοῦντα τὸν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αἰθέρα.
μετὰ δὲ τὴν κάθαρσιν τῆς γαστρὸς τοιαύτην
γεγομένην ἀνυποδησίαν τε ποιεῖται κόσμημα καὶ
λίνου ἑσθῆτα ἀμπίσχεται παραιτησάμενος τὴν ἀπὸ
τῶν ζῴων, ἀνήκε τε τὴν κόμην καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἔξη.
ἐκπεπληγμένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ
τοῦ ’Ασκληπιοῦ ποτε πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα φήσαντος,
ὅς χαίροι θεραπεύων τους νοσοῦντας ὑπὸ ’Ἀπολ-
λωνίῳ μάρτυρι, ἤνυρήσαν ἐς τὰς Αἰγᾶς ἐφ’ ἱστορίᾳ
Κιλικίας τε αὐτοῖ καὶ ὁι περὶ, ὃ τε Κιλικίων λόγος
"ποῖ τρέχεις; ἕπὶ τὸν ἐφηβοῦν;" ἐπ’ ἐκείνῳ
τε ἔλεγετο καὶ παροιμιώδη τιμὴν ἐσχεν.

IX

CAP. IX

"Ἄξιον δὲ μηδὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ παρελθεῖν βίον γε
ἀφηγουόμενον ἀνδρός, ὃς καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἦν ἐν λόγῳ
μειράκιον γὰρ δὴ ’Ασσύριον παρὰ τὸν ’Ασκληπιοῦ
ἡκον ἐτρύφα νοσοῦν καὶ ἐν πότοις ἔξη, μᾶλλον
δὲ ἀπέθνησκεν· ὑδέρφ δὲ ἀρα εἴχετο καὶ μέθη χαί-
ρου αὐχμοῦ ἡμέλει. ἴμελείτο δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ ’Ασ-
κληπιοῦ διὰ ταῦτα, καὶ οὔδὲ 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 see him. Hence the Cilician proverb: "Whither runnest thou? Is it to see the stripling?" Such was the saying that arose about him, and it gained the distinction of becoming a proverb.

IX

Now it is well that I should not pass over, in my narrative, the life led in the Temple by my hero, 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

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CAP. IX


X

CAP. X

Ἰδὼν δὲ ἀθρόου ποτὲ ἐν τῷ βωμῷ αἴμα, καὶ διακείμενα ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὰ ἱερὰ, ὑπομένους τε βοῦς Αἰγυπτίους καὶ σὺς μεγάλους, καὶ τὰ μὲν δέρωντας αὐτοὺς, τὰ δὲ κόπτοντας, χρυσίδας τε ἀνακειμένας δύο καὶ λίθους ἐν αὐταῖς τῶν Ἰνδικω-τάτων καὶ θαυμασίων, προσελθὼν τῷ ἱερεῖ "τί ταῦτα;" ἔφη, "λαμπρῶς γὰρ τις χαρίζεται τῷ
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 heavy meals upon your waterlogged 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.

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
CAP. θεό. "ο δὲ "θαυμάση," ἐφή, "μᾶλλον, ὅτι μὴτε ἱκετεύσας ποτὲ ἐνταύθα μὴτε διατρίψας, ὅν οἱ ἀλλοι χρόνον, μὴτε ὑγιάνας πω παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, μηδ’ ἀπερ αὐτήσων ἦλθεν ἔχων. χθεῖς γὰρ δὴ ἄφιγμένω ἕοικεν, ὁ δ’ οὕτως ἀφθόνως θύει. φησὶ δὲ πλείω μὲν θύσειν, πλείω δὲ ἀναθήσειν, εἰ πρό- σοιτο αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀσκληπιός. ἔστι δὲ τῶν πλου- σιωτάτων κέκτηται γοῦν ἐν Κλικίκια βίον πλείω ἢ Κλίκης ὁμοί πάντες· ἱκετεύει δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἀπο- δοῦναι οἱ τὸν ἔτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐξερρυκότα." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὥσπερ γεγρακὼς εἰώθη, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐς τὴν γῆν στήσας "τι δὲ ὄνομα αὐτῷ;" ἦρετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσε "δοκεῖ μοι," ἐφη, "ὦ ἱερέι, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον μὴ προσδέχεσθαι τῷ ἱερῷ, μιαρὸς γάρ τις ἤκει καὶ κεχρημένος οὐκ ἔπι χρηστοῖς τῷ πάθει, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ πρὶν εὐρέσθαι τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πολυτέλῶς θύειν οὐ θύοντός ἔστιν, ἀλλ’ ἔαυτὸν παραιτουμένου σχε- τλίων τε καὶ χαλεπῶν ἔργων." ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος. ὁ δ’ Ἀσκληπιός ἐπιστάτας νύκτωρ τῷ ἱερεῖ "ἀπίτω," ἐφη, "ὦ δεῖνα τὰ ἐαυτοῦ ἔχων, ἄξιος γὰρ μηδὲ τὸν ἔτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχειν." ἀναμανθάνων οὖν ὁ ἱερεύς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, γυνὴ μὲν τῷ Κλίκι τοῦτῳ ἐγεγόνει θυγατέρα ἐχουσα προτέρων γάμων, ὁ δὲ ἦρα τῆς κόρης καὶ ἀκολά- στως εἰχε ἐξυνῆν τε οὐδ` ὡς λαθείν. ἐπιστάσα
very handsome gift to the gods?"

"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
CAP. XI

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.

XI

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 away, surely, after crowning him, not with golden crowns, but with all
CAP. XI

πᾶσιν, ὅν δ' ἂν κατεστημένου ὡδεις καὶ διεφθορῶτα, καταλείπουσι τῇ δίκῃ, τοσοῦτον ἀυτοῖς ἐπιμηνίσαντες, ὅσον ἐτὸλμησαν καὶ ἒρα ἐσφοίταν ἡ καθαροὶ ὄντες." καὶ ἄμα ἐς τὸν Ἀσκληπιιδὼν βλέψας "φιλοσοφεῖς." ἔφη "ὁ Ἀσκληπιις, τὴν ἀρρητὸν τε καὶ συγγενή σαυτῷ φιλοσοφίαν μὴ συγχωρῶν τοῖς φαύλοις δεύρο ἤκειν, μηδὲ ἂν πάντα σοι τὰ ἀπὸ Ἰουδῶν καὶ Σαρδαῖων ἐξυμφέρωσιν· οὐ γὰρ τιμῶντες τὸ θεῖον θύουσι ταῦτα καὶ ἀναπτοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἀνούμενοι τὴν δίκην, ἥν οὐ ἐξυγχωρείτε αὐτοῖς δικαιότατοι ὄντες." πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐφιλοσοφεῖ ἐν ἑφήβῳ ἔτι.

CAP. XII

Κάκεινα τῆς ἐν Ἁγγαὶς διατριβῆς. Κιλίκων ἦρχεν ὑβριστὴς ἀνθρωπος καὶ κακὸς τὰ ἐρωτικά· ἐς τοῦτον ἤλθε λόγος τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου ὥρας, ὁ δὲ ἐρρώσθαι φράσας οἷς ἔπραττεν· ἐν Ταρσοῖς δὲ ἀρὰ ἀγορὰν ἤγεν· ἐξωρμήθη ἐς τὰς Ἁγγὰς νοσεῖν τε ἐαυτὸν φήσας καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιιοῦ δεῖσθαι, καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ βαδίζοντι ἑδια "σύστησόν με" ἔφη "τῷ θεῷ." ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν "καὶ τί σοι δεῖ τοῦ συστῆσοντος," εἶπεν, "εἰ χρηστός εἰ; τούς γὰρ σπουδαίους οἱ θεοὶ καὶ ἀνευ τῶν προξενοῦντων ἀσπάζονται." "ὅτι νὴ Δί," ἔφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, 28
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 kindle these fires, but in order to purchase a verdict, which you will not concede to them in your perfect justice.” And much similar wisdom he delivered himself of in this Temple, while he was still a youth.

XII

This tale also belongs to the period of his 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
CAP. XII

σὲ μὲν ὁ θεὸς πεποίηται ἡμῶν, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐπώ."

Τὰμμα, ἐφη, "καλοκαγαθία προϊζήησεν, ἡ χρώμενος, ὡς δυνατὸν νέο, θεράπων τέ εἰμι τοῦ Ἀσκληπιων καὶ ἐταῖρος: εἰ δὲ καὶ σοὶ καλοκαγαθίας μελεί, χώρει θαρρῶν παρὰ τὸν θεόν καὶ εὐχον, ό τι ἐθέλεις.

"νὴ Δῆ, εἴπεν, "ἡν σοὶ γε προτέρῳ εὐξώμαι." καὶ τί, εφη, "ἐμοὶ εὐξῇ;" "ὁ," ἦν ὁς, "εὐχεσθαι δεῖ τοῖς καλοῖς εὐχόμεθα δὲ αὐτοὺς κοινωνεῖν τοῦ κάλλους καὶ μὴ φθονεῖν τῆς ὀρᾶς." ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθρύπτων ἐαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ὡθαλμοὺς ὑγραῖνων, καὶ τί γὰρ οὐχ ἐλίττων τῶν οὕτως ἀσελγῶν τε καὶ ἐπιρρήτων ἦ δὲ ταυρηδόν ὑποβλέψας αὐτὸν "μαίνη," εφη, "ὁ κάθαρμα." τοῦ ὥς μοῦν πρὸς ὅργην ταῦτα ἅκούσαντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπειλήσαντος, ὡς ἀποκόψοι αὐτὸν τὴν κεφαλήν, καταγελάσας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος "ὁ ἡ δείνα ἡμέρα" ἀνεβόησε· τρίτη δὲ ἄρα ἦν ἀπ ἐκεῖνης, ἐν ἢ δήμω κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπέκτειναν τὸν ὑβριστὴν ἐκεῖνον, ὡς εἶν Ἀρχελάω τῷ Καππαδόκια τῷ διείσθε νεώτερα ἐπὶ Ρωμαίους πράττοντα. ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ τοιάντα Μαξίμῳ τῷ Διηνεῖ ἡγαστίαν τῶν νεώτερων ἐυδοκίμων τὴν φωνήν.

XIII

CAP. XIII

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τεθνεῶτα τῶν πατέρα τῇκουσεν, ἐδραμεν ἐς τὰ Τύκανα, κακείνου μὲν ταῖς ἐαυτοῦ χερσὶν ἔθαψε πρὸς τῷ τῆς μητρὸς σήματι, ἐτεθνήκει δὲ κακείνη οὐ πάλαι, τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν λαμπράν οὔσαν
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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 goodness, 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, that day is to come!” And in fact it was only three days later that the ruffian was executed by the officers of justice on the high road for having intrigued with Archelaus the king of Cappadocia against the Romans. These and many similar incidents are given by Maximus of Aegae in his treatise, a writer whose reputation for oratory won him a position in the emperor’s Secretariat.

XIII

Now when he heard that his father was dead, he 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,
CAP. XIII

FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

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 bold enterprise; for how can I who am the younger one correct and render wise an older man? but so far as I can do anything, I will heal him of these bad passions." Accordingly he gave to him the half of his own share of the property, on the pretence that he required more than he had, while he himself needed little; and then he pressed him and cleverly persuaded him to submit to the counsels of wisdom, and said: "Our father has departed this life, who educated us both and corrected us, so that you are all that I have left, and I imagine, I am all that you have left. If therefore I do anything wrong, please advise me and cure me of my faults; and in turn if you yourself do anything wrong, suffer me to teach you better." And so he reduced his brother to a reasonable state of mind, just as we break in skittish and unruly horses by stroking and patting them; and he reformed him from his faults, numerous as they were, for he was the slave of play and of wine, and he led a riotous life and was vain of his hair, which he dressed up and dyed, strutting
CAP. XIII

Flavius Philostratus

έπει δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ εὖ εἶχεν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἦδη συγγενεῖς ἐτράπετο καὶ τοὺς δεόμενους σφῶν ἀνεκτήσατο τῇ λοιπῇ οὐσίᾳ μικρὰ ἕαυτῷ ὑπολιπόμενος, ὡτε δὴ τὸν μὲν Κλαξομένιον Ἀναξαγόραν ἁγέλαις τε καὶ μῆλοις τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνέντα προβάτοις ἐφῃ μᾶλλον ἡ ἀνθρώπως φιλοσο-

φῆσαι, τὸν δὲ Ῥηβαίου Κράτητα καταποντώσαντα τὴν οὐσίαν οὕτε ἀνθρώπως γενέσθαι ἐπιτήδειον οὕτε προβάτοις. εὐδοκιμήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πυθαγόρου ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ, ὃν ἐλεγε περὶ τοῦ μὴ δειν παρ’ ἄλλην ἤνει γυναικα ἡ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, τοὺτε μὲν ἑτέροις ἑφῃ ὑπὸ Πυθαγόρου προειρήσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ μήτ’ ἂν γῆμαι μὴτ’ ἂν ἐσ ὀμιλίαν ἀφικέσθαι ποτὲ ἀφροδι-

σίων, ὑπερβαλλόμενος καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους: ὦ μὲν γὰρ λυπτῶντα ἐφῃ καὶ ἄγριον δεσπότην ἀποφυγεῖν ἐς γῆρας ἐλθὼν, ὃ δ’ ὑπ’ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ σωφροσύνης οὐδ’ ἐν μειρακίῳ ἦττῇθη τούτοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ νέος ὃν καὶ τὸ σώμα ἐρρωμένος ἐκράτησε τε καὶ λυπτῶντος ἐδεσποζέν. ἀλλ’ ὅμως συνοφαντωσί τινες ἐπὶ ἀφροδίσιος αὐτὸν, ὃς διαμαρτία ἐρωτικὴ χρη-

σάμενοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπενιατίσαντα ἐς τὸ Σκυθῶν έθνος, ὃς οὕτε ἐφοιτήσει ποτὲ ἐς Σκύθας οὕτε ἐς ἐρωτικὰ πάθη ἀπηνέχθη σοὶκοις οὐδὲ Εὐφράτης ποτὲ ἐςυκοφάντησεν ἐπὶ ἀφροδίσιοις τὸν ἀνδρα, καίτοι ψευδῆ γραμματα κατ’ αὐτοῦ ἐξυνθεῖς, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Εὐφράτου λόγοις δεῖξομεν, διεφέρετο δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ’ ὑπὲρ χρημάτων αὐτὸν πράττοντα ἐπέκοπτεν οὕτος.
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 celebrated 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 everything for money and tried to wean him of his
CAP. XIII
καὶ ἀπήγε τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαι τε καὶ τὴν σοφίαν καπηλεύειν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς αὐτῶν χρόνους ἀναβεβλήσθω μοι.

CAP. XIV
Ἐρομένου δὲ ποτε τὸν 'Απολλώνιον τοῦ Εὐζέ-νου, τι δῆτα οὐ ξυγγράφοι καὶ τοι γενναίως δοξά-ξουν καὶ ἀπαγγελίᾳ χρόμενος δοκίμω καὶ ἐγγεγε-μένη "ὅτι," ἐφη, "οὐπώ ἐσιώπησα." καὶ ἐνθένδε ἀρξάμενος σιωπᾶν φήθη δεῖν, καὶ τὴν μὲν φωνήν κατείχεν, οἱ δ' ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὦ νοῦς πλείστα μὲν ἀνεγλύγωσκον, πλείστα δὲ ἐς μνήμην ἀνελέγοντο· τὸ τοι μνημονίκον ἐκατοντούτης γενόμενος καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἐρρωτο, καὶ ὑμνος αὐτῷ τις ἐς τὴν μνημοσύνην ἤδετο, ἐν φ' πάντα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου μαραίνεσθαι φησιν, αὐτὸν γε μὴν τὸν χρόνον ἀγήρω τε καὶ ἀθάνατον παρὰ τῆς μνημο-σύνης εἰναι. οὐ μὴν ἄχαρις τὰ γε ἐς ξυνουσίας ἢν παρ' ὅν ἐσιώπα χρόνον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ λεγό-μενα καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τι ἐπεσήμαινον καὶ ἡ χείρ καὶ τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς νεῦμα, οὐδὲ ἀμείδης ἢ σκυθρωπὸς ἐφαινετο, τὸ γὰρ φιλέταιρον τε καὶ τὸ εὐμενὲς εἰχε. τούτον ἐπιπονώτατον αὐτῷ φησι γενέσθαι τὸν βίον ὅλων πέντε ἔτων ἀσκηθέντα, πολλα μὲν γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἔχοντα μὴ εἰπεῖν, πολλὰ δὲ πρὸς ὄργην ἀκούσαντα μὴ ἀκούσαι, πολλοῖς δ' ἐπιπλήξαι προαχθέντα "τέτλαθι δὴ κραδίῇ τε
love of filthy lucre and of huckstering his wisdom. But these matters I must defer to the times to which they belong.

XIV

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 many a thing, and though most things 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
CAP. XIV καὶ γῆς ἡπτα’ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν φάναι, λόγων τε προσκρουσάντων αὐτῷ παρεῖναι τὰς ἐλέγχεις τότε.

XV

Διέτριψε τε τοὺς τῆς σιωπῆς χρόνον τὸν μὲν ἐν Παμφύλοις, τὸν δὲ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, καὶ βαδίζων δι’ οὐτω τρυφώντων έθνὼν οὐδαμοῦ ἐφθέγξατο, οὐδ’ ὑπῆρξη γρῦξαί. ὅποτε μὴν στασιάζοισθ’ πολεὶ ἐντύχω, πολλαὶ δὲ ἐστασίαζον ὑπὲρ θεαμάτων οὐ σπουδαίων, παρελθὼν ἂν καὶ δεῖξας ἑαυτὸν, καὶ τι καὶ μελλόντης ἐπιπλήξεως τῇ χειρὶ καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ ἐνδείξαμενος, ἐξήρητ’ ἃν ἄταξία πάσα, καὶ ὅσπερ ἐν μυστηρίοις ἐσιώπων. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοὺς ὀρχηστῶν τε καὶ ἤππων ἕνεκα στασιάζειν ὀρμηκότας ἀνασχείν οὕτω μέγα, οἱ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοιούτων ἀτακτοῦντες, ἂν πρὸς ἄνδρα ἤδωσιν, ἐρυθρείσι τε καὶ ἄυτῶν ἐπιλαμβάνονται καὶ ράστα ἃ ἐς νοῦν ἤκουσιν, λιμῷ δὲ πεπισεμένην πόλιν οὐ ράδιον εὐνυῖῳ καὶ πιθανῷ λόγῳ μεταδιδάξαι καὶ ὀργῆς παύσαι. ἀλλ’ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ ἡ σιωπὴ πρὸς τοὺς οὕτω διακειμένους ἦρκει. ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς Ἀσπενδόν τὴν Παμφύλον— πρὸς Εὐνυμέδοντι δὲ οἰκεῖται ποταμῷ ἡ πόλις αὐτῆ, τρίτῃ τῶν ἐκεῖ—ὁροβοὶ δ’ ὁμοιο καὶ τὰ ἐς βρῶσιν ἀναγκαίᾳ διέβοσκεν αὐτοὺς, τὸν γὰρ σίτον οἱ δυνατοὶ ξυγκλείσαντες εἰχον, ὡς ἐκκαπηλευθείῃ τῆς χώρας. ἀνηρέθιστο δὴ ἐπὶ τὸν
and tongue;" and when reasoning offended him he had to give up for the time the refuting of it.

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 part 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 turn their eyes to 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 along with two others), he found nothing but vetch 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
ϕιλοσοφόνησις τῶν ἐκατοντάδων διδακτικῶν μαθημάτων ὁ Φιλοσοφός ἐκάθισεν ὡς ἡμέρας ἀπειλεῖται ἄγιος ἢ πυθμένας ἠγόρασεν τοὺς Βασιλείους ἀνδριάσιν, οὐ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐκατόρετος ἦσαν τότε καὶ ἀσυλότεροι, Τίβερίου γε ὄντες, ἐφ᾽ οὗ λέγεται τις ἀσεβήσας δόξαι τυπτήσας τῶν ἐκατοντάδων δούλων φέροντα δραχμήν ἀργυρῶν νεομισμένην ἐς Τίβεριον. προσέλθον οὖν τῷ ἀρχοντὶ ἤρετο αὐτὸν τῇ χειρί, ὅ τι εἶν τοῦτο, τοῦ δὲ ἀδικεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν φήσαντο, ἀδικεῖσθαι δὲ μετὰ τοῦ δήμου, λόγου δ᾽ εἰ μὴ τύχοι, ἔννοιαν ἔστι οὗτος δῆμῳ, μεταστράφη τε εἰς τοὺς περιστηκότας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ ἔνευσεν ὡς χρῆ ἀκούσαι, οἱ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐσιώπησαν ὑπ᾽ ἐκπλήξεως τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἔθεντο ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν τῶν αὐτῶν. ἀναθαρρήσας οὖν ὁ ἀρχων "ὁ δεῖνα," ἔφη, "καὶ ὁ δεῖνα," πλείους εἰπὼν, "τοῦ λιμοῦ τοῦ καθεστηκότος αἰτίοι, τὸν γὰρ σῖτον ἀπολαβόντες φυλάττουσι κατ᾽ ἄλλος ἄλλο τῆς χώρας." διακελευομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀσπενδίων ἄλληλοις ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς φοιτᾶν, ἀνένευσεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος μὴ πράττειν τοῦτο, μετακαλεῖν δὲ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἐν τῇ αἰτίᾳ καὶ παρ᾽ ἐκόπτων εὐρέσθαι τὸν σῖτον. ἀφικόμενων δὲ μικροῦ μὲν ἐδέχετο καὶ φωνῇ ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ῥῆξαι, παθῶν τι πρὸς τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δάκρυνα—καὶ γὰρ παιδία ξυνερρυθμεῖ καὶ γύναια, καὶ ὀλοφύρωντο οἱ γεγηρακότες, ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ ἀποθανοῦμενοι λιμῖδο—

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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 fire they had kindled on the altars which were there. The governor then plucked up courage and said: "This man and that man," and he named several, "are to blame for the famine which has arisen; for they have taken away the corn and are keeping it, one in one part of the country and another in another." The inhabitants of Aspendus thereupon passed the word to one another to make for these men's estates, but Apollonius signed with his head, that they should do no such thing, but rather summon those who were to blame and obtain the corn from them with their consent. And when, after a little time the guilty parties arrived, he very nearly broke out in speech against them, so much was he affected by the tears of the crowd; for the children and women had all flocked together, and the
CAP. XV

τιμῶν δὲ τὸ τῆς σιωπῆς δόγμα γράφει ἐσ γραμματεῖον ἑπίπληξις, καὶ δίδωσιν ἀναγνώσσι τῷ ἀρχοντὶ ᾧ δὲ ἑπίπληξις ὥδε εἶχεν. "Ἀπολλώνιος συνοτικῆλαις Ἀσπενίας, ἦ γὰρ πάντων μήτηρ, δικαία γὰρ, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἄδικοι ὑντες πεποίησθε αὐτήν αὐτῶν μόνων μητέρα, καὶ εἰ μὴ παύσεσθε, οὐκ εάσω ὑμᾶς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴς ἑστάναι." ταῦτα δεῖσαντες ἐνέπλησαν τὴν ἀγορὰν σίτου καὶ ἀνεβίω ἡ πόλις:

XVI

CAP. XVI

"Επεφοίτησε καὶ Ἀντιοχεία τῇ μεγάλῃ πεπαυμένος τοῦ σιωπᾶν, καὶ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Δαφναίου Ἀπόλλωνος, ὃς θυσία καὶ θυσία Τυχοῦ τοῦ μύθου τοῦ Ἀρκάδα: τῇ γὰρ τοῦ Δάδωνος Δάφνην ἐκεῖ μεταφύναι λέγουσι, καὶ ποταμὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ Δάδων, καὶ φυτῶν τιμᾶται παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς δάφνης, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἀντὶ τῆς παρθένου, κυπαρίττων τε ὑψη ἀμφίχανα περιέστηκε κύκλῳ τὸ ἱερὸν, καὶ τηγάς ἐκδίδωσιν ὁ χώρος ἀφθόνους τε καὶ ἱρεμοῦς, αἷς τοῦ Ἀπόλλων φασὶ εἰλικρίνεσθαι. ἐνταῦθα κυπαρίττων τι ἐρνος ἢ γῆ ἀναδέδωκεν, ἐπὶ Κυπαρίττω φασιν ἐφήβῳ Ἀσσυρίῳ, καὶ πιστοῦται τῇ μεταβολῇ ἢ ὥρα τοῦ φυτοῦ. καὶ ἴσως νεανικῶτερον ἀπτεσθαι δοκῶ τοῦ λόγου διαμυθολογῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα: ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ὑπὲρ μυθολογιὰς ταῦτα. τὶ δὲ μοι
old men were groaning and moaning as if they were CHAP. on the point of dying by hunger. However, he respected his vow of silence and wrote on a writing board his indictment of the offenders and handed it to the governor to read out aloud; and his indictment ran as follows: "Apollonius to the corn-dealers of Aspendus. The earth is mother of us all, for she is just; but you, because you are unjust have pretended that she is your mother alone; and if you do not stop, I will not permit you to remain upon her." They were so terrified by these words, that they filled the market-place with corn and the city revived.

XVI

After the term of his silence was over he also 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 was 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 purified 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
ο λόγος βουλεταί; ο Ἀπολλώνιος ἰδὼν τὸ ἱερὸν χαρίεν μὲν, σπουδὴν δ' ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπους ἡμιβαρβάρους καὶ ἀμοῦσους "Ἀπολλὼν," ἔφη, "μετάβαλε τοὺς ἀφῶνους ἐς δένδρα, ἦνα κἂν ὡς κυπάριστοι ἡχῶσιν." τὰς δὲ πηγὰς ἐπισκεψάμενος, ὡς γαλήνην ἄγουσι καὶ κελαρύζει σφῶν οὐδεμία, "ἡ ἀφωνία," εἶπεν, "ἡ ἐνταῦθα οὐδὲ ταῖς πηγαίς ἐννήχωρεί φθέγγεσθαι." πρὸς δὲ τὸν λάδωνα ἰδὼν "οὐχ ἡ θυγάτηρ," ἔφη, "σὲ μόνη μετέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺ τῷ δόξας βάρβαρος εἶς Ἡλληνὸς τε καὶ Ἄρκαδος." ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγὼ διαλέγεσθαι, τὰ μὲν ὀμιλούμενα τῶν χωρίων καὶ ἀτακτοῦντα παρητεῖτο, φήσας οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἐαυτῷ δεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν, τὰ δὲ σεμνότερα ἐσεφοίτα καὶ ὄκει τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ μὴ κληστά. ἦλιον μὲν δὴ ἀνίσχοντος ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ τινα ἔπραττεν, ἃ μόνοις ἐποίει δήλα τοῖς ἑτῶν τεττάρων σιωπάν γεγυμνασμένοις, τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶρον, εἰ μὲν Ἡλλάς ἢ πόλις εἰη καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ γυνόριμα, ξυγκαλῶν ἀν τοὺς ἱερέας ἐφιλοσοφεὶ περὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ διωρ-θοῦτο αὑτοῦς, εἰ ποι τῶν νομιζομένων ἐξαλλάττωσι, εἰ δὲ βάρβαρα τε καὶ ἰδιότροπα εἰη, διεμάνθανε τοὺς ἱδρυσαμένους αὐτὰ καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἱδρύη, πυθόμενος τε, ὅτη θεραπεύεται ταῦτα καὶ ὑποθέμενος, εἰ τι σοφότερον τοῦ δρωμένου ἐνθυμηθεῖς, 44
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 him, he would call the priests together and talk wisely about the gods, and would correct them, supposing they had departed from the traditional forms. If, however, the rites were barbarous and peculiar, then he would find out who had founded them and on what occasion they were established, and having learnt the sort of cult it was, he would make suggestions, in case he could think of any improvement upon them, and then he
CAP. XVI

μετῇει ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀμιλητὰς καὶ ἐκέλευεν ἐρωτῶν, ἃ
βούλονται. ἐφασκε γὰρ χρῆναι τοὺς οὕτω φιλο-
σοφοῦντας ἣνις μὲν ἀρχομένης ξυνεῖναι θεοῖς,
προϊόνσης δὲ πέρι θεῶν, τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ῥόν
ἀνθρωπείων πέρι τὰς ξυνουσίας ποιεῖσθαι. εἰπὼν
δὲ ἄν πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους, ὀπόσα ἡρώτων, καὶ
ἰκανῶς τῆς τοιαύτης ξυνουσίας ἔχων ἐπὶ τὴν διά-
λεξιν ἀνίστατο λοιπῶν τὴν ἐς πάντας, οὐ πρὸ
μεσημβρίας, ἀλλ' ὀπότε μάλιστα ἡ ἡμέρα ἐστίνου,
καὶ διαλεγχέσεις ἄν ὡς ἀπαρκεῖν φερετο, ἥλειφστό τε
καὶ τριφάμενος ἵει ἑαυτὸν ἐς υδῷρ ψυχρῶν, γῆρας
ἀνθρώπων καλῶν τὰ βαλανεία. τῆς γοῦν Ἀντιο-
χείας ἀποκλεισθεῖσας ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις
ἀμαρτήμασιν "ἐδωκεν ύμῖν," ἔφη, "ὁ βασιλεύς
κακοῖς οὕσι βιώνα τλείονα ἑτη." Ἐφεσίων δὲ
βουλομένων καταλιθώσαι τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ
ἐκπυροῦν τὰ βαλανεία "ὑμεῖς μὲν τὸν ἄρχοντα,"
ἔφη, "αἰτιάσθε, ἐπειδῆ πονηρῶς λοῦσθε, ἐγὼ δὲ
ὕμᾶς, ὅτι λοῦσθε."

XVII

CAP. XVII

Δόγων δὲ ἰδέαιν ἐπηρήκησεν οὐ διθυραμβώδη
cο καὶ φλεγμαίνουσαν ποιητικοῖς ὑρομασίν, οὐδ' αὖ
cατεγλυστηρισμένη καὶ ὑπεραττικής ξυνουσαν, ἀγῆς
γὰρ τὸ ὑπὲρ τὴν μετρίαν Ἀτθίδα ἡγεῖτο, οὐδ' ἕ
λεπτολογία ἐδίδου, οὐδὲ διήγε τοὺς λόγους,
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 of the day to 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."

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
CAP. οὐδε εἰρωνευομένου τις ἥκουσεν ἢ περιπατοῦντος ἢ τοὺς ἀκρωμένους, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ τριτοδοσ ὅτε διαλέγοιτο "οἶδα" ἔλεγε καὶ "δοκεῖ μοι" καὶ "ποί φέρεσθε"; καὶ "χρῆ εἰδέναι." καὶ αἱ δὸξαι βραχεῖαι καὶ ἀδαμάντιναι, κύρια τα ὀνόματα καὶ προσπεφυκότα τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἡχῶ εἶχεν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκῆπτρων θεμιστευόμενα. ἐρωμένου δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν στενολειχούντων τινὸς, ὅτου ἐνεκα οὐ ζητοῖ, "ὁτί," ἔφη, "μειράκιον ὅν εξήτησα, νῦν δὲ οὐ χρῆ ξητεῖν, ἀλλ' διδάσκειν ἄ εὐρήκα". "πῶς οὖν, Ἀπολλώνιε, διαλέγεται ὁ σοφός;" πάλιν ἐπερωμένων αὐτῶν "ὡς νομοθετής," ἔφη, "ἀλλ' γὰρ τὸν νομοθέτην, ἃ τέρεικεν ἐαυτῷ, ταῦτα ἐπιτάγματα ἢ τοὺς πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι." ὅδε αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐσπουδάζετο, καὶ ἐπέστρεφεν ἢ ἐαυτῶν ἀνθρώπους ἀμουσοτάτους.

XVIII

CAP. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα λογισμοῦ ἐαυτῶ δίδοις ἀποδημιὰς μείζονος, ἐνθυμεῖται τὸ Ἰνδικὸν ἔθνος καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῶ σοφοὺς, οἳ λέγονται Βραχμάνες τε καὶ Ἱρκάνιοι εἶναι, προσήκειν φήσας νέῳ ἀνδρὶ ἀποδημεῖν τε καὶ ὑπερορίῳ αἴρεσθαι. εὔρημα δὲ τοὺς μάγους ἐποιεῖτο, οἵ Βαβυλῶνα καὶ Σοῦσα οἰκοῦσι, καὶ γὰρ ἄν καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνων διαμαθεῖν ὁδῷ χρώμενος. καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὀμιλητὰς ἐπὶ τὰ ἄντας ἀνέφηνε τὴν γυνώμην. πειραμένων 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.

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 a great deal 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
Ἐπεί τοῖνυν μαλακῶς ἔχετε, ὡμείς μὲν ὑγιαίνετε," ἐφη, "καὶ φιλοσοφεῖτε: ἐμοὶ δὲ βαδιστέα, οἱ σοφία τε καὶ δαίμων με ἄγει." ταύτα εἰπὼν ἐξελάυνε τῆς 'Αντιοχείας μετὰ δυοῦν θεραπόντων, οὔτε αὐτῷ πατρικῷ ἡστην, ὁ μὲν ἐς τάχος γράφων, ὁ δὲ ἐς κάλλος.

ΧΙΘ

Καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τὴν ἄρχαίαν Νίνον, ἐν ἦ ἀγαλμα ἠδρυταὶ πρόποι βάρβαρον, ἔστι δὲ ἄρα Ἰω ἦ Ἰνάχου καὶ κέρατα τῶν κροτάφων ἐκκρούει μικρὰ καὶ οἷον μέλλοντα. ἔνταυθα διατρίβοντι καὶ πλεῖών ἔνυιέντι περὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἡ οἱ ιερεῖς καὶ προφήται, προσεφοίτησε Δάμις ὁ Νίνος, διν καταρχαῖς ἐφην ἕναπαθήσασαι οἱ καὶ ἐνιέμπορον γενεσθαί τῆς σοφίας πάσης καὶ πολλὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διασώσασθαι, ὅς ἀγασθεὶς αὐτῶν καὶ ἔλλους τῆς ὀδοῦ ἦμεν," ἐφη, "Ἀπολλώνιε, σὺ μὲν θεῷ ἐπόμενος, ἐγὼ δὲ σοί, καὶ γάρ με καὶ πολλοῦ ἀξίων εὕροις ἀν: εἰ μὲν ἄλλο τι οὐκ οἴδα, τὸ δ' οὖν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἦκον, πόλεις τε, ὀπόσαι εἰσίν, οἴδα.

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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.

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 to Babylon, and I know all the cities
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIX

ἀνελθὼν οὗ πάλαι καὶ κώμας, ἐν αἰσ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ, καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰς φωνὰς τῶν βαρβάρων, ὅπόσαι εἰσίν, εἰςὶ δὲ ἄλλη μὲν Ἀρμενίων, ἄλλη δὲ Μῆδων τε καὶ Περσῶν, ἄλλη δὲ Καδουσίων, μεταλαμβάνω δὲ πάσας." "ἐγὼ δὲ," εἴπεν, "ὤ ἔταιρε, πασῶν ξυνήμι, μαθῶν μηδεμίαν." θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Νινίου "μὴ θαυμάσης," εἴπεν, "εἰ πάσας οἷδα φωνὰς ἀνθρώπων οἷδα γὰρ δὴ καὶ οὕτα σιωπῶσιν ἀνθρώποι." ὁ μὲν δὲ Ἀσσύριος προσηύξατο αὐτόν, ὡς ταύτα ἤκουσε, καὶ ὄσπερ δαίμονα ἐβλεπε, συνήν τε αὐτῷ ἐπίδιδοις τὴν σοφίαν καὶ ὁ τι μάθοι μνημονεύων. φονῇ δὲ ἦν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ξυμμέτρως πράττονσα, τὸ γὰρ λογοειδὲς οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀτε παιδευθεῖς ἐν βαρβάροις, διατριβὴν δὲ ἀναγράψαι καὶ συνουσίαν καὶ ὁ τι ἤκουσεν ἢ εἶδεν ἀνατυπώσαι καὶ ὑπόμνημα τῶν τοιούτων ξυνθείναι σφόδρα ἰκανὸς ἦν, καὶ ἐπετή- δενε τοῦτο ἀρίστα ἀνθρώπων. ἡ γὰρ δέλτος ἡ τῶν ἐκφατνισμάτων τοιούτων τῷ Δάμιδι νῦν εἶχεν ὁ Δάμιος ἐβούλετο μηδὲν τῶν Ἀπολλωνίων ἀγνοεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰ τι καὶ παρεφθέγξατο ἢ ἀμελῶς εἴπεν, ἀναγεγράφθαι καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ ἀξιόν γε εἰπεῖν, ἢ καὶ πρὸς τὸν μεμψαμενον τὴν διατριβὴν ταύτην ἀπεφθέγξατο. διασύνοιτος γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ῥαθύμου τε καὶ βασικάνου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὀρθῶς ἀναγράφειν φήσαντος, ὁπόσαι γνῶμαι τέ εἰσι καὶ δόξαι τοῦ ἀνδρός,
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 familiar 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 very solecisms 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
FLAVIUS PHILESTRATUS

CAP. XIX

ταυτὶ δὲ τὰ οὕτω μικρὰ ἐξυλλεγόμενον παρα-
πλῆσιόν ποὺ τοὺς κυσὶ πράττειν τοὺς σιτου-
μένοις τὰ ἐκπίπτοντα τῆς δαιτὸς, ὑπολαβῶν ὁ
Δάμις "εἰ δᾶἰτες," ἔφη, "θεῶν εἰσι καὶ σιτοῦνται
θεοὶ, πάντως ποὺ καὶ θεράποντες αὐτοῖς εἰσιν, οὐς
μέλει τοῦ μηδὲ τὰ πίπτοντα τῆς ἀμβροσίας ἀπόλ-
λυσθαι."

XX

CAP. XX

Τοιοῦδε μὲν ἐταίρου καὶ ἐραστοῦ ἐτυχεῖν, ὃ τὸ
πολὺ τοῦ βίου συνεπορεύθη. παριῶντας δὲ
αὐτοὺς ἐσ τὴν μέσην τῶν ποταμῶν ὁ τελῶνης
ὁ ἐπιβεβλημένος τῷ Ζεύγματι πρὸς τὸ πινάκιον
ηγε καὶ ἤρωτα, ὁ τι ἀπάγοιεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολ-
λῶνος "ἀπάγω" ἔφη "σωφροσύνην δικαιοσύνην
ἀρετὴν ἐγκράτειαν ἀνδρείαν ἄσκησιν," πολλὰ
καὶ οὔτω θηλεὰ εἰρᾶς ὀνόματα. ὁ δὲ ἤδη βλέπων
τὸ ἐαυτῶν κέρδος "ἀπόγραψαι οὖν" ἔφη "τὰς
δούλας." ὁ δὲ "οὐκ ἔξεστιν," εἶπεν, "οὐ γὰρ
δούλας ἀπάγω ταύτας, ἄλλα δεσποίνας." τὴν
dὲ τῶν ποταμῶν μέσην ὁ Τίγρις ἀποφαίνει
καὶ ὁ Ἐὐφράτης, ἰέοντες μὲν ἐξ Ἀρμενίας καὶ
Ταύρου λήγοντος, περιβάλλοντες δὲ ἦπειρον, ἐν ἦ
καὶ πόλεις μὲν, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον κώμαι, 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 the banquets are those of gods, and it is gods who are being fed, surely they must have attendants whose business it is that not even the parcels of ambrosia that fall to the ground should be lost.”

**XX**

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.”

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.
ΦΛΑΥΙΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

CAP. XX

'Αρμένια καὶ Ἀράβια, ὁ Ἑυγκλείσαντες οἱ ποταμοὶ ἔχουσιν, ὅν καὶ νομάδες οἱ πολλοὶ στείχουσιν, οὕτω τι νησιώτας ἐαυτοὺς νομίζουσιν. ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσάν τε καταβαίνειν φάσκειν, ὅτ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς βαδίζοιεν, ὅρον τε ποιεῖσθαι τῆς γῆς τὸν τῶν ποταμῶν κύκλον ἀποτομεύσαντες γὰρ τὴν προειρημένην ἥπειρον ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔνεαν θάλασσαν. εἰσὶ δ', οἱ φασίν ἐς ἔλος ἄφανίζεσθαι τὸ πολὺ τοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ τελευτᾶν τῶν ποταμῶν τούτων ἐν τῇ γῇ. λόγου δ' ἐνιοί θρασύτεροι ἐφάπτονται, φάσκοντες αὐτὸν ὕπο τῇ γῇ ἰεντα ἐς Ἀγγυπτον ἀναφαίνεσθαι καὶ Νεῖλῳ συγκεραννυσθαι. ἀκριβολογίας μὲν δὴ ἔνεκα καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν παραλειφθαί μοι τῶν γεγραμμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμιδος ἐβουλόμην ἄν καὶ τὰ διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων τούτων πορευμένως σπουδασθέντα εἰπεῖν, ἐνελαύνει δὲ ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος ἐς τὰ μείζω τε καὶ θαυμασιώτερα, οὐ μὴν ὡς δυοίν γε ἄμελησα τούτων, τῆς τε ἀνδρείας, ἡ χρώμενος ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος διεπορεύθη βάρβαρα ἑθνη καὶ ληστρικά, σὺν ὑπὸ Ἡρωμαίοις πῶ ὑπτα, τῆς τε σοφίας, ἡ τῶν Ἀράβων τρόπον ἐς ζύνεσιν τῆς τῶν ξών φωνής ἰήθεν. ἐμαθε δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τούτων τῶν Ἀραβίων πορευόμενος ἄριστα γιγνωσκόντων τε αὐτὸ καὶ πραπτόντων. ἐστὶ γὰρ τῶν Ἀραβίων ἡδή κοινών καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων ἀκούειν μαντευομένων, ὅποσι αἱ χρησμοὶ, ἄν μπάλλονται δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων σιτού-μενοι τῶν δρακόντων οἱ μὲν καρδιὰν φασίν, οἱ δὲ ἦπαρ.
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 journey 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 as yet 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.
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


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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

ΠΡΟΕΛΘΟΝΤΕΣ ΔΕ ΕΙΚΟΣΙ ΣΤΑΔΙΑ ΛΕΑΙΝΗ ἘΝΤΥΝΓΧΑΝΟΥΣΙΝ ἈΠΕΣΦΑΡΜΕΝΗ ἘΝ ΘΗΡΑ, ΚΑΙ ἩΝ ΤΟ ΘΗΡΙΟΝ ΜΕΓΑ ΚΑΙ ὩΣΟΝ ΟΥΠΟΙ ΕΙΔΟΝ, ἘΒΘΟΝ ΤΕ ΟΙ ἘΚ ΤΗΣ ΚΩΜΗΣ ΣΥΝΕΡΡΗΚΟΤΕΣ, ΚΑΙ, ΝΗ ΔΙ', ΟΙ ΤΕΘΗΡΑΚΟΤΕΣ, ὙΣ ΤΙ ΜΕΓΑ ΘΑΥΜΑ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΩΙ ὈΡΩΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ἩΝ ἈΤΕΧΝΩΣ ΘΑΥΜΑ: ΣΚΥΜΝΟΥΣ ΓΑΡ ἈΝΑΤΜΗΘΕΙΣΑ ὌΚΤΩ ΕΙΧΕΝ. Ὅ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ΛΕΑΙΝΗΣ ΤΟΚΟΣ, ΑΙ ΛΕΑΙΝΑΙ ΜΗΝΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΚΥΪΣΚΟΥΣΙΝ ΕΞΙ, ΤΡΙΣ ΔΕ ἈΠΟΤΙΚΤΟΥΣΙΝ, ἌΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΣΚΥΜΝΩΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΜΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΝ ΤΡΕΙΣ, ΕΠΙ 62
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.

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
CAP. XXII

CAP. 

δὲ τής δευτέρας δύο, τρίτου δὲ ἀπτωμένη τόκου μονήρη σκύμνων ἀποτίκτει μέγαν, οἷμαι, καὶ ἀγρυώτερον τῆς φύσεως. οὐ γὰρ προσεκτέα τοῖς λέγοντιν, ὡς ἤξιμαντες οἱ σκύμνοι τὰς τῶν λεαινών μῆτρας ἐκδέδονται τοῦ σπλάγχνου. δοκεῖ γὰρ τῇ φύσει τῶ τυκτομένῳ πρὸς τὸ τίκτον ἐπιτή- 

deία εἶναι ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ γένους. ἐνυδῶν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ θηρίῳ καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπι-

σχὼν "ὁ Δάμι, ἐφη, "ὁ χρόνος τῆς παρὰ βασιλέα ἀποδημίας ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐσται καὶ μηνῶν ὦκτω, οὔτε 

γὰρ ἐκεῖνον ἀνήσει θάττου, οὔτε ἦμιν λῶν ἀπελ-

θεῖν πρὸς τοῦτον. τεκμαίρεσθαι δὲ χρὴ τῶν μὲν 

σκύμνων ἐς μηνας, τῆς λεαινῆς δὲ ἐς ἐνιαυτόν, τέ-

λεια γὰρ τελείως παραβλητέα." "οἱ δὲ δὴ στρού-

θοί, ἐφη ὁ Δάμι, "οἱ παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ τῇ φύσο-

σιν, οὐς ὁ δράκων μὲν ἐν τῇ Αὐλίδι ἐδαίσατο ὦκτω 

ὀντας, ἐννατην ἐπ' αὐτοίς τὴν μητέρα ἑλών; Κάλχας 

δ' ἐξηγούμενοι ταῦτα ἐννέα ἐνιαυτοῖς ἀνείπε κατα-

πολεμήσεσθαι τὴν Τροιάν. καὶ ὅρα μὴ καθ' 

"Ομηρόν τε καὶ Κάλχαντα ἐς ἐννέα ἡμῶν ἐτῆ 

₿ ἀποδημία τείνῃ." "καὶ εἰκότως," ἐφη, "ὁ Δάμι, 

καὶ τοὺς νεόττους ὁμηρὸς ἐνιαυτοῖς εἰκάζει, γεγό-

ὐσιν γὰρ ἣδη καὶ εἰσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀτελῆ θηρία καὶ 

μὴtau γεγονότα, ὅσως δὲ μηδὲ ἂν γενόμενα, πῶς ἂν 

ἐνιαυτοῖς εἰκάζομι; τὰ γὰρ παρὰ φύσιν οὔτ' ἂν 

γένοιτο, ταχεῖαν τε ἵσχει διαφθοράν, κἂν γένηται. 

ἀλλ' ἐπον δὴ τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ὠμοιν εὐξόμενοι τοῖς 

θεοῖς οἱ ταῦτα φαίνουσιν,"
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 and pray to the gods who reveal thus much to us."
Προελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Κισσίαν χώραν καὶ πρὸς Βαβυλώνῳ ἦδη ὄντι, δόξα ἐνυπνίου ἐφοίτησεν ὡς τῷ φήμαντι θεῷ ξυντεθείσα: ἵχθος ἐκπεπτωκότες τῆς θαλάττης ἐν τῇ γῇ ἣσπαιρων, θρήνον ἀνθρώπων ἴνετε καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενοι τὸ ἐκβεβηκέναι τοῦ ἦθους, δελφίνα τε τῇ γῇ παρανέοντα ἴκέτευον ἀμῦναι σφισιν ἑλεεινοὶ ὄντες, ὀσπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ ἐν τῇ ξένῃ κλαίοντες. ἐκπλαγεῖς δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου, ἐξμιμβάλλεται μὲν αὐτῶν ὅπως καὶ ὧπῃ εἶχε, διαταράττει δὲ βουλόμενος τὸν Δάμιν, καὶ γὰρ τῶν εὐλαβεστέρων αὐτὸν ἐγίγνοσκεν, ἀπαγγέλλει πρὸς αὐτόν τὴν ὦμιν, δέος πλασάμενος ὡς ἐπὶ πονηροῖς, οἷς εἰδεν ὃ δὲ ἀνεβόησε τε ὡς αὐτῶς ἰδὼν ταύτα, καὶ ἀπῆγε τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ πρόσω "μὴ πη," ἔφη, "καὶ ἡμεῖς ὀσπερ ἵχθος ἐκπεσούντες τῶν ἥθων ἀπολώμεθα, καὶ πολλὰ ἑλεεινὰ ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδαπῇ εἰπὼμεν, καὶ ποὺ καὶ ἐς ἀμήχανον ἐμπεσοῦντες ἴκετεύσομεν δυνάστην τινὰ ἡ βασιλέα, ὃ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀτιμάσῃ, καθάπερ τοὺς ἵχθος οἱ δελφίνες." γελάσας δὲ ὃ Ἀπολλώνιος "σὺ μὲν οὐπω φιλοσοφεῖς," ἔπει, "εἰ δέδιας ταύτα, ἐγὼ δὲ οἱ τὸ ἐνύπνιον τεῖνει δηλώσω. Ἐρετρείς γὰρ τὴν Κισσίαν ταύτῃ χώραν οἰκούσιν οἱ ἐξ Εὐβοίας ποτὲ Δαρείῳ ἀναχθέντες ἐτῆ ταύτα πεντακόσια, καὶ λέγονται, ὀσπερ ἡ ὄψις ἐφάνη, ἵχθυων πάθει περὶ τὴν ἀλωσιν χρήσασθαι σαγηνευθήναι γὰρ ἡ καὶ ἀλώναι πάντας. 66
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
CAP. XXIII.

ἐοίκασιν οὖν οἱ θεοὶ κελεύειν με ἐς αὐτοὺς παρελθόντα ἐπιμεληθῆναι σφῶν, εἰ τι δυναίμην. ἵσως δὲ καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὔτε ἔλαχον τὴν ἐνταύθα μοῦραν, ἐπάγονται με ἐπ' ὠφελεία τῆς γῆς· ἱώμεν οὖν ἐξαλλάξαντες τῆς ὁδοῦ περὶ μόνου ἐρωτώντες τοῦ φρέατος, πρὸς δ' οἰκοῦσι." λέγεται δὲ τούτο κεκράσθαι μὲν ἄσφαλτον καὶ ἐλαίον καὶ ὕδατος, ἐκχέαντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνιμήσαντος ἀποχωρεῖν ταῦτα καὶ ἅπ' ἀλλήλων κρίνεσθαι. παρελθεῖν μὲν δὴ ἐς τὴν Κισσίαν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμολογηκέν ἐν οἷς πρὸς τὸν Κλαζομένιον σοφιστὴν γράφει, χρηστὸς γὰρ οὕτω τι καὶ φιλότιμος ἦν, ὡς ἐπειδὴ Ἐρετρίεας εἴδε, σοφιστὸν τε ἀναμνησθῆναι καὶ γράψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἃ τε εἶδεν ἃ τε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπραξέν· καὶ παρακλεευτεῖ τοῖς παρὰ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πᾶσαν ἔλεεῖν τοὺς Ἐρετρίεας, καὶ ὅποτε μελετῶν τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγων, μηδὲ τὸ κλάειν ἐπ' αὐτῶς παρατείσθαι.

XXIV

CAP. XXIV.

Ἐνυμφάδα δὲ τούτων καὶ δ' Δάμις περὶ τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἀναγέγραφεν· οἰκοῦσι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ, Βαβυλώνος οὖ πολὺ ἀπέχουσις ἡμέρας ὁδὸν δρομικῷ ἀνδρὶ, ἥ χώρα δὲ ἀπόλις, ἥ γὰρ Κισσία κόμαι πᾶσα, καὶ τι καὶ νομάδων ὁπ. ἤγειος μικρὰ τῶν ἵππων ἀποβαίνοντες. ἢ δὲ τῶν Ἐρετριέων οἰκεῖται μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μέση, περιβέβληται δὲ ποταμοῦ τάφρον, ἢν αὐτοὶ βαλ—
and all. It would seem then that the gods are in-structing 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 munificent, 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.

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
CAP. έσθαι περὶ τῆς κόμης λέγονται, τείχος αὐτὴν ποιοῦμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Κισσίᾳ Βαρβάρους. ὑπομπὸς δὲ ἀσφάλτω ἡ χώρα καὶ πικρά ἐμφυτεύσαι, βραχυβιωτάτοι τε οἱ ἐκεῖνη ἀνθρωποί, τὸ γὰρ ἀσφαλτῶδες ποτῶν ἐς πολλὰ τῶν ἑπτάχυννων ἴζανεὶ. τρέφει δ’ αὐτοὺς λόφος ἐν ὀρίοις τῆς κόμης, ὅπου ὑπεραιροῦνται τοῦ παρεθηροῦτος χωρίου σπείρουσι τε καὶ ἱγγοῦνται γῆν. φασὶ δὲ ἀκούσαι τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ὡς ἐπτακόσιοι μὲν τῶν Ἑρετρίεων πρὸς τοῖς ὁγδοίκοντα ἡλωσαν, οὔτε ποὺ μάχιμοι πάντες, ἢν γὰρ τι καὶ θῆλυ ἐν αὐτοῖς γένοις καὶ ἱεγηράκος, ἢν δ’, οἷμαι, τι καὶ παιδία, τὸ γὰρ πολὺ τῆς Ἑρετρίας τὸν Καθηρέα ἀνέφυγε καὶ ὁ τι ἀκρότατον τῆς Εὔβοιας. ἀνήχθησαν δὲ ἄνδρες μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακόσιους, γύναια δὲ ἴσως δέκα, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπ’ Ἰωνίας τε καὶ Ὡδίας ἀρξάμενοι διεθάλησαν ἐλαιοεμένοι ἄνω. λιθοτομίαν δὲ αὐτοῖς παρεχομένου τοῦ λόφου, καὶ τινὲς καὶ λιθουργοὺς εἰδότες τέχνας, ἵερὰ τε ἐδείμαντο Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ ἀγοράν, ὁπόσην εἴκος ἤν, βωμοὺς τε ἱδρύσαντο Δαρεὶῳ μὲν δύο, Ἐρέχθη δὲ ἔνα, Δαριδαίῳ δὲ πλείον. διετέλεσαν δὲ ἐς Δαριδαίου ἔτη μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν ὅκτῳ καὶ ὁγδοίκοντα γράφοντες τὸν Ἑλληνῶν τρόπον, καὶ οἱ τάφοι δὲ οἱ ἀρχαιοὶ σφῶν “ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δείνος” γεγράφαται, καὶ τὰ γράμματα Ἑλληνῶν μὲν, ἀλλ’ οὔπω ταῦτα ἱδεῖν φασί. καὶ ναὸς ἐγκεκχαραγ-
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 furthest extremes 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 driven 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
οίδε ποτ' Αιγαίοιο βαθύρρουν οίδμα πλέοντες
Εκβατάνων πεδίων κείμεθ' ενί μεσάτιρ.
χαίρε κλυτή ποτε πάτρις 'Ερέτρια, χαίρετ'
'Αθήναι,
γείτονες Εύβοις, χαίρε θάλασσα φίλη.

Τοὺς μὲν δὴ τάφους διεφθοροτάς ἀναλαβεῖν τε
αὐτῶν ὁ Δάμις φησὶ καὶ ξυγκλείσαι, χέασθαί τε
καὶ ἐπενεγκεῖν σφισιν, ὅποσα νόμιμα, πλὴν τοῦ
τεμεῖν τι ἡ καθαγίσαι, δακρύσαντά τε καὶ ύπο-
πλησθέντα ὀρμῆς τάδε ἐν μέσοις ἀναφθέγξασθαι:
"'Ερετριέως οἱ κλήριν τύχης δεύρ' ἀπενεχθέντες,
ὑμεῖς μὲν, εἰ καὶ πόρρω τῆς αὐτῶν, τέθαφθε γοῦν,
οἱ δ᾿ ὑμᾶς ἐνταῦθα ῥίψαντες ἀπώλοντο περὶ τῆν
ὑμετέραν νήσου ἀταφοὶ δεκάτῳ μεθ' ὑμᾶς ἔτειν· τὸ
γάρ ἐν κοίλῃ Εὐβοίᾳ πάθος θεοί φαίνουσιν."
'Απολλώνιος δὲ πρὸς τὸν σοφιστὴν ἐπὶ τέλει τῆς
ἔπιστολῆς "καὶ ἐπεμελήθην," φησίν, "ὡ Σκοπε-
λιανὲ, τῶν σῶν 'Ερετριέων νέος ὃν ἔτι, καὶ
ὡφέλησα ὃ τι ἐδυνάμην καὶ τοὺς τεθνεότας αὐτῶν
καὶ τοὺς ξόντας." τί δὴτα ἐπεμελήθη τῶν ξώντων;
οἱ πρόσοικοι τῷ λόφῳ βάρβαροι σπειρόντων τῶν
'Ερετριέων αὐτῶν ἔληξοντο τὰ φυόμενα περὶ τὸ
the tombstones, to show that the various individuals had lived in Euboea, and 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 sea-farers, which ran thus:

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

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

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

And Apollonius at the end of his letter to the sophist writes as follows: "I also attended, O Scopelianus, to your Eretrians, while I was still a young man; and I gave what help I could both to their dead and their living." What attention then did he show to their living? This—the barbarians, in the neighbourhood of the hill, when the Eretrians
θέρος ἦκοντες καὶ πεινὴν ἐδει γεωργοῦντας ἐτέροις. ὁπότ’ ὄντι παρὰ βασιλέα ἀφίκετο, εὑρετὸ αὐτοῖς τὸ χρῆσθαι μόνους τῷ λόφῳ.

XXV

Τὰ δὲ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοῦτον καὶ ὀπόσα Βαβυλῶνος πέρι προσήκει γιγνώσκειν, τοιάδε εὑρον ἡ Βαβυλῶν τετείχισται μὲν ὀργοθ-κοντα καὶ τετρακόσια στάδια, τοσαύτη κύκλω, τεῖχος δὲ αὐτῆς τρία μὲν τὸ ὑψος ἡμίπλεθρα, πλέθρου δὲ μεῖον τὸ εὑρος, ποταμὸ δὲ Εὐφράτη τέμνεται ἐξὶν ὑμοίοτητι τοῦ εἴδους, ὑπὸ ἀπόρρητος ὑποστείχει γέφυρα, τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀχθαῖς ἀφανῶς ξυμάπτουσα. γυνὴ γὰρ λέγεται Μηδεία τῶν ἔκεισι ποτὲ ἄρχουσα τῶν ποταμῶν ὑποζεύξαι τρόποιν, ὑν μῆπῳ τις ποταμὸς ἐξεύχθη- λῖθους γὰρ δὴ καὶ χαλκῶν καὶ ἀσφαλτον καὶ ὀπόσα ἔσ ἐφυδρον ἕνυδεσιν ἀνθρώπωι εὑρηται, παρὰ τὰς ὀχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ νῆσασα τὸ ῥέμα ἐσ λίμναις ἐφησακε, ξηρὸν τε ἦδη τὸν ποταμὸν ὄργυγεν ὀργυίας ἐς δύο σηραγγα ἐργαζόμενη κοίλην, ἦν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια τὰ παρὰ ταῖς ὀχθαῖς ὄσπερ ἐκ γῆς ἀναφαίνοιτο, καὶ ἑρευεν αὐτὴν ἱσως τῷ τοῦ ῥέματος δαπέδῳ. οἱ μὲν δὴ θεμέλιοι ἐβεβηκεν καὶ οἱ τοῖχοι τῆς σηραγγαν, ἀτε δὲ τῆς ἀσφαλτον δεομένης τοῦ ὑδατος ἐς τὸ λιθοῦσθαί τε καὶ πήγυ καὶ ο Ἐυφράτης ἐπαφείθη ὑγρῷ τῷ ὀρόφῳ,
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.

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 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 Median woman 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 to flood the roof, and so the bridge

1 A plethron was equal to 101 English feet.
CAP. XXV
καὶ ὅδε ἔστη τὸ ζεύγμα. τὰ δὲ βασίλεια χαλκῷ, μὲν ἠρεπται καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀστράπτει, θάλαμοι δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶνες καὶ στοαῖ, τὰ μὲν ἀργύρῳ, τὰ δὲ χρυσοὶ υφάσμασι, τὰ δὲ χρυσῷ αὐτῷ καθὰπερ γραφαῖς ἱγιαίσται, τὰ δὲ ποικίλματα τῶν πέπλων ἐκ τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν σφίσιν ἦκει λόγων, Ἀνδρομέδαι καὶ Ἀμμώναι καὶ Ὀρφεὺς πολλαχοῦ. χαίρονσι δὲ τῷ Ὀρφεί, τιώραν ἴσως καὶ ἀναξιρίδα τιμῶντες, οὐ γὰρ μονοικὴν γε, οὔδὲ ὀδάς, ἀλλὰ ἐθελγεν. ἐνύφανταί ποι καὶ ὁ Δάτις τὴν Νάξον ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνασπῶν, καὶ Ἀρταφέρνης περιεστηκὼς τὴν Ἐρέτριαν, καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην, ὃ νικᾶν ἐφασκεν. Ἀθήναι γὰρ δὴ ἐχόμεναί εἰσι καὶ Θερμοπύλαι καὶ τὰ Μηδικότερα ἑτι, ποταμὸν ἐξαιροῦμενοί τῆς γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ζεύγμα καὶ ὁ Ἀθως ὡς ἐτμήθη. φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐντυχεῖν, οὐ τὸν ὄροφον ἐς θόλου ἀνήχθαι σχῆμα οὐρανὸς τοῖς εἰκασμένοις, σαπφειρίη δὲ αὐτὸν κατηρέθηκα λίθῳ —κυαινωτάτη δὲ ἡ λίθος καὶ οὐρανία ἰδείν—καὶ θεῶν ἁγάλματα, οὓς νομίζουσιν, ἑιρνται ἄνω καὶ χρυσᾶ φαίνεται, καθὰπερ, ἐξ αἰθέρος. δικάζει μὲν δὴ ὁ βασίλευς ἐνταῦθα, χρυσᾶς ἀποκρέμανται τοῦ ὄροφον τέτταρες, τὴν Ἀδράστειαν αὐτῷ παρεγγυῶσαι καὶ τὸ μῆ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπονς αἴρεσθαι. ταῦτας οἱ μάγοι αὐτοὶ φασίν ἀρμόττεσθαι, φοιτῶντες ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὰς θεῶν γλώττας.
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 drawing 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 Thermopylæ, and other pictures still more to the Median taste, such as rivers drained 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.
CAP. XXVI

Περὶ δὲ τῶν μάγων Ἀπολλόνιος μὲν τὸ ἀποχρόνων εἴρηκε, συγγενέσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ μὲν μάθειν, τὰ δὲ ἀπελθέντες διδάξας, Δάμις δὲ τοὺς μὲν λόγους, οἵοι εὐγενοῦτο τῷ ἀνδρὶ πρὸς τοὺς μάγους οὐκ οἶδεν, ἀπαγορεύσαι γὰρ αὐτῷ μὴ συμφοιτάν παρ' αὐτούς ἱόντι, λέγει δ' ὅσον φοιτάν αὐτὸν τοῖς μάγοις μεσημβρίας τε καὶ ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας, καὶ ἔρεσθαί ποτὲ "τὶ οἱ μάγοι;" τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι "σοφοὶ μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα."}

CAP. XXVII

Ταυτὶ μὲν ὑστερον. ἀφικομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐστὶν Ἐλπίδιος ὁ σατράπης ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν μεγάλων πυλῶν μαθὼν ὅτι ὑπὲρ ἱστορίας ἦκει, δρέειν χρυσῆν εἰκόνα τοῦ βασιλέως, ἵνα εἰ μὴ προσκυνήσεις τις, οὐ θεμιτὸν ἵνα ἐσφοιτῶν ἔσω. πρεσβεύνοντι μὲν οὖν παρὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου ἄρχοντος οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη τούτων, παρὰ βαρβάρων δὲ ἴκονι ἡ ἀφιστοροῦντι τὴν χώραν, εἰ μὴ τὴν εἰκόνα προθεραπεύσεις, ἀτιμῶν ἀπειληφθαί καὶ σατραπεῦσαι παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις τὰ οὕτως εὐθηνή. ἐπεὶ τοῖς νὴν τὴν εἰκόνα εἶδε "τὶς," ἐφη, "οὕτως;" ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς "οὕτως," εἶπεν, "ὅν ὑμεῖς προσκυνεῖτε, εἰ ἐπαινεθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καλὸς κάγαθος δόξας μεγάλων τεὔξεται." καὶ εἶπον 78
XXVI

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

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
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.

XXVIII

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?"
εφη, "ἀρχόμεθα, δύο ἡδη που μήνες." ἀναστήσας οὖν, ὦσπερ εἰσόθει, τὴν γυνώμην "ὁ σωματοφύλαξ," εἰπεν, "ἡ ὁ τί σε προσήκει καλεῖν, Δαρείος ὁ Κύρου καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου πατὴρ τὰ βασιλεία ταῦτα κατασχῶν ἐξήκοντα, οἶμαι, ἐτή λέγεται τελευτὴν ὑποπτεύσας τοῦ βίου τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ θύσαι, καὶ "ὁ δέσποινα," εἰπείν, "ἡ τῖς ποτε εἰ" ὦσπερ ἐπιθυμήσας μὲν πάλαι τῆς δικαιοσύνης, οὐποὶ δὲ αὐτὴν γυγνώσκων, οὐδὲ δοκῶν κεκτῆσθαι, τὰ παῖδε τε οὕτως ἀμαθῶς ἐπαιδεύσεν, ὡς ὅπλα ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἀρασθαί, καὶ ὁ μὲν τρωθήναι, ὁ δὲ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου, σὺ δ' ἡδῆ τούτου ἱσως οὐδ' ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ θρόνῳ καθῆσθαι εἰδότα ξυνειληφέναι ὁμοῦ πᾶσας ἀρετὰς βούλει καὶ ἐπαίρεις αὐτὸν σοὶ φέρων, οὐκ ἔμοι, κέρδος, εἰ βελτίων γένοιτο."

Βλέψας οὖν ὁ βάρβαρος ἐς τὸν πλησίον "ἐρμαῖον," ἐφη, "θεῶ τις ἀγεί τοι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐνταύθα, ἄγαθὸς γὰρ ξυγγενόμενος ἄγαθῳ πολλῷ βελτίῳ τὸν βασιλέα ἤμιν ἀποφανεῖ καὶ σωφρονεστέρου καὶ ἡδίω, ταυτὶ γὰρ διαφαίνεται τοῦ ἄνδρός." ἐσέθεν οὖν εὐαγγελιζόμενοι πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἄνὴρ ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλείους θύραις ἑστήκοι σοφός τε καὶ Ἑλλην καὶ ξύμβουλος ἄγαθὸς.
“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 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.”

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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XXIX

CAP. XXIX  'Επεὶ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀνηγγέλη ταῦτα, ἔτυχε μὲν θύων παρόντων αὐτῷ τῶν μάγων, τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ὑπ’ ἐκείνους ὑπάται, καλέσας δὲ αὐτῶν ἕνα “ἡκεὶ,” ἔφη, “τὸ ἐνύπτυιον, ὁ διηγούμην σοι τήμερον ἐπισκοπομένῳ με ἐν τῇ εὐν. ὁναρ δὲ ἄρα τῷ βασιλεὶ τοιούτῳ ἀφίκτο, ἑδόκει Άρταξέρξης εἶναι ο τοῦ Ξέρξου καὶ μεθεστηκέναι ἐς ἐκείνου τὸ εἴδος, περιδεώς τε εἶχε, μὴ ἐς μεταβολὴν ὑδὴ τὰ πράγματα ἡκη αὐτῷ, ἐς τούτῳ ἔξηγουμένῳ τήν μεταβολὴν τοῦ εἴδους. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥκουσεν “Ελληνᾶ τε καὶ σοφῶν εἶναι τῶν ἥκοντα, ἐσήλθεν αὐτῶν Θεμεστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς ἀπὸ Ἕλληνων ποτὲ ἕκων εὐνεγένετο τῷ Άρταξέρξη καὶ πολλοῦ ἀξίων ἐκείνων τε ἐποίησεν ἑαυτόν τε παρέσχετο. καὶ προτείνας τήν δεξιὰν “κάλει,” ἔφη, “καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ καλλίστου ἄρξαιτο εὐνθύσας τε καὶ εὐνευξάμενος.”

XXX

CAP. XXX  Εἰσῆκει μὲν δὴ παραπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ πλειόνων, τοῦτῃ γὰρ φόντο καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ χαρίζεσθαι μαθόντες ὡς χαῖροι ἄφιγμαν, διώκων δὲ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια οὐ διέβλεψεν ἐς οὐδὲν τῶν θαυμαζομένων, ἀλλ’ ὀσπερ ὀδοιπορῶν διήκει αὐτῷ, καὶ καλέσας τὸν Δάμιν “ἡροῦ με,” ἔφη, “πρῶθη, ὅ τι οὐνομα ἤν τῇ Παμφύλῳ γυναικὶ, ἣ δὴ Σαπφοῖ τε ὀμιλήσαι
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."

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
λέγεται καὶ τοὺς ὑμνοὺς, οὗς ἐς τὴν Ἀρτεμίν τὴν Περγαίαν ἄδουσί, ξυνθεῖναι τὸν Αἰολέων τε καὶ Παμφύλων τρόπον. "ηρόμην," ἐφη, "τὸ δὲ ὄνομα οὐκ εἶπας." "οὐκ, ὡς χρηστὲ, εἴπον, ἀλλ' ἔξηγούμην σοι τοὺς νόμους τῶν ὑμνῶν καὶ τὰ ὄνόματα, καὶ ὅπη τὰ Αἰολέων ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατον τε καὶ τὸ ἱδιον Παμφύλων παρῆλλαξεν πρὸς ἄλλοι μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγενόμεθα, καὶ οὐκέτ' ἦρον με περὶ τοῦ ὄνόματος: καλεῖται θαύμνου ἡ σοφὴ αὐτῇ Δαμοφύλη, καὶ λέγεται τὸν Σαπφοῦς τρόπον παρθένως τε ὀμιλητρίας κτῆσασθαι ποιήματα τε ξυνθεῖαι τὰ μὲν ἔρωτικά, τὰ δὲ ὑμνοὺς. τὰ τοι ἐς τὴν Ἀρτεμίν καὶ παρόδηται αὐτῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Σαπφῶν ἦσται." ὅσον μὲν δὴ ἀπείχε τοῦ ἐκπεπλήχθαι βασιλεά τε καὶ ὄγκον, ἐδήλου τῷ μηδὲ ὀφθαλμῶν ἄξια ἤγεισθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ ἐτέρων πέρι διαλέγεσθαι κάκεινα δῆπτον οὐχ ἤγεισθαι ὅραν.

XXXI

Προιδὼν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς προσιόντα, καὶ γὰρ τι καὶ μῆκος ἡ τοῦ ἱεροῦ αὐλὴ εἶχε, διελάβησὲ τε πρὸς τοὺς ἑγγὺς, οἵον ἀναγιγνώσκων τὸν ἀνδρα, πλησίον τε ἡ ἡ γιγνομένου μέγα ἀναβοήσας, "οὕτος," ἐφη, "ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὃν Μεγαβάτης ὁ
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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.

XXXI

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
Καὶ ἀνεχώρησε τῆς θυσίας, ὡς μὴ κοινωνοῖν τοῦ ἄματος. μετὰ δὲ τὴν θυσίαν προσήλθε καὶ ἵνα βασιλεύῃ, ἔφη, "tokenId θυνή τῆν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν γυνώσκεις, ἢ σμικρὰ αὐτῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐξυμβόλου ἰσως καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἅριδος δοκεῖν, εἰ τις ἀφίκοιτο
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.”

XXXII

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
"Ελλην;" "πᾶσαν," εἶπεν, "ίσα τῇ ἐγχωρίῳ ταύτῃ, καὶ λέγε ὅ τι βούλει, διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ποι ἐρωτᾶς." "διὰ τοῦτο," ἔφη, "καὶ ἀκοῦει ἡ μὲν ὀρμῆ μοι τῆς ἀποδημίας Ίνδοι εἰσὶ, παρελθεῖν δὲ οὐδ' ὠμᾶς ἐβουλήθην, σὲ τε ἀκούων ἄνδρα, οἶον εὖ ὀνυχὸς ἤδη ὅρῳ, σοφίαν τε, ἦπερ ὠμῖν ἐστὶν ἐπιχώριος μελετομένη μάγωις ἄνδρας, κατιδεῖν δεόμενος, εἶ τὰ θεία, ὡς λέγονται, σοφοί εἰσιν: σοφία δὲ ἐμοὶ Πυθαγόρου Σαμίου ἄνδρος, ὅς θεοὺς τε θεραπεύειν ὀδὲ με ἐδιδάξατο, καὶ ξυνίειν σφῶν ὀρωμένων τε καὶ οὐχ ὀρωμένων, φοιτᾶν τε ἐς διαλέξειν θεῶν, καὶ γηινῷ τούτῳ ἐρίῳ ἐστάλθαι, οὐ γὰρ προβάτου ἐπέχθη, ἀλλ' ἀκήρατος ἀκηράτων φύεται, ὑδατός τε καὶ γῆς δῶρα, ὅθονη καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἄνετον τῆς κόμης ἐκ Πυθαγόρου ἐπησκῆσαι, καὶ τὸ καθαρεύειν ξύών βορᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου μοι σοφίας ἤκει. ξυμπότης μὲν δὴ καὶ κοινωνὸς ῥαστώνης ἡ τρυφῆς οὔτ' ἀν σοι γενοῦμην οὔτ' ἀν ἐτέρῳ οὐδενὶ, φροντίδων δὲ ἀπόρων τε καὶ δυσευρέτων δοίην ἀν θύσεις, οὐ γεγνώσκων τὰ πρακτέα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προγνωσκών." ταῦτα ὁ Δάμις μὲν διαλεξθῆναι φησι τὸν ἄνδρα, Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ἐπιστολῆν αὐτὰ πεποίηται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀλλὰ τῶν ἑαυτῷ ἐς διάλεξιν εἰρημένων ἐς ἐπιστολὰς ἀνετυπώσατο.

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case any Greek arrives?" "I know it thoroughly," 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.
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.
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 preoccupied and, as it were, brooding, he determined that he was going to ask and was anxiously turning over in his mind, what he should ask. But at eventide: "Damis," said Apollonius, "I am thinking 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
CAP. XXXIII

σωφροσύνης καὶ βιαίω τέχνη ἐς τὸ μὴ ἑρᾶν ἡγμένους. σωφροσύνη γὰρ τὸ ὀρεγόμενὸν τε καὶ ὀρμῶντα μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι ἀφροδισίων, ἀλλ᾿ ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ κρεῖττῳ φαίνεσθαι τῆς λύττης ταῦτης." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Δάμις "ταύτα μὲν καὶ αὕτης ἐπισκεφήμεθα," ἐφη, "ὅ ἂν Ἀπολλώνιε, ὃ δὲ χρη ἀποκρίνασθαι αὖριον πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπαγγελίαν λαμπρὰν οὖσαι διεσκέφθαι προσήκει. αἰτήσεις μὲν γὰρ ᾗςων οὐδέν, τὸ δ᾿ ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἄλλῳ, φασί, τύφῳ παραιτεῖσθαι δοκοῖς, ἀπερ ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς διδώ, τούτο ὃρα καὶ φυλάττον αὐτῷ, ὅρων οἱ τῆς γῆς εἰ καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ αὐτῷ κείμεθα. δεὶ δὲ φυλάττεσθαι διαβολάς, ὡς ὑπερψῆ ἡρώμενον, γιγνώσκειν τε ὃς ἑν μὲν ἐφόδιαι ἐστὶν ἦμῖν ὡσά ἐς Ἰνδόου πέμψαι, ἐπανοικεῖ δὲ ἐκεῖθεν οὔτ᾿ ἂν ἀποχρῆσαι ταῦτα, γένοιτο δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἔτερα."
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.”

XXXIV

And by such devices he tried to wheedle Apollonius into not refusing to take anything he might be offered; but Apollonius, 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 he was in

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CAP. XXXIV

οὕτω τι ἐσ τοὺς Διονυσίου κατέδυσαν θησαυροὺς, ὡς μόνις ἀνασχεῖν ἐκεῖθεν. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν Κνίδιόν φασιν Εὐδόξον, ἐσ Αὔγυπτον ποτε ἀφικό-
μενον, ὑπὲρ χρημάτων τε ὁμολογεῖν ἢκεῖν καὶ 
dιαλέγεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπὲρ τούτου, καὶ ἵνα μὴ;
πλείους διαβάλλω, Σπεύσιππον τὸν Ἀθηναίον 
οὕτω τι ἐρασιχρήματον γενέσθαι φασίν, ὡς ἐπὶ
tὸν Κασάνδρου γάμον ἐσ Μακεδονίαν κωμάσαι
ποιήματα ψυχρά ξυνθέντα, καὶ δημοσία ταῦθ'
ὑπὲρ χρημάτων ἃσαι. ἔγω δὲ ἡγοῦμαι, ὁ Δάμι,
tὸν ἄνδρα τὸν σοφὸν πλεῖω κινδυνεύειν ἢ ὁι πλέον-
tές τε καὶ ξύν ὁπλοὺς μαχόμενοι, φθόνος γὰρ ἐπ'
αὐτὸν στείχει, καὶ σωπῶντα καὶ θεογόμενον,
καὶ ξυντείνωντα καὶ ἄνιεντα, καὶ παρέλθῃ τι
καὶ προσέλθῃ τῷ, καὶ προσείπῃ καὶ μὴ προσείπῃ,
δεῖ δὲ πεφράξαι τὸν ἄνδρα, γυγώσκειν τε ὡς
ἀργίας μὲν ἡττηθεῖς ὁ σοφὸς ἡ χολή ἡ ἐρωτὸς ἡ
φιλοποιίας, ἡ ἐτοιμότερόν τι τοῦ καιροῦ πράξας,
ὥστε ἐναι καὶ ἡγγηγώμην φέροιτο, χρήμασι δὲ ὑπο-
θεῖσα ἐαυτὸν οὔτ' ἂν ἡγγηγώμοσκοιτο καὶ μισοῖτ' ἂν,
ὡς ὁμοῖ πάσας κακίας συνειληφὼς: μὴ γὰρ
ἀν ἡττηθήναι χρημάτων αὐτὸν, εἰ μὴ γαστρὸς
ἡττητο καὶ ἀμπεχόνης καὶ οἶνον καὶ τοῦ ἐς
ἐταίρας φέρεσθαι. σὺ δ' ἱσώς ἡγῇ τὸ ἐν Βαβυλώνι
ἀμαρτεῖν ἦττον εἶναι τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἢ Ὀλυμ-
πίασιν ἢ Πυθοῖ, καὶ οὐκ ἐνθυμῆ ὅτι σοφὸ ἄνδρὶ
Ἔλλας πάντα, καὶ οὔδεν ἔρημον ἢ βάρβαρον
χωρίον οὔτε ἡγήσεται ὁ σοφὸς οὔτε νομεῖ, ξὼν
γε ὑπὸ τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς ὕφθαλμοῖς, καὶ βλέπει
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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 recited festal songs, when he reached Macedonia, in honour of Cassander's marriage, which were frigid compositions, and that he sang these songs in public for the sake of money. Well, I think, O Damis, that a wise man runs more risk than do sailors and soldiers in action, for envy is ever assailing him, whether he holds his tongue or speaks, whether he exerts himself or is idle, whether he passes by anything or takes care to visit anyone, whether he addresses others or neglects to address them. And so a man must fortify himself and understand that a wise man who yields to laziness or anger or passion, or love of drink, or who commits any other action prompted by impulse and inopportune, will probably find his fault condoned; but if he stoops to greed, he will not be pardoned, but render himself odious as a combination of all vices at once. For surely they will not allow that he could be the slave of money, unless he was already the slave of his stomach or of fine raiment or of wine or of riotous living. But you perhaps imagine that it is a lesser thing to go wrong in Babylon than to go wrong at Athens or at the Olympian or Pythian games; and you do not reflect that a wise man finds Hellas everywhere, and that a sage will not regard or consider any place to be a desert or barbarous.
CAP. XXXIV

μὲν ὄλγους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, μυρίων δὲ ὀμμασιν αὐτὸς ὤρᾶται. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀθλητὴ ἐκνήσθα τούτων τινι, δὲ Δάμι, οἱ παλαίειν τε καὶ παγκρατιάζειν ἀσκούσιν, ἄρα ἦν ἥξιος αὐτόν, εἰ μὲν Ὄλυμπια ἀγωνίζοιτο καὶ ἦς Ἀρκαδίαν ἦν, γενναίον τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καὶ νῆ Δί', εἰ Πύθια ἄγοιο ἢ Νέμεα, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ σώματος, ἐπειδὴ φανεροῖ
οἱ ἀγῶνες καὶ τὰ στάδια ἐν σπουδαῖο τής Ἔλλαδος, εἰ δὲ ὑπὸς Φίλιππος Ὀλυμπία πόλεις ἡρηκὼς, ἢ ὁ τούτων παῖς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐαυτοῦ νῖκαις ἀγώνα ἄγου, χείρον ἤδη παρασκευάζειν τὸ σῶμα καὶ μὴ φιλονίκως ἔχειν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν Ὅλυνθῳ ἀγωνιεῖται ἡ Μακεδονία ἡ Ἀἰγύπτω, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐν "Ελλησί καὶ σταδίοις τοῖς ἐκεῖ;" ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ τῶν λόγων τούτων ὁ Δάμις οὕτω διατεθῇ
ναὶ φησιν, ὡς ξυγκαλύφασθαι τε ἐφ᾽ ὅις αὐτὸς εἰρηκὼς ἔτυχε, παρατείσθαι τε τῶν Ἀπολλώνων ξυγγνώμην αὐτῷ ἔχειν, εἰ μὴ ποι κατανεονηκώς αὐτὸν ἢ ξυμβουλίαν τε καὶ πειθῶ τοιαύτην ὀρμησεν. ὁ δὲ ἀναλαμβάνων αὐτὸν "θάρρει," ἐφ᾽, "οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ πλῆξιν ποιούμενος, ἀλλὰ τούτων 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."
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..."
CAP. XXXV

δὲ οὐδενὸς δέθ”; “φήσαντος: “τῶν γε τραγη-
μάτων,” ἔφη, “καὶ τῶν ἄρτων, ἂ με ἥδεως τε καὶ
λαμπρῶς ἔστιν.”

XXXVI

Τοιαύτα δὴ λαλοῦντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, κραυγὴ
tῶν βασιλείων ἐξεφοίτησεν εὐνούχων καὶ γυναι-
κῶν ἀμα: εἴληπτο δὲ ἄρα εὐνούχος τις ἐπὶ μιᾶ
tῶν τοῦ βασιλέως πάλαι καὶ γυναίκοις τοῖς ἐπὶ μιᾶ
πρᾶπτων, καὶ ἤγον αὐτὸν οἱ ἀμφί τὴν γυναικώνῳ ἐπιστρέψατες τῆς κόμης, διὸ
δὴ ἄγονται τρόπον οἱ βασιλέως δούλοι. ἔπει δὲ
ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν εὐνούχων ἔρωτα μὲν τῆς
gυναικὸς πάλαι ἧσθησθαι ἐφι, καὶ προεφθακεῖν
τῇ μὴ προσδιαλέγεσθαι αὐτῇ, μηδὲ ἀπτεθαι
dέρης ἢ χειρός, μηδὲ κοσμεῖν ταύτῃν μόνην τῶν
ἔνδον, νῦν δὲ καὶ γυνακοτεκείμενον εὑρηκέναι καὶ
ἀνδρεύομενον ἐπὶ τὴν γυναίκα, ἀ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος
ἐς τῶν Δάμιν εἰδεν, ὡς δὴ τοῦ λόγου ἀποδέδειξι-
μένου, ὅσ ἐφιλοσοφεῖτο αὐτοῖς περὶ τοῦ καὶ
eὐνούχων τὸ ἔραν εἶναι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τοὺς
παρόντας “ ἀλλ’ αἰσχρόν γε,” ἐκπε, “ ὃ ἀνδρεῖς,
pαρόντος ἦμιν Ἀπολλώνιον περὶ σωφροσύνης
ἡμᾶς ἂν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦτον, ἀποφαίνεσθαι: τι ὤν
κελεύεις, Ἀπολλώνιε, παθεῖν αὐτὸν; “τι δὲ ἅλλο
ἡ ζῆν;” εἶπε παρὰ τοῦ πάντων ἀποκρινόμενος
δόξαν. ἀνερυθριάσας οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς “ εἶτα οὐ
πολλῶν,” ἔφη, “ ἡμᾶς τῶν ἄξιος, ὑφέρπτων 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."

XXXVI

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
CAP. XXXVI

τὴν εὐνήν τὴν ἑμῆν;” “ἀλλ’ οὖν ὑπὲρ ξυγ- νώμης,” ἔφη, “βασιλεῦ, ταῦτα εἶπον, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τιμωρίας, ἣ ἀποκναῦσει αὐτῶν· εἰ γὰρ ξῆσεται νοσῶν καὶ ἀδυνάτων ἀπτόμενος, καὶ μήτε σίτα μὴτε ποτὰ ἥσει αὐτὸν μὴτε θεάματα, ἀ σὲ τε καὶ τοὺς σοι συνόντας εὐφρανεῖ, πηδήσεται τε ἡ καρδία θαμὰ ἐκθρόσκουτος τοῦ ὑπνοῦ, ὃ δὴ μάλιστα περὶ τοὺς ἐρῶντάς φασὶ γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τίς μὲν οὕτω φθόη τῆξει αὐτόν, τίς δὲ οὕτω λιμὸς ἑπιθρύψει τᾶ σπλάγχνα; εἰ δὲ μὴ τῶν φιλο- ψύχων εἰ ἡ τις αὐτός, ὃ βασιλεῦ, δεῖσεται σοῦ ποτε καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν, ἢ ἔαυτόν γε ἀποκτενεῖ, πολλὰ ὀλοφυρόμενος τὴν παροῦσαν ταύτην ἧμεραν, ἐν ἢ μὴ εὐθὺς ἀπέθανε.” τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ οὕτω σοφὸν τε καὶ ἧμερον, ἐφ’ ὅ ὃ βασιλεὺς ἁνήκε τὸν θάνατον τῷ εὐνούχῳ.

XXXVII

CAP. XXXVII

Μέλλων δὲ ποτε πρὸς θήρα γίγνεσθαι τῶν ἐν τοῖς παραδείσεσι θηρίων, ἐς οὐς λέοντες τε ἀπό- κεινται τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ ἄρκτοι καὶ παρδάλεις, ἥξιον τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον παρατυχεῖν οἱ θηρῶτι, ὁ δὲ “ἐκλέλησαι, ὃ βασιλεῦ,” ἔφη, “ὅτι μηδὲ θύντι σοι παρατυχχάνω; καὶ ἄλλως οὐχ ἦδον θηρίως βεβασανισμένοις καὶ παρὰ τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἕαυτῶν δεδουλωμένοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι.” ἐρωμένου δὲ αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέως, πῶς ἂν βεβαιώσ καὶ
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."

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

XXXVII

One day the king was going to hunt the animals 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:
CAP. XXXVII

ἐσφαλῶς ἀρχοί, "πολλοὺς," ἐφη, "τιμῶν,
pιστεύων δὲ ὀλίγοις:" προσβευομένου δὲ ποτε
tοῦ τῆς Συρίας ἀρχοντὸς περὶ κωμῶν, οἶμαι, δύο
προσούκων τῷ Ζεύγματι, καὶ φάσκοντος ὑπακη-
κοέναι μὲν αὐτὸς Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ Σελεύκῳ πάλαι,
νῦν δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῷ εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις προσηκούσας, καὶ
tοὺς μὲν Ἀραβίους τε καὶ Ἀμμενίους μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν
tὰς κόμας, αὐτὸν δὲ ὑπερβαίνοντα τοσαύτην γῆν
καρπούσθαι σφᾶς, ὡς αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἦ Ῥωμαίων
οὕσας, μεταστησάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς πρέσβεις
"τὰς μὲν κόμας ταύτας," ἐφη, "Ἀπολλώνια,ἐ
ξυνεχώρησαν τοῖς ἐμοῖς προγόνοις οἱ βασιλεῖς,
οὐς εἶπον, τροφῆς ἕνεκα τῶν θηρίων, ἀ παρ'
ήμιν ἀλισκόμενα φοιτᾶ ὑ ὑ ὑ ὑ τὴν ἐκεῖνων διὰ τοῦ
Εὐφράτου, οὗ δ', ὡσπερ ἐκλαθόμενοι τούτου
καυχῶν τε καὶ ἄδικων ἄπτονται. τίς οὖν φαίνεται
σοι τῆς πρεσβείας ὁ νοῦς;" "μέτριος, ὡ βασιλεῦ,"
ἐφη, "καὶ ἐπιεικής, εἰ, ἂ δύνανται καὶ ἅκοντος
ἐχεῖν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ὑντα, βούλονται παρ' ἐκόντος
εὐρύσκεσθαι μᾶλλον." προσετήθη δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ
deīn ὑπὲρ κωμῶν, ὃν μείζονος κέκτηται τάχα καὶ
ἴδιωται, διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ πόλεμον
οὐδ' ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰρέσθα. νοσοῦντι δὲ τῷ
βασιλεὶ παρῶν, τοσαύτα τε καὶ ὡς τοῦ θεία περὶ
ψυχῆς διεξῆλθεν, ὥς τὸν βασιλέα ἀναπνεῦσαι,
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν, ὡτὶ "Ἀπολλώνιος
οὐκ ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας μόνης ἀφροντιστεῖν
eἰργασταί με, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θανάτου."
“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.
XXXVIII

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."
Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἰπὼν καὶ τυχὼν αὐτοῦ προθύμου πράττειν ἀ ἐννεβούλευεν, ἐτὶ καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς μάγους ἱσυνοσίας ἱκανῶς ἔχων "ἀγε, ὁ Δάμι," ἐφη, "ἐσ Ἰυδοὺς ἱώμεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Δωτοφάγοις προσπλεύσαντες ἀπήγγελτο τῶν οἰκείων ἡθῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ βρώματος, ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ γενόμενοι τινὸς τῶν ἐνταῦθα καθῆμεθα πλείω χρόνου τοῦ εἰκότος τε καὶ ἀγωνίαν." "κἀμοί," ἐφη ὁ Δάμις, "ὑπερδοκεῖ ταῦτα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνεβρεμοῦμην τὸν χρόνον, ὃν ἐν τῇ λεαίνῃ διεσκέψαμον, περιεμενον ἀνωθεῖναι αὐτόν· οὕτως μὲν οὖν ἐξῆκει πᾶς, ἐνιαυτὸς γὰρ ἡμῖν ἡδὴ καὶ ἡμῖν τέτταρες· εἰ δὲ ἡδὴ κομίοιμεθα, εὖ ἂν ἔχοις;" "οὔδε ἀνήσει ἡμᾶς," ἐφη, ὁ Δάμις, ὁ βασιλεὺς πρότερον ἣ τὸν οὐχοῦν τελευτήσας μῆνα· ἡρηστοῦ γὰρ ποι ὁρᾶς αὐτὸν καὶ κρέιττο ἡ βαρβάρων ἀρχεῖν."

"Επεὶ δὲ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι λοιπὸν ἐδόκει καὶ ἐννεχώρησε ποτὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπίεινα, ἀνεμνήσθη τῶν δωρεῶν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὡς ἀνεβάλλετο ἐσ τ' ἄν φίλοι αὐτὸ γένωνται, καὶ ὁ βέλτιστε," ἐφη, "βασιλεῦ, τὸν ἦχον οὖν ἐνε ὑπεποίηκα καὶ μισθὸν ὁφείλον τοῖς μάγοις. σὺ οὖν ἐπιμελήθητι αὐτῶν καὶ τούμον προθυμῆθητι περὶ ἄνδρας σοφοὺς τε καὶ σοι σφόδρα εὐνοὺς."

ParseException
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."

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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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."
Β'

I

CAP. 1 'Εντεύθεν ἐξελαύνονσι περὶ τὸ θέρος αὐτοῦ τε ὕχούμενοι καὶ ὁ ἡγεμόν, ἱπποκόμοι δὲ ἦν τῶν καμήλων καὶ τὰ ἐπιτίθεια, ὅπως ἐδέοντο, ἦν ἀφθονα βασιλέως δόντος, ἢ τε χώρα, δι’ ἡς ἐπο-ρεύοντο, εῦ ἐπραττεν, ἐδέχοντο δὲ αὐτοὺς αἱ κώμαι θεραπεύουσαι. χρυσοῦ γὰρ ψάλιον ἡ πρώτη κάμηλος ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου ἐφέρε, γιγνώσκειν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ὡς πέμποι τινὰ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐαυτοῦ φίλων. προσιόντες δὲ τῷ Καυκάσῳ φασίν εὐωδεστέρας τῆς γῆς αἰσθέσθαι.

II

CAP. II Τὸ δὲ ὃρος τοῦτο ἀρχὴν ποιώμεθα Ταύρου τοῦ δι’ Ἀρμενίας τε καὶ Κιλίκων ἔπι Παμφύλους καὶ Μυκάλην στείχοντος, ἡ τελευτῶσα ἐσθαλατταν, ἢν Κάρησ οἰκοῦσι, τέρμα τοῦ Καυ-κάσου νομίζοιτ' ἃν, ἀλλ' οὖχ, ὡς ἐνιοί φασίν, ἀρχή· τὸ τε γὰρ τῆς Μυκάλης ύπος οὔπω μέγα καὶ αἱ ὑπερβολαὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου τοσοῦτον ἀνεστάσιν, ὡς σχιζεσθαι περὶ αὐτὰς τὸν ἤλιον. περιβάλλει δὲ Ταύρῳ ἐτέρῳ καὶ τὴν ὀμορον τῇ 118
BOOK II

I

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

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...
CAP. Ι' Ινδική Σκυθίαν πάσαν κατὰ Μαυώτιν τε καὶ ἀρωτέρων Πόντου, σταδίων μάλιστα δισμυρίων μῆκος, τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐπέχει μέτρου τῆς γῆς ὁ ἄγκων τοῦ Καυκάσου: τὸ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἡμεδαπῇ Ταύρου λεγόμενον, ὡς ὑπὲρ τὴν 'Αρμενίαν πορεύοντο, χρόνῳ ἀπιστηθέν πιστοῦνται λοιπῶν αἱ παράδεισι, ἃς οἶδα ἀλησκομένας ἐν τῇ Παμφύλιᾳ ἀρωματοφόρῳ. χαίρονσι γὰρ τοῖς ἀρώμασι, κὰκ πολλοὶ τὰς ὀσμὰς ἐλκουσαι φοιτῶσιν εἰς Ἀρμενίας διὰ τῶν ὅρων πρὸς τὸ δάκρυν τοῦ στύρακος, ἐπειδὰν οἱ τε ἁνεμοὶ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ πνεῦσωσι καὶ τὰ δένδρα ὀπώδη γένηται. καὶ ἀλώναι ποτὲ φασιν ἐν τῇ Παμφύλιᾳ πάρδαλιν στρεπτῷ ἀμα, διὶ περὶ τῇ δέρῃ ἐφερε, χρυσοὺς δὲ ἂν καὶ ἐπεγέγραπτο Ἀρμενίοις γράμμασι ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΗΣ ΘΕΩΙ ΝΤΣΙΩΙ. βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ἀρμενίας τότε ἂν Ἀρσάκης, καὶ αὐτὸς, οἴμαι, ἰδὼν τὴν πάρδαλιν ἀνήκε τῷ Διονύσῳ διὰ μέγεθος τοῦ θηρίου. Νύσιος γὰρ ὁ Διόνυσος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἰνδοὶς Νύσης Ἰνδοὶς τε ὁνομαζέται καὶ πάσι τοῖς πρὸς ἀκτὶνα ἔθνεσιν. ἡ δὲ χρόνον μὲν τινα ὑπεζύχθη ἀνθρώπων, καὶ χεῖρα ἡνέσχετο ἐπαφωμένην τε καὶ καταψώσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνωτριστὴν αὐτήν ἔαρ, ὅτε δὴ ἀφροδισίων ἴπτους καὶ παράδεισι, ἀνέθορεν ἐς τὰ ὅρη πόθῳ ἀρσένων, ὡς εἰχὲ τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ἢλῳ περὶ τὸν κάτω Ταύρου ὅπο τοῦ ἀρώματος ἐλχθεῖσα. εἰ δὲ Καύκασος ὅριζει μὲν τὴν Ἰνδικήν τε καὶ Μηδικήν, καθήκει δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ερυθρὰν θάλατταν ἐτέρῳ ἄγκων.
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 I imagine, finding thepard, 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.
CAP. III

Μυθολογεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τὸ ὀρος, ἢ καὶ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἄδουσιν, ὡς Προμηθεὺς μὲν ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπία δεθείη ἐκεῖ, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἐτέρος, οὐ γὰρ τὸν Θηβαῖον γε βοῦλονται, μὴ ἀνα-σχοιτο τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τοξεύσει τὸν ὄρυν, ὅπερ ἔβοσκεν ὁ Προμηθεὺς τοὺς σπλάγχνους· δεθηναι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἐν ἀντρῳ φασίν, ὃ δὴ ἐν πρόποδι τοῦ ὄρους δείκνυται, καὶ δεσμὰ ὁ Δάμιος ἀνήθησαι τῶν πετρῶν λέγει οὐρά ῥάδια ξυμβαλεῖν τὴν ὑλῆν, οἱ δ’ ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους· δικόρυμβος δὲ ἡ κορυφῇ καὶ φασίν, ὡς τὰς χειρὰς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐδέθη διαλει-ποσῶν οὐ μείον ἡ στάδιον, τοσοῦτος γὰρ εἶναι. τὸν δὲ ὄρυν τὸν ἄετον οἱ τῷ Καυκάσῳ προσοι-κοῦντες ἐχθρὸν ἤγονται καὶ καλλὰς γε, ὅποσας ἐν τοῖς πάγοις οἱ ἄετοι ποιοῦνται, καταπιμπράσιν ιέντες βέλη πυρφόρα, θηρατρά τε ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἰστάνται τιμωρεῖν τῷ Προμηθεῖ φάσκοντες· ὅδε γὰρ τοῦ μύθου ἤττηνται.

CAP. IV

Παραμείψαντες δὲ τῶν Καυκάσου τετραπήχεις ἀνθρώπους ἱδεῖν φασίν, οὐς ἦδη μελαίνεσθαι, καὶ πενταπήχεις δὲ ἐτέροις ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ποταμῶν ἐλθόντες. ἐν δὲ τῇ μέχρι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου...
III

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

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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. IV

όδουπορία τάδε εὐρον ἀφηγήσεως ἅξια: ἐπορεύοντο μὲν γὰρ ἐν σελήνῃ λαμπρά, φάσμα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐμπούσις ἐνέπεσε, τὸ δεῖνα γινομένη καὶ τὸ δεῖνα αὐθαυτόν καὶ οὐδὲν εἶναι, ο δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ξυνήκεν, ο τί εἶη, καὶ αὐτός τε ἐλοιδορεῖτο τῇ ἐμπούσῃ, τοῖς τε ἀμφότεροις προσέταξε ταῦτά πράττειν, ταυτὶ γὰρ ἄκος εἶναι τῆς προσβολῆς ταύτης καὶ τὸ φάσμα φυγῇ φίχετο τετριγός, ὥσπερ τὰ εἰδώλα.

V

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.

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
CAP. γάρ,” ἐφη, “ὁ Δάμι, οὐ καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀστεί λευκό-
ρους ἐκτρεπομένῳ βαδίζειν ἐστὶν ἐν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων;” “οὐ τούτο,” ἐφη, “εἰπον, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἥθες μὲν διὰ κωμὸν ἐκομιζόμεθα καὶ ἀνθρώπων, σήμερον δὲ ἀστιβές τι ἀναβαίνομεν χαρίζων καὶ ἱείου, ἀκούεις γὰρ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι ἱείων αὐτὸ ποιοῦνται οίκον,” καὶ ἀμα ἀνέβλεπεν
ἐς τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ὀρους. ὁ δὲ ἐμβιβάζων αὐτὸν ἔν ὅ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἦρωτα Ἐχεις οὖν εἰπεῖν, ὁ Δάμι, ἦ
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
προσοίκου Μυκάλης, λέγονται δὲ καὶ τῷ Παγγαίῳ ἔνιοι φροντιστηρίῳ χρῆσασθαι καὶ ἕτεροι τῷ Ἀθῷ. ἔγω δὲ μέγιστον τούτων ἀνελθὼν ύψος οὐδὲν σοφῶτερος ἐαυτοῦ καταβῆσομαι." "οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι," ἐφη, "αἱ γὰρ τοιαίθεν περιωταὶ γλαυκότερον μὲν τῶν οὕρανων ἀποφαινοῦσι καὶ μείζους τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνύχοντα ἐκ νυκτὸς, ἀ καὶ ποιμέσιν ἣδη καὶ αἰπόλοις ἐστὶ δῆλα, ὅπη δὲ τὸ θείον ἐπιμελεῖται τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους καὶ ὅπη χαίρει ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θεραπεύομεν, ὁ τί τε ἀρετή καὶ ὁ τι δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ σωφροσύνη, οὔτε Ἀθως ἐκεῖξε τοῖς ἀνελθοῦσιν οὔτε ὁ θαυμαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν "Ολυμπός, εἰ μὴ διορφὴ αὐτὰ ἡ ψυχή, ἢν, εἶ καθαρὰ καὶ ἀκήρατος αὐτῶν ἀπτοιτο, πολλῷ μείζον ἐγώ' ἀν φαίην ἄττειν τούτου τοῦ Καυκάσου."

Τ'περβάντες δὲ τὸ ὅρος ἐνυγχάνουσιν ἐπ' ἐλεφάντων ἡδη ὀχουμένωι ἄνδραῖς, εἰσὶ δ' οὗτοι μέσοι Καυκάσου καὶ ποταμὸς Καφῆνος, ἀβιοὶ τε καὶ ἤπνοταί τῆς ἀγέλης ταύτης, καὶ κάμηλοι δὲ ἐνίους ἤγουν, αἰσ χρώνυται Ἰνδοὶ ἐς τὰ δρομικά, πορεύονται δὲ χίλια στάδια τῆς ἡμέρας γόνων οὐδαμοῦ κάμψασι. προσελάσας οὖν τῶν Ἰνδῶν εἰς ἔπι καμήλου τοιαύτης ἦρώτα τῶν ἱγεμόνας οἱ στείχοιες, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν νοῦν τῆς ἀποδημιώτερος ἱκουσαν, ἀπήγγειλε τοῖς νομάσιν, οἵ δὲ ἀνεβόθησαν ὄσπερ
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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."

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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VI

·σθέντες, ἔκελευόν τε πλησίον ἥκειν καὶ ἀφικομένους οίνον τε ὥρειν, ὃν ἀπὸ τῶν φοινίκων σοφίζονται, καὶ μέλι ἀπὸ ταύτων φυτῶν καὶ τεμάχη λεόντων καὶ παρδάλεων, ὃν καὶ τὰ δέρματα νεόδαρτα ἦν, δεξάμενοι δὲ πλήν τῶν κρεῶν πάντα ἀπῆλασαν ἐς τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς καὶ ἐχώρουν πρὸς ἐω.

VII

CAP. VII

'Αριστοποιούμενων δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς πηγή ὑδατος, εὐχέασ ὁ Δάμις τοῦ παρὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἴνου "Διός," ἔφῃ, "Σωτήρος ἦδε σοι, Ἀπολλώνιε, διὰ πολλού γε πίνοντι. οὔ γάρ, οἶμαι, παρατήρησι καὶ τούτων, ὡς περ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμπέλων" καὶ ἀμα ἐσπεισεν, ἐπειδή τοῦ Διὸς ἐπεμνῆσθη. γελάσας οὖν ὁ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος "οὔ καὶ χρημάτων," ἔφῃ, "ἀπεχομεθά, ὁ Δάμις ;" "νη Δι", εἶπεν, "ὡς πολλαχού ἐπεδείξω." "ἀρ' οὖν," ἔφῃ, "χρυσὴς μὲν δραχμῆς καὶ ἀργυρῶς ἀφεξόμεθα, καὶ οὐχ ἤττησόμεθα τοιουτοῦ νομίσματος, καίτοι κεχυνότας ἐς αὐτὸ ὀρῶντες οὐκ ἰδιώτας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέας, εἰ δὲ χαλκοῦ τις ὡς ἀργυρῶν ἡ υπόχρυσον τε καὶ κεκιβδηλευμένον ἡμῖν διδοῖ, ληψόμεθα τούτο, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐκεῖνο ἐστιν, οὐ οἱ πολλοὶ γλύχονται; καὶ μὴ καὶ νομίσματα ἐστίν Ὑνδοὶς ὅρειχάλκου τε καὶ χαλκοῦ μέλανος, ὃν δὲὶ δὴπον πάντα ὀνείσθαι πάντας ἤκοντας ἐς τὰ Ἰνδῶν ἡθη· 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.

VII

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
χρήματα ἡμῖν ὄρεγον οἱ χρηστοὶ νομάδες, ἃρ’ ἄν, ὁ Δάμω, παρατούμενον με ὁρῶν, ἐνουθέτεις τε καὶ ἑδιδάσκες, ὅτι χρήματα μὲν ἐκεῖνα ἐστίν, ἃ Ῥωμαίου χαράττουσιν ἡ ὁ Μῆδων βασιλεύς, ταυτί δὲ ἦλθη τις ἕτερα κεκομψευμένη τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα πεῖσας τίνα ἄν ἡγήσω με, ἃρ’ οὐ κύβδηλόν τε καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀποβεβληκότα μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ πονηροὶ στρατιώται τὰς ἀσπίδας; καίτοι ἀσπίδας μὲν ἀποβληθείσης ἑτέρα γένοιτ’ ἄν τῷ ἀποβαλόντι κακίων οὐδὲν τῆς προτέρας, ὡς Ἀρχιλόχῳ δοκεῖ, φιλοσοφία δὲ πῶς ἀνακτητέα τῷ γε ἀτιμάσαντι αὐτὴν καὶ ἰδίᾳ; καὶ νῦν μὲν ἄν ἥγησην ὅς ὁ Διόνυσος οὐδενὸς οἶνον ἠττημένωφ, τὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν φοινίκων εἰ πρὸ τοῦ ἀμπελίνου αἵρεσιν, ἀχθέσται, εἶ ὁδιά, καὶ περιυβρίσθαι φήσει τὸ ἐαυτοῦ δώρου. ἔσμεν δὲ οὗ πόρρω τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ γὰρ τοῦ ἠγεμόνος ἀκούεις, ὡς πλησίον ἡ Νύσα τὸ ὄρος, ἐφ’ οὐ ὁ Διόνυσος πολλά, οἴμαι, καὶ θαυμαστὰ πράττει. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ μεθύειν, ὁ Δάμω, οὐκ ἐκ βοτρύων μόνων ἑσφοίτα τούς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φοινίκων παραπλησίον ἐκβακχεύει, πολλοῖς γονὶ ἡ ἡ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐπετύχομεν κατεσχημένοις τῷ οἴνῳ τοῦτῳ, καὶ οἳ μὲν ὅρχοῦνται πίπτοντες, οἳ δὲ ἄδουσιν ὑπονυστάζοντες, ὡσπερ οἳ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐκ πότων νῦκτωρ τε καὶ οὐκ ἐν ὀρᾷ ἀναλύοντες. ὅτι δὲ οἶνον ἡγή καὶ τοῦτο τῷ πῶμα, δηλοὶ τῷ σπένδεων τε ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τῷ Δίι καὶ ὀπόσα ἐπὶ οἴνῳ εὐχεσθαι. καὶ εἰρήταί μοι, ὁ Δάμω, πρὸς σὲ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ ταῦτα: οὔτε γὰρ σὲ
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
CAP. VII

τοῦ πίνειν ἀπάγομη ἂν οὔτε τοὺς ὀπαδοὺς τούτους, ἦν γυγχωρίθην δ' ἂν ὕμιν καὶ κρεῶν συνείθαι, τὸ γὰρ ἀπέχεσθαι τούτων ὑμῖν μὲν ἐσ ὦυδεν ὅρῳ προβαίνου, ἐμαυτῷ δὲ ἐσ ἀ ὀμολογηταί μοι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐκ παιδὸς." ἐδέξαντο τὸν λόγον τοῦτον οἱ περὶ τὸν Δάμιν καὶ ἠσπάσαντο εὐωχεῖσθαι, ῥαὸν ἤγούμενοι πορεύσεσθαι, ἦν ἀφθονώτερον διαιτῶνται.

VIII

CAP. VIII

Διαβάντες δὲ τὸν Καψήνα ποταμὸν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ νεῶν, κάμηλοι δὲ πεζῷ τὸ ὕδωρ, δ' ὅ γὰρ ποταμὸς οὔπω μέγας, ἐγέννατο ἐν τῇ βασιλευμένῃ ἤπε' ρφ., ἐν ἂνατείνου πεφύτευται Νῦσα ὄρος ἐς κορυφὴν ἀκραν, ὡσπερ δ' ἐν Λυδίᾳ Τμῶλος, ἀναβαίνειν δ' αὐτὸ ἡξεστιν, ὥδεποῖνται γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ γεωργεῖσθαι. ἀνελθόντες οὖν ἴερῷ Διονύσου ἐντυχεὶν φασίν, ὁ δ' Ἰδώμνους ἐαυτῷ φυτεύσαι δάφναις περιεστηκυλίαις κύκλῳ, τοσοῦτον περιεχοῦσαι τῆς γῆς, ὅσον ἀπὸχρην νεὶς ξυμμέτρῳ, κιττόν τε περιβαλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀμπέλους ταῖς δάφναις, ἀγαλμά τε ἐαυτοῦ ἐνὸν στῆσασθαι, γυρίωσκοιτα ὡς ξυμφύσει τὰ δένδρα ὁ χρόνος καὶ δώσει τινὰ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὄροφου, δ' ὅταν ξυμβεβληταί νῦν, ὡς μήτε ὕπεσθαι τὸ ἱερὸν μήτ' ἀνέμῳ ἔσπευσθαι. ἤρεπαν δὲ καὶ ἄρρειχοι καὶ ληνοὶ καὶ τὰ ἄμφι ληνοὺς ἀνάκειται.
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.

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
CAP. VIII

τὸ Διονύσῳ χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καθάπερ τρυγώντι. τὸ δὲ ἀγαλμά εὑκασται μὲν ἐφίβῳ Ἰνδῷ, λίθου δὲ ἐξεσται λευκοῦ. ὅργιαζοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ σείοντος τῇν Νῦσαν, ἀκούονσιν αἱ πόλεις αἱ ὑπὸ τῷ ὀρεὶ καὶ ξυνεξαίρονται.

IX

CAP. IX

Διαφέρονται δὲ περὶ τοῦ Διονύσου τούτου καὶ Ἐλληνες Ἰνδοῖς καὶ Ἰνδοὶ ἄλληλοις· ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ τὸν Ἐθβαιον ἐπ’ Ἰνδοὺς ἐλάσαι φαμέν στρατεύοντά τε καὶ βασιλεύοντα τεκμηρίως χρώμενοι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῷ Πυθοὶ ἀναισθήματι, δὴ δὴ ἀπόθετον οἱ ἐκεῖ θησαυροὶ ἱσχουσιν· ἔστι δὲ ἀργύρου Ἰνδικῷ δίσκῳ, ὁ ἐπιγέγραπται· ΔΙΟΝΤΣΟΣ Ο ΣΕΜΕΛΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΙΝΔΩΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΔΕΛΦΩΙ. 'Ἰνδῶν δὲ οἱ περὶ Καύκασον καὶ Κωφήνα ποταμὸν ἐπηλύτην Ἀσσύριον αὐτὸν φασὶν ἐλθεῖν τὰ τοῦ Ἐθβαιον εἰδότα· οἱ δὲ τῇν Ἰνδοῦ τε καὶ Τὸδραώτου μέσην νεμόμενοι καὶ τῇν μετὰ παῦτα ἤπειρον, δὴ δὴ ἐς ποταμὸν Γάγγην τελευτᾶ, Διόνυσον γενέσθαι ποταμὸν παῖδα Ἰνδοῦ λέγουσιν, ὁ φοιτήσαντα τὸν ἐκ Ἐθβῶν ἐκεῖνον, θύρσου τε ἄψασθαι καὶ δοῦναι ὀργίοις, εἰπόντα δὲ, ὡς εἰς Δῖος καὶ τῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐμβιώσῃ μηρῷ τόκου ἑνεκα, Μηρόν τε εὑρέσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῦ ὄρος, ὃ προσβέβηκεν ἡ Νῦσα, καὶ τῇν Νῦσαν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐκφυτεύσαι ἀπώγοντα.
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.

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
CAP. ΙΧ

ἐκ Θηβῶν τὸ γόνυ τῆς ἀμπέλου, οὐ καὶ Ἀλέξαν-δρος ὄργιάσατι. οἱ δὲ τὴν Νύσαν οἴκουντες οὗ φασί τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀνελθείν ἐς τὸ ὤρος, ἀλλ' ὄρμησαν μὲν, ἐπειδὴ φιλότιμος τε ἦν καὶ ἀρχαιο-λογίας ἤττων, δείησαν δὲ μὴ ἐς ἀμπέλους παρελ-θόντες οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἂς χρόνου ἥδη οὐχ ἐωράκεσαν, ἐς πόθον τῶν οἴκων ἀπενεχθῶσιν, ἣ ἐπιθυμίαν τινὰ οἴνου ἀναλάβωσιν εἰθισμένοι ἥδη τῷ ὕδατι, παρε- λάσαι τὴν Νύσαν, εὐξάμενον τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ θύσαντα ἐν τῇ ὑπωρείᾳ. καὶ γιγνώσκω μὲν οὐκ ἐς χάριν ταύτα ἐνίοις γράφων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ δὲν ᾿Αλέξανδρος στρατεύσαντες ουδὲ ταύτα ἐς τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀνέγραψαν, δεῖ δὲ ἀληθείας ἐροὶ γρῶν, ἢν εἰ κάκεινοι ἐπήνεσαν, οὐκ ἂν ἀφείλοντο καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ ἐγκωμίου τὸν ᾿Αλέξανδρον. τοῦ γὰρ ἀνελθείν ἐς τὸ ὤρος καὶ βακχεύσαι αὐτὸν, ἢ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι, μεῖζον, οἷμαι, τὸ ὑπὲρ καρτερίας τοῦ στρατοῦ μηδὲ ἀναβήναι.

Χ

Τὴν δὲ ὁρμον πέτραν οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχουσαν τῆς Νύσης ἰδείν μὲν οὐ φησιν ὁ Δάμιος, ἐν ἐκβολῇ γὰρ κείσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ δεδείναι τῶν ἡγεμόνα ἐκτρέ-πεσθαί ποι παρὰ τὸ εὐθὺ, ἀκοῦσαί δὲ, ὡς ἀλωτὸς μὲν ᾿Αλέξανδρῳ γένοιτο, ὁ ὁρμος δὲ ὀνομάζοιτο οὐκ ἐπειδὴ στάδια πεντεκαιδεκὰ ἀνέστηκε, πέτονται 138
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**

Damas 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;
γὰρ καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτῳ οἱ ἱεροὶ ὀρνιθεῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν κορυφῇ τῆς πέτρας ρήγμα εἶναι φασὶ τοὺς ὑπερπετομένους τῶν ὀρνιθῶν ἐπισπώμενον, ὥς Ἀθήνησι τε ἱδεῖν ἐστὶν ἐν προδόμῳ τοῦ Παρθενώνος καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν γῆς, ύφ' οὖ τὴν πέτραν Ἁορνον κεκλήσθαι τε καὶ εἶναι.

XI

'Ἑλαύνοντες δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰυδὸν παιδὶ ἐντυγχάνουσι τρισκαίδεκα που ἐγενομένοι, ἐπὶ ἐλέφαντος ὀχυρωμένοι καὶ παῖοντι τὸ θηρίον. ἔπει δὲ ἐθαύμασαν ὅροντες "τῇ ἐργῇ," ἐφ' ὡς Δάμω, ἀγαθὸν ἰππέως;" "τῷ ἀλλῷ γε," ἐπεν, "ἡ ἱεροσαντα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἄρχειν τα αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ χαλινῷ στρέφειν καὶ κολάζειν ἀτακτοῦντα, καὶ προσον, ὡς μὴ ἐς βόθρον ἢ τάφρον ἢ χάσμα κατενεχθεῖν ὁ ἵππος, ὅτε γε δι' ἐλον ἢ πηλοῦ χαροῦ;" "ἀλλ' ἐν δὲ οὐδέν, ὡς Δάμω, ἀπαιτήσομεν," ἐφ' "τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἰππέα;" "νη Δι,'' ἐπεν, "τὸ τε ἀναπηδώντι μὲν τῷ ἵππῳ πρὸς τὸ σιμὸν ἐφεῖναι τὸν χαλινόν, κατὰ πρανοῦν δὲ ἱόντι οἰ μὴ ἄνυγχωρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνθέλκειν, καὶ τὸ καταψῆσαι δὲ τὰ ὦτα ἢ τὴν χαῖτην, καὶ μὴ ἅ' ἡ μάστις σοφοῦ ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ ἰππέως, καὶ ἐπαινοῦν ἀν τὸν ὅδε ὀχυρωμένον." "τῷ δὲ δὴ μαχ' ὁ πολεμιστήριῳ τίνων δει;" "τῷ γε αὐτῶν," ἐφ' ὡς Ἀπολλωνίω, καὶ πρὸς γέ τούτως τοῦ βάλλειντε καὶ φυλάττεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐπελάσαι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπελάσαι, καὶ τὸ ἀνειλήσαι πολεμίους, καὶ μὴ ἔαν ἐκπλήττεσθαι τὸν ἵππου, ὅτε
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."

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
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
CAP. XI

Flavius Philostratus

δὲ μάχιμον τε καὶ ὀπλεύουντα πῶς ἀν ἀναβαίνοι οὕτος; οὔτε γὰρ ἀσπίδα δύναιτ' ἄν φέρειν, ἣς δὲί τοῖς ἵππευσινι, οὔτ' ἄν θώρακα ἢ κράνος, αἰχμῆν δὲ πῶς οὕτως, οὕτε οὐδὲ ἄτρακτον βέλους ἢ τοξεύματος κραδαίνοι ἂν, ψελλιζομένῳ ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ ἔοικος ἔτι;” “ἐπερον οὖν τι,” ἐφη, “ὁ Δάμι, ἐστίν, ὁ τὸν ἑλέφαντα τούτων ἴμιοχεῖ καὶ πέμπει, καὶ οὐχ ὁ ἴμιοχὸς οὕτως, ἢν σὺ μόνον οὐ προσκυνεῖς ὑπὸ θαύματος.” τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος “τι ἂν εἴη τούτο, Ἀπολλώνιε; ὅρω γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ θηρίου πλῆν τοῦ παιδὸς οὕδεν ἐπερον.” “τὸ θηρίον,” ἐφη, “τούτο εὐπαι- δευτόν τε παρὰ πάντα ἑστί, κἀπειδὰν ἂπαξ ἀναγκασθῇ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπῳ ζῆν, ἀνέχεται τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πάντα καὶ ὀμοίθειαν ἐπιτηδεύει τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν, χαίρει τε σιτούμενον ἀπὸ τῆς χειρός, ὡσπερ 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 ἐωρῶμεν. νῦκτωρ δὲ λέγεται τὴν δουλείαν ὀλοφύ- ρεσθαι, μὰ Δὲ, οὐ τετριγός, ὅποιον εἰσώθεν, ἀλλ' οἰκτρόν τε καὶ ἐλευθοῦν ἀνακλάον, εἰ δὲ ἀνθρώπος ἐπισταῖ ὀδυρομένῳ ταῦτα, ὦγχει τὸν θρίηνον ὁ ἐλέ- φας, ὡσπερ αἰδούμενος. αὐτὸς δὴ ἐαυτοῦ, ὁ Δάμι, ἀρχεῖ καὶ ἡ πειθω αὐτῶν ἡ τῆς φύσεως ἀγει μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ ἐπικείμενος τε καὶ ἀπευθύνων.”
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.”
CAP.  
XII  
'Επὶ δὲ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ἐλθόντες ἀγέλην ἐλεφάντων ἰδεῖν φασὶ περαιομένους τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ τάδε ἀκούσαί περὶ τοῦ θηρίου ὡς οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔλειοι, οἳ δ' αὖ ορείοι, καὶ τρῖτον ἤδη γένος πεδινὸι εἰσίν, ἀλήσκομεν τε ἐς τὴν τῶν πολεμικῶν χρείαιν. μάχονται γὰρ δὴ ἐπεσκευασμένοι πύργους οὗν κατὰ δέκα καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα ὁμοῦ τῶν Ἰνδῶν δέξασθαι, ἀφ' ὧν τοξεύσαί τε καὶ ἀκοντίζουσιν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, καθὰπερ ἐκ πυλῶν βάλλοντες. καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ θηρίον χείρα τὴν προνομαίαν ἤγειται, καὶ χρήσαι αὐτῇ ἐς τὸ ἀκοντίζειν. όσον δὲ ὑπὸν Νισάιον μείζον ὁ Διβυκὸς ἐλέφας, τοσοῦτον τῶν ἐκ Διβυκῆς οἱ Ἰνδοὶ μείζους. περὶ δὲ ἡλίκιας τοῦ ξὺν καὶ ὡς μακροβιώτατοι, εὑρηταὶ μὲν καὶ ἔτέρωσι, ἐντυχεῖν δὲ καὶ οὕτως φασιν ἐλέφαντι περὶ Τάξιλα μεγίστην τῶν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς πόλιν, ὅν μυρίζειν τε οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ ταινων εἶναι γὰρ δὴ τῶν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὲρ Πώρου μεμαχημένων εἰς οὕτως, ὅν, ἐπειδὴ προθύμως ἐμμεθάκητο, ἀνήκεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ Ἡλίῳ. εἰναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρυσοῦ ἐλίκας περὶ τοῖς εἰτ' ὀδούσιν εἰτὲ κέρασι, καὶ γράμματα ἐπ' αὐτῶν Ἑλληνικὰ λέγοντα ἈΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ Ο ΑΙΩΝ ΑΙΑΝΤΑ 
ΤΟΙ ἩΛΙΩΙ. ὁμομα γὰρ τοῦτο τῷ ἐλέφαντι ἔθετο, μεγάλου ἀξιώσας μέγαν. ξυνεβάλοντο δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι πεντήκοντα εἶναι καὶ τριακόσια ἐτη μετὰ τὴν μάχην, οὕτω λέγουσι καὶ ὅπωσα γεγονός ἐμάχετο.

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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.
'Ἰόβας δὲ, θὰ ἤρξη ποτε τοῦ Διβυκοῦ ἔθνους, φησὶ μὲν ἐκμπισεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ ἐλεφάντων πάλαι Διβυκοῦ ὑπέεις—ἐναι δὲ τοὺς μὲν πυργοὺς ἐς τοὺς ὀδώντες κεχαραγμένου, τοῖς δὲ οὐδεν—νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης τὴν μάχην ὡτηθήναι μὲν τοὺς ἐπισήμους φησὶ, φυγεῖν δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀτλαντα τὸ ὄρος, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐλείν τετρακοσίων μῆκει ἑτῶν ύστερον τῶν διαφυγόντων ἔνα καὶ τοῦπίσημον εἴνα αὐτῷ κόλον καὶ οὕτω περιτριμμένον ὕπὸ τοῦ χρόνου. οὕτως δ' Ἰόβας τοὺς ὀδώντας κέρατα ἤγειται τῷ φύεσθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς ὅθεν περ οἱ κρόταφοι, παραθήγεσθαι δὲ μηδεν ἑτέρῳ, μένειν δ' ὡς ἐφυσαν καὶ μή, ὅπερ οἱ ὀδώντες, ἐκπίπτειν εἰτ' ἀναφύεσθαι ἕγω δ' οὐ προσδέχομαι τὸν λόγον' κέρατα τε γὰρ εἰ μὴ πάντα, τά γε τῶν ἐλάφων ἐκπίπτει καὶ ἀναφύεται, ὀδώντες δὲ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκπεσόνται καὶ ἀναφύονται πάντες, ζῷων δ' ἄν οὐδεν ἑτέρῳ χαυλιόδους ἢ κυνόδους αὐτομάτως ἐκπέσοι, οὐδ' ἄν ἐπανέλθοι ἐκπεσόν, ὅπλον γὰρ ἑνεκα ἡ φύσις ἐμβιβάζει αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰς γένους. καὶ ἄλλως τά κέρατα γραμμὴν ἀποτοριεῖ κύκλῳ πρὸς τῇ ρίζῃ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκαστον, ὡς αἰγὲς τε δηλοῦσι καὶ ποίμναι καὶ βόες, ὀδοὺς δὲ λείος ἐκφύεται καὶ ἡ μὴ πηρώσῃ τι αὐτῶν, τοιότῳ ἄει μένει, μετέχει γὰρ τῆς λιθώδους ὥλης τε καὶ οὐσίας. καὶ μήν καὶ τὸ κερασφορεῖν περὶ τὰ δίχηλα τῶν ζῴων μόνα 148
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
CAP. XIII

ἐστηκε, τὸ δὲ ξῦνον τοῦτο πεντώνυχον καὶ πολυ-
σχιδὲς τὴν βάσιν, ἣ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔσφιγχθαι χηλαῖς
ωσπερ ἐν ύγρῷ ἐστηκε. καὶ τοῖς μὲν κερασφόροις
ἀπασιν υποβάλλουσα ἡ φύσις ὅστα σηραγγώδη
περιφύει τὸ κέρας ἐξωθεν, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων
πλήρες ἀποφαίνει καὶ ὦμοιον, ἀναπτύξαντι δὲ
σύριγγὲς αὐτὸ λεπτὴ διέρπει μέσον, ὡσπερ τοὺς
ὀδόντας: εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἐλεφ. ὀδόντες πελευνοὶ
καὶ μανιῖ μεταχειρίσασθαι τε ἀτοποι, πολλαχοῦ
γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑποδεύκασι σήραγγες, πολλαχοῦ δὲ
ἀνεστάσι χάλαξαὶ μὴ ξυγχωροῦσαι τῇ τέχνῃ,
οἱ δὲ τῶν ὅρειῶν μείους μὲν ἢ οὔτοι, λευκοὶ δὲ
ἰκανῶς καὶ δύσεργον περὶ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν, ἄριστοι
δὲ οἱ τῶν πεπείνων ὀδόντες, μέγιστοὶ τε γὰρ καὶ
λευκότατοι καὶ ἀναπτύξαι ἡδεῖς καὶ γίγνονται πάν
ὁ τι θέλει ἡ χείρ. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐλεφ. ἐκ τῶν ἐλ. χρη-
ἀναγράφειν, τοὺς μὲν θῃ τῶν ἐλών ἀλισκομένους
ἀνοίτους ἡγοῦνται καὶ κούφους Ἰνδοῖ, τοὺς δὲ θῃ
tῶν ὄρων κακοήθεις τε καὶ ἐπιβουλευτάς, καὶ ἦν
μὴ δέωνταί τινος, οὐ βεβαιοὺς τοῖς ἀνθρώπων, οἱ
πεδινοὶ δὲ χρηστοὶ τε εἶναι λέγονται καὶ εὐάγγηλοι
καὶ μιμήσεως ἑρασταί: γράφοντι γονον καὶ
ὀρχοῦνται καὶ παρευσαλεύουσι πρὸς αὐλὸν καὶ
πηδώσιν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐκεῖνοι.
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.

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.
'Ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ὃ Ἄπολλώνιος τὸν Ἰνδὸν περαιομένους, ἦσαν δὲ, οἴμαι, τριάκοντα, καὶ χρωμένους ἡγεμόνι τῷ σμικροτάτῳ σφῶν, καὶ τοὺς μείζους αὐτῶν ἀνειληφότας τοὺς αὐτῶν πώλην ἔπι τὰς τῶν ὀδύντων προβολὰς τὰς τε προνομαίας ἐπεξευχότας δεσμοῦ ἕνεκα "ταύτα μὲν," ἐφη, "ὁ Δάμι, οὐδὲ ἐπιτάπτοντος οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἀφ’ ἐαυτῶν οὕτω διὰ ξύνεσιν τε καὶ σοφίαν πράττουσι, καὶ ὅρας, ὃς παραπλησίως τοῖς σκευοφοροῦσιν ἀνειληφασι τοὺς πώλους καὶ καταδησάμενου αὐτοὺς ἁγοῦσιν;" "όρῳ," ἐφη, "ὁ Ἄπολλώνιος, ὃς σοφῶς τε αὐτῷ καὶ ξυνητώς πράττουσι. τὸ οὖν βοῦλεται τὸ εὖθεσ ἐκεῖνο φρόντισμα τοῖς ἐρεσχελούσι φυσικὴν ἢ μή τὴν πρὸς τὰ τέκνα εἶναι εὖνοιαν; τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐλέφαντες ἔδει βοῶσιν, ὃς παρὰ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῖς ήκείνῃ οὐ γὰρ δὴ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων γε μεμαθήκασιν αὐτὸ, ὡσπερ τὰ ἄλλα, οἱ γε μηδὲ ξυμβεβιώκασι πω ἀνθρώπως, ἀλλὰ φύσει κεκτημένοι τὸ φιλεῖν ἄ ἐτεκον, προκεῖνονται τε αὐτῶν καὶ παιδοτροφοῦσι." "καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας εἰπης, ὃ Δάμι τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ζῷον δεύτερον ἀνθρώπου τάττῳ κατὰ ξύνεσιν τε καὶ βουλᾶς, ἀλλὰ τὰς τε ἄρκτους ἐνθυμοῦμαι μᾶλλον, ὅς ἀγριώταται θηρίων οὕσαι πάνθ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῶν σκύμμων πράττοντι, τοὺς τε λύκους, ὃς οἱ ἀεὶ προσκείμενοι τῷ ἀρπάζειν ἡ μὲν θήλεια φυλάττει 152
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

XIV

And Apollonius saw a herd, I think, of about thirty elephants crossing over the River Indus, and they were following as their leader the smallest among them; but the bigger ones had picked up their young ones on their projecting tusks, where they held them fast by twining their trunks around them. Said Apollonius: "No one, O Damis, has instructed them to do this, but they act of their own instinctive wisdom and cleverness; and you see how, like baggage-porters, they have picked up their young, and have them bound fast on, and so carry them along." "I see," he said, "Apollonius, how cleverly and with what sagacity they do this. What then is the sense of the silly speculation indulged in by those who idly dispute whether the affection of animals for their young is natural or not, when these very elephants, by their conduct, proclaim that it is so, and that it comes to them by nature? For they have certainly not learnt to do so from men, as they have other things; for these have never yet shared the life of men, but have been endowed by nature with their love of their offspring, and that is why they provide for them and feed their young." "And," said Apollonius, "you need not, Damis, confine your remarks to elephants; for this animal is only second to man, in my opinion, in understanding and foresight; but I am thinking rather of bears, for they are the fiercest of all animals, and yet they will do anything for their whelps; and also of wolves, among which, although they are so addicted to plunder, yet the female protects its young ones, and
α ἔτεκεν, ὅ δὲ ἄρρην ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν σκυλάκων ἀπάγει αὐτῆς σῖτον, τάς τε παρδάλεις ὦσαύτως, αἱ διὰ θερμότητα χαίρουσι τῷ γίγνεσθαί μητέρες, δεσπόζειν γὰρ ὅτε βουλονται τῶν ἀρρένων καὶ τοῦ οἶκου ἀρχειν, οἱ δὲ ἀνέχονται τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν πᾶν ἦττόμενοι τοῦ τόκου. λέγεται δὲ τις καὶ περὶ τῶν λεανών λόγοις, ὡς ἐραστᾶς μὲν ποιοῦνται τοὺς παρδάλεις καὶ δέχονται αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τᾶς εὐνάσ τῶν λεανῶν ἐς τὰ πεδία, τῆς δὲ γαστρὸς ὄραν ἁγιότης ἀναφεύγουσιν ἐς τὰ ὅρη καὶ τὰ τῶν παρδάλεων ἡθή, στικτὰ γὰρ τίκτουσιν, ὅθεν κρύπτουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ θηλάζουσιν ἐν σκολιαῖς λόγχαις πλασάμεναι ἀφημερεύειν πρὸς θήραν. εἰ γὰρ φωράσειαν τούτω οἱ λεόντες, διασπώνται τοὺς σκύμνους καὶ ξαίνουσι τὴν σπορὰν ὡς νόθουν. ἐνετυχεὶ δὴπου καὶ τῶν Ὁμηρέων λεόντων ἐν, ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔαυτοῦ σκύμνων δεινῶν βλέπει καὶ ῥώμυσιν ἔαυτον μάχης ἀπτεσθαι. καὶ τὴν τίγριν δὲ χαλεπωτάτην οὐσάν φασίν ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ περὶ τὴν θάλατταν τὴν Ἐρυθράν ἐπὶ τὰς ναύς ἱέσθαι, τοὺς σκύμνους ἀπαιτοῦσαν, καὶ ἀπολαβοῦσαν μὲν ἀπίειαν χαίρουσαν, εἰ δὲ ἀποπλεῦσαν, ὁρύζοι οὕτω transport.t μὴ πρὸτερον αὐταῖς ἐναρμόσαντες ὡς ἀποκαλούσας καὶ τῶν ὁμηρέων ὑπὲρ τῆς ὅραμαν καὶ τοῦ μή πελάξειν σφίξι τοὺς ὀφεὶς. καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ σκοπώμεν, τοὺς μὲν δελφίνας.
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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIV

οὐκ ἄν θαυμάσαιμεν, εἰ χρηστοὶ ὄντες φιλοτε-κνοῦσι, φαλαίνας δὲ καὶ φῶκας καὶ τὰ ξυρτόκα ἔθνη πῶς οὐθαυμασόμεθα, εἰ φῶκη μὲν, ἢν εἰδον ἐγὼ ἐν Ἀἰγαίω καθειργμένην ἐς κυνήγια, οὕτως ἐπένθησεν ἀποθανόντα τὸν σκύμνων, ὅν ἐν τῷ σικίσκῳ ἀπεκύψεν, ὡς μὴ προσδέξασθαι τριῶν ἡμερῶν σύτων, καίτοι βορωτάτη θηρῶν οὕτα, φαλαίνα δὲ ἐς τοὺς χηραμοῦς τῆς φάρυγγος ἀναλαμβάνει τοὺς σκύμνους, ἐπειδὰν φεύγῃ τὴ ἑαυτῆς μεῖζον; καὶ ἔχιδνα ὡφθη ποτὲ τοὺς υφεις, οὕς ἀπέτεκε, λυχωμένη καὶ θεραπεύουσα ἐκκετε-μένη τῇ γλώττῃ. μὴ γὰρ δεχόμεθα, ὅ Δάμι, τὸν εὐήθη λογον, ὡς ἀμήτωροι οἱ τῶν ἐχιδνῶν τίκτονται, τούτι γὰρ οὐδὲ ἡ φύσις ἕννεκελκερηκεν, οὔτε ἡ πείρα." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Δάμι ἑν ἰογορεῖς ὁν, ἐφη, "τὸν Ἐὐριπίδην ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ἱαμβεῖῳ τούτῳ, ὃ πεποίηται αὐτῷ ἡ Ἀνδρομάχη λέγουσα ἀπασὶ δ ἀνθρώπων ἄρ’ ἢν

ψυχῇ τέκνα ὑπερασπίζω


ἀπασὶ δὲ ἕν ἰογορεῖς ἄρ’ ἢν

ψυχῇ τέκνα.

καὶ ἐπομαί σοι, βέλτιον γὰρ.”

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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.”

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.”
"Αλλ' ἐκείνῳ μοι εἶπέ· οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν λόγων ἔφαμεν σοφίαν εἶναι περὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ νοῦν περὶ δ' πράττουσιν; " καὶ εἰκότως," εἶπεν, "ὦ Δάμι, ἐφαμεν, εἰ γὰρ μὴ νοῦς ἐκυβέρνα τὸ δὲ τὸ θηρίον, οὔτ' ἂν αὐτὸ διεγίγνετο οὔτ' ἂν τὰ ἑθνη, ἐν οἷς γίγνεται." “τί οὖν,” ἕφη, “οὗτος ἀμαθῶς καὶ οὐ πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον ἐαυτοῖς τὴν διάβασιν ποιοῦν- ται; ἤγείται μὲν γὰρ, ὡς ὅρᾳ, ὁ μικρότατος, ἔπεται δὲ αὐτῷ τις ὀλίγῳ μεῖζων, εἰτα ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐπόρους, καὶ οἱ μέγιστοι κατόπιν πάντες. ἔδει δὲ ποι ἐν αὐτῶν τρόπον. αὐτοῖς πορεύεσθαι καὶ τοὺς μεγίστους τείχη καὶ προβλήματα ἐαυτῶν ποιεῖσθαι;” “αλλ', ὦ Δάμι,” ἕφη, “πρὸς τοὺς μὲν ὑποφεύγειν ἐοίκασι δίωξιν ἀνθρώπων, οἷς ποικιλοι καὶ ἐνικειμένους ἐπομένοις τῷ ἱππεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπίκειμένους δεὶ τὰ κατὰ νότον πεφράχθαι μᾶλλον, ὡς περ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, καὶ τούτω τακτικῶτατον ἥγου τῶν θηρίων, ἐπείτα ἡ διάβασις, εἰ μὲν προδιέ- βαινον οἱ μέγιστοι σφῶν, οὕτω τεκμαίρεσθαι παρεῖχον ἄν τοῦ ὑδάτος εἰ διαβῇσονταί πάντες, τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐνπορὸς τε καὶ ῥάνδια ἡ περαιωσις ὑψηλοτάτος οὕσι, τοῖς δὲ χαλεπῇ τε καὶ ἀποροσ.
“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
CAP. XVI

μὴ υπεραίρουσι τοῦ ρεῦματος, διελθὼν δὲ ὁ σμικρότατος τὸ ἀλυποῦν ἡδὴ καὶ τοῖς λουποῖς ἐρμηνεύει, καὶ ἄλλως οἱ μὲν μείζον προεμβαίνοντες κοιλότερον ἀν τῶν ποταμῶν ἀποφαινομέν τοῖς σμικροῖς, ἀνάγκη γὰρ συνιζάνειν τὴν ἤλων ἐς βόθρους διὰ τε βαρύτητα τοῦ θηρίου διὰ τε παχύτητα τῶν ποδῶν, οὐδὲν ἀν βλάπτοιεν τὴν τῶν μείζονοι διαπορείαν ἢττον ἐμβοθρεύοντες.”

XVI

“Ἐγὼ δὲ εύρων ἐν τοῖς Ἰόβα λόγοις, ὡς καὶ ἐνλαμβάνονσιν ἀλλήλοις ἐν τῇ θήρᾳ καὶ προϊστανται τοῦ ἀπειπόντος, κἀν ἐξελονται αὐτόν, τὸ δάκρυον τῆς ἀλόης ἐπαλείφουσι τοῖς τραύμαις περιεστῶτες ὡσπερ ἱατρῷ.” πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἐφιλοσοφεῖτο αὐτοῖς ἀφορμὰς ποιομένους τὰ λόγου ἀξία.

XVII

Τὰ δὲ Νεάρχω τε καὶ Πυθαγόρα περὶ τοῦ Ἀκεσίνου ποταμοῦ εἰρημένα, ὡς ἐσβάλλει μὲν ἐς τὸν Ἰνδὸν οὖτος, τρέφει δὲ ὁφεὶς ἐβδομήκοντα πηχῶν μῆκος, τοιαῦτα εἶναί φασίν, ὅποια εἰρήται, καὶ ἀνακείσθω μοι ὁ λόγος ἐς τοὺς ἱδρόκοντας, ὅν ὁ Δάμις ἀφηγεῖται τὴν θήραν. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν καὶ πρὸς διαβάσει τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄντες ἄροι ντο τὸν Βαβυλωνικὸν, εἶ τι τοῦ ποταμοῦ οἶδε, διαβάσεως περὶ 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 by the smaller ones crossing in front, because they sink in less deeply."

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.

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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

πεπλευκέναι αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ γιγνόσκειν, ὅποθεν πλεῖται. "τι οὖν," ἔφασαν, "οὐκ ἐμισθώσω ἣγεμόνα;" "ὁτι ἐστίν," ἔφη, "ὁ ἡγησόμενος," καὶ ἀμα ἐδείκνυ τινὰ ἐπιστολὴν ὡς τούτῳ πράξουσαν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὸν Ὀυαρδάνην τῆς τε φιλανθρωπίας καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἀγασθήναι φασίν πρὸς γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ σατράπην ἐπεμψε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ταύτην καίτοι μὴ ὑποκείμενον τῇ ἐαυτοῦ ἀρχῇ, εὐεργεσίας ἀναμμυνὴσκων αὐτῶν, καὶ χάριν μὲν ὅμως ἀν ἔπ ἐκείνη ἀπαίτησαι φάσκων—οὐ γὰρ εἶναι πρὸς τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ τρόπου τὸ ἀνταπαίτεῖν—Ἀπολλώνιον δὲ ὑποδεξαμένῳ καὶ πέμψαντι οἱ βουλεῖται χάριν ἀν γυναῖ. χρυσίν δὲ τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἐδωκεν, ὅποτε δὲν δειηθέντα τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον αἰσθοῦτο, δοὺ τοῦτο καὶ μὴ ἐς ἄλλου χείρα βλέψειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Ἰνδός ἔλαβε, μεγάλων τε ἀξιοῦσθαι ἐφή καὶ φιλοτιμήσεσθαι περὶ τοῦ ἄνδρα μεῖν οὐδεν ἐς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἑγραφε, καὶ τὴν τε ναῦν τὴν σατράπιδα ἐδωκεν αὐτῷ ἐμβήναι πλοία τε ἑτερα, ἐφ᾽ ὅν αἱ κάμηλοι ἐκομίζοντο, ἡγεμόνα τε τῆς γῆς πάσης, ἴνα ὁ Ὑδραώτης ὁρίζει, πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέα τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ ἑγραφε μὴ χείρω αὐτοῦ Ὀυαρδάνου γενέσθαι περὶ ἄνδρα "Ἐλληνά τε καὶ θείον."
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.
Τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἰνδὸν ὦδε ἐπεραιώθησαν σταδίους μᾶλιστα τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ γὰρ πλόιον αὐτοῦ ὑπούτον, περὶ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου τάδε γράφουσι τὸν Ἰνδὸν ἀρχεσθαί μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κανκάσου μείζων αὐτόθεν ὡς ὁ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ποταμοὶ πάντες, προχώρεῖν δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν ναυσιπόρων ἐαυτοῦ ποιούμενον, ἀδελφὰ δὲ τῷ Νείλῳ πράπτοντα τῇ τε Ἰνδικῇ ἐπιχεῖσθαι γινῦ τε ἐπάγειν τῇ γῇ καὶ παρέχειν Ἰνδῶς τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων τρόπον σπείρειν. χιόσι δ' Ἀθιόπων τε καὶ Καταδοῦπων ὅρῷ ἀντιλέγειν μὲν οὐκ ἀξίω διὰ τοὺς εἰπόντας, οὐ μὴν εὐντίθεμαι γε λογιζόμενος τὸν Ἰνδὸν, ὡς ταῦτάν τῷ Νείλῳ ἐργάζεται μὴ νυφώμενης τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν χώρας, καὶ ἀλλὰς τὸν θεὸν οἶδα κέρατα τῆς γῆς εὐμπάσης Ἀθιόπας τε καὶ Ἰνδῶς ἀποφαινόντα μελαίνοντα τε τοὺς μὲν ἄρχομένου ζήλου, τοὺς δὲ λίγοντος, ὁ πῶς ἄν ξυνέβαινε περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸν χειμώνα ἐθέροντο; ἢν δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος θάλπητι γῆν ἥλιος, πῶς ἄν τις ἥγοιτο νίφεσθαι, πῶς δ' ἄν τὴν χιόνα χορηγοῦν τοὺς ἐκείνην ποταμοῖς γίγνεσθαι τοῦ υπεραιρείν τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν μέτρα; εἰ δὲ καὶ φοιτῶν χιόνα ἐς τὰ οὖτω πρόσειλα, πῶς ἄν αὐτὴν ἐς τοσοῦν ἀναχυθῇναι πέλαγος; πῶς δ' ἄν ἀποχρῆσαι ποταμῷ βυθίζοντι Ἀἰγυπτίων;
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?
Κομιζόμενοι δὲ διὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ πολλοῖς μὲν ψηφαμύσις ὑπούς ἐντυχεῖν φασὶ, πολλοῖς δὲ κροκοδείλοις, ὡσπερ οἱ τὸν Νεῖλον πλέοντες, λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ἀνθὴ τῷ Ἰνδῷ εἶναι, οἷα τὸν Νεῖλον ἀναφύεται, καὶ τὰς ὄρας, αἱ περὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν εἰς, χειμῶνος μὲν ἀλευρῆς εἶναι, θέρους δὲ πυνγηρᾶς, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο ἀριστα μεμηχανήθη τῷ δαίμονι, τὴν γὰρ χώραν αὐτοῖς θαμὰ ὑπῆθαι. φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν Ἰνδῶν, ὡς ἀφικνοῦτο μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον, ὅτε ἀναβιβάζοιει αὐτὸν αἱ δραὶ, θύου δὲ αὐτῷ ταύρους τε καὶ ὑπούς μέλανας—τὸ γὰρ λευκὸν ἀτιμότερον Ἰνδοὶ τίθενται τοῦ μέλανος δι', οἶμαι, τὸ ἑαυτῶν χρώμα—θῦσαντα δὲ καταποντοῦν φασὶ τῷ ποταμῷ χρυσοῦν μέτρον, εἰκασμένου τῷ ἀπομετροῦντι τὸν σῖτον, καὶ ἐφ' ὦτῳ μὲν τοῦτο πράττει ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὐ ἐσυμβάλεσθαι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς, αὐτοὶ δὲ τεκμαίρεσθαι τὸ μέτρον καταποντοῦσθαι τοῦτο ἢ υπὲρ ἄφθονιας καρπῶν, οὐς γεωργοὶ ἀπομετροῦσιν, ἢ υπὲρ ἐξεμμετρίας τοῦ ρεύματος, ὡς μὴ κατακλύσειε τὴν ὑπὸ πολὺς ἀφικόμενος.

Πορευθέντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ποταμῶν ἔγεν ὁ παρὰ τοῦ σατράπου ἡγεμόνος εὐθὺ τῶν Ταξίλων, οὐ τὰ βασιλεία ἢν τῷ Ἰνδῷ. στολὴν δὲ εἶναι τοῖς
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.

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
CAP. μετὰ τὸν Ἱνδὸν λίνου φασίν ἐγχωρίου καὶ υποδήματα βύβλου καὶ κυνηγα, ὅτε οὖι, καὶ βύσσως δὲ τοὺς φανερώτερους αὐτῶν φασίν ἐστάλθαι, τὴν δὲ βύσσου φύσσας δένδρου φασίν ὁμοίον μὲν τῇ λεύκῃ τὴν βάσιν, παραπλησίον δὲ τῇ ἴτεα τὰ πέταλα. καὶ ἥσθηναι τῇ βύσσῳ φησίν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐπειδή ἐσώκε φαίνει τρίβων. καὶ ἐς Ἀγνυπτὸν δὲ ἐξ Ἱνδῶν ἐς πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν φοιτᾷ ἡ βύσσος. τὰ δὲ Τάξιλα μέγεθος μὲν εἶναι κατὰ τὴν Νῖνον, τετείχεσθαι δὲ ξυμμέτρως, ὥσπερ αἱ Ἑλλάδες, βασίλεια δὲ εἶναι ἄνδρος τὴν Πώρου τότε ἄρχην ἄρχοντος, νεων δὲ πρὸ τοῦ τεῖχους ἰδεῖν φασίν οὐ παρὰ πολὺ τῶν ἐκατομμύρων λίθων κογχυλιάτων, καὶ κατεσκευάσθαι τι ἱερὸν ἐν αὐτῷ ἢ τὸν μὲν ἢ κατὰ τῶν νεων τοσοῦτον τε ὁντα καὶ περικύωνα, θαυμάσαι δὲ ἄξιον· χαλκὸν γὰρ πίνακες ἐγκεκρότηται τοῖχῳ ἐκάστῳ, ὡσπερ αἱ τὰ Πώρου τε καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐργα· ὑγραφαται δὲ ὀρειχάλκῳ καὶ ἄργυρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ χαλκῷ μέλαινοι ἐλέφαντες ὕπτοι στρατιῶται κράνη ἀστίδες, λόγχαι δὲ καὶ βέλη καὶ ξίφη σιδήρου πάντα, καὶ ὡσπερ λόγος εὐδοκίμου γραφῆς, οἶνον εἰ Ζεῦξιδος εἰς τῇ Πολυγυνώτου τε καὶ Εὐφράνορος, οὗ τοῖς εὐσκιοὶ ἡσπάσαντο καὶ τὸ ἐμπνεῦ καὶ τὸ ἑσέχου τε καὶ ἑξέχου, οὕτως, φασί, κακεὶ διαφαίνεται, καὶ ἐνυπτήκασιν αἰ ὅλαι καθάπερ χρώματα. ἤδιν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἱθος τῆς γραφῆς· ἀναθεῖς γὰρ ταῦτα μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Μακεδόνος τελευτην ὁ Πώρος μικρὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ Μακεδών καὶ τὸν Πώρου ἀνακτᾶται 168
people consists of native linen, with shoes of byblus and a hat when it rains; but that the upper classes there are appareled 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
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τετρωμένον καὶ δωρεῖται τὴν Ἰνδικῆν έαυτοῦ λοιπὸν οὖσαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ πενθήσαι τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον ἠποθανόντα ὁ Πόρος, ὀλοφύρασθαι τε ὡς γενναίοι καὶ χρηστῶν βασιλέα, ζῶντος τε Ἀλεξάνδρου μετά τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀναχώρησιν μῆτε εἰπεῖν τι ὡς βασιλεύς καίτοι ξυγχωροῦντος, μῆτε προστάξαι τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς, ἀλλ’ ὄσπερ σατράπης σωφροσύνης μεστὸς εἶναι καὶ πράττειν ἐς χάριν τὴν ἐκείνου πάντα.

XXI

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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.

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
μάχην, ὅτε καὶ τῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ θείος τε καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἐδοξεῖν, εἰπόντος τῶν ἑυγεγενῶν τινος, “εἴ δὲ προσεκύνησας διαβάντα, ὦ Πῶρε, οὔτ' ἄν ἡττήθης μαχόμενος οὔτ' ἄν τοσοῦτοι Ἰνδῶν ἀπόλοιπτο, οὔτ' ἄν αὐτὸς ἐτέτρωσο,” “ἐγὼ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον,” εἶπε, “φιλοτιμῶτατον ἁκούων ξυνῆκαι, ὅτι προσκυνήσαντα μὲν δούλον μὲ ἡγήσηται, πολεμήσαντα δὲ βασιλέα, καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἥξιον ἢ ἐλεείσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἐξεύσθην παρασχῶν γὰρ ἐμαυτόν, οἶδον Ἀλέξανδρος εἴδε, πάντα ἐν ἡμέρα μιᾷ καὶ ἀπώλεσα καὶ ἐκτησάμην.” τοιούτων μὲν τὸν Ἰνδόν τούτον ἐξιστοροῦσι, γενέσθαι δὲ φασιν αὐτὸν κάλλιστον Ἰνδόν καὶ μῆκος, ὅσον οὕτω τινὰ ἀνθρώπων τῶν μετὰ τοὺς Τρωικοὺς ἀνδρας, εἶναι δὲ κομιδή νέον, ὅτε τῷ Ἀλέξανδρῳ ἐπολέμει.


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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.

XXII

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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"οποσα ὅρα ὁ ἤλιος. ἥδη δὲ καὶ τὸν ἤλιον αὐτὸν ἐξεικάζει τοτε μὲν ἐπὶ τεττάρων ὦππων, οἷος ἐνταύθα λέγεται φαίνεσθαι, τοτε δ' αὐ καὶ διαπυρ- σεύοντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐπειδὰν αἰθέρα ὑπογράφη καὶ θεῶν οἶκον." "μὴν μην ἥ γραφική, ὁ Δάμι;" "τί δὲ ἀλλο;" ἐπεν, "εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο πράττοι, γελοία δόξει χρῶματα ποιοῦσα εὐήθως." "τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ," ἐφη, "βλεπόμενα, ἐπειδὰν αἱ νεφέλαι διασπασθῶσιν ἀπὸ ἄλληλως, τοὺς κενταύρους καὶ τραγελάφους καὶ, νη Δ' ὦ, οἱ λύκοι τε καὶ οἱ ὦπποι, τί φήσεις; ἄρ' οὐ μιμητικὴς εἶναι ἔργα;" "ἐοικεν," ἐφη. "ξωγράφος οὖν ὁ θεός, ὁ Δάμι, καὶ καταλιπὼν τὸ πτηνὸν ἄρμα, ἐφ' οὐ πο- ρεύεται διακοσμῶν τὰ θεῖα τε καὶ ἀνθρώπεια, κάθη- ται τότε ἄθυρων τε καὶ γράφων ταῦτα, ὡσπερ οἱ παῖδες ἐν τῇ ψάμμῳ;" ἤρυθρίασεν ὁ Δάμις ἐσ οὖτος ἀτοπον ἐκπεσεῖν δόξαντος τοῦ λόγου. οὐχ ὑπερι- δὼν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἁπολλώνιος, οὐδὲ γὰρ πυκρός πρὸς τὰς ἐλέγξεις ἤν, "ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦτο," ἐφη, "βούλει λέγειν, ὁ Δάμι, τὸ ταῦτα μὲν ἀσθμά τε καὶ ὡς ἐτυχε διὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φέρεσθαι τόγε ἐπὶ τοῦ θεῶ, ἡμᾶς δὲ φύσει τὸ μιμητικὸν ἔχοντας ἀναρρυμάζειν τε αὐτὰ καὶ ποιεῖν;" "μᾶλλον," ἐφη, "τοῦτο ἡγό- μεθα, ὁ Ἁπολλώνιος, πιθανότερον γὰρ καὶ πολλῷ βέλτιον." "ἐκτῇ ἁρὰ ἡ μιμητική, ὁ Δάμι, καὶ
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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τὴν μὲν ἡγώμεθα οἶαν τῇ χειρὶ ἀπομιμεῖσθαι καὶ
tῷ νῷ, γραφικὴν δὲ εἰναι ταύτην, τὴν δὲ αὖ µόνῳ
tῷ νῷ εἰκάζειν." "οὐ διττὴν," ἔφη ὁ Δάµις,
"ἀλλὰ τὴν µὲν τελεωτέραν ἠγεῖσθαι προσήκει
grαφικὴν γε οὐσαν, ἥ δύναται καὶ τῷ νῷ καὶ τῇ
χειρὶ ἐξεικάσαι, τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν ἐκείνης µόριον,
ἔπειδὴ ξυνίησε µὲν καὶ µιµεῖται τῷ νῷ καὶ µὴ
gραφικὸς τις ὃν, τῇ χειρὶ δὲ οὐκ ἄν ἐσ ὁ γράφειν
αὐτὰ χρῆσαιτο." "ἀρα," ἔφη, "ὁ Δάµι, πεπη-
ρωµένος τὴν χεῖρα ὑπὸ πληγῆς τινὸς ᾗ νόσου;
"µᾶ Δί, ἔπευ, "ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ µὴτε γραφίδος
tινὸς ἴθθαι, µὴτε ὀργάνου τινὸς ἡ χρώµατος, ἀλλ᾽
ἀµαθῶς ἔχειν τοῦ γράφειν." "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "ὁ
Δάµι, ἀµφῶ ὀµολογούµεν µιµητικὴν µὲν ἐκ φύσεως
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἴθειν, τὴν γραφικὴν δὲ ἐκ τέχνης.
tουτὶ δ᾽ ἄν καὶ περὶ τὴν πλαστικὴν φαινοίτο. τὴν
dὲ δὴ ζωγραφίαν αὐτὴν ὡς µοι δοκεῖσ µόνον τὴν
dιὰ τῶν χρωµάτων ἠγεῖσθαι, καὶ γὰρ ἐν χρῶµα
ἐς αὐτὴν ἴθρεσε τοῖς ἀρχαιστέρως τῶν γραφέων
καὶ προϊόνσα τεττάρων εἴτε πλειόνων ἴθµατο,
ἀλλὰ καὶ γραµµὴν καὶ τὸ ἄνευ χρωµάτως, ὅ δὴ
σκιάς τε ξύγκειται καὶ φωτός, ζωγραφίαν προσ-
ήκει καλεῖν καὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὀµοιότης τε ὄραται
eιδός τε καὶ νοῦς καὶ αἰδῶς καὶ θρασύτης, καίτοι
χρηεύει χρωµάτων ταύτα, καὶ οὔτε αἵµα ἐνσηµαι-
νεὶ οὔτε κόµης τινὸς ἡ ὑπῆνης 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

Είσικε καὶ τῷ λευκῷ, καὶ τούτων τινὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν λευκῇ τῇ γραμμῇ γράψωμεν, μέλασ δῆπον δόξει, τὸ γὰρ ὑπόσιµον τῆς ρίνος καὶ οἱ ὀρθοὶ βόστρυχοι καὶ ἡ περιττὴ γένυς καὶ ἡ περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οἶνον ἐκπληξὶς μελαίνει τὰ ὁρῶμενα καὶ Ἰνδῶν ὑπογράφει τοὺς γε μὴ ἀνοήτως ὀρῶσιν. οἶκεν εἰποιμ' ἀν καὶ τοὺς ὁρῶτας τὰ τῆς γραφικῆς ἑργα μμητικῆς δεῖσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐπαινέσειε τις τὸν γεγραμμένον ὑππον ἡ ταύρον μὴ τὸ ξύον ἐνθυμηθεὶς φ' εἰκασται, οὐδ' ἂν τὸν Αἰαντᾶ τις τὸν Τιμομάχου ἀγασθεὶς, δὴ δὴ ἀναγεγραπται αὐτῷ μεμηνός, εἰ μὴ ἀναλάβοι τι ἐς τὸν νοῦν Αἰαντος εὑδωλον καὶ ὡς εἰκὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπεκτονώτα τὰ ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ βουκόλια καθῆσθαι ἀπειρηκότα, Βουλῆν ποιούμενον καὶ ἑαυτὸν κτείναι. ταυτὶ δὲ, ὦ Δάμω, τὰ τῶν Πώρου δαίδαλα μὴ ἀχλευτικῆς μόνον ἀποφαινόμεθα, γεγραμμένοις γὰρ εἰκασται, μήτε γραφικῆς, ἐπειδὴ ἐχαλκεύθη, ἀλλ' ἡγώμεθα σοφισταῖ οὐτά γραφικῶν τε καὶ ἀχλευτικῶν ἑνά ἄνδρα, οἶνον δὴ τι παρ' Ἐμήρῳ τὸ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἀχίλλεως ἄσπιδα ἀναφαίνεται. μεστὰ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων, καὶ τῆς γῆς ἡματώσθαι φήσεις ἀχαλκίνοις ὁὕσαν.
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.”
Τοιαύτα σπουδάζοντι τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐφίστανται παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγγελοὶ καὶ ἐρμηνεύσ, ὡς ποιοῖτο αὐτῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ξένου ἐς τρεῖς ἡμέρας, μὴ γὰρ πλείόνων νεομίσθαι τοὺς ξένους ἐνομίλευν τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἡγούντο αὐτῷ ἐς τὰ βασιλεία. ἡ πόλις δ᾿ ὡς μὲν ἔχει τοὺς τεῖχους, εἰρήνη, φασὶ δ᾿ ὡς ἀτάκτως τε καὶ Ἀττικῶς τοὺς στενωποὺς τέτμηται κατεσκεύασται τε οἰκίαι, εἰ μὲν ἔξωθεν ὀρφή τις αὐτὰς, ἕνα ἑχούσας ὄροφον, εἰ δ᾿ ἐσω παρέλθοι τις, ὑπογείοις ἔδη καὶ παρεχομέναι οὖσα τοῖς ἀνω τὰ ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ.

ΧΧΙΙ

ΧΧΙV

Ἰερὸν δὲ ἴδεῖν Ἡλίου φασίν, ὁ ἀνεῖτο Αἴας ἐλεφας, καὶ ἀγάλματα Ἀλεξάνδρου χρυσᾶ καὶ Πάρου ἔτερα, χαλκοῦ δ᾿ ἦν ταύτα μέλανος. οἱ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῖχοι, πυρσαῖς λίθοις ὑπαστράπτει χρυσὸς αὐγὴν ἐκδίδουσ ἑοικυίαι ἀκτίνι. τὸ δὲ ἐδος αὐτὸ μαργαρίτεδος ἐγυκεῖται ἐμμβολικὸν τρόπον, ὁ βάρβαροι πάντες ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ χρωνται.
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, 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.

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.
CAP. XXV

Περὶ δὲ τὰ βασίλεια τοὺς ὀγκοὺς ἰδεῖν φασίν οἰκοδομημάτων, οὔτε ὀδυρφόρους ἦ ψύλακας, ἀλλὰ οίᾳ περὶ τὰς τῶν λαμπρῶν οἰκίας, ὄλγους οἰκέτας καὶ διαλεχθῆναι τῷ βασιλεῖ δεομένους τρεῖς, οἶμαι, ἢ τετταρας· καὶ τὸν κόσμον τούτον ἀγα-
σθῆναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι φλεγμαίνοντα,
καὶ πολλῷ πλέον ἔσω παρελθόντες· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνδρῶνας καὶ τὰς στοὰς καὶ τὴν αὐλὴν πᾶσαι
κεκολάσθαι φασίν.

CAP. XXVI

“Εδοξεὶν οὖν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ φιλοσοφεῖν ὁ Ἰνδὸς
καὶ παραστησάμενος τὸν ἔρμηνεα, “χαίρω,” εἶπεν,
“ὡς βασιλεῦ, φιλοσοφοῦντά σε ὁρῶν.” “ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπερ-
χαίρω,” ἔφη, “ἐπειδὴ οὕτω περὶ ἐμοῦ οἴει.” “τούτῳ
δὲ νενόμισται παρ’ ὑμῖν,” εἶπεν, “ἡ σὺ πρὸς τὸ ἐπι-
εικὲς τούτο τὴν ἀρχὴν κατεστήσως;” “σωφρόνως,”
ἔφη, “νενομισμένος, σωφρονέστερον χρώμαι, καὶ
πλείστα μὲν ἔχω ἀνθρώπων, δεόμαι δὲ ὀλύγων, τὰ
γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν φίλων τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ ἡγοῦμαι.”
“μακάριε τοῦ θησαυροῦ,” εἶπεν, “εἰ χρυσοῦ τε
καὶ ἀργύρου ἀντερύγκους, εξ ὧν ἀνα-
φύεται σοι πολλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ.” “καὶ μὴν καὶ
toῖς ἐχθροῖς,” ἔφη, “κοινωνῶ τοῦ πλοῦτον· τοὺς
gὰρ ἄεὶ ποτε διαφόρους τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ βαρβάρους
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XXV

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

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
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.
'Επεί δὲ ἴκανος διελέχθησαν περὶ τῆς ὀδοῦ τῆς παρὰ τοὺς Βραχμανᾶς, τὸν μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου ἡγεμόνα ἐκέλευσε ἐξείλει, ὡσπερ εἰώθει τοὺς ἐκ Βαβυλώνος ἠκούτας, τὸν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ σατράπου ἀπίέναι λαβόντα ἐφόδια, αὐτὸς δὲ λαβόμενος τῆς τοῦ 'Απολλωνίου χειρὸς, καὶ κελεύσας ἀπελθεῖν τὸν ἑρμηνεύα, "ἄρ' ἄν," ἔφη, "ποιήσαι με συμπότην;" ἦρετο δ' αὐτὸν φωνῇ Ἔλλαδι. ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ 'Απολλωνίου καὶ, "τοῦ χάριν οὐκ ἔξ ἀρχῆς οὔτω διελέγου;" φήσαντός, "ἐδείσα," ἔφη, "θρασὺς δόξαι μὴ γιγνώσκων ἐμαυτόν, μηδ' ὅτι βάρβαρον εἶναι με δοκεῖ τῇ τύχῃ, σοῦ δὲ ἡττηθείς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ σὲ ὀρῷ ἐμοὶ χαίροντα, οὐκ ἡδυνήθην ἐμαυτὸν κρύπτειν, ὡς δὲ μεστὸς εἰμι τῆς Ἐλλήνων φωνῆς, ἐν πολλοῖς δηλώσω." "τὶ οὖν," εἶπεν, "οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐπήγγειλας ἐμοὶ τὸ συμπόσιον, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ σοι κελεύεις ἐπαγγέλλειν;" "ὅτι σε," ἔφη, "βελτίω ἐμαυτὸν ἡγοῦμαι, τὸ γὰρ βασιλικότερον σοφία ἔχει." καὶ ἄμα ἤγεν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἅμφ' αὐτῶν, οὐπερ εἰώθει λοῦσθαι. τὸ δὲ βαλανεῖον παράδεισος ἢν σταδίον μῆκος, ἡ μέση κολυμβήθρα ἐνωρώρυκτο πηγάς ἐκδεχομένη ποτίμου τε καὶ ψυχροῦ ὑδατος, τὰ δὲ ἔφ' ἐκάτερα δρόμοι ᾱσαν, ἐν οἷς ἀκούτω τε καὶ δίσκω τῶν Ἔλληνικῶν τρόπον
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.
CAP. XXVII

ἐαυτὸν ἐξήσκει, καὶ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἔρρωτο ὑπὸ τε ἡλικίας——ἐπτὰ γὰρ καὶ εἰκοσιν ἐτη γεγονὼς ἤν——ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ὀδε γυμνάζεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἰκανός ἔχοι ἐπίθετα ἐς τὸ υόρῳ καὶ ἐγύμναζεν ἐαυτὸν τῷ νείν. ὡς δὲ ἐλούσαντο, ἐβάδιζον ἐς τὸ συσσίστιον ἐστεφανωμένου, τοιτὶ δὲ νενόμισται Ἰνδοὶς, ἐπειδὰν ἐς τοῦ βασιλέως πίνωσιν.

XXVIII

'Ἄξιον δὲ μηδὲ τὸ σχῆμα παραλιπεῖν τοῦ πότου σαφῶς γε ἀναγεγραμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμιδος' εὐω-χεῖται μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ στιβάδος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τῶν ἐννογγενῶν μέχρι πέντε οἱ ἑγγύς, οἱ δὲ λουποὶ πάντες ἐν θάκοις συσσιτούσι. τράπεζα δὲ, ὡς περ βωμὸς ύψος ἐς γόνιον ἀνδρὸς ἐξοκοδόμηται μέσῃ, κύκλον ἐπέχοντα χοροῦ ἐξομβελημένου ἀνδρῶν τριάκοντα, ἐφ' ἂς δάφνι τε διαστρώνυμην καὶ κλώνες ἐτεροὶ παραπλήσιουι μὲν τῇ μυρίνῃ, φέροντες δὲ Ἰνδοὶς μύρον. ἐνταῦθα διάκειναι ἵχθυς μὲν καὶ ὀρυθές, διάκειναι δὲ λεώντες τε ὀλοι καὶ δορκάδες καὶ συνε καὶ τύγρεων ὀσφύες, τὰ γὰρ λοιπὰ τοῦ θηρίου παρατυνται ἐσθείειν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ξύλον τοῦτο, φασιν, ὅταν πρῶτον γένηται, τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους τῶν ποδῶν ἀνίσχοντι αὖρειν τῷ Ἁλίῳ. καὶ ἀνιστάμενος ὁ δαίτυμῳ φοιτὰ πρὸς τὴν τράπεζαν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνελόμενος τούτων, τὰ δὲ
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.

XXVIII

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
Αποτεμών, ἀπελθὼν ἕς τὸν ἑαυτὸν θάκον ἐμπύπλαται, θαμινά ἐπεσθήνων τοῦ ἄρτου. ἑπειδὴ δὲ ἰκανῶς ἠχωσίν, ἐσφέρονται κρατήρες ἀργυροὶ τε καὶ χρυσοὶ, δέκα συμπόταις ἀποχρῶν εἰς, ἀφ᾿ ὀν πίνουσι κύψαιτες, ὡστερ ποτιζόμενοι. μεταξὺ δὲ πύνοντες ἐπεσάγονται ἀγρεωχίας ἑπικινδύνους καὶ οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ σπουδάζειν παῖς γάρ τις, ὡστερ ὁ τῶν ὀρχηστρίδων, ἀνερριπτεῖτο κοῦφως συναφεμένου αὐτῷ βέλους ἐς τὸ ἄνω, καὶ ἑπειδὴ πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς γένοιτο, ἐκβιβάτα ὁ παῖς ὑπεραιρῶν ἑαυτοῦ τοῦ βέλους, καὶ ἀμαρτόντες τοῦ κυβιστῶν ἐτοιμὰ ἥν βεβλήσθαι· ὁ γὰρ τοξότης πρὶν ἀφιέναι περιήγη τους ξυμπότας ἐπίδεικνυσ τὴν ἀκίδα καὶ διδοῦς ἔλεγχον τοῦ βέλους. καὶ τὸ διὰ σφενδόνης δὲ τοξεῦσαι καὶ τὸ ἐς τρίχα ἑναί, καὶ τῶν οὐν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ σκιαγραφήσαι βέλεσιν ἀνεστώτα πρὸς σανίδα, σπουδάζονσιν ἐν τοῖς πότοις, καὶ κατορθοῦσιν αὐτὰ μεθύοντες.

XXIX

Οὶ μὲν δὴ περὶ τῶν Δάμων ἐξεπλήττοντο αὐτὰ ὡς εὐσκοπα, καὶ τὴν ξυμμετρίαν τῆς τοξείας ἐθαύμαζον, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐξεσίτει γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὁμοδιαίτῳ ὄντι, τούτως μὲν ἥττον προσείχε, πρὸς δὲ τῶν βασιλέα, "εἰπέ μοι, ὃ βασιλεῦ, ἐφη, "πόθεν οὖτως ἔχεις φωνῆς Ἑλλάδος, φιλοσοφία τε ἡ περὶ
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.

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,
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"σὲ πόθεν ἑνταῦθα; οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ διδασκάλους γε οἴμαι ἀναφέρειν, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ εἶναι τινὰς ἐν Ἰνδοῖς εἰκῶς διδασκάλους τοῦτον." γελάσας οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς, "οἱ μὲν παλαιοί," ἔφη, "τὰς ἐρωτήσεις τῶν καταπλεόντων ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ λησταί εἰσιν, οὔτως αὐτὸ καίτοι χαλεπὸν ὑπὸ κοινὸν ἡγοῦντο, ὑμεῖς δὲ μοι δοκεῖτε τοὺς ἐπιφοιτῶντας ὑμῖν ἐρωτῶν, μὴ φιλοσοφοὶ εἰσιν, οὔτως αὐτὸ καίτοι θειότατον τῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιπυχοῦσιν ὑπάρχειν οὐσθε. καὶ ὅτι μὲν παρ' ὑμῖν ταῦτῶν τῷ ληστεύειν ἔστιν, ὁδὰ, ὡμοίῳ μὲν γὰρ σοὶ ἀνδρὶ οὐ φασίν εἶναι ἐντυχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς, ὁσπερ σκυλεύσαντας αὐτὸ ἑτέρον περιβεβληθαί τε ἀναρμόστως, καὶ σοβεῖν ἀλλοτρίαν ἐσθήτα ἐπισύροντας· καὶ νὴ Δι', ὁσπερ οἱ λησταὶ τρυφῶσιν εἰδότες ὅτι ὑπὸ τῇ δίκῃ κεῖται, οὔτω κἀκεῖνος φασὶ γαστρί τε διδόναι καὶ ἀφροδισίοις καὶ ἀμπεχόνη λεπτῇ. τὸ δὲ αὐτίον νόμοι ὑμῖν, οἴμαι, εἰσίν, εἰ μὲν τὸ νόμισμα παραφθείροι τις, ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτὸν, καὶ παιδίον εἰ τις παρεγγράφῃ, ἢ οὐκ οἴδ' ὃ τι ἔπι τούτῳ, τοὺς δὲ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὑποβαλλομένους ἢ παραφθείροντας οὖνείς, οἴμαι, νόμος παρ' ὑμῖν ἵσχει, οὐδὲ ἀρχή τις ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς τετακταί.
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.
CAP, XXX

Παρ’ ἡμῖν δὲ ὀλίγοι μὲν τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν ἀπτονταί, δοκιμάζονται δὲ ὅδε· χρή τῶν νέον, ἐπειδὰν ὁκτωκαίδεκα ἐτη γεγονός τύχη, τούτῳ δ’, οἴμαι, καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐφίβου μέτρον, ὑπὲρ τὸν Ῥφασιν ποταμὸν ἐλθεῖν παρὰ τούς ἄνδρας, οὕς σὺ όρμηκας, εἰπόντα δημοσίᾳ πρότερον ὅτι φιλοσοφήσοι, ἵν’ ἦ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξείρησεν αὐτοῖς, εἰ μὴ καθαρὸς φοιτὴ. καθαρὸν δὲ λέγω πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἐς πατέρα καὶ μητέρα ἦκον, μὴ περὶ αὐτοὺς ὁνειδίσι τι ἀναφαίνοτο, εἰθ’ οἱ τούτων γονεῖς καὶ τρίτον γένος ἐς ἄινο, μὴ ύβριστὴς τίς ἢ ἀκρατὴς ἢ χρηματιστὴς ἅδικος. οὕτων δὲ μηδεμία οὐλὴ περὶ τούτων ἀναφάινῃ, μηδὲ στίγμα ὅλως μηδὲν, αὐτὸν ἢδη διορᾶν τὸν νέον καὶ βασανίζειν, πρῶτον μὲν, εἰ μνημονικός, εἶτα, εἰ κατὰ φύσιν αἰθήμων, ἀλλὰ μὴ πλαττόμενος τοῦτο, μὴ μεθυστικὸς μὴ λίχνος μὴ ἀλαζών μὴ φιλόγελως μὴ θρασὺς μὴ φιλολοίδωρος, εἰ πατρὸς ὑπήκοος εἰ μητρὸς εἰ διδασκάλων εἰ παιδαγωγῶν, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, εἰ μὴ κακὸς περὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὄραν. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν γειναμένων αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ ἐκείνους ἐγείναντο, ἐκ μαρτύρων ἀναλέγονται καὶ γραμμάτων, ἃ δημοσίᾳ κεῖται. ἐπειδὰν γὰρ τελευτήσῃ ο Ἰνδός, φοιτᾷ ἐπὶ θύρας αὐτοῦ μιὰ ἁρχὴ τεταγμένη ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀναγράφειν αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐβίω, καὶ φευσα-

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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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μένω η ἑφευρισκότα τῷ ἀρχαῖοι ἐπιτιμῶσιν οἱ νόμιμοι μὴ ἀρξαί αὐτῶν ἐτὶ ἀρχὴν μηδεμίαν, ὡς παραποίησαντα βίον ἀνδρῷπου, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐφήβων ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁρῶντες ἀναμανθάνοντο πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ὁφθαλμοί τῶν ἀνδρωπείων ἡθὸν ἔρμηνεύοντο, πολλά δὲ ἐν ὀφρύσι καὶ παρειὰς κεῖται γνωματεύειν τε καὶ θεωρεῖν, ἀφ’ ὅν σοφοὶ τε καὶ φυσικοὶ ἄνδρες, ὠσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ εἰδωλα, τοὺς νοῦς τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαθεώνται. μεγάλων γὰρ δὴ ἀξιομενής φιλοσοφίας ἐνταῦθα, καὶ τιμὴν τοῦτον παρ’ Ἰνδοῖς ἔχοντο, ἀνάγκη πάσα ἐκβασανίζεσθαι τε τοὺς ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἰόντας ἑλέγχους τε ὑποβεβλησθαι μυρίοις. ὡς μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ διδασκάλοις αὐτῶ ποιούμεθα καὶ ἐς δοκιμασίαις ἤμιν τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν ἦκει, σαφῶς εἰρηκα, τούμον δὲ ὅδε ἔχει.

XXXI

CAP. XXXI

ἲγὼ μὲν πάππου βασιλέως ἐγενόμην, ὃς ἦν μοι ὁμώνυμος, πατρὸς δὲ ἱδιώτων καταλειφθεῖς γὰρ κομιδῇ νέος ἐπίτροποι μὲν αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο ὅν τῶν ξυγγενῶν κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Ἰνδῶν νόμους, ἔπραττον δὲ ύπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὰ βασιλικὰ οὐ χρηστῶς, μὰ τὸν "Ἡλιον, οὐδὲ ἔξυμμέτρως, ὅθεν βαρεῖς τοῖς ὑπηκόοις εφαίνοντο καὶ ἢ ἀρχή κακῶς ἦκουε. Ἐκστάντες οὖν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τῶν δυνατῶν τινες ἐπιτίθενται σφιζέν ἐν ἔορτῇ καὶ
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.

XXXI

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
κτείνουσι τῷ Ἰνδῷ θύοντας, αὐτοὶ τε ἐπεσπηδήσαν·
τῷ ἄρχειν ξυνέσχον τὰ κοινά. δείσαντες οὖν
οἱ ξυγγενεῖς περὶ τῷ πατρὶ μήπω ἐκκαίδεκα ἐτή
γεγονότι πέμπουσιν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τὸν"Τφασιν παρὰ
τὸν ἐκεῖ βασιλέα. πλειόνων δὲ ἡ ἐγὼ ἄρχει καὶ
εὐδαίμων ἡ χώρα παρὰ πολὺ τῆς ἐνταῦθα. βουλο-
μένου δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως παῖδα ποιεῖσθαι,
tουτὶ μὲν παρητῆσατο φήσας μὴ φιλονεικεῖν τῇ
τύχῃ ἀφηρμενήν αὐτὸν τῷ ἄρχειν, ἐδεικήδ' αὐτοῦ
ξυγχωρῆσαι οἱ φιλοσοφήσαι βαδίσαντι παρὰ
τοὺς σοφοὺς, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ραὸν καρτερῆσαι τὰ
οἴκοι κακά. βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ
κατάγειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῴαν ἄρχην, “ei
γνησίως,” ἐφη, “φιλοσοφοῦντα αἰσθοι, κάταγε, εἰ
dὲ μὴ, έα με οὔτως ἔχειν.” αὐτὸς οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς
ήκων παρὰ τοὺς σοφοὺς μεγάλων ἄν ἐφη παρ’
αὐτῶν τυχεῖν, εἰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπιμεληθεῖν γενναῖον
τὴν φύσιν ὡδή οὖτος, οἱ δὲ κατιδόντες τι ἐν αὐτῷ
πλέον ἡσπάσαντο προσδούναι οἱ τῆς αὐτῶν
σοφίας, καὶ προθύμως ἐπαίδευον προσκείμενον
πάνυ τῷ μανθάνειν. ἐβδόμῳ δὲ ἐτεί νοσῶν ὁ
βασιλεὺς, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐτελεύτα, μεταπέμπεται
αὐτὸν καὶ κοινωνὸν τῆς ἄρχης ἀποφαίνει τῷ νῖν,
tὴν τε θυγατέρα ὀμολογεῖ πρὸς ὠραν οὔτον, ὁ δὲ,
ἐπείδη τοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως νῖν εἰδε κολάκων καὶ
οίνου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν ἦττω μεστὸν τε
ὑποψιών πρὸς αὐτὸν, “σὺ μὲν,” ἐφη, “ταῦτ’ ἔχε
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at a festival and slew them when they were sacrificing 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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καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπάσης ἐμφοροῦ, καὶ γὰρ εὖηθες μηδὲ τὴν προσήκουσαν ἑαυτῷ βασιλείαν κτῆσασθαι δινηθέντα θρασεός δοκεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν μῆ προσήκουσαν ἥκειν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὴν ἀδελφὴν δίδου, τούτι γὰρ μόνον ἀπόχρη μοι τῶν σῶν." καὶ λαβὼν τὸν γάμον ἐξη πλησίον τῶν σοφῶν ἐν κόμαις ἐπὶ τὰ εὐδαίμοσιν, ἂς ἐπέδωκε τῇ ἀδελφῇ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐς ζώνην. γέγονομαι τοῖνυν ἐγὼ τοῦ γάμου τούτου καὶ με ο πατήρ τὰ Ἑλλήνων παιδεύσας ἁγεὶ παρὰ τοὺς σοφοὺς πρὸ ἡλικίας ἰσος, δῶδεκα γὰρ μοι τότε ἦν ἔτη, οἱ δὲ ἐπέφευγαν ἢσα καὶ ἑαυτῶν παιδα, οὐς γὰρ ἀν ὑποδέξωνται τὴν Ἑλλήνων φωνὴν εἰδότας, ἀγαπῶν μᾶλλον, ὡς ἐς τὸ ὀμόηθες αὐτοῖς ἤδη προσήκουσας.

XXXII

Αποθανόντων δὲ μοι καὶ τῶν γονέων οὐ μεταπολὺ ἀλλήλων, αὐτοὶ με βαδίσασαν ἐπὶ τὰς κόμας ἐκέλευσαν ἐπιμεληθήναι τῶν ἐραυτοῦ γεγονότα ἐννεακαίδεκα ἔτη. τὰς μὲν οὖν κόμας ἁφηρήτῳ με ἤδη ὁ χρηστὸς θείος καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ γηδία μοι ὑπέλυπτα τὰ κεκτημένα τῷ πατρί, πάντα γὰρ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἄρχῃ προσήκειν αὐτά, ἐμὲ δὲ ἀν μεγάλων παρ’ αὐτοῦ τυχεῖν, εἰ με ἔφη ξήν. ἔρανον οὖν ξυλλεξάμενοι παρὰ τῶν τῆς μητρὸς ἀπελευθέρων ἀκολούθους εἰχον τέτταρας. καὶ μοι ἀναγιγνωσκοντι τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας τὸ δράμα, ἐπέστη τις ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιστολήν φέρων παρὰ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιτηδείου τῷ πατρί, ὦς με ἐκέλευσε διαβάντα τὸν Ἡδραώτην.
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.

XXXII

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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ΠΟΤΑΜΩΝ ΞΥΝΩΝΤΕΣΘΑΙ ΟΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΆΡΧΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΥΤΑΥΘΑ, ΠΟΛΛΑΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΛΠΙΔΑΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΜΟΥ ΑΝΑΚΤΗΣΑΣΘΑΙ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΜΗ ΕΛΥΝΟΥΝΤΙ. ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΔΗ ΔΡΑΜΑ ΘΕΟΝ ΤΙΣ ΟΙΜΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΒΟΥΝ ΗΓΑΓΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΠΟΜΗΝ ΤΗ ΦΗΜΗ, ΔΙΑΒΑΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΝ ΠΟΤΑΜΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΒΕΒΙΑΣΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΆΡΧΗΝ ΤΕΘΝΑΝΗ ΗΚΟΥΣΑ, ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΙΣ ΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ. ΕΧΩΡΟΥΝ ΔΗ ΞΥΝΤΕΙΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΟΔΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΚΩΜΑΙΣ, ΔΙ' ΟΝ ΕΣΤΕΙΧΟΝ, ΩΣ Ο ΤΟΥ ΔΕΙΝΟΣ ΕΙΝΗΝ ΒΙΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΆΡΧΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΜΑΥΤΟΥ ΙΟΙΜ, ΟΙ ΔΕ ΧΑΙΡΟΝΤΕΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΠΑΖΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΜΕ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΜΟΝ ΠΑΡΑΠΛΗΣΙΟΝ ΥΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΩ ΠΑΠΠΩ, ΕΓΧΕΙΡΙΔΙΑ ΤΕ ΗΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΞΑ, ΚΑΙ ΠΛΕΙΟΥΣ ΑΕΙ ΕΓΧΩΡΟΜΕΣΘΑ, ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΛΘΟΝΤΑ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΥΛΑΙΣ ΟΥΤΟ ΤΙ ΆΣΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΘΕΞΑΝΤΟ ΟΙ ΕΥΤΑΥΘΑ, ΩΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΒΩΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ ΔΑΔΑΣ ΑΨΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΠΡΟ ΠΥΛΩΝ ΤΕ ΗΚΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΔΕΥΡΟ ΕΦΥΜΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΤΩ ΠΑΤΡΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΠΑΠΠΩ, ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΣΩ ΚΗΦΗΝΑ ΠΕΡΙξ ΤΟ ΤΕΥΧΟΣ ΕΚΛΗΣΑΝ ΚΑΙΤΟΙ ΕΜΟΙ ΠΑΡΑΙΤΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΜΗ ΤΟΙΦΙΔΕ ΤΡΟΠΟ ΑΠΟΘΑΝΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ."
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."

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
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αὐτῶ ψεύτερον ἀφιλοσόφησαν;” "Ὁ ξυ-δράκαι,” ἔφη, "ἐκεῖνοι ἦσαν, τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τούτῳ ἐλευθεριάζει τε ἅνε καὶ πολεμικῶς ἐξῆρτυται, σοφίαν τε μεταχειρίζεσθαι φασιν οὐδέν χρηστῶν εἰδότες: οἱ δὲ ἀπετρώσας σοφοὶ κεῖται μὲν τοῦ Τφάσίδος καὶ τοῦ Γάγγου μέσοι, τὴν δὲ χώραν τάυτην οὔδὲ ἐπῆλθεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὐτὶ ποιεῖν τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ δείσας, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκεῖν, τὰ ίερὰ ἀπεσήμηνεν αὐτῷ. εἰ δὲ καὶ διέβη τὸν Τφάσιν καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτῶς γῆν ἰδιωτὴν ἐλείν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γε τύρσιν, ἢν ἐκεῖνοι κατοικοῦσιν, οὐδ᾽ ἀν μυρίους μὲν Ἀχίλλεας, τρισμυρίους δὲ Αἰαντας ἄγων ποτὲ ἐχειρώσατο: οὐ γὰρ μάχονται τοῖς προσελθοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ διοσθήματι τε καὶ σκηπτοῖς βαλλόντες ἀποκρουόνται σφᾶς οἰεροὶ καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ὑντες· τὸν γοὺν Ἡρακλέα τὸν Ἀιγύπτιον καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἔδει πόλεως διαδραμόντας τὸ ἰνδόν ἔθνος φασὶ μὲν ποτε ἐλάσαι ἐπὶ αὐτῶς ἀμα μηχανάς τε παλαμήσασθαι καὶ τοῦ χωρίου ἀπο-πειρᾶσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀντιπράττειν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ ἀπε-μείν, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι ἐφαίνοντο, ἐπεὶ δ αὐτοὶ προσή-σαν, πρηστῆρες αὐτοὺς ἀπεώσαντο καὶ βρονταί κάτω στρεφόμεναι καὶ ἐμπιπτοῦσαι τοῖς ὑπόλοιποις, τὴν τε ἄσπίδα χρυσῆν οὐσιν ἀποβαλεῖν ἐκεῖ λέγεται ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, καὶ πεποίηται αὐτὴν ἀνα-θῆκαν οἱ σοφοὶ διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους δόξαν, διὰ τὸ ἐκτύπωμα τῆς ἄσπίδος· αὐτὸς γὰρ πεποίηται ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὁρίζων τὰ Γάδειρα καὶ τὰ ὅρη στήλας ποιούμενος τὸν τε Ὡκεανὸν ἐς τὰ ἑσώ

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

XXXIV


XXXV

Τοιαῦτα διαλεχθέντες, ἀνεπαύσαντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ὑπεφαινέτο, αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄφικετο ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον, ὃ ἐνεκάθευδον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, καὶ τὸν σκίμποδα ἐπιψηλαφῆς προσεῖπεν 206
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."

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."

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
"ου γαρ πον καθευδεις, " ειπεν, "υδωρ πινων και καταγελων του οινου." "ου γαρ καθευδεις ηγη, " επει, "τοις το ουδωρ πινοντας ;" "καθευδεις μεν," επη, "λεπτον δε υπνου, ονπερ άκροι αυτων τοις φθαλμοις εφιξανειν φωμεν, ου τω νη. " "αμφοτεροις," ειπε, "και άσως τω νη μαλλον ει γαρ μη άτρεμησει ο νοις, ουδε υποδεξουται οι φθαλμοι τον υπνου οι γοην μεμηνοτες ουδε καθευδειν δυνανται δια την του νου πηδησιν, άλλη ες άλλα και άλλα απιουσης της ενυοιας γοργοτερον τε αναβλεπουσι και αναιδεστερον, ωσπερ οι αυτου των δρακοντων. επει τοινυ, ο βασιλευ, ειπε, "σαφως ήρμηνευται το του υπνου έργου και άττα δηλουται αυτω τοις άνθρωποις, σκεψαμεθα, τι μειουνεκτησει ευ τω υπνω του μεθυντος ο το υδωρ πινιων." "μη σοφίζουν," επη ο βασιλευ, "ει γαρ μεθυντα υποθηση, ου καθευδησε τουτο, βακχευοςα γαρ η γνωμη στροβησει τε αυτων και ταραχης εμπλησει δοκουσι τοι παντες οι εκ μεθης καταδαρθειν πειρωμενοι αναπεμπεσθαι τε ες τον όροφον, και αυ υπογειον ειναι δινην τε εμπεπτωκεναι σφισιν, οια δη περι τον Ίξιονα λεγεται χιμβαινειν. ουκουν αξιω των μεθυντα, άλλα των πεπωκοτα μεν του οινου, νήφουνα δε θεωρειν, ως καθευδησει και ως πολλω βελτιων του άοινου."
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 whirs 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."
XXXVI

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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XXXVI

φάρμακα ὑπ'νου μεμηχανημένα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, διὰ πιῶντες τε καὶ ἀλευφάμενοι καθεύδουσιν ἐκτεῖναντες αὐτοὺς ὁσπερ ἀποθανόντες, οὔτε μετά τινος λήθης ἀνίστανται καὶ ἀλλοσε ποι μᾶλλον εἰσιν ἢ ὦπερ εἶναι δοκοῦσιν. ὅτι μὲν δὴ τὰ πιῶμενα, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ ἐπαντλουμένα τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι οὐ γνίσιον οὔδὲ οἰκεῖον ἐπεσάγεται τῶν ὑπ'νου, ἀλλὰ ἤ βαθὺν καὶ ἡμιθνητὰ ἤ βραχὺν καὶ διασπωμένου ὑπὸ τῶν ἐντρεχόντων, κἂν χρηστὰ ἤ, ξυνθῆσθη τάχα, εἰ μὴ τὸ ὄσπερ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἐριστικὸν σπουδάζεις. οἱ δὲ ἐμοὶ ξυμπόται τὰ μὲν ὄντα ὀρῶσιν ὡς ὄντα, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ὄντα οὔτ' ἀναγράφουσιν αὐτοῖς οὔθ' ὑποτυποῦνται, κούφοι τε οὐπω ἐδοξαν, οὔδὲ μεστοὶ βλακείας οὐδὲ εὐνθείας ἤ ἑλαρώτεροι τοῦ προσήκοντος, ἀλλ' ἐφεσθηκότες εἰσὶ καὶ λογισμὸν πλέον, παραπλῆσιοι δείλης τε καὶ ὅποτε ἀγορὰ πλήθει, οὐ γὰρ νυσταζουσιν οὔτοι, κἂν πόρρω τῶν νυκτῶν σπουδάζωσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἐξωθεὶ αὐτοὺς ο ὑπ'νος ὁσπερ δεσπότης βρίσας ἐς τὸν αὐχένα δεδουλωμένου ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, ἀλλ' ἐλεύθεροι τε καὶ ὅρθοι φαίνονται, καταδαρθέντες δὲ καθαρὰ τῇ ψυχῇ δέχονται τὸν ὑπ'νον οὔτε ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπραγιῶν ἀνακουφιζόμενοι αὐτοῦ οὔτε ὑπὸ κακοπραγίας τινὸς ἐκθρόσκοντες. ξύμμετρος γὰρ πρὸς ἀμφω ταῦτα ψυχὴ νήφουσα καὶ οὐδετέρον τῶν παθῶν ᾦττων, οὔτε καθεύδει ἡδιστα καὶ ἀλυπότατα μὴ ἐξισταμένῃ τοῦ ὑπ'νου.

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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.
Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ μαντικὸν τὸ ἐκ τῶν ὀνειρῶν, ὁ θειότατον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων δοκεῖ, ῥᾷον διορᾷ μὴ ἐξουθολωμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, ἀλλὰ ἀκήρατος δεχομένη αὐτὸ καὶ περιαθροῦσα· οἱ γοῦν ἔξηγησαί τῶν ὀψεων, οὕς ὀνειροπόλους οἱ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσιν, οὐκ ἂν ὑποκρίνοιτο ὧψιν οὐδεμίαν μὴ πρότερον ἑρόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν, ἐν ὑ εἶδεν. ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἔφος ἦ καὶ τοῦ περὶ τὸν ὀρθὸν ὤπνου, ἐξυμβιλλοῦνται αὐτὴν ὡς ὑγιῶς μαντευομένης τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐπειδὰν ἀπορρύψηται τὸν οἴνου, εἰ δ' ἀμφὶ πρῶτον ὤπνου ἢ μέσας νύκτας, ὅτε βεβύθισται τε καὶ ξυνηθόλωται ἐτι ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, παραίτοῦνται τῆς ὑπόκρισιν σοφοῦ ὦντες. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς δοκεῖ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ χρησμῶδες ἐν ταῖς νηφόσωσις ψυχαῖς τίθενται, σαφῶς δῆλωσώ· ἐγένετο, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παρ᾽ Ἑλλησσίων Ἀμφιάρεως ἀνὴρ μάντις." "οἴδα," εἶπε, "λέγεις γὰρ που τὸν τοῦ Ὀἰκλέους, διὸ ἐκ Θηβῶν ἑπανίστα ἐπεσπᾶστα ἡ γῆ ξύντα." "οὕτος, ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη, "μαντευόμενος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ νῦν ὀνειρατα ἐπάγει τοῖς χρωμένοις, καὶ λαβόντες οἱ ἰερεῖς τὸν χρησμόνον σίτου τε εἰργουσι μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ οἶνον τρεῖς, ἱνα διαλαμπούσῃ τῇ ψυχῇ τῶν λογίων σπάσῃ· εἰ δὲ ὁ οἶνος 214
And more than this, as a faculty of divination by means of dreams, which is the divinest and most godlike 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...

XXXVIII

Ταῦτα διαλειχθέντες, καὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἡδη ἐτύγχανεν, ἐς τὸ ἔξω προῆλθον. καὶ ξυνεὶς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὡς χρηματίζειν δέοι τὸν βασιλεὰ πρεσβείαις τε καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους, “σὺ μὲν,” ἐφη, “ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ πράττε, ἐμὲ δὲ τὸν καυρὸν τούτον ἀνεῖς τῷ Ἡλίῳ, δεῖ γὰρ με τὴν εἰθισμένην εὐχήν εὑξασθαι.” “καὶ ἀκούοι γε εὐχομένου,” ἐφη, “χαριεῖται γὰρ πᾶσιν, ὁπόσοι τῇ σοφίᾳ τῇ
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.”

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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
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σὺ χαίρουσιν: ἐγὼ δὲ περιμενῶ σε ἐπανίοντα, καὶ γὰρ δικάσαι τινὰς χρῆ δίκας, αἰς παρατυχῶν τὰ μέγιστά με ὀνήσεις.

XXXIX

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.”

XXXIX

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
γὰρ ἄν καὶ γραῦς διαιτών." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὡς μὲν οὐ φιλοσοφῶ," ἔφη, "τῶ ἀνδρε, δηλοὶ τὸ περὶ χρυσίου διαφέρεσθαι σφᾶς, ἀριστα δ' ἂν μοι δικάσαι δόξεις δῶ ἐνθυμηθέις, ὡς οἱ θεοὶ πρῶτοι μὲν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιοῦνται τῶν ἔν ἀρετῆ φιλοσοφοῦντων, δεύτερον δὲ τῶν ἀναμαρτήτων τε καὶ μηδὲν πώποτε ἀδικεῖν δοξάν- των. διδόσι δὲ τοῖς μὲν φιλοσοφοῦσι διαγι- γνώσκειν εὖ τὰ θεῖα τε καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, τοῖς δ' ἄλλως χρηστοὶ βίου ἀποχρώντα, ὡς μὴ χήτει ποτὲ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἄδικοι γένονται: δοκεῖ δὴ μοι, βασιλεῦ, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τρυτάνης ἀντικρίναι τούτων καὶ τῶν ἀμφοῖν ἀναθεωρήσαι βίον, οὐ γὰρ ἄν μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ θεοὶ τὸν μὲν ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὴν γῆ, εἰ μὴ φαύλος ἢν, τῷ δ' αὖ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ δοῦναι, εἰ μὴ βελτίων ἢν τὸν ἀποδομένον." ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν δικασόμενοι ἀμφῶ, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀποδόμενος ύβριστής τε ἦλέγχετο καὶ θυσίας ἐκκελυτῆς, ὃς ἔδει τοῖς ἐν τῇ γῇ θεοὶς θύειν, ὁ δὲ ἐπιεικὴς τε ἑφαίνετο καὶ σοιώτατα θεραπεύων τοὺς θεοὺς. ἐκράτησεν οὖν ἡ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου γνώμη καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ χρηστὸς ὡς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ταῦτα ἔχων.
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; 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.

1 Or render: the gods of the underworld.
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 the 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 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
CAP. XI. χαρ.” ύπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς, “ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “τούτῳ ιάσομαι, ὕμιν τε χαρ ἐτέρας δόσω—
tεττάρων, οἶμαι, δεῖσθε—καὶ ὁ σατράπης δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ
tοῦ Ἰνδοῦ πέμψει ἡς Βαβυλῶνα ἐτέρας τέτταρας.
ἐστὶ δὲ μοι ἁγέλη καμήλων ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰνδῷ, λευκαὶ
πᾶσαι.” “ήγεμόνα δέ,” εἶπεν ὁ Δάμως, “οὐκ ἂν,
ὡ βασιλεύ, δοῖς;” “καὶ κάμηλόν γε,” ἔφη, “τῷ
ήγεμόνι δόσω καὶ ἐφόδια, ἐπιστελῶ δὲ καὶ Ἰάρχα
τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν σοφῶν, ἦν Ἄπολλώνιοι μὲν
ὡς μηδὲν κακίω ἑαυτοῦ δέχηται, ὑμᾶς δὲ ὡς
φιλοσόφους τε καὶ ὁπαδοὺς ἀνδρὸς θείου.” καὶ
χρυσίον δὲ ἐδίδων ὁ Ἰνδός καὶ ψήφους καὶ ὀθόνας
καὶ μυρία τοιαύτα: ὁ δὲ Ἄπολλώνιος χρυσίον
μὲν ἔφη ἱκανὸν ἑαυτῷ εἶναι δόντος γε Οὐαρ-
δάνου τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἀφανῶς αὐτῷ, τὰς δὲ ὀθόνας
λαμβάνειν, ἐπειδὴ ἐοίκασε τρίβων τῶν ἀρχαίων
tε καὶ πάνυ Ἀττικῶν. μίαν δὲ τινα τῶν ψήφων
ἀνελόμενος, “ὁ βελτίστη,” εἶπεν, “ὡς ἐς καιρὸν σε
καὶ οὐκ ἀθεεὶ εὕρηκα,” ἰσχύν, οἶμαι, τινα ἐν αὐτῇ
καθεωρακὼς ἀπόρρητόν τε καὶ θείαν. οἱ δὲ ἄμφι
τὸν Δάμων χρυσίων μὲν οὐδ’ αὐτοὶ προσέληντο, τῶν
ψήφων δὲ ἱκανῶς ἐδράττοντο, ὡς θεοὶ ἀναθή-
sontes, ὅτε ἐπανέλθωσιν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἥθη.

XLI

CAP. XLI. Καταμείνασι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν, οὐ
χαρ μεθετο σφῶν ὁ Ἰνδός, δίδωσι τὴν πρὸς τὸν
Ἅρχαν ἐπιστολῆν 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 warmly as he did myself, 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.

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:
'Απολλώνιος ἄνηρ σοφότατος σοφωτέρους ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ ἠγείται καὶ μαθησόμενος ἤκει τὰ ὕμετερα. πέμπτεν ὅνιν αὐτόν εἰδότα ὁπόσα ἐστε ὡς ἀπολείται οὐδέν τῶν μαθημάτων ὑμῖν, καὶ γὰρ λέγει ἁριστὰ ἄνθρωπον καὶ μέμνηται. ἵδετο δὲ καὶ τῶν θρόνων, ἐφ᾽ οὐ καθίσαντί μοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἑδωκας, Ἰάρχα πάτερ. καὶ οἱ ἐπόμενοι δὲ αὐτοὶ ἐπαινοῦν, ὅτι τοιοῦτο ἀνδρὸς ἠτηθεν εὐτύχει καὶ εὐτυχεῖτε.'

'Εξελάσαντες δὲ τῶν Ταξίλων καὶ δύο ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν διελθόντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ πεδίον, ἐν ὧν λέγεται πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀγωνίσασθαι Πῶρος, καὶ πῦλας ἐν αὐτῶ ἱδεῖν φασὶ ξυγκλειώσας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ τροπαίων ἑνεκα ἡκοδομημένας. ἀνακείσθαι γὰρ ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἑφεστηκότα τετραρρύμως ἄρμασιν, ὅσοι ἐπὶ τοῖς Δαρείοις σατράπαις ἐν Ἰσσοῖς ἐστήκει. διαλείπονται δ᾽ οὐ πολὺ ἀλλήλων δύο ἐξοδομήσαται λέγονται πῦλαι, καὶ φέρειν ἢ μὲν Πῶρον, ἢ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον, ἡμιμηθηκότε, οὕμα, μετὰ τὴν μάχην, ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀσπαζομένῳ ἐσκείν, ὁ δὲ προσκυνοῦντι.
"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

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 Issus 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.
Ποταμὸν δὲ ἦν ἀμείψαντες ἐγένοντο πρὸς τῷ Ῥάνθοδις, ἑτέρον δὲ ἀπέχοντες τοῦτον τριάκοντα βωμοῖς τε ἐνέτυχον, οἷς ἐπεγέγραπτο ΠΑΤΡΙ ΑΜΜΩΝΙ ΚΑΙ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΙ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΜΟΘΡΑΙΕΙ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΝΔΩΙ ΗΛΙΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΛΦΩΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ, φασὶ δὲ καὶ στήλην ἀνακείσθαι χαλκῆν, ἦ ἐπιγεγράφθαι ἈΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΕΝΤΑΤΟΑ ΕΣΤΗ. τούς μὲν δὴ βωμοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἡγόμεθα τῷ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς τέρμα τιμῶντος, τὴν δὲ στήλην τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Ῥάνθοδος Ἰνδών ἀναθεῖναι δοκῶ μοι λαμπρονυμένους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλέξανδρον μὴ προέλθειν πρόσω.
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 gone no further.
BOOK III
Γ

I

CAP. I. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἡφάσιδος καὶ ὁπόσος τὴν Ἰνδικὴν διαστείχει καὶ ὁ τι περὶ αὐτὸν θαῦμα, τάδε χρή γιγνώσκειν: αἱ πηγαί τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου βλύ-ξουσι μὲν ἐκ πεδίου, ναυσίποροι αὐτόθεν, προϊόντακαὶ δὲ καὶ ναυσίν ἔδη ἄποροι εἰσίν. ἀκρωνυχίας γὰρ πετρῶν παραλλάξ ὑπανύσχουσι τοῦ ὑδατος, περὶ ἀς ἀνάγκη τὸ ρέμα ἐλίττεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπλοῦν. εὔρος δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν Ἰστρον, ποταμῶν δὲ οὕτως δοκεῖ μέγιστος, ὁπόσῳ δι᾽ Εὐρώπης ἰέσουσι. δένδρα δὲ οἱ προσόμοια φύει παρὰ τὰς ὀχθὰς, καὶ τι καὶ μύρων ἐκδίδοται τῶν δένδρων, οἱ ποιοῦνται Ἰνδοὶ γαμικὸν χρίσμα, καὶ εἰ μὴ τῷ μύρῳ τοῦτῳ ράνως τοὺς νυμφίους οἱ ξυνιόντες ἐς τὸν γάμον, ἀτελης δοκεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἐς χάριν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ξυναρμοσθεῖς. ἀνείσθαι δὲ τῇ θεῷ ταύτῃ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ τε τὸ περὶ τῷ ποταμῷ νέμοι καὶ τοὺς ἰχθὺς τοὺς ταῖς, ὅσι οὕτως μόνος ποταμῶν τρέφει, πεποίηται δὲ αὐτοὺς ὀμωνύμους τοῦ ὀρνιθος, ἐπεὶ κυάνεοι μὲν αὐτοῖς οἱ λόφοι, 232
BOOK III

I

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 below the surface; round these the current winds of necessity, so rendering the river un navigable. 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 contracting parties to 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
CAP. ι

Φλάβιος Φιλοστράτου

CAP. ι

Καὶ τοὺς ὄνους ὅτε τοὺς ἀγρίους ἐν τοῖς ἑλεσι τοὺς ἀλήσκεσθαι φασίν, εἶναι ὅτε τοὺς θηρίους τοῖς ἑπὶ μετώπου κέρας, ὃ ταυρηδὸν τε καὶ οὐκ ἀγεννῶς μάχονται, καὶ ἀποφαίνειν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐκπώμα τὸ κέρας τοῦτο, οὐ γὰρ οὔτε νοσήσαι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ὃ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πιὼν, οὔτε ἄν τρωθεὶς ἀλγήσαι, πυρὸς τε διεξελθεῖν ἄν καὶ μηδὲ ἄν φαρμάκους ἀλῶναι ὑπόσα ἑπὶ κακῷ πίνεται, βασιλέως δὲ τὸ ἐκπώμα εἶναι καὶ βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἀνείσθαι τὴν θήραν. Ἄπολλώνιος ὅτε τὸ μὲν θηρίον ἐωρακέναι φησὶ καὶ ἄγασθαι αὐτῷ τῆς φύσεως, ἐρωμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Δάμιδος, εἰ τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ τοῦ ἐκπώματος προσδέχοιτο, "προσδέξομαι," εἶπεν, "ἡν ἀθάνατον μάθω τὸν βασιλέα τῶν δεύρῳ Ἰνδών ὄντα, τὸν γὰρ ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τῷ δεῖνι ὄρεγοντα πῶμα.
are blue, and their scales spotty, and their tails golden, and because they can fold and spread the latter at will.

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 by 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.

II

And they say that 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
CAP. II  ἀνοσόν τε καὶ οὕτως ἕγετε, πῶς οὐχὶ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς αὐτὸν ἐπεγχεῖν ἑαυτῷ τοῦτον καὶ ὅσημέραι πίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ κέρατος τοῦτον μέχρι κραυπάλης; οὐ γὰρ διαβαλεῖ τις, οἰμαι, τὸ τούτῳ μεθύειν.”

III

CAP. III  Ἐνταῦθα καὶ γυναικὶ φασίν ἐντετυχηκέναι τὰ μὲν ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐσ μαζὸς μέλανι, τὰ δὲ ἐκ μαζῶν ἐσ πόδας λευκῶ πάντα, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ὡς δεῖμα φυγεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ὄπολλώνιον ξυνάψας τοῖς γυναικὶ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ξυνείναι ὅ τι εἶχ’ ἐροῦται δὲ ἀρὰ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ Ἰνδή τοιαύτῃ, καὶ τίκτεται τῇ θεῷ γυνῇ ποικίλῃ, καθάπερ ὁ Ἁπίς Αἰγυπτίος.

IV

CAP. IV  Ἐντεῦθεν φασίν ὑπερβαλεῖν τοῦ Καυκάσου τὸ κατατείχον ἐσ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν, εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸ ξυνηρεῖς ἑδαὶς ἀρωμάτων. τοὺς μὲν δὴ πρῶνας τοῦ ὅρους τὸ κιννάμωμον φέρειν, προσεοικέναι δὲ αὐτὸ νέοις κλήμασι, βάσανον δὲ τοῦ ἀρωματός τὴν αἶγα εἶναι: κινναμώμον γὰρ εἰ τὶς αἰγὶ ὄρεξει, κυνηγήσεται πρὸς τὴν χεῖρα, καθάπερ κύων, ἀπιόντι τε ὁμαρτῆσαι τὴν ρίνα ἐσ αὐτὸ ἐρείσασα, καὶ ὁ αὐτόλοκος ἀπάγη, θρηνήσει καθάπερ λωτοῦ ἀποσπωμένη. ἔν δὲ τοῖς κρημνοῖς τοῦ
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."

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.

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
CAP. οροὺς λίβανοι τε υψηλοί πεφύκασι καὶ πολλὰ εἴδη ἔτερα, καὶ τὰ δένδρα αἱ πεπέριδες, ὅν γεωργὸι πίθηκοι, καὶ οὐδὲ ὦ εἰκασταὶ τοῦτο, παρεῖται σφίσιν, ὅποι δὲ εἰρηται τρόπον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω· τὸ δένδρον ἣ πέπερις εἰκασται μὲν τῷ παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἀγνῷ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸν κόρυμβον τοῦ καρποῦ, φύεται δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀποτόμοις οὐκ ἐφικτὸς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὐ λέγεται πιθήκων οἰκεῖν δῆμος ἐν μνχοῖς τοῦ ὀροῦς καὶ ὁ τι αὐτοῦ κοῖλον, οὐς πολλοῦ ἀξίους οἱ Ἰνδοὶ νομίζοντες, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πέπερι ἀποτρυγώσι, τοὺς λέοντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐρύκουσι κυσί τε καὶ ὀπλοῖς. ἐπιτίθεται δὲ πιθήκων λέονι νοσῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ φαρμάκου, τὴν γὰρ νόσου αὐτῷ τὰ κρέα ἵσχει ταῦτα, γεγηρακὼς δὲ ὑπὲρ σίτου, τῆς γὰρ τῶν ἐλάφων καὶ συνὸν θῆρας ἐξωροὶ γεγονότες τοὺς πιθήκους λαφύσσοσιν ἐς τοῦτο χρώμενοι τῇ λοιπῇ ῥώμῃ. οὐ μὴν οἱ ἀνθρώποι περιορώσιν, ἀλλ' ἐνεργετάς ἤγοιμενο τὰ θηρία ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς λέοντας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν αἰχμὴν αἴρονται. τὰ γὰρ πραττόμενα περὶ τὰς πεπέριδας ὁδὲ ἔχει· προσελθόντες οἱ Ἰνδοὶ τοῖς κάτω δένδρεσι, τὸν καρπὸν ἀποθερίσαντες, ἀλώς ποιοῦνται μικρὰς περὶ τὰ δένδρα, καὶ τὸ πέπερι περὶ αὐτὰς ξυμφοροῦσιν οίον ῥιπτοῦντες, ὡς ἀτιμόν τι καὶ μὴ ἐν σπουδῇ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οἱ δὲ ἀνώθεν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἁβάτων ἀφεωρακότες ταῦτα, νῦκτος γεωμένης ὑποκρίνονται τὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς βοστρύχους τῶν δένδρων περισσῶντες 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
CAP. IV φέροντες ἐσ τὰς ἁλῶς, οἱ Ἰνδοὶ δὲ ἀμα ἡμέρα σωροὺς ἀναιροῦνται τοῦ ἀρώματος οὐδὲ πονήσαντες οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ ράθυμοι τε καὶ καθεύδοντες.

CAP. V Τπεράραντες δὲ τοῦ ὀροῦ πεδίον ἰδεῖν φασὶ λεῖν κατατετμημένον ἐς τάφρους πλήρεις ὕδατος. εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς μὲν ἐπικαρσίους, τὰς δὲ ὀρθάς, διηγμένας ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Γάγγου, τῆς τε χώρας ὁρία οὕσας, τοῖς τε πεδίοις ἐπαγμομένας, ὁπότε ἡ γῆ διψάθη. τὴν δὲ γῆν ταύτην ἁριστήν φασὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς εἶναι καὶ μεγίστην τῶν ἐκεί ληξεων, πεντεκαίδεκα ἁμερῶν ὀδοὺ μῆκος ἐπὶ τὸν Γάγγην, ὀκτωκαίδεκα δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν πιθήκων ὄρος, ὃ ξυμπαρατείνει. πεδιὰς πᾶσα ἡ χώρα μέλαινα τε καὶ πάντων εὐφορος. ἰδεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ στάχνας ἀνεστῶτας, ὅσον οἱ δόνακες, ἰδεῖν δὲ κυάμους τριπλασίους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τὸ μέγεθος, σήμαμον τε καὶ κέγχρον ύπερφυνά πάντα. ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ κάρνα φύεσθαι φασίν, ὃν πολλὰ πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἀνακεῖσθαι τοῖς δέντρο θαύματος ἐνεκα. τὰς δὲ ἀμπέλους φύεσθαι μὲν μικρὰς, καθάπερ αἱ Λυδῶν τε καὶ Μαίνων, ποτίμους δὲ εἶναι καὶ ἀνθόσμιας ὁμοῦ τῷ ἀποτρυγάν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ δένδρῳ φασίν ἐντευχηκέναι προσεοικότι τῇ δάφνῃ, φύεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ κάλυκα εἰκασμένη τῇ μεγίστῃ ρώα, καὶ μῆλον ἐγκείσθαι τῇ κάλυκι κυάνεον μὲν, ὀσπερ τῶν ὀκινθῶν αἱ κάλυκες, πάντων δὲ ἤδιστον, ὡπόσα ἐξ ὦρῶν ἦκει.
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.

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 soil of the plain is 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.
Καταβαίνοντες δὲ τὸ ὄρος δρακόντων θῆρα
περιτυχεῖν φασι, περὶ ἣς ἀνάγκη λέξαι: καὶ γὰρ
σφόδρα εὐθές ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ λαγώ καὶ ὄπως ἄλλο-
σκεται καὶ ἄλωσται, πολλὰ εἰρήσθαι τοίς ἐς
φροντίδα βαλλομένοις ταῦτα, ἡμᾶς δὲ παρελθεῖν
λόγον γενναίας τε καὶ δαιμονίου θῆρας μηδὲ τῷ
ἀνδρὶ παραλειφθέντα, ἐς ὅν ταῦτα ἐγραφαὶ δρα-
κόντων μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἀπείροις μῆκεσι κατέξωσται
πάσα ἡ Ἰνδικὴ χώρα καὶ μεστὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔλη,
μεστὰ δὲ όρη, κενῶς δὲ οὐδεὶς λόφος. οἱ μὲν δὴ
ἐλευθοὶ νωθροὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ τριακοντάπηχυ μῆκος
ἐχουσι, καὶ κράνος αὐτοῖς ὡκ ἀνέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ
eἰσὶ ταῖς δρακαίναις ὁμοίοι, μέλαιες δὲ ἱκανῶς τῷ
νῶτον καὶ ἦττον φολιδωτοῖ τῶν ἄλλων. καὶ
σοφῶτερον ἦπται τοῦ λόγου περὶ αὐτῶν."Ομηρος
ἡ ὁ πολλοὶ ποιηταὶ, τὸν γὰρ δράκοντα τὸν ἐν
Ἀὐλίδι τὸν πρὸς τῇ πηγῇ οἰκοῦντα περὶ νῦτα
dαφνοῦν εἰρήκεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ποιηταὶ τὸν ὁμοήθη
tοῦτῳ τὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς Νεμέας ἄλσει φασὶ καὶ
λοφιαύ ἐχειν, ὅπερ ὡκ ἀν περὶ τοὺς ἕλειούς
εὔροιμεν.

Οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τὰς ὑπωρείας τε καὶ τοὺς λόφους
ἐγενται μὲν ἐς τὰ πεδία ἐπὶ θῆρα, πλεονεκτοῦσι δὲ τῶν
ἔλειων πάντα, καὶ γὰρ ἐς πλέον τοῦ μῆκος ἔλαι-
νουσι, καὶ ταχύτεροι τῶν ὄξυτατων ποταμῶν
φέρονται, καὶ διαφεύγει αὐτοὺς οὐδέν· τούτοις καὶ

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The several sorts of dragon in India

VI

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 in which the sage was careful to assist; so I have written the following account of it: 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 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

And the dragons along the foothills and the mountain crests make their way into the plains after their quarry, and prey upon all the creatures in the marshes; for indeed they reach an extreme length, and move faster than the swiftest rivers, so
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII

λοφία φύεται, νέοις μὲν ἡπανισχοῦσα τὸ μέτριον, τελειουμένοις δὲ συναὐξανομένη τε καὶ συνανιόδους ἐς πολὺ, ὅτε δὴ πυρσοὶ τε καὶ πριονωτοὶ γίγνονται. οὕτωι καὶ γενειάσκουσι καὶ τὸν αὐχένα ἴψους αὖρουσι, καὶ τὴν φολίδα στίλβουσι δίκην ἀργύρου, αἰ δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν κόραι λίθος ἐστὶ διάπυρος, ἵσχυν δὲ αὐτῶν ἀμήχανον εἶναι φασιν ἐς πολλὰ τῶν ἀποθέτων. γίγνεται δὲ τοῖς θηρώσιν ὁ πεδινὸς εὑρῆμα, ἐπειδὰν τῶν ἐλεφάντων τινὰ ἐπισπάσηται, τούτῳ γὰρ ἀπόλλυσιν ἀμφῶ τὰ θηρία. καὶ κέρδος τοῖς ἐλοῦσι δράκοντας ὀφθαλμοῖς τε γίγνονται καὶ δορὰ καὶ ὀδόντες. εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὄμοιοι τοῖς τῶν μεγίστων συνῶ, λεπτότεροι δὲ καὶ διάστροφοι καὶ τὴν αἰχμήν ἄτριπτοι, καθάπερ οἱ τῶν μεγάλων ἱχθύων.

VIII

CAP. VIII

Οἱ δὲ ὄρειοι δράκοντες τὴν μὲν φολίδα χρυσοὶ φαῖνονται, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεδινοὺς, γένεια δὲ αὐτοὶς βοστρυχώδης, χρυσά κάκεινα, καὶ κατώφρυνονται μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ πεδινοὶ, ὃμια τε ὑποκάθηται τῇ ὀφρύν δεινοῦ καὶ ἀναιδὲς δεδορκός, ὑπόχαλκον τε ἦχω φέρουσιν, ἐπειδὰν τῇ γῇ ὑποκυμαινοῦσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν λόφων πυρσῶν ὄντων πῦρ αὐτοῖς ἅπτει λαμπαδίου πλέον. οὕτωι καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας αἴρούσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν οὕτως ἀλί-
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 falls the prize of the hunters whenever it draws upon itself 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 they resemble the largest swine, but they are slighter in build and flexible, and they have teeth as sharp and indestructible as those of the largest fishes.

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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VIII

σκονταὶ κοκκοβαφεὶ τέπλω χρυσὰ ἐνείραντες γράμματα τίθενται πρὸ τῆς χειῶς ὑπνοῦ, ἐγγοητεύ- σαντες τοὺς γράμμασιν, ὕφ᾽ οὐ νικᾶται τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ δράκων ἀτρέπτους ὄντας, καὶ πολλὰ τῆς ἀπορρήτου σοφίας ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἄδουσιν, οἷς ἀγεταὶ τε καὶ τὸν αὐχένα ὑπερβαλῶν τῆς χειῶς ἐπικαθεύδει τοὺς γράμμασι προσπεσόντες οὕν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ κειμένῳ πελέκεις ἐναράττουσι, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες λήξονται τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ λίθους. ἀποκείσθαι δὲ φασὶν ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὅρειων δρακόντων κεφαλαῖς λίθους τὰ μὲν εἴδος ἀνθηρᾶς καὶ πάντα ἀπανγαζούσας χρώματα, τὴν δὲ ὑσχὺν ἀρρήτους κατὰ τὸν δακτύλιον, ὃν γενέσθαι φασί τῷ Γυγῆ. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν αὐτῷ πελέκει καὶ αὐτῇ τέχνη συλλαβῶν ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ χειῶν φέρων χέρος, μονονοῦ σεῖων τὸ ὄρος. οὕτωι καὶ τὰ ὄρη τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν οἰκείν λέγουνται, σύριγμα δὲ δεινῶν φασὶν ἀκούεσθαι τούτων, καὶ κατίονται αὕτως ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν πλεῖν ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῦ πελάγους. περὶ δὲ ἐτὸν μῆκος τοῦ θηρίου τούτου γνώναι τε ἀπεροῦ καὶ εἰπεῖν ἀπιστον. τοσαῦτα περὶ δρακόν- των οἶδα.

IX

CAP. IX

Τὴν δὲ πόλιν τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ὁρεὶ μεγίστην οὖσαν φασὶ μὲν καλεῖσθαι Πάρακα, δρακόντων δὲ ἀνακει- σθαι κεφαλὰς ἐν μέσῃ πλείστας, γυμναζομένων τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ Ἰνδῶν τὴν θήραν ταύτῃ ἐκ νεών. 246
manner. They embroider golden runes on a scarlet cloak, which they lay in front of the animal’s burrow after charming them to sleep with the runes; 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 if set in a ring, like that 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 heard them hissing terribly and that they saw 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.

IX

They tell us that the city under the mountain is of great size and is called Parax, and that in the centre of it are stored up a great many heads of dragons, for the Indians who inhabit it are trained from their boyhood in this form of sport. And they
CAP.
IX
λέγονται δὲ καὶ ζων ξυνεῖαι φθεγγομένων τε καὶ βουλευμένων, σιτούμενοι δράκοντος οἱ μὲν καρδιαν, οἱ δὲ ἥπαρ. προϊόντες δὲ αὐλοῦ μὲν ἀκούσαι δόξαι νομέως δὴ τινος ἀγέλην τάπτοντος, ἐλάφους δὲ ἀρα βουκολείσθαι λευκάς, ἀμέλγουσι δὲ Ἦνδοι τάυτας εὐτραφές ἥγουμενοι τὸ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν γάλα.

X

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.

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.

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.
XI

Καταλύσεις δὲ μέλλοντες ἐν τῇ κόψῃ τῇ πλησίον—ἅπεχεὶ δὲ τοῦ ὁχθοῦ τῶν σοφῶν οὕτω στάδιον—идеίν φασι νεανίν δρόμῳ ἤκοντα, μελάντατον Ἰνδῶν πάντων, ὑποστίλβειν δὲ αὐτῷ μηνοειδὸς τὸ μεσόφρυνον. τούτῳ δὲ ἀκούω χρόνους ὑστερον καὶ περὶ Μένωνα τὸν Ἡρώδου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ τρόφιμον, ἀπ’ Αἰθιοπῶν δὲ ἦν, ἐν μειρακίῳ δόξαι, προϊόντος δὲ ἐς ἄνδρας ἐκλυπεῖν τὴν αὐγήν ταύτην καὶ συνα-φαινισθῆναι τῇ ὁρα, τὸν δὲ Ἰνδῶν χρυσῆν μὲν φέρειν φασὶν ἀγκυραν, ἢν νομίζουσιν Ἰνδῶι κηρύ-κειοι ἐπὶ τῷ πάντα ἴσχειν.

XII

Προσδραμόντα δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ φωνῇ Ἐλ-λάδι προσειπεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτω θαυμαστόν δόξαι διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ κόψῃ πάντας ἀπὸ Ἐλλήνων φθέγγεσθαι, τὸ δὲ “ὁ δεινὰ χαίρε” τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους παρασχεῖν ἐκ-πληξίν, τῷ δὲ ἄνδρὶ θάρσος ὑπὲρ δὲν ἀφικετο, βλέψαις γὰρ ἐς τὸν Δάμων, “παρὰ ἄνδρας,” ἔφη, “σοφοὺς ἀτεχνῶς ἤκομεν, ἐοίκασι γὰρ προγιγνώ-σκειν.” καὶ ἅμα ἥρετο τὸν Ἰνδῶν, ὦ τις χρη πράσσειν, ποθὸν ἤδη τὴν ξυνοπσίαν, ὦ δὲ Ἰνδῶι, 250
XI

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 brightly. But I learn that at a later time the same feature was remarked in the case of Menon the pupil 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

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:
CAP. XII “τούτους μεν,” ἕφη, “καταλύειν χρῆ ἐνταῦθα, σὲ δὲ ήκειν ὡς ἐχεις, κελεύουσι γὰρ αὐτοῖ.”

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

Τὸν δὲ ὄχθων, ἐφ’ οὗ οἱ σοφοὶ ἀνφικεσμένοι εἰςίν, ὑψὸς μὲν εἶναι κατὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίων φασίν ἀκρόπολιν, ἀνίστασθαι δὲ ἐκ πεδίων ἀνω, εὐφυὴ δὲ ὄμοιως πέτραν ὄχυροὺν αὐτοὺς κύκλῳ περιήκοισαν, ἦς πολλαχοῦ δίχηλα ὀρᾶσθαι ἵππη καὶ γενεάδων τύπους καὶ προσώπων καὶ του καὶ νῦτα ἰδεῖν ἀπωλισθηκόσιν ὅμοια, τὸν γὰρ Διόνυσον, ὅτε ξύν Ἡρακλεῖ ἀπεπειράτο τοῦ χωρίου, προσβαλεῖν μὲν αὐτῶ φασὶ κελεύσαι τοὺς Πάνας, ὥς πρὸς τὸν σεισμὸν ἰκανοῦς, ἐμβροντηθέντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν σοφῶν πεσεῖν ἄλλοι ἄλλως, καὶ τὰς πέτρας οἰον ἐντυπωθήναι τὰ τῆς διαμαρτίας σχῆματα.

περὶ δὲ τῷ ὄχθῳ νεφέλην ἰδεῖν φασίν, ἐν ἡ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς οἶκεῖν φανεροὺς τε καὶ ἀφανεῖς καὶ ὁ τι βούλονται. τύλας δὲ εἰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλας εἶναι τῷ ὄχθῳ, οὐκ εἰδέναι. τὸ γὰρ περὶ αὐτῶν νέφους οὕτε ἀκλείστῳ ξυγχωρεῖν οὐΤ ἀυ ἡνεκλεισμένῳ φαίνεσθαι.
"Your party must halt here, but you must come on just as you are, for the Masters themselves issue this command."

XIII

The word Masters at once had a Pythagorean ring for the ears of Apollonius and he gladly followed the messenger.

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 slipped 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 take it by assault; 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.
Αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναβῆναι μὲν κατὰ τὸ νότιον μάλιστα τοῦ ὄχθου τῷ ᾿Ινδῷ ἐπόμενος, ἱδεῖν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν φρέαρ ὀργυἰῶν τεττάρων, οὐ τὴν αὐγῆν ἐπὶ τὸ στόμιον ἀναπέμπεσθαι κανωτάτην οὕσαν, καὶ ὅποτε ἡ μεσημβρία τοῦ ἦλιου σταῖθε περὶ αὐτό, ἀνιμᾶσθαι τὴν αὐγήν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκτίνος καὶ χωρεῖν ἀνω παρεχομένην εἶδος θερμῆς ἵριδος. μαθεῖν δὲ ὑστερον περὶ τοῦ φρέατος, ὡς σανδαρακίνη μὲν εἶναι ἡ ὑπ’ αὐτῷ γῆ, ἀπόρρητον δὲ τὸ οὐδωρ ἡγοῦντο, καὶ οὕτε πῖνοι τις αὐτὸ οὕτε ἀνασπώθη, ὁρκίων δὲ νομίζοιτο τῇ πέριξ ᾿Ινδικῆ πάση. πλησίον δὲ τούτου κρατῆρα εἶναι πυρὸς, οὗ φλόγα ἀναπέμπεσθαι μολυβδώδη, κατευνὸν δὲ οὐδένα ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἄττειν, οὐδὲ ὁσμὴν οὐδεμίαν, οὐδὲ ὑπερχυθήναι ποτε ὁ κρατήρ οὕτως, ἀλλ’ ἀναδίδοσθαι τοσοῦτος, ὡς μὴ ὑπερβλύσαι τοῦ βόθρου. ἐνταῦθα ᾿Ινδοὶ καθαίρονται τῶν ἀκουσίων, ὅθεν οἱ σοφοὶ τὸ μὲν φρέαρ ἐλέγχουν καλοῦσι, τὸ δὲ πῦρ ἐνυγγυνόμης. καὶ διττὸ ἐφικτοῦσιν ἐφαί πῖθω λίθου μέλανος ὤμβρων τε καὶ ἀνέμων ὄντε. ὁ μὲν ἥ τῶν ὤμβρων, εἰ αὐχμῷ ᾿Η ᾿Ινδική πιέζοιτο, ἀνοιχθέεις νεφέλας ἀναπέμπει καὶ ὑγραίνει τὴν γην πᾶσαν, εἰ δὲ ὤμβρων πλεονεκτοῖεν, ἵσχει αὐτοὺς ἐνυγγκλείμενος, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀνέμων πῖθῳς ταῦτον, οἵματι, τῷ τοῦ Λιόλου ἀσκὸ πράττει, παρανοιγώντες γὰρ τῶν πῖθου ἕνα τῶν ἀνέμων ἀνισίσιν ἐμπνεύσων ὁρᾶ,
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
CAP. ΚΑΝΤΕΘΕΝ Ἡ γῆ ἔρρωται. Θεῶν δὲ ἀγάλμασιν ἐντυχεῖν φασίν, εἰ μὲν Ἰνδοῖς ἡ Αἴγυπτιόις, θαύμα οὐδέν, τὰ δὲ γε ἀρχαιότατα τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλησποντίων. Τὸ τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Πολιάδος καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Δηλίου καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμυκλαίου, καὶ ὅπόσα ὀδε ἀρχαία, ταῦτα ἰδρύεσθαι τε τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τούτους καὶ νομίζειν Ἐλληνικοῖς ἥθεσιν, φασὶ δ’ οἴκειν τὰ μέσα τῆς Ἰνδικῆς. καὶ τὸν ὄχθον ὁμφαλὸν ποιοῦνται τοῦ λόφου τούτου, πῦρ τε ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ὁρμᾶζοντες, ἡ φασίν ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτίνων αὐτοῦ ἐλκείν· τοῦτῷ καὶ τὸν ὑμνον ἡμέραν ἀπασάν ἐς μεσημβρίαν ἄδουσιν.

ΧΒ

CAP. Ὅποιοι μὲν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ ὅπως οἰκοῦντες τὸν ὄχθον, αὐτὸς ὁ ἄνηρ δείειν· ἐν μιᾷ γὰρ τῶν πρὸς Αἴγυπτιόις 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 σοφότερον ἐγγραφεῖν, ὁ δὲ γε Δάμις φησὶν χαμεινία μὲν αὐτοὺς χρήσθαι, τὴν γῆν δὲ ὑποστρωνύμια πώς, ἀς ἂν αὐτοὶ αἰρώνται, καὶ μετεωροποροῦντας ὅτι ἰδεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐς πῆχεις δύο, οὐ θαυματοποιίας ἐνεκα, τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον τοῦτο παρατεῖσθαι.
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 met with in the heart of India. Now they regard the summit of this hill as the navel of the earth, 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.

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
τοὺς ἀνδρασ, ἀλλ’ ὀπόσα τῷ Ἡλίῳ ξυναπο-βαίνοντες τῆς γῆς δρῶσιν, ὡς πρόσφορα τῷ θεῷ πράττοντας. τὸ τοι πῦρ, ὃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκτίνος ἐπιστῶνται, καίτοι σωματειδεῖς οὖν, οὐτε ἐπὶ βωμοῦ καίειν αὐτοὺς οὔτε ἐν ὑπνοῖς φυλάττειν, ἀλλ’ ὠσπερ τὰς αὐγάς, ἀι ἔξ ἡλίου τε ἀνακλώνται καὶ ὑδατος, οὐτω μετέωρον τε ὀρᾶσθαι αὐτὸ καὶ σαλεύον ἐν τῷ αἰθέρι. τὸν μὲν οὖν δὴ Ἡλίον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὥρων, ὃς ἐπιτροπεῖν αὐτὸς, ἵν’ ἐσ καιρὸν τῇ γῇ ἣσοι καὶ ἡ Ἰνδικὴ εὐ πράττη, νῦκτωρ δὲ λιπαροῦσι τῆς ἀκτίνας μὴ ἄχθεσθαι τῇ νυκτί, μένειν δὲ, ὡς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἡχθη. τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὸ “ἐν τῇ γῇ τε εἴναι τοὺς Βραχμάνας καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ γῇ.” τὸ δὲ ἀτειχίστως τετειχισμένους” δηλοὶ τὸν ἄερα, ὧφ’ ὣς ἔσωσιν, ὑπαῖθροι γὰρ δοκοῦντες αὐλίζεσθαι σκιάν τε ὑπεραιρουσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐντος οὐ ψεκάζονται, καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ ἡλίῳ εἰσίν, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοὶ βούλωνται. τὸ δὲ “μὴ δέν κεκτημένους τὰ πάντων ἔχειν” ὀδε ὁ Δάμις ἔξηγεται πηγαί, ὅποσα τοῖς βάκχοις παρὰ τῆς γῆς ἀναθρώπουσιν, ἐπειδὰν ὁ Δίόνυσος αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τὴν γῆν σείσῃ, φοιτῶσι καὶ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τούτοις ἑστιωμένους τε καὶ ἑστιώσων· εἰκότως οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοὺς μηδὲν μὲν ἐκ παρασκευῆς, αὐτοσχεδίως δὲ, ἃ βούλονται, ποριζο-μένους, ἐχεῖν, φησίν, ἀ μὴ ἑχοῦσιν. 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
CAP. ἑπτηθένουσιν, ὠσπέρ Δακεδαιμόνιοι πάλαι καὶ Θούριοι Ταραντινοὶ τε καὶ Μῆλιοι καὶ ὅποσοις τὰ Δακωνικὰ ἢν ἐν λόγῳ, μέτραν τε ἀναδοῦνται λευκῆς, καὶ γυμνῶν αὐτοῖς βάδισμα καὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα ἐσχηματίζοντο παραπλησίως ταῖς ἔξωμίσιν. ἦ δὲ ὕλη τῆς ἐσθήτου ἐριὸν αὐτοφυὲς ἢ γῆ φύει, λευκῶν μὲν ὁσπέρ τὸ Παμφύλων, μαλακώτερον δὲ τίκτει, ἦ δὲ πιμελῆ οἷα ἐλαιον ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ λεῖβεταί. τούτῳ ἰερὰν ἐσθήτα ποιοῦνται καὶ εἰ τις ἐτερος παρὰ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τοὺτοὺς ἀνασπώθη αὐτό, οὐ μεθίηται ἡ γῆ τοῦ ἐρίου. τὴν δὲ ἱσχὺν τοῦ δακτυλίου καὶ τῆς ράβδου, ἃ φορεῖν αὐτοὺς ἄμφω, δύνασθαι μὲν πάντα, δύω δὲ ἀρρήτω τετιμήσθαι.

XVI

Προσιόντα δὲ τῶν Ἀπολλώνιον οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σοφοὶ προσήγουσιν, ἀσταξόμενοι ταῖς χερσίν, ὃ δὲ Ἰάρχας ἐκάθισε μὲν ἐπὶ δίφρου ψηλοῦ—χαλκοῦ δὲ μέλανος ἢν καὶ πεποίκιλτο χρυσοῖς ἀγάλμασιν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δίφροι χαλκοῖ μὲν, ἄσημοι δὲ ἠταῖ, ψηλοὶ δὲ ἦττον, ὑπεκάθηντο γὰρ τῷ Ἰάρχα—τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον ἰδὼν φωνῇ τε ἱσπάσατο Ἐλλάδι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ γράμματα ἀπῆτει. θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλώνιον τὴν πρόγνωσιν καὶ γράμμα γε ἐν ἑφι λείπειν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, δέλτα εἴπών, παρῆλθε γὰρ αὐτὸν γράφοντα· καὶ ἑφάνη
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. 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.

XVI

When Apollonius approached, the rest of the sages welcomed him and shook hands; but Iarchas 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.
CAP. XVI

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
CAP. XVI

perceive that you are well endowed with memory, a goddess whom we love more than any other of the divine beings.” “Well,” said the other, “you have certainly 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 mid-day, 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 enjoy your rites to the full.” “Do so,” said the other, “and let us depart.”

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 with 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XVII

ἀνέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ἐς δύπηχυ τοῦ ἀέρος. οἱ δὲ ἤδον φῶδην, ὅποιος ὁ παιὰν ὁ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους, διὸ Ἀθήνης τῷ Ἀσκληπιῳ ἂδουσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐσ τὴν γῆν κατῆραν, καλέσας ὁ Ἱάρχας τὸ μειράκιον τὸ τὴν ἄγκυραν φέρον, "ἐπιμελήθητι," ἐφη, "τῶν Ἄπολλωνίου ἔταίρων." ὁ δὲ πολλῷ θάττον ἦν οἱ ταχεῖς τῶν ὀρνίθων πορευθεὶς τε καὶ ἐπανελθὼν, "ἐπιμεμέλημαι" ἐφη. θεραπεύσαντες οὖν τὰ πολλά τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνεπαύνοντο ἐν τοῖς θάκοις, ὁ δὲ Ἱάρχας πρὸς τὸ μειράκιον, "ἐκφερεῖ, εἴπε, "τῷ σοφῷ Ἄπολλωνίῳ τὸν Φραώτον θρόνον, ἵνα ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ διαλέγοιτο."

XVIII

CAP. XVIII

"Ὡς δὲ ἐκάθισεν, "ἔρωτα," ἐφη, "ο τι βούλει, παρ' ἄνδρας γὰρ ἤκεις πάντα εἰδότας." ἦρετο οὖν ὁ Ἄπολλώνιος, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἵσασιν, οἶνῳ ποτὸς αὐτοῦ, ὅσπερ Ἑλληνες, χαλεπῶν ἤγεϊσθαι τὸ ἑαυτὸν γυνώσαι, ὁ δὲ ἐπιστρέφατο παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἄπολλωνίου δόξαν, "ἡμεῖς," ἐφη, "πάντα γιγνώ-

σκομεν, ἐπειδὴ πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς γιγνώσκομεν, οὐ γὰρ ἄν προσέλθοι τις ἤμων τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ ταύτῃ μὴ πρώτων εἰδώς ἑαυτῶν." ὁ δὲ Ἄπολλώνιος ἀναμνησθεὶς δὲν τοῦ Φραώτου ἤκουσε, καὶ ὡς ὁ

φιλοσοφήσειν μέλλων ἑαυτὸν βασανίζασι ἐπιχειρεῖ, τούτῳ ἐξυνεχώρησε τῷ λόγῳ, τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπέπειστο. πάλιν οὖν ἦρετο, τίνας αὐτοὺς

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like a billow of the sea and raised 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."

**XVIII**

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,
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XVIII

ήγοιντο, ὁ δὲ, "θεοὺς," εἶπεν, ἐπερομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ, διὰ τι, "οτι," ἔφη, "ἀγαθοί ἐσμεν ἄνθρωποι." τοῦτο τῷ Ἀπολλώνιῳ τοσαύτης ἔδοξεν εὐπαι-

deusíaς εἶναι μεστὸν, ὡς εἰπεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν ὑστερον ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἐαυτοῦ λόγοις.

XIX

CAP. XIX

'Αναλαβὼν οὖν τὴν ἐρώτησιν, "περὶ ψυχῆς δέ," εἶπε, "πῶς φρονεῖτε;" "ὡς γε," εἶπε, "Πυθαγόρας
μὲν ὑμῖν, ἡμεῖς δὲ Ἀἰγυπτίων παρεδώκαμεν." "εἴποις ἀν οὖν," ἔφη, "καθάπερ ὁ Πυθαγόρας
Εὐφορβοῦ ἐαυτὸν ἀπέφηνεν, ὅτι καὶ σὺ, πρὶν ἐς
toß ἔκειν τὸ σῶμα, Τρώων τὶς ἡ Ἀχαιῶν ἴσθα
η ὁ δεῖνα;" ὁ δὲ 'Ινδός, "Τροία μὲν ἀπώλετο,"
eἶπεν, "ὑπὸ τῶν πλευσάντων Ἀχαιῶν τότε, ὑμᾶς
dὲ ἀπολωλέκασιν οἱ ἐπὶ αὐτῆς λόγοι· μόνους γὰρ
ἄνδρας ἠγούμενοι τοὺς ἐς Τροιάν στρατεύσαντας,
ἀμελεῖτε πλεύσων τε καὶ θειοτέρων ἄνδρῶν, οὓς ἡ
tε ὑμετέρα γῆ καὶ ἡ Ἀἰγυπτίων καὶ ἡ 'Ινδῶν
ήμερεν. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἦροι μὲ περὶ τοῦ προτέρου
σῶματος, εἴπε μοι, τίνα θαυμασιώτερον ἡγή τῶν
ἐπὶ Τροιάν τε καὶ ὑπὲρ Τροίας ἐλθόντων;" "ἐγώ,"
ἔφη, "Ἀχιλλέα τὸν Πηλέως τε καὶ Θέτιδος,
οὗτος γὰρ δὴ κάλλιστός τε εἶναι τῷ Ὀμήρῳ
ὑμνηται καὶ παρὰ πάντως τοὺς Ἀχαῖους 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.

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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIX

έφη, τε αὐτῷ μεγάλα οἴδε. καὶ μεγάλων ἀξιοί τοὺς Αἰαντᾶς τε καὶ Νιρέας, οὐ μετ’ ἐκκίνου καλοὶ τε αὐτῷ καὶ γενναίοι ἀδονταί.” "πρὸς τοῦτον,” ἐφη, "Απολλώνιε, καὶ τοῦ πρόγονου θεώρει τὸν ἐμὸν, μάλλον δὲ τὸ πρόγονον σῶμα, τούτι γὰρ καὶ Πυθαγόρας Ἐὐφορβὸν ἤγειτο.

XX

CAP. XX

“Ἡν τοίνυν,” ἐφη, "χρόνος, ὅτ’ Αἰθίοπες μὲν ὄκουν ἐνταῦθα, γένος Ἰνδικόν, Αἰθιοπία δ’ οὐπω ἤν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ Μερόν τε καὶ Καταδοῦπος ὁριστὸ Αἴγυπτος, αὐτὴ καὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Νείλου παρεχομένη καὶ ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς εὐναπολήγουσα. ὅν μὲν δὴ χρόνον ὄκουν ἐνταῦθα οἱ Αἰθίοπες ὑποκείμενοι βασιλεῖ Γάγγη, ἡ τε γῇ αὐτῶς ἴκανῶς ἐφερβε καὶ οἱ θεοὶ σφῶν ἐπεμελοῦντο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέκτειναν τὸν βασιλέα τοῦτον, οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰνδοῖς καθαροὶ ἔδοξαν, οὔτε ἡ γῆ ἐυνεχώρει αὐτοῖς ἱστασθαι, τὴν τε γὰρ σποράν, ἢν ἐς αὐτὴν ἐποιοῦντο, πρὶν ἐς κάλυκα ἥκειν, ἐφθειρε, τοὺς τε τῶν γυναικῶν τόκους ἀπελέος ἐποίει, καὶ τὰς ἀγέλας πονηρὰς ἐβοσκε, πόλιν τε ὑπὸν βάλοιντο, ὑπεδίδου ἡ γῆ καὶ ὑπεχώρει κάτω, καὶ γὰρ τι καὶ φάσμα τοῦ Γάγγον προϊόντας αὐτοὺς ἠλαυνεν ἐνταραττόμενον τῷ ὀμίλῳ, δ’ ὅ τι πρότερον ἀνῇκε, πρὶν γε δὴ τοὺς αὐθέντας καὶ τοὺς τὸ ἁίμα χερσὶ πράξαντας τῇ

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beauty and size, and he knows 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.

XX

"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 and struck terror into their multitude, and it did not quit them until they atoned to earth by sacrificing
CAP. XX  γῇ καθιέρευσαν. ἢν δὲ ἄρα ὁ Γάγγης οὖτος δεκάπην χυς μὲν τὸ μῆκος, τὴν δὲ ὁραν οἷος οὕπω τις ἀνθρώπων, ποταμοῦ δὲ Γάγγου παῖς· τὸν δὲ πατέρα τὸν ἔαυτοῦ τὴν Ἰνδικήν ἐπικλύζοντα αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἐτρεψε, καὶ διήλλαξεν αὐτοῦ τῇ γῇ, οἶθεν ἡ γῆ ἔστη μὲν ἀφονα ἐφερεν, ἀποθανοῦντι δὲ ἐτιμώρει. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀχελλέα Ὁμηρὸς ἀγει μὲν υπὲρ Ἑλένης ἐς Τροίαν, φησὶ δὲ αὐτὸν δώδεκα μὲν πόλεις ἐκ θαλάττης ἦρηκέναι, πεξῆ δὲ ἐνδεκα, γυναῖκα τε ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀφαιρέθεντα ἐς μὴν ἀπενεχθῆναι, ὅτε δὴ ἀτεράμονα καὶ ὕμων δόξαι, σκεψόμεθα τὸν Ἱυδὸν πρὸς ταῦτα· πόλεων μὲν τοῖς ἐξήκοντα οἰκιστῆς ἐγένετο, αἳπερ εἰδὸ δοκιμῶτατοι τῶν τῆςδ—τὸ δὲ πορθεὶν πόλεις ὅστις εὐκλεέστερον ἠγεῖται τοῦ ἄνωκέξεια πόλιν οὐκ ἔστι—Σκύθας δὲ τοὺς υπὲρ Καῦκασον ποτὲ στρατεύσαντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἔτει τὴν γῆν ἀπεώσατο. τὸ δὲ ἐλευθεροῦντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γῆν ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν φαίνεσθαι πολλῷ βέλτιον τοῦ δουλείαν ἐπάγειν πόλει, καὶ ταῦθ' υπὲρ γυναικὸς, ἡν εἰκὸς μηδὲ ἄκουσαν ἢρπάσθαι. ξυμμαχίας δὲ αὐτῷ γενομένης πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς χώρας, ἂς νῦν Φραώτης ἄρχει, κάκεινον παρανομῶτατα τε καὶ ἀσελγέστατα γυναικὰ ἁφελομένου αὐτῶν, οὐ παρέλυσε τοὺς ὅρκους, οὐτὼ βεβαιῶς ὀμωμοκέναι φήσας, ὃς μὴδὲ ὀπότε ἦδικεῖτο λυπεῖν αὐτῶν.
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 in behalf of a woman who probably was never carried off even 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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XXI

Καὶ πλεῖω διήειν ἂν τοῦ ἄνδρός, εἰ μὴ ἐσ ἔπαινον ὠκνοῦν ἐαυτὸν καθίστασθαι, εἰμὶ γάρ σοι ἐκεῖνος, τοῦτι δὲ ἐδήλωσα γεγονός ἐτή τέτταρα· ἐπτὰ γὰρ ποτε ἀδαμάντινα τοῦ Γάγγου τοῦτον ξύφη ἐσ γῆν πῆξαντος, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν δείμα ἐμπελάξειν τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ τῶν θεῶν θύειν μὲν κελευνόντων ἥκοντας, οὓ πέπηγε ταῦτα, τὸ δὲ χωρίον οὐκ ἐξηγοῦμένου, ἐν ὕ ἐπετηγεῖ, παῖς ἐγὼ κομιδὴ τυγχάνων ἡγαγον τούς ἕξηγητὰς ἐπὶ τάφρον καὶ ὑρύττειν προσέταξα, ἐκεῖ φήσας κατατεθείσθαι αὐτά.

XXII

Καὶ μῆπω θαυμάσης τούμον, εἰ εἰ Ἰνδοῦ ἐς Ἰνδόν διεδόθην οὕτος γὰρ, δείξας τι μειράκιον εἰκοσὶ ποὺ γεγονὸς ἐτη, "πέφυκε μὲν πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν υπὲρ πάντας ἀνθρώποις, ἐρρωταί δὲ, ὡς ὅρας, καὶ κατεσκεύασται γενναίως τὸ σῶμα, καρτερεῖ δὲ πῦρ καὶ τομὴν πᾶσαν, καὶ τοιόσδε ὑπὲ ἀπεχθάνεται τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ." "τί οὖν," εἶπεν, "ὥ Ἰάρχα, τὸ μειρακίου πάθος; δεινὸν γὰρ λέγεις, εἰ ξυντεταγμένος οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως μὴ ἀσπάζεται τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, μηδὲ ἔρα τοῦ μανθάνειν, καὶ ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἔξων." "οὐ ἔστιν," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ὀσπερ οἱ λέοντες, ἀκών
XXI

"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 go and offer a sacrifice 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

"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

eἰληπται, καὶ καθείρκται μέν, υποβλέπει δὲ ἢμῶν τιθασεύοντων αὐτὸν καὶ καταψώντων. γέγονε μὲν οὖν τὸ μειράκιον τοῦτο Παλαμῆδης ὁ ἐν Τροίᾳ, κέχρηται δὲ ἐναντιωτάτοις Ὀδυσσεῖ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ, τῷ μὲν ἔξυπνότεροι ἐπ' αὐτὸν τέχνας, ύφ' ὃν κατελιθόθη, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ ἔπους αὐτὸν ἀξιώσαντι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἡ σοφία αὐτὸν τι, ἢν εἶχεν, ἀνήσε, μήτε Ὀμήρου ἐπαινέτου ἔτυχεν, ύφ' οὐ πόλλοι καὶ τῶν μὴ πάνυ σπουδαίων ἐς ὄνομα ἥχθησαν, Ὀδυσσέως τε ἴττητο ἀδικῶν οὐδέν, διαβέβληται πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν καὶ ὀλοφύρεται τὸ ἐαυτοῦ πάθος. ἔστι δὲ οὕτος Παλαμῆδης, ὃς καὶ γράφει μὴ μαθὼν γράμματα."

XXIII

CAP. XXIII

Τοιαύτα διαλεγομένων προσελθῶν τῷ Ἰάρχα ἀγγελος, ὁ δὲ ἐφη, "περὶ δεῖλην πρώτην ἀφίξεται, ξύνεσομενός ὑμῖν περὶ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ πραγμάτων." ὡς δὲ ἠκέτω, εἶπε, "καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ βελτίων ἀπέλθοι γυναῖκι ἀνδρᾷ "Ελληνα," καὶ εὐποιών τὰῦτα πάλιν τοῦ προτέρου λόγου εἴχετο. ἤρετο οὖν τὸν Ἀπολλόνιον, "σὺ δὲ ἂν εἴποις," ἤφη, "τὸ πρῶτον σῶμα καὶ ὅστις πρὸ τοῦ νῦν ἴσθα;" ὡς δὲ ἠκέτω, "ἐπειδὴ ἀδοξοὶ ἦν μοι ἕκεινο, ἀληθαίνει μετὰ τοῦ μέμνημαι." ὑπολαβῶν οὖν ὁ Ἰάρχας, 276
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.”

XXIII

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
"εἶτα ἄδοξον," ἐφη, "ήγῇ τὸ γενέσθαι κυβερνήτης Ἀιγυπτίας νεώς; τούτῳ γάρ σε ὀρῷ γεγονότα." ἀληθῶ λέγεις, ὦ Ἰάρχα, τούτῳ γάρ ἄτεχνως ἐγενόμην, ἥγουμαι δ᾽ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἄδοξον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταβεβλημένον, καὶ τοσοῦτον μὲν ἄξιον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὡςον περὶ τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἡγεῖσθαι, κακῶς δὲ ἄκοινον ὕπο τῶν καθαπτομένων τῆς θαλάττης. τὸ γοῦν γεννάιότατον τῶν ἐμοὶ πρακτέντων οὐδὲ ἐπαίνοι τις ἥξιωσε τότε. "τί δὲ δὴ γενναίον εἰργάσθαι φήσεις ἢ τὸ περιβεβληκέναι Μαλέαν τε καὶ Σοῦνον χαλινώσας ἐκφερομένην τήν ναῦν, καὶ τὸ κατὰ πρύμναν τε καὶ πρώταν τῶν ἁνέμων, ὁπόθεν ἐκδοθῆσονται, σαφῶς διεγνωκέναι, ἐρμάτων τε ὑπεράραι τὸ σκάφος ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ κοίλη, οὐπερ πολλὰ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων ἀναπέπηγεν;"
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?"

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. The Phoenician pirates at one time infested the 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
Γ. Εὐκυβέρνων τὴν ναύν. 'οικία δὲ, ἐφάσαν ἑστὶν σοι; 'καλύβη πονηρά,' ἔφη, 'περὶ τὴν νήσου τὴν Φάρον, οὐ πάλαι ποτὲ ὁ Πρωτεύς ὄκει.' 'Βούλοιο ἄν οὖν, ἥρωντό με, 'γενέσθαι σοι γῆν μὲν ἀντὶ θαλάττης, οἱκίαν δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς καλύβης, τὸ δὲ ναύλον δεκάκις τούτῳ, κακῶν τε ἐξελθεῖν μυρίων, ἂ ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνοικία ἡ ἐγχίπτει τοῖς κυβερνώσιν; Βούλεσθαι μὲν εἰπον, ὦ μὴν ἄρπαγὼν γε ἐμαυτὸν ἄξιον, ὅποτε σοφώτερος ἐμαυτοῦ γέγονα καὶ στεφάνων ἥξισκομαι παρὰ τῆς τέχνης. προιόντων δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ βαλαντιά μοι δραχμῶν μυρίων δώσειν φασκόντων, εἰ γενοίμην αὐτοῖς, ὁ ἐβούλοντο, λέγειν ἥδη παρεκελευσάμην ὡς μηδὲν ἐλλείψων τοῦ πᾶς ἄνὴρ γενέσθαι σφίσιν λέγοντι δὴ μελεδονοὶ μὲν εἶναι ληστῶν, δεῖσθαι δὲ μου μή ἀφελέσθαι αὐτοὺς τὸ τὴν ναύν ἐλείν, μηδὲ ἐς ἀστυ ἐκπλεύσαι, ὅποτε ἐκείθεν ἄραιμι, ἀλλ᾽ ὑφορμίσασθαι τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ, τὰς ναῦς γὰρ τὰς ληστρικὰς ἐν περιβολὴ ἐστάναι, καὶ ἀμῦναι μοι ἐβούλοντο μὴ τ' αὐτῶν μὲ ἀποκτενεῖν, καὶ ἀνήσειν δὲ τὸν θάνατον ὡς ἄν ἐγὼ παραιτῶμαι. ἐγὼ δὲ νοοθετεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπάκασφαλὲς ἐμαυτῷ ἥγοιμην, δείσας μὴ ὑπογνώντες ἐμβάλωσι μετέωρα τῇ νηλ καὶ ἀπολάμβαναν ποὺ τοῦ πελάγους, ὡς δὲ ὑποστηρίζῃσι ὑπεσχόμην, ᾧ ἐβούλοντο, ὁμοῦ πιμὲν ἐφην αὐτοὺς δεῖν ὧ μὴ ἀληθεύεισιν.
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 a 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
CAP. XXIV

ταῦτα. ὁμοσάντων τοίνυν, καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἰερῷ διελέγοντο, 'χωρεῖτε,' ἐφην, 'ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν λῃστῶν πλοῖα, ἡμεῖς γὰρ νῦκτωρ ἀφήσομεν.' καὶ πιθανότερος ἐδόκουν ἐτί περὶ τοῦ νομίσματος διαλεγόμενος, ὡς δόκιμον ἀπαριθμηθείη μοι καὶ μὴ πρῶτερον ἦ τὴν ναῦν ἔλωσιν. οἳ μὲν δὴ ἔχωρον, ἐγὼ δὲ ἦκα ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ὑπεράρας τοῦ ἀκρωτηρίου." "ταῦτ' οὖν," εἶπεν ὁ Ἰάρχας, "'Ἀπολλώνιε, δικαιοσύνης ἡγη ἔργα;" "καὶ πρὸς γε," ἐφη, "ἀλανθρωπίας, τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀποδόσθαι ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων, μηδέ ἀπεμπολῆσαι τὰ τῶν ἐμπόρων, χρημάτων τε κρεῖττω γενέσθαι ναύτην ὄντα, πολλὰς ἀρετὰς οἴμαι ξυνειληφέναι."

XXV

Γελάσας οὖν ὁ Ἰνδός, "ἐσικας," ἐφη, "τὸ μὴ ἄδικείν δικαιοσύνην ἤγεισθαι, τούτι δὲ οἴμαι καὶ πάντας." Ἐλληνας· ὃς γὰρ ἐγὼ ποτὲ Αἰγυπτίων δεύρο ἀφικομένων ἦκουσα, φοιτώσι μὲν ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἡγεμόνες γυμνὸν ἠρμένοι τὸν πέλεκυν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὔπω γυμνώσκοντες, εἰ φαύλων ἀρξουσιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ, εἰ μὴ πωλοῦν τὰς δίκας ὦτοι, φάτε αὐτοὺς δικαίους εἶναι. τούτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀνδραπόδων κατήλους ἄκοιὼ ἐκεῖ πράττειν, εἰ γὰρ ἀφίκοιντο καταγοντες ὑμῖν ἀνδραπόδα Καρικα καὶ τὸ ἱθος αὐτῶν ἐφερμηνεύοιεν ὑμῖν, ἐπαινοῦν ποιοῦνται τῶν ἀνδραπόδων τὸ μὴ κλέπτειν αὐτά. 282
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 many merchants, so rising superior to all bribes of money."

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
CAP. XXV

τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἄρχοντας, οἷς ὑποκεῖσθαι φατέ, τοιούτων ἀξιοῦτε, καὶ λαμπρύνοντες αὐτοὺς ἔπαινοις, οἷς περ τὰ ἀνδράποδα, ξηλωτοὺς πέμπετε, ὡς οἴεσθε, οἱ δὲ γε σοφώτατοι ποιηταὶ ὑμῶν οὐδ᾽ εἰ βούλεσθε δίκαιοι τε καὶ χρήστοι εἶναι, ξυγχωροῦσιν ὑμῖν γενέσθαι. τὸν γὰρ Μίνω τὸν ὁμότητι ὑπερβαλόμενον πάντας, καὶ δουλωσάμενον ταῖς ναυσὶ τοὺς ἔπι θαλάττῃ τε καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ δικαιοσύνης σκήπτρῳ τιμῶντες, ἐν "Αἰδοὶ καθίζουσι διαιτῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, τὸν δ᾽ αὐ̄ Τάνταλον, ἐπειδὴ χρήστος τε ἦν καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀθανασίας μετεδίδου, ποτοῦ τε εἴργουσι καὶ σῖτου, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ λίθους αὐτῷ ἐπικρεμάσαντες δεινὰ ἐφυβρίζουσι θείῳ τε καὶ ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρὶ, οὗς ἐβουλόμην ἂν μᾶλλον λίμνην αὐτῷ περιβλῦσαι νέκταρος, ἐπειδὴ φιλανθρώπως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀφθόνως προὕπινε." καὶ ἀμα λέγουν ταύτα ἐπεδείκνυ ἁγαλμα ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, ὃ ἐπεγέγρασεν ΤΑΝΤΑΛΟΣ. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἁγαλμα τετραπήχυ ἦν, ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἐφ᾽ ἐφεκε πεντηκόντατη, καὶ τρόπων Ἀργολικόν ἔστατο, παρηκλάτατε δὲ τήν χλαμύδα, ὡσπερ οἱ Θετταλοὶ, φιάλην τε προῄειν ἀποχρῶσαν ἐνὶ διψώτι, ἐν ἦ στάλαγμα ἐκάλχαζεν ἀκηράτου πάματος οὐχ ὑπερβλύσον τῆς φιάλης. ὅ τι μὲν οὖν ἠγοῦτα αὐτῷ καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὅτῳ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πίνουσι, δηλώσω αὐτίκα. πλὴν ἀλλὰ ἠγεῖσθαι χρῆ τὸν Τάνταλον μὴ τῇ γλώττῃ ἐφέντα, κοινωνή-284
such grounds the rulers whose sway you acknowledge, 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, 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 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 upon 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 statue to be, and for what reason they drink from it. In any case, however, we must suppose that Tantalus was not assailed by the poets because he gave rein to his tongue, but because
σαντα δὲ ἀνθρώποις τοῦ νέκταρος ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐλαύνεσθαι, θεοὶς δὲ μὴ διαβεβλήσθαι αὐτῶν, οὗ γὰρ ἄν, εἰ θεοὶς ἄπηχθετο, κριθήναι ποτὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀγαθῶν, θεοφιλεστάτων ὄντων καὶ μηδὲν ἐξὸ τοῦ θείου πραττόντων.

XXVI

he shared the nectar with mankind; nor must we 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.

XXVI

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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXVI deĩ, βούλεται γάρ. σιτήσεται δὲ ἐμφυχοῦ μὲν οὐδὲν, οὐ γὰρ θέμις ἐνταῦθα, τραγήματα δὲ καὶ ρίζας καὶ ὀραία, ὅποσα νῦν ἡ Ἰνδικῇ ἔχει, ὅποσα τε αἱ ἐσ νέωτα ὀραὶ δώσουσιν.”

XXVII

CAP. XXVII "'Αλλ' ἰδοὺ," ἐφη, "οὕτως." προῆι δὲ ἁρα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄδελφῳ τε καὶ υἱῶ ἁμα, χρυσῷ τε ἀστράπτων καὶ ψήφων. ὕπαυνισταμένον δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, κατείχεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰάρξας ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ, μηδὲ γὰρ αὐτοῖς πάτριοι εἶναι τούτο. τούτοις ὁ Δάμις αὐτῶς μὲν οὐ φησι παρατυχεῖν διὰ τὸ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐν τῇ κόμη διαιτάσθαι, Ἀπολλωνίου δὲ ἀκηκοῶς ἐγγράψαι αὐτὰ ἐσ τὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον. φησί τοῖςυ καθημένοις μὲν αὐτοῖς τὸν βασιλέα προτείνοντα τὴν χείρα οἰον εὐχεσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπινεύειν, ὡσπερ ξυντιθε-μένους οἷς ἦτει, τὸν δὲ ὑπερήδεσθαι τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ, καθάπερ ἐς θεοῦ ἱκοντα. τὸν δὲ ἄδελφον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν υἱὸν κάλλιστον μειράκιον ὅντα μηδὲν ὁράσθαι βέλτιον ἢ εἶ ἀνδράποδα τούτῳ τῶν ἀκολουθῶν ἡσαν. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξαναστήναε τὸν Ἰνδὸν καὶ φώνην ἰέντα κελεύειν αὐτὸν σῖτον ἀπτεσθαί, προσδεξαμένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἀσμένωσ, τρίποδες μὲν ἐξεπορεύθησαν Πυθικοὶ τέτταρες αὐτόματοι, καθάπερ οἱ Ὀμη-ρειοὶ προϊόντες, οἰνοχύροι δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς χαλκοῦ μέλανος, οἴοι παρ' Ἐλλησιοί Γαμυμήδειος 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.”

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

Iliad 18. 375
CAP. XXVII

οἵ Πέλοπες. ἡ γῆ δὲ ύπεστόρνυ πῶς μαλακω-
τέρας ἢ αἱ εὖναί. τραγήματα δὲ καὶ ἄρτοι καὶ
λάχανα καὶ τρωκτὰ ὄραία, πάντα ἐν κόσμῳ
ἐφούτα διακείμενα ἤδιον ἢ εἰ ὄψοποιοι αὐτὰ παρ-
εσκεύαζον, τῶν δὲ τριπόδων οἳ μὲν δύο οἶνου
ἐπέρρεον, τοῖς δυοῖν δὲ ὁ μὲν ὕδατος θερμοῦ
κρήνην παρεῖχεν, ὁ δὲ αὐ ψυχροῦ. αἰ δὲ ἔξ Ἰνδῶν
φοιτῶσαι λίθοι παρ᾽ ᾗ Ἐλληνι μὲν ἐσ ὀρμοὺς τε καὶ
dακτυλίους ἐμβιβάζονται διὰ σμικρότητα, παρὰ
dὲ Ἰνδῶς οἶνοχώρε τε πρὸς ἡμικήροτος διὰ
μέγεθος καὶ κρατῆρες ἦλικοι ἐμπλήσαι τετταρας
ὀρᾶ ἔτους διψῶντας. τοὺς δὲ οἶνοχώρους τοὺς
χαλκοὺς ἀρύσεθαι μὲν φησὶ ξυμμέτρως τοῦ τε
οἴνου καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, περιελαύνειν δὲ τὰς κύλικας,
ὡςπερ ἐν τοῖς πότοις. κατακεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦς ὡς
ἐν ἔστοσιν μὲν, οὐ μὴν πρὸκριτῶν γε τὸν βασιλέα,
tούτῳ δὴ τὸ παρ᾽ Ἐλληνι καὶ Ῥωμαίους
πολλοῦ ἄξιον, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐτυχέ γε, οὐ ἐκαστὸς
ἄρμησεν.

XXVIII

CAP. XXVIII

Ἐπεὶ δὲ προῆει ὁ πότος, “προπίνω σοι,” ὁ Ἰάρ-
χας εἶπεν, “ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἄνδρα Ἐλληνα,” τὸν
Ἀπολλώνιον ὑποκεκλιμένον αὐτῷ δείξας καὶ τῇ
χειρὶ προσημαίνων, ὃτι γενναῖος τε εἰη καὶ θεῖος.
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 cupbearers 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.

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..."
CAP. XXVIII

τούτων τε καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ κόμη καταλύοντας.

“ὁρθῶς,” ἐφη, “καὶ ἀληθῶς ἤκουσας, ἐκεῖνος γὰρ κάνταυθα ξενίζει αὐτῶν.” “τί,” ἐφη, “ἐπιτη-
δεύοντα;” “τί δ’ ἄλλο γε,” εἶπεν, “ἡ ἀπερ ἐκεῖνος;” “οὐδὲν,” ἐφη, “ξένον εἰρήνας ἀσπα-
ζόμενον ἐπιτήδευσιν, ἣ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνῳ ξυνεχώρησε
γενναίῳ γενέσθαι.” ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἰάρχας, “σωφρονε-
στερον,” ἐφη, “ὁ βασιλεὺς, περὶ φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ
Φραώτου γύγνωσκε, τὸν μὲν γὰρ χρόνον, ὅν μειρά-
κιον ἦσθα, ξυνεχώρει σοι ἡ νεότης τὰ τοιαῦτα,
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς ἁνδρᾶς ἐξαλλάττεις ἡδη, φειδώμεθα τῶν
ἀνοίτων τε καὶ εὐκόλων.” ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἔμη-
νεύοντος τοῦ Ἰάρχα, “σοὶ δὲ τί,” ἐφη, “ὁ βασιλεὺς,
τὸ μῆ φιλοσοφήσαι δέδωκεν;” “ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρετὴν
πᾶσαν καὶ τὸ ἑιναὶ με τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ Ἡλίῳ.” ὁ δὲ
ἐπιστομίζων αὐτῶν τὸν τύφον “εἰ ἐφιλοσόφεις,
εἶπεν, “οὐκ ἂν τάντα φιοῦ.” “σὺ δὲ, ἐπειδὴ φιλο-
σοφεῖς, ὁ βέλτιστε,” ἐφη, “τί περὶ σαυτοῦ οἶει;
“τὸ γε ἀνήρ,” ἐφη, “ἀγαθὸς δοκεῖν, εἰ φιλο-
σοφοῖν.” ἀνατείνας οὖν τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸν
οὐρανὸν, “νὴ τὸν Ἡλίου,” ἐφη, “Φραώτου μεστὸς
ἡκείς.” ὁ δὲ ἐρμαιῶν γε ἐποιήσατο τὸν λόγον καὶ
ὑπολαβὼν, “οὐ μάτην ἀποδεδήμηταί μοι,” εἶπεν,
“εἰ Φραώτου μεστὸς γέγονα: εἰ δὲ κύκεινο νῦν

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

"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,
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXVIII ἐντύχοις, πάνυ φήσεις αὗτον ἐμοῦ μεστὸν εἶναι, καὶ γράφειν δὲ ύπερ ἐμοῦ πρὸς σέ ἐβούλετο, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐφασκεν ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν εἶναι σε, παρητη-
σάμην τὸν ὄχλον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἐκείνῳ τις ύπερ ἐμοῦ ἐπέστειλεν.

XXX

Α. ἡ πρώτη παροινία τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν-
taῦθα ἔληξεν· ἀκούσας γὰρ ἐπαινεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ Φραώτου, τῆς τε ὑποψίας ἐπελάθετο καὶ ὑφεὶς τοῦ τόνου, "χαϊρε," ἐφη, "ἀγαθὲ ξένε." ὁ
dὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "καὶ σὺ, βασιλεῦ," εἶπεν, "ἐοικας
gὰρ νῦν ἥκοντι." "τὸ σε," ἐφη, "πρὸς ἡμᾶς
gάγαγεν;" "οὔτοι," εἶπεν, "οἱ θεοὶ τε καὶ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες." "περὶ ἐμοῦ δὲ," ἐφη, "ὅ ξένε, τὸς λόγος
ev τοῖς "Ελλησίων;" "οὐς ζει," εἶπε, "καὶ περὶ
'Ελληνων ἐνταῦθα." "οὔδεν," ἐφη, "τῶν παρ'
"Ελλησίων ἕγωγε λόγου ἄξιὼ." "ἀπαγγελὼ ταῦτα,"
eἶπε, "καὶ στεφανώσουσί σε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ."
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."

**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."

**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..."
CAP. XXX
dei de autous uperoporomévous paiideusethai to μη uperorain." óktwkaideka de órōn touso sofous pálin ton 'Iárxan ἤρετο, tì boúloito autòs ton einai tosoyous; "ōute gár tōn téetragównos ó aridhmós, oúte tōn euðokimouonton te kai timoménnos, katháter o tōn déka kai o tōn dòdeka kai o ekkaideka kai opósoi toiside." úpolabōn oûn o 'Ivðos, "oúte ἡμεῖς," ἐφη, "ἀριθμῷ δουλεύομεν οὔτε ἀριθμὸς ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ σοφίας te kai ἀρετῆς προτιμώμεθα, kai ὅτε μὲν πλείουσι τῶν νῦν οὗτων ἐσμέν, ὅτε δὲ ἐλάττουσ. τόν τοι πάππον τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ ἀκούω καταλεξθήναι μὲν ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα σοφοὺς ἀνδρας, νεώτατον αὐτῶν ὑντα, προελθόντα δὲ ἐς τριάκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν ἐτη καταλειφθηναι μόνῳ ἐπταύθα, τῷ μῆτ' ἐκείνων τινα λείπεσθαι ετι, μήτε εἶναι ποι τότε τῆς 'Ivðikῆς ἡ φιλοσοφοῦ ἡ γενναίαν φύσιν. Αἰγυπτίων τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς εὐδαιμονεστάτοις γραφάντων αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ μόνος ἐτῶν τεττάρων εξηγήσατο τούτου τοῦ θρόνου, παρῆκε παύσασθαι ὑμείδιζοντας 'Ivðois σοφῶν ὀλιγανδρίαν. ἡμεῖς δὲ, ὁ 'Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ τὰ 'Ηλείων πάτρια Αἰγυπτίων ἀκούοντες καὶ τοὺς 'Ελλανοδίκας, οἳ προιστάνται τῶν Ὀλυμπίων, δέκα ὡντας, οὔκ ἐπαινοῦμεν τῶν νόμων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι κείμενον, κλῆρῳ γὰρ ἐνυγχωροῦσι τὴν αἴρεσιν, ὃς προνοεῖ οὔνεν, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ τῶν φαυλοτέρων τις αἱρεθείᾳ ὑπὸ τοῦ κλῆρου. ei de ge ἄριστινδην ἡ καὶ κατὰ ψῆφον ἱρούντο τοὺς ἀνδρας, οὐκ ἂν ἤμαρτανον; παρα-
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 Elians, and that the Hellanodiceae, 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
Ταύτα σπουδάζοντάς αυτούς ὁ βασιλεὺς έκκρούειν ἐπειράτο, διείργων αὐτοὺς παντὸς λόγου καὶ ἂεὶ τι ἐμπλήκτων καὶ ἀμαθῆς λέγων. πάλιν οὖν ἦρετο ὑπὲρ τοῦ σπουδάζοντος, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "διαλεγόμεθα μὲν ὑπὲρ μεγάλων καὶ τῶν παρ᾿ Ἕλλησιν εὐδοκιμωτάτων, σὺ δ᾿ ἄν μικρὰ ταῦτα ἤγοιο, φήσι γὰρ διαβεβλήσθαι πρὸς τὰ Ἕλληνων." "διαβεβλήματι μὲν ἀληθῶς," εἶπεν, "ἀκούσαι δ᾿ ὡμοὶ θυλλομαι, δοκεῖτε γὰρ μοι λέγειν ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων, τῶν Ἐρέττων δούλων." ὁ δὲ, "ὑπὲρ ἄλλων μὲν," ἔφη, "διαλεγόμεθα, ἐπεὶ δ᾿ ἄτοπως τε καὶ ψευδῶς Ἀθηναίων ἐπεμισθησθης, εἰκίνως μοι εἰπέ· εἰςί σοι, βασιλεὺς, δούλοι;" "δισμύριοι," ἔφη, "καὶ οὐδὲ ἐώνημαι ἰς αὐτῶν οὐδένα, ἄλλʼ εἰσίν οἰκογενεῖς πάντες." πάλιν οὖν ἦρετο ἐρμηνεύοντος τοῦ Ἰάρχα, πότερα αὐτὸς ἀποδιδράσκοι τοὺς αὐτοῦ δούλους ἢ οἱ δούλοι εἰκίνον, ὁ δὲ
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 meaningless. Wherefore the Elians would be much wiser-minded, if they allowed the number to fluctuate, merely insisting on justice as a qualification for all alike."

XXXI

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
CAP. XXXI

υβρίζων αὐτῶν, "τὸ μὲν ἐρώτημα," ἔφη, "ἀνδρα-
ποδώδες, ὁμώς δ' οὖν ἀποκρίνομαι τὸν ἀποδιδρά-
σκοντα δοῦλον τε εἶναι καὶ ἄλλως κακῶν, δεσπότην
dὲ οὐκ ἂν ἀποδράναι τούτου, ὃν ἕξεστιν αὐτῷ
στρέβλου τε καὶ ἔξανεν." "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "ὁ
βασίλευ, δοῦλος εἶναι Ἀθηναίων Ἐρέξης ὑπὸ σοῦ
ἀποπέφανται καὶ ὡς κακὸς δοῦλος ἀποδράναι
αὐτοὺς, ἡττηθεῖς γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῇ
περὶ τὰ στενᾶ, καὶ δείσας περὶ ταῖς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ
σχεδίαις ἐν μιᾷ νη ἐφυγε." "καὶ μὴν καὶ
ἐνέπρησεν," ἔφη, "τὰς Ἀθήνας ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ
χερσίν." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "τοῦτον μὲν," εἶπεν,
"ὁ βασίλευ, τοῦ τολμημάτος ἐδωκε δίκαι, ὡς
οὕτω τις ἐτερος; οὐς γὰρ ἀπολωλεκέναι φέτο,
tούτου ἀποδράς φιλέτο. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἐρέξου
θεωρῶν ἔπι μὲν τῇ διανοίᾳ, καθ' ἑν ἐστράτευσεν,
ἡγομέν ἂν αὐτῶν ἁξίως δοξασθήναι εὑρίσκει, ὅτε
Ζεὺς εὑρ., ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ φυγῇ κακοδαιμονεστατον
ἀνθρώπων ὑπείληφα: εἰ γὰρ ἐν χερσὶ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ἀπέθανε, τίς μὲν ἂν λόγων λαμπροτέρων
ἡξιώθη; τὸ δ' ἂν μείζω τάφων ἐπεσημηναντο
"Ἑλληνες; ἄγωνία δ' ἐνοπλίος καὶ ἄγωνία μουσική
τίς οὖν ἂν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐτέθη; εἰ γὰρ Μελικέρται καὶ
Παλαιμόνες καὶ Πέλοψ ὁ ἐπηλύτης Λυδός, οἱ μὲν
ἔτι πρὸς μαζώ ἀποθανόντες, δ' ὃ δὲ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν τε
καὶ τὴν Ἀργολίδα καὶ τὴν ἑντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ δουλω-
σάμενος, ἐς θείαν μνήμην ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
him. And the king by way of insult answered him: "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 ill-starred 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 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
CAP. XXXI

...νῦν ἄν δὲ ἔτι Ξέρξη ἐγένετο υπ' ἄνδρων ἀσπαζόμενοι τε ἀρετὰς φύσει καὶ ἐπαινοῦν αὐτῶν ἤγουμένων τὸ ἐπαίνειν οὐς νικῶσιν;"

XXXII

...Ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου λέγοντος ἐς δάκρυα ἀπήχθη ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ, "δ' ἐλείτατε," εἶπεν, "οἶνος ἄνδρας ἐρμηνεύεις μοι τοὺς "Ἐλλήνας εἶναι."

..."πόθεν οὖν, ὁ βασιλεύς, χαλεπῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰχες;" "διαβάλλουσιν," εἶπεν, "δ' ἔξεν, τὸ Ὑπερβολῶν γένοις οἱ εὖς Ἀιγύπτου φοιτώντες ἐνταῦθα, σφάς μὲν αὐτοὺς ιεροὺς τε καὶ σοφοὺς ἀποφαινόντες καὶ νομοθέτας θυσίων τε καὶ τελετῶν, ὅποσα νομίζουσιν οἱ "Ἑλλήνες, ἑκείνους δὲ οὐδὲν υγιὲς εἶναι φάσκοντες, ἀλλ' ύδρυστὰς τε καὶ ἐνυγκλυδας καὶ ἀναρχίαν πᾶσαν καὶ μυθολόγους καὶ τερατολόγους, καὶ πένητας μὲν, ἐνδεικνυμένους δὲ τούτο οὐχ ὡς σεμνοὺς, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἐνυγγνώμης τοῦ κλέπτειν, σοῦ δὲ ἀκούων ταῦτα καὶ ὅπως φιλότιμοι τε καὶ χρηστοὶ εἰσί, σπένδομαί τε λουπὸν τοῖς "Ἑλλησι, καὶ δίδωμι αὐτοῖς ἐπαινεῖσθαι τε ὑπ' ἐμὸν καὶ εὐχεσθαί με ὑπὲρ Ἐλλήνων ὃ τι δύναμαι καὶ τούς Αἰγύπτιους ὑπ' ἐμὸν ἀπιστεῖσθαι." ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας, "καγώ," ἐφη, "δ' βασιλεύς, ἐγήγγωσκον, ὅτι σοι τὰ ὅτα διέφθρορεν ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τούτων, δηλεῖν δὲ ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων οὐδὲν, ἔστ' ἂν ἐξυμβοῦλον ¹ τοιούτου τύχης, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ βελτίων γέγονας ὑπ' ἄνδρὸς

¹ So Olearius: Kaiser ξυμβοῦλον.
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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?"

XXXII

These words of Apollonius caused the king to burst into tears, and he said: "Dearest friend, in what 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
CAP. XXXII

σοφοῦ, νῦν μὲν ἢμῶν ἢ Ταντάλου φιλοτησία πινέσθω καὶ καθεύδωμεν δι’ ἡ χρή νῦκτωρ σπουδάσαι, λόγων δὲ Ἑλληνικῶν, πλείστοι δὲ οὕτω τῶν κατ’ ἀνθρώπους, ἐμπλήσω σε λοιπὸν ἐγώ χαίροντα, ὀπότε ἄφικοιο.” καὶ ἄμα ἐξήρχε τοῖς ξυμπόταις πρότος ἐσ τῇ φιάλην κύπτων, ἡ δὲ ἐπότιζεν ἰκανῶς πάντας, τὸ γὰρ νάμα ἀφθόνως ἐπεδίδουν, καθάπερ δὴ τοῖς πηγαίοις ἀναδιδομένοις, ἐπιὲ τε καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὑπὲρ γὰρ φιλότητος Ἰνδοῖς τὸ ποτὸν τούτο εὑρηται. ποιοῦνται δὲ αὐτοῦ οἰνοχόου Τάνταλον, ἐπειδὴ φιλικώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἐδοξεῖν.

XXXIII

CAP. XXXIII

Πίονται δὲ αὐτοῦς ἐδέξατο ἡ γῆ εὐναῖς, ἀς αὐτὴ ὑπεστόρυμι. ἐπεὶ δὲ νὺξ μέσῃ ἐγένετο, πρῶτον μὲν ἀναστάντες τὴν ἀκτὴν μετέωροι ὑμησαν, ὀςπερ ἐν τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ, εἰτα τῷ βασιλεῖ ξυνεγένοντο, ὁπόσα ἐδείτο. παρατυχεῖν μὲν ὅδι τῶν ᾿Απολλώνιων οἷς ἑσπούδασεν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὖ φησιν ὁ Δάμις, οἰεσθαί ὁ αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν τῆς ἁρχῆς ἀπορρήτων τῆς ξυνοσίαν πεποιῆσθαι. θύσας οὖν ἄμα ἧμέρα προσήλθε τῷ ᾿Απολλωνίῳ καὶ ἐκάλει ἐπὶ ξένια ἐσ τὰ βασιλεία, ξηλωτὸν ἀποπεμψειν φάσκων ἐς ᾿Ελληνας, ὁ δὲ ἐπῆμεν μὲν ταῦτα, οὐ μὴν ἐπιδόσειν γε ἐαυτὸν ἐφασκεν ἀνδρὶ μηδὲν ὁμοίῳ, καὶ ἄλλως 304
now proceed to quaff the good cheer provided by CHAP. 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.

XXXIII

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
τοῦ εἰκότος αἰσχύνεσθαι τοὺς ὅλους φίλους ὑπερορᾶσθαι δοκοῦντας. ἀντι-
βολεῖν δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως φάσκοντας, καὶ ἀνελευ-
θέρως ἦδη προσκειμένου, “βασιλεύς,” ἐφη, “ταπει-
nότερον αὐτοὶ περὶ δὲν αἴτει διαλεγόμενος ἐπιβου-
λεύει.” προσελθὼν οὖν ὁ Ἰάρχας, “ἄδικεῖς,”
eἶπεν, “ὡ βασιλεῦ, τὸν ἱερὸν ὅλον, ἀπάγων ἐνθέντε ἄνδρα ἀκοντα, καὶ ἄλλως τῶν προγνω-
σκόντων οὕτος δὲν οἴδε τὴν ἔννοιαν αὐτῷ τὴν
πρὸς σὲ μῆ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἐσομένην, ἵσως
dὲ οὖν αὐτῷ σοι χρηστὸν τι ἔξουσαν.”

XXXIV

Ὁ μὲν δὴ κατήει ἐς τὴν κόμην, ὁ γὰρ θεσμὸς
tῶν σοφῶν οὐ ἔννοιᾳ τῷ βασιλείᾳ ἔγνωναί
σφισιν ὑπὲρ μίαν ἡμέραν, ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας πρὸς τὸν ἀγγελοῦν, “καὶ Δάμιν,” ἐπε, “τῶν ἄνω ἀποτρῆτων ἀξιούμεν καὶ ἡκέτα, τῶν ἀλλῶν ἐπιμελεῖ ἐν τῇ
cόμη.” Ὡς δὲ ἄφικεν, ἐνυπησαντες, ὡσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἔννοια δια τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἔρωταν,
ηρεότε ἐκ τῶν ἔννοιας ἔγνωσε τὸν κόσμου ἡγοῦτο,
οί δὲ ἔφασαν, “ἐκ στουχείων.” “μῶν,” ἐφη, “τετ-
τάρον;” “οὐ τετάρον,” ἐφη ὁ Ἰάρχας, “ἀλλὰ
πέντε.” “καὶ τὰ ἄν,” ἐφη, “πέμπτον γένοιτο
παρὰ τὸ ὕδωρ τε καὶ τῶν ἄερα καὶ τῆς γῆς 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.”

XXXIV

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
and earth and fire?" "There is the ether," replied Chap. 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.
“Καὶ παράδειγμα μὲν όνκ οἶδ’ ὦ τι ἀρκέσει τῷ λόγῳ μεγίστῳ τε ὄντι καὶ πρόσω ἐννοίας, ὑπο- κείσθω δὲ ναῦς, οἳν Αἰγύπτιοι ξυνιθέντες ἐσ τὴν θάλατταν τὴν ἡμεδαπὴν ἀφιᾶσιν, ἀγωγίμων Ἰνδικῶν ἀντιδίδοντες Αἰγύπτιοι· θεσμοῦ γὰρ παλαιόν περὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρῶν ὄντος, ὅπερ βασίλευς Ἐρυθραῖς ἐνόμισεν, ὅτε τὴς θαλάττης ἐκείνης ἱρχε, μακρῷ μὲν πλοῖῳ μὴ ἐσπλείν ἐς αὐτὴν Αἰγύπτιος, στρογγυλῆ δὲ αὐ μὴ χρησθαί, σοφίζονται πλοῖον Αἰγύπτιον πρὸς πολλὰ τῶν παρ’ ἐτέρους, καὶ παραπλευρώσαντες αὐτὸ ἀρμονίαις, ὅποσαι ναῦν ξυνιστᾶσί, τοῖχοις τε ὑπεράραντες καὶ ἱστῷ καὶ πηξάμενοι πλείους οἰκίας, οἷς ἐπὶ τῶν σελμά- των, πολλοὶ μὲν κυβερνήται τῆς νεῶς ταύτης ὕπὸ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τε καὶ σοφωτάτῳ πλέουσι, πολλοὶ δὲ κατὰ πρὸφαν ἀρχοντες ἀριστοὶ τε καὶ δεξιοὶ ναῦται καὶ πρὸς ἱστία πηδώντες, ἔστι δὲ τι τῆς νεῶς ταύτης καὶ ὁπλιτείου, πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς κολπή- τας βαρβάρους, οἱ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ἐσπλοῦ κεῖνται, παρατάττεσθαι δεῖ τὴν ναῦν, ὅτε ληξίωντο αὐτὴν ἐπιπλέοντες. τοῦτο ἡγώμεθα καὶ περὶ τόνδε τὸν κόσμον εἶναι, θεωροῦντες αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ τῆς ναυτι- λίας σχῆμα, τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἄρ᾽ ἐπὶ τήν πρότην καὶ τελεωτά- την ἔδραν ἀποδοτέον θεῷ γενέτορι τούδε τοῦ ζωοῦ,
"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.
CAP. XXXV

τὴν δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ θεοῖς, οἳ τὰ μέρη αὐτοῦ κυβερνῶσι, καὶ τῶν γε ποιητῶν ἀποδεχόμεθα, ἐπειδὰν πολλοὺς μὲν φάσκωσιν ἐν τῷ ὦρανῳ θεοῖς εἶναι, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐν θαλάττῃ, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐν πηγαῖς τέ καὶ νάμασι, πολλοὺς δὲ περὶ γῆν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν τινας. τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν τόπον, εἰπέρ ἐστὶν, ἐπειδὴ φρικώδη αὐτὸν καὶ θαρτικὸν ἄδουσιν, ἀποτάττωμεν τοῦ κόσμου.

XXXVI

CAP. XXXVI

Ταῦτα τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ διελθόντος, ἔκπεσεῖν ὁ Δάμις εἰς αὐτοῦ φησιν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως, καὶ ἀναβοῦσα μέγα, μὴ γὰρ ἄν ποτε νομίσαι ἄνδρα Ἰνδὸν ἐς τοῦτο ἐλάσαι γλῶττης Ἐλλάδος, μηδ' ἄν, εἰπέρ τὴν γλώτταν ἡπίστατο, τοσῆδε εὐρυίᾳ καὶ ὥρα διελθεῖν ταῦτα. ἐπαίνει δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ βλέμμα καὶ μειδία καὶ τὸ μὴ ἄθετε δοκεῖν ἐκφέρειν τὰς δύκας. τὸν τοι Ἀπολλώνιον εὔσχημόνως τε καὶ ἀψοφητὶ τοῖς λόγοις χρόμενον ὡμος ἐπὶδούναι μετὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν τοῦτον, καὶ ὅπου καθήμενος διαλέγοιτο, θαμὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἔπραττε, προσεοικέναι τῷ Ἴλαρχα.

XXXVII

CAP. XXXVII

Ἐπανεισάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς τῇ φωνῇ τὰ εἰρημένα, πάλιν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἤρετο, πότερα τὴν θαλατταν μεῖξον ἤγοιντο ἢ τὴν γῆν, δὲ Ἴλαρχας,
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.

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.

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
CAP. XXXVII

"εἶ μὲν πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν," ἔφη, "ἡ γὰρ ἐξετάζοιτο, μεῖζον ἐσταί, τὴν γὰρ θάλατταν αὐτὴ ἔχει, εἰ δὲ πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν θεωροῖτο, ἦττω τὴν γῆν ἀποφαινοῖμεθα ἂν, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνην τὸ ὕδωρ φέρει.

XXXVIII

Μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν λόγων τούτων ἐφίσταται τοῖς σοφοῖς ὁ ἀγγελός Ἰνδοὺς ἀγῶν σωτηρίας δεομένους. καὶ παρῆγγε γυναῖον ἵκετεύον ὑπὲρ παιδός, ὃν ἔφασκε μὲν ἐκκαίδεκα ἐτή γεγονέναι, δαιμονῶν ἔδε ὅν ἐτή, τὸ δὲ ἴθος τοῦ δαίμονος εἰρωνα εἶναι καὶ πεύκην. ἐρωμένου δὲ τινὸς τῶν σοφῶν, ὅποθεν λέγοι ταῦτα, "τοῦ παιδὸς τούτου," ἔφη, "τὴν ὄψιν εὑπρεπεστέρου οὖν τὸν δαίμων ἐρᾷ, καὶ οὐ ἐγνωρίζει αὐτῷ νοῦν ἐχειν, οὔδε ἐς διδασκάλου βαδίσαι ἢ τὸ θότον, οὔδε ὁκεὶ εἶναι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐς τὰ ἐρημα τῶν χωρίων ἐκτρέπει, καὶ οὔδε τὴν φωνὴν ὅ παῖς τὴν έαυτοῦ ἐχει, ἀλλὰ βαρὺ φθεγγεται καὶ κοῖλον, ὡσπερ οἱ ἄνδρες, βλέπει δὲ ἐτέρως ὁφθαλμοῖς μᾶλλον ἡ τοῖς έαυτοῖς. κάγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτωι κλάω τε καὶ ἐμαυτὴν δρύπτω καὶ νουθετῶ τὸν υἱόν, ὅποσα εἰκός, ὃ ἐς οὐκ οἴδε με. διανοομένης δὲ μου τὴν ἐνταῦθα ὅδον, τούτῳ δὲ πέρυσι διενοήθην, ἐξηγόρευσεν ὁ δαίμων έαυτοῦ ὑποκριτὴ χρώμενος τῷ παιδί, καὶ δῆτα ἔλεγεν εἰναι μὲν εἴδωλον ἄνδρός, ὁς πολέμῳ ποτὲ ἀπέθανεν, ἀποθανεῖν δὲ ἐρῶν τῆς έαυτοῦ γυναικός, ἐπεί δὲ ἡ
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."

XXXVIII

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
γυνή περὶ τὴν εὐνύχην ὑβρισε τριταῖον κειμένου γα-μηθείσα ἐτέρῳ, μισῆσαι μὲν ἐκ τούτου τὸ γυναικῶν ἔραυ, μεταρρύναι δὲ ἐς τὸν παῖδα τούτον. ὑπαχνεῖτο δὲ, εἰ μὴ διαβάλλοιμι αὐτὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, δώσειν τῷ παιδί πολλὰ ἐσθλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ἔπαθόν τι πρὸς ταῦτα, ὁ δὲ διάγει μὲ πολὺν ἡδὴ χρόνου καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν οἴκον ἔχει μόνος, οὕτων μέτριον οὐδὲ ἄλθετες φρονῶν." ᾿Ηρετο οὖν ὁ σοφὸς πάλιν, εἰ πλησίον εἶπ ὁ παῖς, ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἐφη, πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀφικέσθαι αὐτὸν πράξαι, "ὁ δὲ ἀπειλεὶ κρημνοὺς καὶ βάραθρα καὶ ἀποκτενεῖ μοι τὸν νιόν, εἰ δικαζοὶμην αὐτῷ δεῦρο." "Θάρσει," ἐφη ὁ σοφὸς, "οὐ γὰρ ἀποκτενεῖ αὐτὸν ἀναγνώρι-στατα," καὶ τινὰ ἐπιστολὴν ἀνασπάσας τοῦ κόλπου ἔδωκε τῇ γυναικὶ, ἐπέσταλτο δὲ ἄρα ἡ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸ εἰδώλων ἐξὶν ἀπειλῆ καὶ ἐκπληξεὶ.

XXXIX

Καὶ μὴν καὶ χωλεύων τις ἀφίκετο, ἑγευόμεν μὲν ἡδὴ τριάκοντα ἑτη, λεόντων δὲ θηρατὴς δεινῶς, ἐμπεπτωκότος δὲ αὐτῷ λέοντος ὀλισθήκει τὸν γλυτοὺν καὶ τοῦ σκέλους ἐτέρως εἴχεν. ἂλλι αἰ χεῖρες αὐτῷ καταψάσαι τὸν γλυτοῦν, ἐς όρθου τοῦ βαδίσματος ὁ νεανίας ἡλθε. καὶ ὀφθαλμῷ δὲ τις ἐρρυηκὼς ἀπῆλθε πᾶν ἔχων τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς φῶς, καὶ 316
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 hailed 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.

XXXIX

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.
CAP. XXXIX

οståλλος τὴν χείρα ἀδρανῆς ὅν, ἐγκρατῆς ὄχετο. γυνὴ δὲ τις ἐπτὰ ἱδῇ γαστέρας δυστοκοῦσα δεομένου ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τάνδρος ὅσῳ ιάθη· τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκλευσε, ἐπειδὰν τίκτη ἡ γυνὴ, λαγών ὑπὸ κόλπῳ ζῶντα ἐσφέρεσθαι οὐ τίκτει, καὶ περιελθόντα αὐτὴν ἄφεναι ὁμοῦ τὸν λαγών, συνεκδοθῆναι γὰρ ἄν τῷ ἐμβρύῳ τῇ μήτρᾳ, εἰ μὴ ὁ λαγῶς αὐτίκα ἐξενεχθείη θύραζε.

XL

CAP. XL

Πατρὸς δ’ αὖ τινος εἰπόντος, ὡς γένοιτο μὲν αὐτῷ παιδεῖς, ἀποθάνοιεν δὲ ὁμοῦ τῷ ἄρξασθαι οἶνον πίνειν, ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν ὁ Ἱάρχας, “καὶ βελτίως ἀποθανόντες ἐγένοντο, οὐ γὰρ ἄν διέφυγον τὸ μῆ μανήναι, θερμοτέρων, ὡς φαινεται, σπερμάτων φύντες. οἶνον μὲν οὖν ἄφεκτέον τοῖς ἐξ ὕμῳ, ὡς δὲ μηδὲ ἐσ ἐπιθυμίαν ποτὲ οἶνον κατασταίεν, εἰ σοὶ πάλιν παιδίου γένοιτο, γέγονε δὲ ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν, ὡς ὀρῶ, τὴν γλαύκα τὴν ὄρνων χρῆ ἐπιφυλάττειν, οὐ νεοττεῦε, καὶ τὰ ἃ σπάσαντα δοῦναι μασάσθαι τῷ βρέφει συμμέτρως ἐφοντα, εἰ γὰρ βρῶσεται τι τούτων, πρὶν οἶνον γεύσεται, μᾶςος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν οἶνον ἐμφύσεται, καὶ σωφρονέστατα διακείσεται, μόνον ἐγυγκεκραμένος τοῦ ἐν τῇ φύσει θερμοῦ.”

Τούτων οὖν ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκ-
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 foetus, unless the hare was at once driven out.

**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.”

With such lore as this then they surfeited
πληττόμενοι, τὴς ἐς πάντα σοφίας παμπόλλους ὀσημέραι λόγους ἡρώτων, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡρωτώντο.

Τὴς μὲν οὖν διαλεκτικῆς ξυνουσίας ἀμφω μετείχον, τὰς δὲ ἀπορρήτους σπουδάς, αἰς ἀστρικὴν ἡ μαντείαν κατενόουν καὶ τὴν πρόγνωσιν ἐσπούδαζον, θυσίων τε ἦπτοντο καὶ κλήσεων, αἰς θεοὶ χαίροντες, μόνον φησὶν ὁ Δάμις τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ξυμφιλοσοφεῖν τῷ Ἰάρχα, καὶ ξυγγράφαι μὲν ἐκείθεν περὶ μαντείας ἀστέρων βίβλους τέτταρας, δὲ καὶ Μουραγένης ἐπεμνήσθη, ξυγγράφαι δὲ περὶ θυσίων καὶ ὡς ἂν τις ἐκάστῳ θεῷ προσφώρως τε καὶ κεχαρισμένος θύοι. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην μαντικὴν πᾶσαν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἠγούμαι φύσιν, καὶ οὐδὲ εἰ κέκτηται τις οἶδα, τὸ δὲ περὶ θυσίων ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν ἵεροῖς εὐρον, ἐν πολλαῖς δὲ πόλεσι, πολλοῖς δὲ ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν οίκοις, καὶ τοι, ἂν τις ἐρμηνεύοι αὐτῷ, σεμνῶς ξυντεταγμένον καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἥχῳ τοῦ ἀνδρός. φησὶ δὲ ὁ Δάμις καὶ δακτυλίους ἐπτὰ τὸν Ἰάρχαν

1 Kayser reads: καὶ τὶ ἀν, which is unintelligible.
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.

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 fore-knowledge, 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 works; 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 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

1 In Bk. IV. ch. 19, we are told that this book was written in the Cappadocian tongue. Hence the need of translation.
CAP. XLI. Ῥὼ Ὄπολλωνίῳ δοῦναι τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐπωνύμους ἀστέρων, οὓς φορεῖν τὸν Ὄπολλώνιον κατὰ ἑνα πρὸς τὰ ὅνόματα τῶν ἡμερῶν.

XLII

CAP. XLI. Περὶ δὲ προγνώσεως λόγου αὐτοῖς ποτε ὄντος, καὶ τοῦ Ὄπολλώνιον προσκειμένου τῇ σοφίᾳ ταύτη, καὶ τὰς πλείους τῶν διαλέξεων ἐς τοῦτο ἐξυπνοῦντος, ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰάρχας, "οἱ μαντικῆς," ἐφη, "χαίροντες, ὃ χρηστὲ Ὄπολλώνιε, θεοὶ τε ὑπ’ αὐτῆς γίγνονται καὶ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἀνθρώπων πράττουσι. τὸ γάρ, ἃ χρῆ ἐς θεοῦ ἀφικόμενον εὑρέσθαι, ταῦτα ἂν, ὃ χρηστὲ, ἐφ’ ἕαυτοῦ προιδέσθαι προειπεῖν τε ἐτέρους, ἄ μήπω ἰσαία, πανολβίου τινὸς ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ταῦτον ἰσχύοντος τῷ Ὄπολλωνι τῷ Δελφικῷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τέχνη τούς ἐς θεοῦ φοιτῶντας ἐπὶ τῷ χρήσασθαι καθαροὺς κελεῦει βαδιζοῦντας φοιτᾶν, ἢ "ἐξίθι τοῦ νεῶ" πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐρεῖ, δοκεῖ μοι καὶ τὸν προγνωσμένου ἄνδρα ύμιῶς ἑαυτοῦ ἐχεῖν, καὶ μήτε κηλίδα προσμεμάχθαι τῇ ψυχῇ μηδεμίαν, μήτε οὐλὰς ἀμαρτημάτων ἐντετυπώσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ, καθαρὸς δὲ αὐτὸν προφητευεῖν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῷ στέρνῳ τρίποδος συνιέντα γεγωνότερον γὰρ οὕτω καὶ ἀληθέστερον τὰ λόγια ἐκδόσει. ὅθεν οὐ χρῆ θαυμάζειν, εἰ καὶ σὺ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ξυνείληφας τοσοῦτον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φέρων αἰθέρα."
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.

XLII

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."
Καὶ χαριευτιζόμενος ἀμα πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν, "σὺ δ' οὐδέν," ἐφη, "προγιγνώσκεις, Ἀσσύριε, καὶ ταῦτα ἐξυνοῦ ἄνδρι τοιοῦτο;" "νη Δί," εἶπε, "τὰ γε ἐμαυτῷ ἀναγκαία: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πρῶτῳ ἐνέτυχον τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τοῦτῳ, καὶ σοφίας μοι ἐδόξε πλέως δεινότητος τε καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ τοῦ καρτερεῖν ὀρθῶς, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ μυημοσύνην ἐν αὐτῷ εἴδον, πολυμαθέστατον τε καὶ φιλομαθίας ἤττω, δαιμόνιον τὴν μοι ἐγένετο, καὶ ἔγγυγγενόμενος αὐτῷ σοφὸς μὲν φήσῃν δόξειν ἐξ ἰδιότου τε καὶ ἀσόφου, πεπαιδευμένος δὲ ἐκ βαρβάρου ἐπόμενος δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔνυππονδάξων ὕφεσθαι μὲν Ἰνδοὺς, ὕφεσθαι δὲ ὑμᾶς, "Ἑλλησὶ τε ἐπιμίξειν Ἐλλην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενος. τὰ μὲν δὴ ὑμέτερα περὶ μεγάλων οὐντα Δελφοὺς ἤγεισθε καὶ Δωδώνην καὶ τὴ θυελλεσθε, τὰμὰ δὲ, ἐπειδὴ Δάμις μὲν ὁ προγιγνώσκων αὐτά, προγιγνώσκει δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μόνου, γραῖς ἐστὶν ἀγυρτρίας μαντευμονῆς ὑπὲρ προβατίων καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων."

Ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν δὴ ἐγέλασαν οἱ σοφοὶ πάντες, καταστάντος δὲ τοῦ γέλωτος ἐπανήγευν ὁ Ἰάρχας

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XLIII

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

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 λόγου, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὴν ἀγαθὰ ἔλεγε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰργάσθαι, μεγίστον δὲ τὸ τῆς ἱατρικῆς δῶρον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε τοὺς σοφοὺς 'Ἀσκληπιάδας ἐς ἐπιστήμην τοῦτον παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ παῖς 'Απόλλωνος 'Ἀσκλη-πίδος γενόμενος, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐκείνου φήμας τε καὶ μαντείας ἐξυνθεῖς τὰ πρόσφορα ταῖς νόσοις φάρμακα, παισὶ τε ἐαυτοῦ παρέδωκε, καὶ τοὺς ἐξυνόντας ἐδιδάξατο, τίνας μὲν δὲ προσάγειν πόες ὑγροῖς ἔλκεσι, τίνας δὲ αὐχμηροῖς καὶ ἔρημοῖς, ἐξυμμετρίας τε ποτίμων φαρμάκων, ὥς ὁν ὑδεροὶ ἀποχετεύονται, καὶ αἷμα ἵσχεται, φθοᾷ τε παῦ- ονται καὶ τὰ οὕτω κοίλα. καὶ τὰ τῶν ἱοβόλων δὲ ἄκη καὶ τὸ τοῖς ἱοβόλοις αὐτοῖς ἐς πολλὰ τῶν νοσημάτων χρῆσθαι τὸς ἀφαίρησθαι τὴν μαντικῆς· οὐ γὰρ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἀνευ τῆς προγνωσκόουσις σοφίας θαρσῆσαι ποτε ἀνθρωποί τὰ πάντων ὀλεθριώτατα φαρμάκων ἐγκαταμίζαι τοῖς σώζονσιν.

XLV

'Επεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ λόγος ἀναγέγραπται τῷ Δύ-μιδι, σπουδασθεὶς ἐκεῖ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς μυθολο-γουμένων θηρίων τε καὶ πηγῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, μηδ' ἐμοὶ παραλειπέσθω, καὶ γὰρ κέρδος ἄν εἴη μήτ' πιστεύειν, μήτ' ἀπιστεῖν πάσιν. Ὕρετο γὰρ δὴ ὁ 'Απολλώνιος, 'ἐστι τι ζῴου ἐνταῦθα μαρτι-
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 inflamed 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

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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“Περὶ μὲντοι τῆς ψήφου τῆς ἐπισπορευμῆς τε καὶ ξυνδούσης ἕαυτή λίθους ἑτέρας οὐ χρη ἀπιστεῖν· ἔστι γὰρ σοι καὶ ἰδεῖν τὴν λίθον, καὶ θαυμάσαι τά ἐν αὐτή πάντα. γίνεται μὲν γὰρ ἡ μεγίστῃ κατὰ ὅνυχα δακτύλου τοῦτον,” δὲ λέγει τοῦ ἕαυτο ἀντι- χειρα, “κυίσκεται δὲ ἐν γῆ κοίλῃ βάθος ὅργω ἀπὸ τέτταρες, τοσοῦτον δὲ αὐτή περίεστι τοῦ πνεύ-
there was there an animal called the man-eater \textit{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.

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"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
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ματος, ὡς ὑποίδειν τὴν γῆν καὶ κατὰ πολλὰ ῥήγυνοσθαι κυνισκομένης εν αὐτῇ τῆς λίθου. μα-
στεύσαι δὲ αὐτὴν οὐδενὶ ἔξεστιν, ἀποδιδράσκει γὰρ,
εἰ μὴ μετὰ λόγου ἀνασπῆτο· ἀλλ' ἤμεις μόνοι τὰ
μὲν δράσαντες, τὰ δὲ εἰπόντες ἀναιρούμεθα τὴν
παντάρβην ὄνομα γὰρ αὐτῇ τούτῳ. νῦκτωρ μὲν
οὖν ἦμεραν ἀναφαίνει, καθάπερ τὸ πῦρ, ἔστι γὰρ
πυρσὴ καὶ ἀκτινόβολης, εἰ δὲ μεθ' ἤμεραν ὀρφῶτο,
βάλλει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μαρμαρυγαῖς μυρίαις. τὸ
δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ φῶς πνεῦμα ἐστιν ἀρρήτου ἦσχυος, πᾶν
γὰρ τὸ ἐγγὺς ἐσποιεῖ αὐτῇ. τί λέγω τὸ ἐγγὺς;
ἔστι σοι Λίθους, ὅποσάς βούλει, καταποντῶσαί
ποι ἡ τῶν ποταμῶν ἡ τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ μηδὲ
ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων, ἀλλὰ σποράδας καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν,
ἡ δὲ ἐς αὐτὰς καθιμηθείσα, ξυλλέγεται πάσας τῇ
τοῦ πνεύματος διαδόσει, καὶ ὑποκεῖσονται αὐτῇ
βοτρυδὸν αἱ Λίθοι, καθάπερ σμήνος.”

XLVII

Καὶ εἴπὼν ταῦτα ἔδειξε τὴν λίθον αὐτῆν τε καὶ
ὀπόσα ἐργάζεται. τοὺς δὲ πυγμαίους οἰκεῖν μὲν
ὑπογείους, κεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Γάγγην, ξώντας
tρόπον ὃς πᾶσιν εἰρήται, σκιάποδας δὲ ἀνθρώ-
pous ἢ μακροκεφάλους ἢ ὀπόσα Σκύλακος εὐγ-
γραφαί περὶ τούτων ἁδούσιν, οὔτε ἀλλοσὲ ποι βιο-
teūειν τῆς γῆς οὔτε μὲν 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.”

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.
"Ου δ' ὀρύττουσιν χρυσὸν οἱ γρύτες, πέτραι εἰσὶν οὖν σπινθήρας ἐστινμέναι ταῖς τοῦ χρυσοῦ ῥανίσιν, ἂς λιθοτομεῖ τὸ θηρίον τούτο τῇ τοῦ ράμφους ἵσχυ. τὰ γὰρ θηρία ταύτα εἶναι τε ἐν Ἰνδοῖς καὶ ιέρους νομίζοντας τοῦ Ἡλίου, τέθριππος τε αὐτῶν ὑποζευγνύναι τοῖς ἀγάλμασι τοῖς τοῦ Ἡλίου ἐν Ἰνδοῖς γράφοντας, μέγεθος τε καὶ ἀλκήν εἰκάσθαι αὐτοὺς τοῖς λέουσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ πλεονεξίας τῶν πτερῶν αὐτοῖς τε ἐκεῖνοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων δὲ καὶ δρακόντων ύπερτέρους εἶναι. πέτουται δὲ οὕτω μέγα, ἀλλ' ὅσον οἱ βραχύποροι ὀρνιθες, μὴ γὰρ ἐπτιλωσθαί σφάς, ὥσ ὀρνισὶ πάτριοι, ἀλλ' ὑμείς τοὺς ταρσοὺς υφάνθαι πυρσοῖς, ἃς εἶναι κυκλώσαντας πέπεθαί τε καὶ ἕκ μετεώροι μάχεσθαι, τὴν τίγριν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνάλωτων εἶναι μόνην, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τάχος αὐτὴν ἐσποιεῖ τοῖς ἀνέμοις.

Καὶ τοῦ φοίνικα δὲ τῶν ὀρνῖν τῶν διὰ πεντακοσίων ἔτων ἐς Λαγυπτίου ἦκοντα, πέπεθαί μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ τῶν χρόνων τούτων, εἶναι δὲ ἔνα, ἐκδιδόμενον τῶν ἀκτίνων καὶ χρυσῷ λάμποντα, μέγεθος ἀετοῦ καὶ εἶδος, ἃς καλλιάν τε ξάνθειν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἄρωματος ποιομένην αὐτῶ πρὸς ταῖς τοῦ Νεῖλου πηγαῖς. ἀ δὲ Λαγυπτίων περὶ αὐτοῦ ἄδουσιν, ὡς ἐς Λαγυπτίον φέρεται, καὶ Ἰνδοὶ ἄμμαρτυροῦσι,
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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 images; 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 rivals the winds.

XLIX

“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 gives out rays 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. ΠΡΟΣΑΔΟΝΤΕΣ ΤῼΔ ΛΟΓΩ ΤΟ ΤΟΝ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΑ ΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΤῼΥ ΚΑΛΙΑ ΤΗΚΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΠΡΟΠΕΜΠΤΗΡΙΟΥΣ ΥΜΝΟΥΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΔΕΙΝ. ΤΟΥΤΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΥΚΝΟΥΣ ΦΑΣΙ ΔΡΑΝ ΟΙ ΣΟΦΩΤΕΡΟΥΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΚΟΥΟΝΤΕΣ.

CAP. ΤΟΙΑΙΔΕ ΜΕΝ ΑΙ ΠΡΩΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΟΦΟΥΣ ΞΥΝΟΝΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΕΓΕΝΟΝΤΟ ΜΗΝΩΝ ΤΕΤΤΆΡΩΝ ΕΚΕΙ ΔΙΑΤΡΙΨΑΝΤΙ, ΚΑΙ ΞΥΛΛΑΒΟΝΤΙ ΛΟΓΟΥΣ ΦΑΝΕΡΟΥΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ἌΠΟΡΡΙΤΟΥΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ, ἘΠΕΙ ΔΕ ΕΞΕΛΑΥΝΕΙΝ ΕΒΟΥΛΕΤΟ, ΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ἩΓΕΜΟΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΚΑΜΗΛΙΟΥΣ ΠΕΙΘΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ἈΠΟΠΕΜΨΑΙ ΤΟ ΦΡΑΩΤΗ ΜΕΤ' ἘΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ, ΑΥΤΟΙ ΔΕ ἩΓΕΜΟΝΑ ΕΤΕΡΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΜΗΛΙΟΥΣ ΔΟΝΤΕΣ ΠΡΟΕΠΕΜΠΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ, ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΖΟΝΤΕΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΚΕΙΝΟΝ. ἈΣΠΑΣΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΔΕ ΤΟΝ 'ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΔΟΞΕΙΝ ΟΥ ΤΕΘΕΩΤΑ ΜΟΝΟΝ, ἈΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΖΩΝΤΑ ΦΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ, ΑΥΤΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΥΠΕΣΤΡΕΨΑΝ ΕΣ ΤΟ ΦΡΟΝΤΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ, ἘΠΙΣΤΡΕΦΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ἈΝΔΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΛΟΥΝΤΕΣ, ΟΤΙ ΑΚΟΝΤΕΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ἈΠΑΛΛΑΤΤΟΝΤΑΙ: Ο ΔΕ 'ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΕΝ ΔΕΞΙΑ ΜΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΓΑΥΓΗΝ ΕΧΟΝ, ΕΝ ἌΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ ΔΕ ΤΟΝ "ΤΦΑΣΙΝ ΚΑΤΗΕΙ ἘΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΘΑΛΑΤΤΑΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ ΔΕΚΑ ΟΔΟΝ ἈΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΟΧΘΟΥ. ΚΑΤΙΟΥΣΙ Δ' ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΠΟΛΛΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΣΤΡΟΥΘΟΙ ΕΦΑΙΝΟΝΤΟ, ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΔΕ ΆΓΡΙΟΙ ΒΟΙΣ, ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΔΕ ΟΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΟΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΔΑΛΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΥΓΡΕΙΣ, ΚΑΙ ΠΙΘΗΚΟΙΝ ΓΈΝΟΣ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΕΠΕΡΙΣΙ, ΜΕΛΑΝΕΣ ΤΕ ΓΆΡ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΣΙΟΙ ΉΣΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΕΙΔΗ ΚΥΝΕΙΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΜΙΚΡΟΙΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΝ ΊΣΟΙ. ΔΙΑΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΔΕ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ὈΡΩΜΕΝΩΝ, ὅΠΟΙΑ ΕΙΘΕΘΕΣΑΝ, ἈΦΙΚΟΝΤΟ ἘΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΘΑΛΑΤΤΑΝ, ἕΝ Η ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΤΟ ΕΜΠΟΡΙΑ ΜΙΚΡΑ, ΚΑΙ ΠΛΟΙΑ

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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.

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
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CAP. δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὀρμεὶ πορθμεία παραπλήσια τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς. τὴν δὲ θάλατταν τὴν ’Ερυθρὰν εἶναι μὲν κυανωτάτην, ὤνομάσθαι δὲ, ὡς εἰπον, ἀπὸ ’Ερύθρα βασιλέως, δς ἐπωνύμασεν εαυτὸν ἐκεῖνο τῷ πελάγει.

LI

CAP.

’Ενταῦθα ἦκων τὰς μὲν καμήλους ἀπέπεμψε τῷ ’Ιάρχα μετ’ ἐπιστολῆς:

“’Απολλώνιος ’Ιάρχα καὶ τοῖς ἐτέροις σοφοῖς χαίρειν.

ἀφικομένῳ μοι πεζῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεδώκατε τὴν θάλατταν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφίας τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν κοινωνίας δεδώκατε καὶ διὰ τοῦ ὀφρανοῦ πορεύεσθαι. μεμνήσομαι τούτων καὶ πρὸς ’Ελληνας, κοινωνίᾳ τε λόγων ὡς παροῦσιν ὑμῖν, εἴ μὴ μάθην ἐπιον τοῦ Ταντάλου. ἔρρωσθε ἀγαθοὶ φιλόσοφοι.”

LII

CAP.

Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπιβᾶς νεῶς ἐκομίζετο λείῳ καὶ εὐφόρῳ πνεύματι, θαυμάζων τὸ στόμα τοῦ ’Σφάσιδος, ὡς φοβερῶς δι’ αὐτὸν ἐκχείται τελευτῶν γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, ἐς χορία πετρώδη καὶ στενὰ καὶ κρημνών χειμερίτε, δι’ ὃν καταρρηγγυς ἐς τὴν θάλατταν ἐνι στώματι χαλεπῶς 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 the camels to Iarchas together with the following letter:

"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 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.
CAP. LIII

Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ στόμα ἰδεῖν φασὶ, πόλιν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κείσθαι Πάταλα περίπρον τῷ Ἰνδῷ, ἐσὶ ἑν τῷ ναυτικῷ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐλθεῖν, ὃ ναύαρχον ἐπιτετάγθαι Νέαρχον οὐκ ἀγυμναστον τῆς θαλαττίου τάξεως. ἄ δὲ Ὀρθαγόρα περὶ τῆς Ἑρυθρᾶς οἱ τινὶ, καὶ ὁτι μήτε ἡ ἄρκτος ἐν αὐτῇ φαινοίτο, μήτε σημαίνοντο τῇ μεσμηβρίᾳ οἱ πλέονες, οἱ τε ἐπίδηλοι τῶν ἀστερῶν ἐξαλλάττοισι τῆς ἑαυτῶν τάξεως, δοκεῖ καὶ Δάμιδι, καὶ χρὴ πιστεύειν υγιῶς τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἑκεῖ ὦρανόν εἰρήσθαι ταῦτα. μνημονεύοντι καὶ νήσου μικρᾶς, ἡ ὄνωμα εἶναι Βίβλου, ἐν ἕ τὸ τοῦ κογχυλίου μέγεθος καὶ οἱ μῦς ὀστρεά τε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα δεκαπλάσια τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὸ μέγεθος ταῖς πέτραις προσπέφυκεν. ἀλίσκεται δὲ καὶ λίθος ἑκεῖ μαργαρίς ἐν ὀστράκῳ λευκῷ καρδίᾳ τόπον ἔχουσα τῷ ὀστρέῳ.

LIV

Κατασχεῖν δὲ φασὶ καὶ ἐς Πηγάδας τῆς τῶν Ὀρειτῶν χώρας, οἱ δὲ Ὀρείται, χαλκάι μὲν αὐτοῖς αἱ πέτραι, χαλκῆ δὲ ἡ φάμμα, χαλκοῦν δὲ φήμα οἱ ποταμοὶ ἄγουσι. ῥυσίτεν δὲ ἑγοῦνται τὴν χεῖρι διὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν τοῦ χαλκοῦ.
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.

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.
Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἰχθυοφάγοις ἐντυχεῖν, οἷς πόλιν εἶναι Στόβηρα, διφθέρας δὲ τούτοις ἐνύφθαι μεγίστων ἱχθύων, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἐκεῖνη ἱχθυώδη εἶναι καὶ φαγεῖν ἀτομα, τοὺς γὰρ πομένας βόσκειν αὐτὰ τοῖς ἱχθύσιν, ὡσπερ ἐν Καρίᾳ τοῖς σύκοις. Καρμανοὶ δὲ ήνδοι γένος ἡμερο εὐιχθυνο ὑτω νέμονται θαλατταν, ὡς μηδ' ἀποθέτους ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἱχθύσι, μηδὲ, ὡσπερ ὁ Πόντος, ταριχεύειν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγους μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποδίδοσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πολλοῦς ἀσπαίροντας ἀποδίδοναι τῇ θαλάττῃ.

Προσπλεύσαί φασὶ καὶ Βαλάροις, ἐμπόριον δὲ εἶναι τὰ Βάλαρα μεστὸν μυρρινῶν τε καὶ φοινίκων, καὶ δάφνας ἐν αὐτῷ ἰδεῖν καὶ πηγαῖς διαρρέεσθαι τὸ χωρίον. κῆποι δὲ ὀπόσοι τρωκτοὶ καὶ ὀπόσοι ἀνθέων κῆποι, βρύειν αὐτὸ, καὶ λιμένας μεστὸς γαλήνης ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι. προκείσθαι δὲ τοῦ χωρίου τοῦτον νῆσον ἱερὰν, ἣν καλεῖσθαι Σέληνα, καὶ, στάδια μὲν ἐκατόν εἶναι τῷ πορθμῷ, νηρηίδα δὲ οἰκεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ δεινῇ δαίμονα, πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν πλεόντων ἀρπάζειν, καὶ μηδὲ ταῖς ναυσὶ εὐγχωρεῖν πεῖσμα ἐκ τῆς νῆσου Βάλλεσθαι.
LV

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

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.
"Αξιον δὲ μηδὲ τὸν περὶ τῆς ἑτέρας μαργαρίτιδος παρελθεῖν λόγον, ἔπει δὲ Ἡμικλίων ὐἱστος καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ θαλαττουργίᾳ θαυμασιώτατος. τὰ γὰρ τετραμένα τῆς νῆσου πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος ἦστι μὲν ἄπειρος πυθμὴν θαλάττης, φέρει δὲ ὀστρεόν ἐν ἐλύτρῳ λευκῷ μεστὸν πιμελῆς, οὐδὲ γὰρ λίθον φύει οὐδένα. γαλήνην δὲ ἐπιφυλαξάντες καὶ τὴν θάλατταν αὐτοῦ λεώντες, τούτι δὲ ἡ τοῦ ἐλαίου ἐπιρροὴ πράττει, καταδύεται τὶς ἐπὶ τὴν θῆραν τοῦ ὀστρέου, τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ κατεσκευασμένοι, ὄσπερ οἱ τὰς σπονγιάς κείροντες, ἔστι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πλωθὶς σιδηρᾶ καὶ ἀλάβαστρος μύρου. παριζήσας οὖν ὁ Ἰνδὸς τῷ ὀστρέῳ δέλεαρ αὐτοῦ τὸ μύρον ποιεῖται, τὸ δὲ ἀνοίγνυται τε καὶ μεθύει ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, κέντρῳ δὲ διελαθὲν ἀποπτύει τὸν ἰχώρα, ο δὲ ἐκδέχεται αὐτοῦ τῇ πλωθίδι τύπους ὀρωρυμμένη. λιθοῦται δὲ τὸ ἐντεύθεν καὶ ῥυθμιζέται, καθάπερ ἡ φύσει μαργαρίς, καστίν ἡ μαργαρίς αἵμα λευκόν ἐξ ἐρυθρᾶς τῆς θαλάττης. ἐπιτίθεσθαι δὲ τῇ θῆρᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ τοὺς Ἀραβίους φασίν ἀντιπέρας οἰκοῦντας. τὸ δὲ ἐντεύθεν θηριώδη μὲν τὴν θάλατταν εἰναι πᾶσαν, ἀγελάξεσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ κῆτη, τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἑρμα τοῦτον κωδωνοφορεῖν κατὰ πρόμναν τε καὶ πρόφαν, τὴν δὲ ἤχω ἐκπλήττειν τὰ θηρία, καὶ μὴ εἶν ἐμπελάζειν ταῖς ναυσί.
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 seals, 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.
Καταπλεύσαντες δὲ ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Ἐὐ-
φράτου φασίν ἐς Βαβυλώνα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἀναπλεῦσαι
παρὰ τὸν Οὐαρδάνην, καὶ τυχόντες αὐτοῦ οἷον
ἐγύγωσκον, ἐπὶ τὴν Νίνων ἔλθεῖν αὖθις, καὶ τῆς
Ἀντιοχείας συνήθως ὑβριζούσης καὶ μηδὲν τῶν
Ἑλληνικῶν ἐσπουδακύνιας, ἐπὶ θάλαττὰν τε κατα-
βήναι τὴν ἐπὶ Σελεύκειαν, νεὼς τε ἐπιτυχόντες
προσπλεύσαι Κύπρῳ κατὰ τὴν Πάφον, οὗ τὸ τῆς
Ἀφροδίτης ἔδος, ὁ χυμβολικὸς ἰδρυμένον θαυμάσαι
τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς ἱερέας ἐς τὴν
ὄσιαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ διδαξάμενον, ἐς Ἰωνίαν πλεῦσαι
θαυμαζόμενον ἰκανῶς καὶ μεγάλων ἀξιούμενον
παρὰ τοῖς τὴν σοφίαν τιμῶσιν.
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.
BOOK IV
Δ'.

I

CAP. 1 'Επει δὲ εἶδον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ παρελθόντα ἐσ τὴν Ἐφεσον, οὐδὲ οἱ βάρανοι ἐπὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἑαυτῶν τέχναις ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ἥκολοῦθον ὁ μὲν σοφίας, ὁ δὲ εἶδος, ὁ δὲ διαίτης, ὁ δὲ σχήματος, οἱ δὲ πάντων ὁμοῦ θαναμασταὶ ὄντες, λόγοι τε περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐφοίτων, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κολοφῶνι μαντεῖον κοινωνίαν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας καὶ ἀτεχνῶς σοφῶν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τὸν ἄνδρα ἄδοντες, οἱ δὲ ἐκ Διδύμων, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον ἱεροῦ, πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν υγιείας δεομένων ὁ θεὸς έκέλευσε προσφοιτᾶν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, τούτῳ γὰρ αὐτὸς τε βούλεσθαι καὶ δοκεῖν ταῖς Μοῖραις. ἐφοίτων καὶ πρεσβείαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, ξένων τε αὐτὸν ἠγούμενοι καὶ βίον ξύμβουλον βωμῶν τε ἱδρύσεως καὶ ἁγαλμάτων, ὁ δὲ ἐκαστα τούτων τὰ μὲν ἐπιστέλλων, τὰ δὲ ἀφίξεσθαι φάσκων διωρ-θοῦτο. πρεσβευσμένης δὲ καὶ τῆς Σμύρνης καὶ ὁ τι μὲν δέοιτο οὐκ εἰπούσης, ἐκλιπαρούσης δὲ ἀφικέσθαι, ἤρετο τὸν πρεσβευτὴν, ὁ τι αὐτοῦ δέοιτο, ὁ δὲ, "ἴδειν," ἐφη, "καὶ ὃθηναι." ὁ δὲ
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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
CAP. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ, "ΑΦΙΕΡΩΜΑΤΙΚΟ, " ἐπε, "δοιπεδε δε, ὁ ΜΟΥΣΑΙ, καὶ ἐρασθήναι ἄλληλων.

II

Τῇν μὲν δὴ διάλέξειν τὴν πρώτην ἀπὸ τῆς κρητικοῦ τοῦ νεὸς πρὸς τοὺς Ἐφεσίους διελέξθη, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ Σωκρατικοὶ, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀπάγων ἀποσπουδάζων, φιλοσοφίᾳ δὲ μόνῃ ξυμβουλεύων προσέχειν, καὶ σπουδὴς ἐμπιπλάναι τὴν Ἐφεσον μάλλον ἡ ραθυμίας τε καὶ ἀγερωχίας, ὅπόσην εὗρεν ἄρχησαν γὰρ ἑττημένοι καὶ πρὸς πυρρίχαις αὐτοῖς ὀντες, αὐλῶν μὲν πάντα μεστὰ ὶν, μεστὰ δὲ ἀνδρογύνων, μεστὰ δὲ κτύπων· ὥδὲ καίτοι μεταθεμένων τῶν Ἐφεσίων πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ὦξιον περιοράν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐξηρέι αὐτὰ καὶ διέβαλλε τοῖς πολλοῖς.

III

Τας δὲ ἄλλας διαλέξεις περὶ τὰ ἀλήθη τὰ ἐν τοῖς ξυστοῖς δρόμοις ἐποιεῖτο, διαλεγομένων δὲ ποτε περὶ κοινωνίας καὶ διδάσκουτος, ὅτι χρὴ τρέφειν τε ἄλληλους καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἄλληλων τρέφεσθαι, στροφθοὶ μὲν ἐκάθητον ἐτὶ τῶν δεύτερων σιωπῶντες, εἰς δὲ αὐτῶν προσπετόμενος ἑβόα, παρακελεύεσθαι τι 350
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."

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.

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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. III

δοκῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἱ δὲ, ὡς ἦκουσαν, αὐτοὶ τε ἀνέκρασαν καὶ ἄρθρευτες ἐπέτοιον ὑπὸ τῷ ἐνι. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀπολλώνιος εἶχετο τοῦ λόγου, γυμνώσκων μὲν, ἐφ' ὦ τι οἱ στρουθοὶ πέτοιον, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὅπαχ ἐρμηνεύων αὐτό, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέβλεψαν ἐς αὐτοὺς πάντες καὶ ἀνοίητος ἦνοι τερατώδες αὐτὸ ἐνόμισαν, παραλαξάζας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοῦ λόγου, "παῖς," εἶπεν, "ὦ λισθεν ἀπῶγων πυροὺς ἐν σκάφη, καὶ κακῶς αὐτοὺς ξυλλεξάμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπελήλυθε, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐσκεδασμένους ἀπολέ-λοιπεν ἐν στενωπῷ τῷ δεῖπν, ὁ δὲ στρουθὸς παρατυχὼν οὗτος πρόξενος τοῖς ἄλλοις ἦκει τοῦ ἔρμαιον καὶ ποιεῖται αὐτοὺς ἔσσιτον." οἱ μὲν δὴ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀκρωμένων δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ὄχοντο, ὦ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας διησεῖ τὸν λόγου, δι' ἐπὶ τῆς κοινωνίας προΘθέτο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκοντο βοῶντες τε καὶ μεστοὶ ἁυματ-οσ, "οἱ μὲν στρουθοί," εἶπεν, "ὅρατε, ὡς ἐπιμε-λοῦνται τε ἀλλήλων καὶ κοινωνία χαίρουσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἄξιούμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινωνοῦντα ἐτέροις ἰδωμεν, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀσωτίαν καὶ τρυφήν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡγοῦμεθα, τοὺς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τρεφομένους παρασίτους τε καὶ κόλακας φαμέν. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄλλῳ ἢ ξυγκλείσαντας αὐτοὺς, ὡσπερ τοὺς σιτευομένους τῶν ὅρυθον, ἐν σκότῳ γαστρίζεσθαι, μέχρις ἀν διαρραγῶμεν παχυνόμενοι;"
instructions to give to his fellows; and the latter, on chap.
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.”

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?”
Αυγμοῦ δὲ υφέρτοντος τὴν Ἑφεσον καὶ οὕτω ἀνοιδούσης τῆς νόσου, ξυνήκε μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τῆς προσβολῆς, ξυνεῖς δὲ προύλεγε. πολλαχοῦ τε τῶν διαλέξεων "οὐ γῆ, μένε ὀμοία," καὶ τοιαῦτα ἐπεφθέγγετο ξυν ἀπειλῇ: "τούσδε σῶζε" καὶ "οὐ παρελεύσῃ ἐνταῦθα." οἱ δὲ οὐ προσείχον καὶ τερατολογίαν τὰ τοιαῦτα ὄντο τοσφdoi μᾶλλον, ὅσο καὶ ἐς πάντα τὰ ἱερὰ φοιτῶν ἀποτρέπειν αὐτὸ ἐδόκει καὶ ἀπεὐχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνοήτως εἶχον τοῦ πάθους, ἐκείνους μὲν οὐδὲν ὃτε ἀπειρκεῖν ἔτι, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην Ἰωνίαν περιῆκεν, διορθούμενος τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις καὶ διαλεγόμενος ἀεὶ τὶ σωτήριον τοῖς παροῦσιν.

'Αφικνουμένω δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Σμύρναν προσα-πήντων μὲν οἱ Ἰωνες, καὶ γὰρ ἐτυχον Πανιόνια θύντες, ἀναγνώσει δὲ καὶ ψήφισμα Ἰωνικοῦ, ἐν ὧν ἐδέσωτο αὐτοῦ κοινωνήσαι σφισι τοῦ ἔξυλλόγου, καὶ ὄνοματι προστυχῶν ἤκιστα Ἰωνικῷ, Δού-κουλλος γὰρ τοῖς ἐπεγέγραπτο τῇ γνώμῃ, πέμπει ἐπιστολὴν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν, ἐπιπληθεὶς ποιοῦ-μενος περὶ τοῦ βαρβαρισμοῦ τούτου καὶ γὰρ
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 rodromontade, 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.

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;
CAP. δὴ καὶ Φαβρίκιον καὶ τοιούτους ἐτέρους ἐν τοῖς ἐψηφισμένοις εὑρεν. ὡς μὲν οὖν ἐρρωμένως ἐπέπληξε, δῆλοι ἢ περὶ τούτον ἐπιστολή.

VI


VII

Σπουδὴ δὲ ὅρων τοὺς Σμυρναίους ἀπαντῶν ἀπτομένους λόγων, ἐπερρώνυμε καὶ σπουδαιοτέρους ἐποίει, φρονεῖν τε ἐκελεύειν ἐφ’ ἐαυτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ τῆς πόλεως εἶδει, καὶ γὰρ, εἰ καὶ καλλίστῃ πόλεων, ὅποια τοῦ ἡλίου εἰσὶ, καὶ τὸ πέλαγος οἰκειόταται, ξεφύρου τε πηγὰς ἐχει, ἀλλ’ ἀνδράσιν ἐστεφανώσθαι αὐτὴν ἥδιον ἢ στοάις τε καὶ γραφαίς καὶ χρυσῷ πλείονι τοῦ δέοντος.1 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄροντα should be read instead of ἄρον: “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.

VI

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

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,
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII

οἶκοδομήματα ἐπὶ ταύτῳ μένειν, οὐδαμοῦ ὀρόμενα πλὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους τῆς γῆς, ἐν ὧδε ἐστὶν, ἀνδρας δὲ ἀγαθοὺς πανταχοῦ μὲν ὀρᾶσθαι, πανταχοῦ δὲ φθέγγεσθαι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν, ἡς γεγονασίων, ἀποφαίνειν τοσαύτην, ὡσοι περ αὐτοὶ γῆν ἐπελθεῖν δύνανται. ἔλεγε δὲ τὰς μὲν πόλεις τὰς οὕτω καλὰς έσοικέναι τῷ τοῦ Δίου ἀγάλματι, ὃς ἐν Ὄλυμπίᾳ τῷ Φειδίᾳ ἐκπεποίηται, καθήσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ—οὕτως τῷ δημιουργῷ ἐδοξεῖ—τοὺς δὲ ἀνδρας ἐπὶ πάντα ἥκοντα μηδὲν ἀπεοικέναι τοῦ Ὄμηρειον Δίος, ὃς ἐν πολλαῖς ἱδέαις Ὄμηρῳ πεποίηται θαυμασιώτερον ἐνυγκείμενος τοῦ ἐλεφαντίνου τόν μὲν γὰρ ἐν γῇ φαίνεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἐς πάντα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὑπονοεῖσθαι.

VIII

Καὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀν πόλεις ἄσφαλῶς οἰκοῖντο ἐνυφειλοσόφει τοῖς Ἀνθρώποις, διάφρομινος ὄροι ἄλληλοι καὶ μὴ ἐνυγκείμενοι τὰς γνώμας· ἔλεγε γὰρ δὴ τὴν ὁρθῶς οἰκησομένην πόλιν ὁμονοίας στασιαζούσης δεῖσθαι, τούτοι δὲ ἀπιθάνως τε καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἀκολουθοῦν εἰρήσθαι δόξαντος, ἑνυείς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὃτι μὴ ἐπονται οἱ πολλοὶ τῷ λόγῳ "λευκῶν μὲν," ἐφη, "καὶ μέλαν οὐκ ἀν ποτὲ ταύτιν γένοιτο, οὐδὲ ἀν τῷ γλυκέι ποῖ
public edifices remain where they are, and are no-
where seen except in that particular part of the earth
where they exist, but good men are conspicuous
everywhere, and everywhere talked about; 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 a presence imagined every-
where in heaven.

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
CAP. VIII
πικρῶν ύγιῶς ξυγκραθείη, ὃμόνοια δὲ στασιάσει
σωτηρίας ἐνεκα τῶν πόλεων. ὦ δὲ λέγω, τοιούτων
ήγομεθα: στάσις ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ ξίφη καὶ τὸ καταλι-
θοῦν ἀλλήλους ἄγουσα ἀπέστω πόλεως, ἡ παιδο-
τροφίας τε δεὶ καὶ νόμων καὶ ἀνδρῶν, ἐφ’ οἷς λόγοι
καὶ ἔργα, φιλοτιμία δὲ ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ τοῦ
κοινοῦ, καὶ πῶς ἂν ὦ μὲν γυνῶμης εἴποι βελτίω
γνώμην, ὦ δ’ ἐτέρου ἀμεινοῦ ἀρχής προσταίη, ὦ δὲ
πρεσβεύσειν, ὦ δ’ ἐξοικοδομήσαυτο λαμπρότερον
τῆς ἐτέρου ἐπιστατείας, ἔρις, οἷμαι, αὕτη ἀγαθή
cαὶ στάσις πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ. τὸ
δ’ ἄλλου ἄλλο ἐπιτηδεύοντας ἐς τὸ τῆς πόλεως
ὀφελος ξυμφέρειν Δακεδαιμονίοις μὲν εὐθεῖς
ἐδόκει πάλαι, τὰ γὰρ πολεμικὰ ἐξεπονεῖτό σφισί,
cαὶ ἐς τούτο ἐρρωντο πάντες καὶ τούτου μόνου
ηπτοντο, ἐμοὶ δ’ ἀριστοῦ δοκεῖ τὸ πράττειν ἕκαστον,
ὁ τι οἴδε καὶ ὁ τι δύναται. εἰ γὰρ ὦ μὲν ἀπὸ
δημαγωγίας θαυμασθῆσεται, ὦ δὲ ἀπὸ σοφίας, ὦ
dὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν πλοῦτειν, ὦ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ
χρηστὸς εἰναι, ὦ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμβριθῆς καὶ μὴ
ξυγγνώμων τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν, ὦ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ
dιαβεβληθαί τὰς χείρας, εὐ κεῖσται ἡ πόλις,
μᾶλλον δὲ ἐστῆξει.”

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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."
Καὶ ἁμα διων ταῦτα ναῦν εἶδε τῶν τριαρμέων ἐκπλέουσαν καὶ τοὺς ναύτας ἀλλον ἀλλως ἐσ το ἀνάγεσθαι αὐτήν πράττοντας. ἐπιστρέφον οὖν τοὺς παρόντας, "ὁράτε," εἶπε, "τὸν τῆς νεώς δήμον, ὡς οἱ μὲν τὰς ἑφολκίδας ἐμβεβήκασιν ἥρετικοὶ ὄντες, οἱ δ' ἀγκύρας ἀνυμώσι τε καὶ ἀναρτῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπέχουσι τὰ ἱστία τῷ ἀνέμῳ, οἱ δὲ ἐκ πρύμνης τε καὶ πρόφας προορῶσιν; εἰ δὲ ἐν τούτων εἰς ἐλλείψει τι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔργων ἡ ἀμαθῶς τῆς ναυτικῆς ἀψεταί, πονήρως πλευσοῦνται καὶ ὁ χειμῶν αὐτοὶ δόξουσιν: εἰ δὲ φιλοτιμήσονται πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιάσουσι μὴ κακίων ἔτερος ἑτέρου δόξαι, καλοὶ μὲν ὄρμοι τῇ νητὶ ταύτῃ, μεστὰ δὲ εὐδίας τε καὶ εὐπλοίας πάντα, Ποσείδῶν δὲ 'Ασφάλειος ἡ περὶ αὐτοῖς εὐβουλία δόξει.

Τοιούτους μὲν δὴ λόγους ἔψειχε τῇ Σμύρναν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ νόσος τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις εὐπέπεσε καὶ οὖν ἤν πρὸς αὐτὴν αὐτάρκες, ἐπρεσβεύσωντο παρὰ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ἵσαν ποιοῦμενοι αὐτῶν τοῦ πάθους, ὁ δὲ όικ ὁμοὶ δεῖν ἀναβάλλεσθαι τῇν ὁδόν, ἀλλ'
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

IX

And as he was thus discoursing, he saw a ship with three sails 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 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

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,
CAP. εἰπὼν "ίωμεν," ἢν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, τοῦ Πυθαγόρου,
οἴμαι, ἐκεῖνο πράττων τὸ ἐν Θουρίως όμοιοι καὶ
Μεταποντίοις εἶναι. ξυναγαγὼν οὖν τοὺς Ἐφεσίους,
"θαρσεῖτε," ἐφη, "τήμερον γὰρ παῦσω τὴν νύσσον,
καὶ εἰπὼν ἦγεν ἥλικιαν πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον, οὐ
tὸ τοῦ ᾿Αποτροπαίου ἤδρυται. πτωχεύειν δὲ τις
ἐνταῦθα ἑδόκει γέρων ἐπιμών τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς
tέχνη, καὶ πῆραν ἑφέρε καὶ ἄρτον ἐν αὐτῇ τρύφος,

ράκεσί τε ἡμφίεστο καὶ αὐχμηρῶς εἰχὲ τοῦ προσ-

ωπού. περιστήσας οὖν τοὺς Ἐφεσίους αὐτῷ,
"βάλλετε τὸν θεός ἐχθρόν," εἶπε, "ἐξελέξαμεν
τῶν λίθων ὡς πλεῖστος." θαυμαζόντων δὲ τῶν
Ἔφεσίων, ὦ τι λέγοι, καὶ δεινὸν ἥγουμένων, εἰ
ξένον ἀποκτενοῦσιν ἄθλιως οὕτω πράττοντα,
καὶ γὰρ ἰκέτευε καὶ πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἐλέφ ἐλεγεν,
ἐνέκειτο παρακελεύομενος τοῖς Ἐφεσίους ἐρείδειν
τε καὶ μὴ ἀνιέναι. ὡς δὲ ἀκροβολισμῷ τινες ἐπ'
αὐτῷ ἐχρῆσαντο, καὶ ὁ καταμύεις δοκῶν ἀνέβλε-
ψεν ἄθροὺν πυρὸς τε μεστοῦς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς
ἐδειξε, ἐξυήκαν οἱ Ἐφέσιοι τοῦ δαίμονος καὶ
κατελίθωσαν οὕτως αὐτῶν, ὡς κολωνῶν λίθων περὶ
αὐτῶν χώσασθαι. διαλιπὼν δὲ ὄλγον ἐκέλευσεν
ἀφελεῖν τοὺς λίθους, καὶ τὸ θηρίον, ὁ ἀπεκτόνασι,
γνώμαι. ἡμυνωθέντος οὖν τοῦ ἁβελὴσθαι δο-
κοῦντος, ὁ μὲν ἡφάνιστο, 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 an old mendicant artfully blinking his eyes like a blind man, 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.
Καθήρας δὲ τοὺς Ἑφεσίους τῆς νόσου καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἱκανῶς ἔχων, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὠρμητο. βαδίσας οὖν ἐς τὸ Περγαμὸν καὶ ἤσθεῖς τῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερῷ, τοὺς τε ἰκετεύοντο τὸν θεὸν ὑποθέμενος, ὀπόσα δρώντες εὐξυμβόλων ὑμεράτων τεῦξονται, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἱασάμενος, ἦλθεν ἐς τὴν Ἰλιάδα, καὶ πάσης τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν ἁρχαιολογίας ἐμφορηθεῖς ἐφοίτησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἀχαίων τάφους, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν εἰπὼν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἀναιμῶν τε καὶ καθαρῶν καθαγίσας, τοὺς μὲν ἑταίρους ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν χωρεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ κολωνοῦ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἐνυγχεύσειν ἐφή. δεδιττομένων οὖν τῶν ἑταίρων αὐτῶν, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οἱ Διοσκορίδαι καὶ οἱ Φαίδιμοι καὶ ἡ τοιάδε ὄμιλα πᾶσα δεινὸν ἡδὴ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, τοῖς Ἄχιλλεα φοβηρὸν ἔτι φασκόντων φαίνεσθαι, τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ἰλίῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ πεπείσθαι, ἡταὶ καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ," ἐφή, "τὸν Ἀχιλλέα σφόδρα οἴδα ταῖς ἡμεροβιάσις χαίροντα, τὸν τε γὰρ Νέστορα τὸν ἐκ τῆς Πύλου μάλα.
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.

XI

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 as his mind was stored 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 to look upon; 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XI

ήσπαξετο, ἐπειδὴ ἀεὶ τι αὐτῷ διήλθη χρῆστον, τὸν τε Φοίνικα τροφέα καὶ ὀπαδὸν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τιμᾶν ἐνόμιζεν, ἐπειδὴ διήλθε οὐτὸν ὁ Φοίνιξ λόγος, καὶ τὸν Πρίαμον δὲ καίτοι πολεμώτατον αὐτῷ ὅντα πραότατα εἶδεν, ἐπειδὴ διαλεγομένου ἦκουσε, καὶ Ὁδυσσεὺς δὲ ἐν διχοστασίᾳ ἔνγγειμο-μενὸς οὕτω μέτριος ὁφθη, ὡς καλὸς τῷ Ὁδυσσεῷ ὀκληκθεῖν ἡ φοβερὸς δόξαι. τὴν μὲν δὴ ἀσπίδα καὶ τὴν κόρυν τὴν δεινόν, ὡς φασί, νεύοσαν, ἔπει τοὺς Τρῶας ὁμαία αὐτῷ εἶναι μεμνημένω, ἄν ἡ αὐτῶν ἐπαθὲν ἀπιστησάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου, ἐγὼ δὲ οὕτε μετέχω τι τοῦ Ἰλιῶν, διαλέξομαι τε αὐτῷ χαρέστερον ἢ οἱ τότε ἐτάιροι, καὶ ἀποκτείνῃ με, ὡς φατέ, μετὰ Μέμνονος δήποτε καὶ Κύκνου κείσομαι καὶ ἰσως με ἐν κατέτο κοίλῃ, καθάπερ τὸν Ἐκτορα, ἡ Τροία θάψει.” τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ἐτάιρους ἀναμίξει παῖξας τε καὶ σπου-δάσας, προσέβαινε τῷ κολωνῷ μόνος, οἱ δὲ ἐβδάδιζον ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐσπέρας ἤδη.

XII

CAP. XII

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 waved 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.

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.
μίδης; "νη Δί," εἶπεν "ἐκ τούτου γὰρ δὴ ἄγαθός τε οὕμαυ καὶ ἄγαθών εἶναι. "ἐικότως οὖν," ἐφή, "ο Ἀχιλλεύς ἀπαγορεύει μοι μὴ ἐξυνείναι σοι, κελεύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρεσβεύσαι με πρὸς τοὺς Θεταλούς περὶ ὅν αἰτιᾶται σφάς, ὧς ἦρόμην, τί ἂν πρὸς τούτῳ ἔτερον πρὸς χάριν αὐτῷ πράττομι, τὸ μειράκιον ἐφη τὸ ἐκ Πάρου μὴ ποιοῦμενος ἐξυνέμπορον τῆς ἐαυτοῦ σοφίας, Πριαμίδης τε γὰρ ἴκανως ἔστι καὶ τὸν "Εκτορα ὑμνῶν οὐ παύεται."

ΧΙΙ

'Ο μὲν δὴ Ἀντισθένης ἄκων ἀπῆλθεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἔπεδιδον, περὶ τε ἀναγωγὴν ἢ ναῦς εἶχεν, ἐπέρρεον αὐτῇ σμικρῷ σύσῃ πλείους ἔτεροι, βουλόμενοι τὸ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐξυμπλεῖν, καὶ γὰρ μετόπωρον ἦδη ἐτύγχανε καὶ ἡ θάλαττα ἢπττον βεβαία. πάντες οὖν καὶ χειμῶνος καὶ πυρὸς καὶ τῶν χαλεπωτάτων κρείττω τὸν ἀνδρα ἤγονυμοι ἐξυνεμβαίνειν θῆλον, καὶ ἔδεοντο προσδούναι σφίσι τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ πλοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πλήρωμα πολλαπλάσιον ἦν τῆς νεώς, ναῦν μείζῳ ἔτεραν ἐπισκεψάμενος, πολλαὶ δὲ περὶ τὸ Αἰάντειον ἢσαν, "ἐνταῦθα," ἐφή, "ἐμ-βαίνωμεν, καλὸν γὰρ τὸ μετὰ πλεῖόνων σώζεσθαι." περιβαλῶν οὖν τὸ Τρωικὸν ἀκρωτῆριον, ἐκέλευσε 370
“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.’”

XIII

Accordingly Antisthenes went off though against his will; and when the day broke and the wind offshore increased in strength, and the ship was ready to be launched, 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

XIV

Παρῆλθε καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ὄρφεως ἄδυτον προσομισάμενος τῇ Λέσβῳ. φασὶ δὲ ἐνταῦθα ποτὲ
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 accordingly leapt out of the ship, but 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."

XIV

He also visited in passing the shrine of Orpheus when he had put in at Lesbos. And they tell that...
CAP. XIV
τὸν Ὁρφέα μαντικὴν χαίρειν, ἔστε τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπιμεμελήσθαι αὐτὸν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ μήτε ἐς Γρῦνειον ἐφοίτων ἐτὶ ὑπὲρ χρησμῶν ἄνθρωποι μήτε ἐς Κλάρον μήτ᾽ ἐνθα ὁ τρίπος ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, Ὁρφεὺς δὲ ἔχρα μόνος, ἀρτί ἐκ Θάρκης ἤ κεφαλὴ ἠκουσα, ἐφώτισταί οἱ χρησμοφόροιτι ὁ θεὸς καὶ, “πέπαυσο,” ἐφη, “τῶν ἐμῶν, καὶ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἄδοντά σε ἴκανῶς ἴνειγι.”

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Πλεόντων δὲ αὐτῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ ἐπ᾽ Εὔβοιας πέλαγος, ὁ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ δοκεῖ τῶν χαλεπῶν καὶ ὑσμετρητῶν εἶναι, ἡ μὲν θάλασσα ὑπτία καὶ τῆς ὅρας κρείττων ἐφαινετο, λόγοι τε ἐγένοντο περὶ τε νῆσων, ἐπειδὴ πολλαῖς τε καὶ ὑμομασταῖς ἐνετύχανον, περὶ τε ναυτηγίας καὶ κυβερνητικῆς πρόσφοροι τοῖς πλέουσιν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Δάμις τοὺς μὲν διέβαλλε τῶν λόγων, τοὺς δὲ ὑπετέμνετο, τοὺς δὲ οὐ ξυνεχώρει ἐρωταῖν, ξυνῆκεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὅτι λόγον ἔτερον σπουδάσαι βούλοιτο, καὶ, “τί παθών,” ἐφη, “ὁ Δάμις, διαστὰς τὰ ἐρωτόμενα; οὐ γὰρ ναυτιῶν γε, ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλοῦτον πονηρῶς ἔχων ἀποστρέφῃ τοὺς λόγους, ἢ γὰρ θάλασσα, ὅρας, ὡς ὑποτεθεικέν ἐαυτὴν τῇ νηι καὶ πέμπει. τί οὖν δυσχεραίνεις;” “οὔτι,” ἐφη, “λόγου μεγάλον ἐν
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."

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
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“εἰ μὴ ἀλαξονεύσεθαι,” ἕφη, “δόξω, πάντα εἰρήσεται.”

XVI

CAP. XVI

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."

XVI

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
CAP. ΛΙΚΩΣ ΤΗΝ ΧΛΑΜΥΔΑ, ΤΟ ΔΕ ΕΙΔΟΣ ΟΥΚ ἈΛΑΖΩΝ ΤΙΣ ἙΦΑΙΝΕΤΟ, ὍΣ ΕΝΙΟΙΣ Ο ἈΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ ΔΟΚΕΙ, ΔΕΙΝΟΣ ΤΕ ὅΡΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΟΥΚ ἘΞΗΛΛΑΤΤΕ ΤΟΥ ΦΑΙΔΡΟΥ, ΤΟ ΔΕ ΚΑΛΛΟΣ ΟΫΠΩ ΜΟΙ ΔΟΚΕΙ ἘΠΑΙΝΕΤΟΥ ἈΞΙΟΥ ἘΠΕΙΛΗ- ΦΘΑΙ, ΚΑΙΤΟΙ ὍΜΗΡΟΥ ΠΟΛΛΑ ἕΠ ΑΥΤΟΙ ΕΙΠΟΝΤΟΣ, ἈΛΛΑ ΆΡΡΗΤΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΛΥΣΘΑΙ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ὙΠΟ ΤΟΥ ὩΜΟΝΥΜΟΣ Ἡ ΠΑΡΑΠΛΗΣΙΩΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ἌΔΕΣΘΑΙ.

ὅΡΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΔΕ, ὌΠΟΣΟΝ ΕΙΠΟΝ, ΜΕΙΣΩΝ ΕΓΓΥΝΕΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΥΠΛΑΣΙΟΙ ΚΑΙ ὩΠΕΡ ΤΟΥΤΟ, ΔΩΔΕΚΑΠΗΧΥΣ ΓΟΥΝ ἘΦΑΝΗ ΜΟΙ, ὍΤΕ ΔΗ ΤΕΛΕΩΤΑΤΟΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ἘΓΕΝΕΤΟ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΚΑΛΛΟΣ ΑΕΙ ΞΥΝΕΠΕΔΙΔΟΥ Τῼ ΜΗΚΕΙ. ΤΗΝ ΜΕΝ ΔΗ ΚΟΜΗΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΚΕΙΡΑΣΘΑΙ ΠΟΤΕ ἘΛΕΓΕΝ, ἈΛΛΑ ΑΣΥΛΟΝ ΦΥΛΑΞΑΙ Τῼ ΣΠΕΡΧΕΙΏ, ΠΟΤΑΜΩΝ ΓΑΡ ΠΡΩΤΟ ΣΠΕΡΧΕΙΟ ΧΡΗΣΑΣΘΑΙ, ΤΑ ΓΕΝΕΙΑ Δ' ΑΥΤΟΙ ΠΡΩΤΑΙ ἘΚΒΟΛΑΣ ΕἸΧΕ.

προσειπών δέ με, "ἈΣΜΕΝΩΣ," εἶπεν, "ἘΝΤΕΤΥ- ΧΗΚΑ ΣΟΙ, ΠΑΛΑΙ ΔΕΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΆΝΔΡΟΣ ΤΟΙΟΤΤΟ. ΘΕΤ- ΤΑΛΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΤΑ ἘΝΑΓΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΧΡΟΝΟΥ ᾍΔΗ ΠΟΛΥΝ ἘΚΛΕΛΟΙΤΑΣΙ ΜΟΙ, ΚΑΙ ΜΗΝΙΕΝ ΜΕΝ ΟΫΠΩ ἈΞΙΩ, ΜΗΝΙΣΑΝΤΟΣ ΓΑΡ ἈΠΟΛΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ Ἡ ΟΙ ΕΝΤΑΘΘΑ ΠΟΤΕ" ἘΛΛΗΝΕΣ, ΕΥΜΒΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΕ ἘΠΙΕΙΚΕΙ ΧΡΩΜΑΙ, ΜΗ ὩΒΡΙΧΕΙΝ ΣΦΑΣ ΕΣ ΤΑ ΝΟΜΙΜΑ, ΜΗΔΕ ΚΑΚΙΟΥΣ ἘΛΕΓΧΕ- ΣΘΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΤΡΩΩΝ, ΟΙ ΤΟΣΟΥΣΔΕ ΆΝΔΡΑΣ ΥΠ' ἘΜΟΥ ἈΦΑΙΡΕΘΕΝΤΕΣ ΔΗΜΟϹΙΑ ΤΕ ΘΥΝΟΥΙ ΜΟΙ ΚΑΙ ὩΡΑΙΩΝ ἈΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ἸΚΕΤΗΡΙΑΝ ΤΙΘΕΜΕΝΟΙ ΣΠΟΝ- ΔΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΝΙΝ, ἉΣ ἘΓΩ ΟΥ ΔΩΣΩ. ΤΑ ΓΑΡ 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 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.

"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,
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for the perjuries which they committed against me 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 a drawn 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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"πολύν," ἡφη, "χρόνον ἐξηπατώμεθα πρεσβευόμενοι τε παρὰ τοὺς Τρῶας, καὶ ποιούμενοι τὰς ὑπὲρ αυτῆς μάχας, ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἰλίῳ οὔσης, ἢ δὲ Αἰγυπτῶν τε φίλη καὶ τὸν Πρωτέως οἶκον ἄρπασθείσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πάριδος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπιστεύθη τούτο, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς Τροίας ηὐς τὸν ἐμαχόμεθα, ὡς μὴ αἰσχρῶς ἀπέλθοιμεν." ἡφάμην καὶ τετάρτης ἐρωτήσεως καὶ θαυμάζειν ἡφην, εἰ τοσοῦσδε ὡμοὶ καὶ τοιοῦσδε ἀνδρας ἡ Ἑλλάς ἤνεγκεν, ὅπόσους "Ομηρος ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν ἰοντάττει. ὁ δὲ 'Αχιλλευς, "οὐδὲ οἱ βάρβαροι," ἡφη, "πολὺ ἡμῶν ἐλείποντο, οὕτως ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἀρετῆς ἤνρησε." πέμπτον δ' ἠρώμην τὶ παθὼν 'Ομηρος τὸν Παλαμήδην οὐκ οἴδεν, ἢ οἴδε μέν, ἐξαιρεῖ δὲ τοῦ περὶ ὑμῶν λόγου; "εἰ Παλαμήδης," εἴπεν, "ἐς Τροίαν οὐκ ἤλθεν, οὐδὲ Τροία ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄνὴρ σοφώτατος τε καὶ μαχημάτατος ἀπέθανεν, ὡς 'Οδυσσεῖ ἔδοξεν, οὐκ ἐσάγεται αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ ποιῆματα "Ομηρος, ὡς μὴ τὰ ὑδεῖθη τοῦ 'Οδυσσεῶς ἄδοι." καὶ ἐπολοφυράμενος αὐτῷ ὁ 'Αχιλλευς ὡς μεγίστω τε καὶ καλλιστῷ, νεωτάτῳ τε καὶ πολεμικωτάτῳ, σωφροσύνῃ τε ὑπερβαλομένῳ πάντας καὶ πολλὰ ἐυμβαλομένῳ ταῖς Μοῦσαις, "ἀλλὰ σὺ," ἡφη, "'Ἀπολλώνε, σοφοὶς γὰρ πρὸς σοφοὺς ἐπιτηδεία, τοῦ τε τάφου ἐπιμελήθητι, καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα τοῦ Παλαμήδους ἀνάλαβαι φαιλως ἐρρυμένον κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι κατὰ Μήθυμναν τὴν ἐν Δέσβῳ." τάῦτα εἴπων καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι
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, 'whether Greece has 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 contumuously cast aside; and it lies in Aeolis close to Methymna.
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τὰ περὶ τῶν νεανίαν τὸν ἑκ Πάρου, ἀπῆλθε ξῦν ἀστραπῆς μετρίᾳ, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἁλεκτρυόνες ἤδη φόδης ἦπτουτο.”

XVII

Τοιαύτα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς νεώς, ἐς δὲ τὸν Πειραιῶν ἑσπευόμενοι περὶ μυστηρίων ὄραν, ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι πολυανθρωπότατα Ἑλλήνων πράττονσιν, ἀνήμι ξυντεύνας ἀπὸ τῆς νεώς ἐς τὸ ἀστυν, προϊόν ἔως πολλοὶ τῶν φιλοσοφὸντων ἐνετύχανε Φάληρας κατιόντως, διὸ ὁ μὲν γυμνὸς ἐθέροντο, καὶ γὰρ τὸ μετόπωρον εὐξίλιον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, οἱ δὲ ἐκ βιβλίων ἐσπούδαζον, οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ στόματος ἱσκόῳτο, οἱ δὲ ἡμῖζον παρῆμεν δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τεκμηρίμενοι πάντες, ὡς εἰς Ἀπολλώνιος, ξυναντοί στρέφοντο τε καὶ ἱσπάξοντο χαίροντες, νεανίσκοι δὲ ὁμοῦ δέκα περιτυχόντες αὐτῷ, “νῆ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἔκεινη,” ἔφασαν ἀνατείναντες τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, “ἡμεῖς ἃρτι ἐς Πειραιῶς ἐβαδίζομεν πλευσόμειοι ἐς Ἰωνίαν πάρὰ σὲ.” δὲ ἀπεδέχετο αὐτῶν καὶ ξυγχαίρειν ἐφ’ ἡμὶ φιλοσοφοῦσιν.

XVIII

CAP. XVIII

Ἡν μὲν δὴ Ἐπιδαυρίων ἡμέρα. τὰ δὲ Ἐπιδαυρία μετὰ πρόρρησιν τε καὶ ἑρεῖα δευτρὸ μεῖν

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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.”

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.

XVIII

It was then the day of the Epidaurian festival, at which it is still customary for the Athenians to
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.
Τὰς δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς διατριβάς πλείστας μὲν ὁ Δάμιος γενέονθαν φησι τῷ ἄνδρι, γράψαι δὲ οὐ πάσας, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀναγκαίας τε καὶ περὶ μεγάλων σπουδασθείσας. τὴν μὲν δὴ πρώτην διάλεξιν, ἐπειδὴ φιλοθύτας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἶδεν, ὑπὲρ ἵερῶν διελέξατο, καὶ ὡς ἂν τις ἐστὶ τὸ ἐκάστῳ τῶν θεῶν οἰκεῖον καὶ πηνίκα δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ήθοὺς ἢ σπέιδοι ἢ εὐχοιτο, καὶ βιβλίῳ Απολλωνίου προστυχεῖν ἔστιν, ἐν δὲ ταῦτα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φωνῇ εκδιδάσκει. διήλθε δὲ ταῦτα Ἀθηνᾶς πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὲρ σοφίας αὐτοῦ τε κάκεινων, εἰτ' ἐλέγχων τὸν ἱεροφάντην δι' ἄθι βλασφήμωσ τε καὶ ἀμαθῶς εἴπε: τις γὰρ ἔτι φήθη τὰ δαιμόνια μὴ καθαροῦ εἶναι τὸν φιλοσοφοῦντα, ὅπως οἱ θεοὶ θεραπευτέοι;

Διαλεγομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ σπέιδου, παρέτυχε μὲν τῷ λόγῳ μειράκιον τῶν ἀβρών οὕτως ἀσέλογας νομιζόμενον, ὡς γενέοσθαι ποτὲ καὶ ἀμαξῶν ἁσμα, πατρὶς δὲ αὐτῷ Κέρκυρα ἤν καὶ ἐσ Ἀλκίνουν ἀνέφερε τὸν ἔξων τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως τὸν Φαίακα, καὶ διήηει μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος περὶ τοῦ
XIX

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

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
σπένδειν, ἐκέλευε δὲ μὴ πίνειν τοῦ ποτηρίου τούτου, φυλάττειν δὲ αὐτὸ τοῖς θεοῖς ἄχραντον τε καὶ ἄποτον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὡστα ἐκέλευσε τῷ ποτηρίῳ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ σπένδειν κατὰ τὸ οὐς, ἀφ' οὐ μέρους ἦκιστα πίνουσιν ἀνθρώποι, τὸ μειράκιον κατεσκέδασε τοῦ λόγου πλατύν τε καὶ ἁσελγὴ γέλωτα: ὁ δὲ ἀναβλέψας ἐς αὐτὸ, "οὐ σὺ," ἐφη, "ταῦτα ὑβρίζεις, ἀλλ' ὁ δαίμων, ὦς ἐλαύνει σε οὐκ εἰδότα." ἐλελήθηε δὲ ἄρα δαίμονῶν τὸ μειράκιον· ἐγέλα τε γὰρ ἐφ' οῖς οὔτες ἐτέρος καὶ μετέβαλλεν ἐς τὸ κλάειν αὐτίαν οὐκ ἔχον, διελέγετο τε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἦδε. καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τὴν νεότητα σκιρτῶσαν ὕφως ἔκφερεν αὐτὸ ἐς ταῦτα, ὃ δ' ὑπεκρίνετο ἅρα τῷ δαίμονι καὶ ἐδόκει παροιμεῖν, ἃ ἐπαρφίνει τὸτε, ὅρωτός τε ἐς αὐτὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, δεδοικότως τε καὶ ὀργίλως φωνὰς ἤφιε τὸ εἴδωλον, ὅπόσαι κασμένον τε καὶ στρεβλουμένων εἰσίν, ἱφέξεσθαι τε τοῦ μειρακίου ὀμνυ καὶ μῆδεν ἄνθρωπον ἐμπεσείσθαι. τοῦ δὲ οἶνον δεσπότου πρὸς ἀνδράποδον ποικίλου πανουργόν τε καὶ ἀναίδες καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔχον ὀργὴν λέγοντος, καὶ κελεύοντος αὐτῷ ἔχων τεκμηρίῳ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, "τὸν δεῖνα," ἐφη, "καταβαλὸ ἄνθρωπαντα," δείξας τινὰ τῶν περὶ τὴν Βασίλειον στούν, πρὸς ᾗ ταύτα ἐπράττετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἄνδρας ὑπεκινήθη πρῶτον, εἶτα ἔπεσε, τὸν μὲν θόρυβον

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was talking about libations, and was urging them not 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 mouth-piece 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
CAP. τὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ὡς ἐκρότησαν ὑπὸ θαύματος, τῷ ἀν τις γράφοι; τὸ δὲ μειράκιον, ὡσπερ ἀφυπνίσαν, τοὺς τε ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐτριψε καὶ πρὸς τὰς αὐγὰς τοῦ ἡλίου εἶδεν, αἰδῶ τε ἐπεσπάσατο πάντων ἐς αὐτὸ ἐστραμμένων, ἄσελγες τε οὐκέτι ἐφαίνετο, οὐδὲ ἅτακτον βλέπον, ἀλλ' ἐπανήλθεν ἐς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ φύσιν μεῖον οὐδὲν ἢ εἰ φαρμακοποσία ἐκέχρητο,· μεταβαλὼν τε τῶν χλανιδίων καὶ λῃσίων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης συμβάριδος, ἐς ἔρωτα ἤλθεν αὐχμοῦ καὶ τρίβωνος καὶ ἐς τὰ τοῦ 'Απολλωνίου ἥθη ἀπεδύσατο.

XXI

CAP. 'Επιπλήξαι δὲ λέγεται περὶ Διονυσίων Ἀθηναίων, ἃ ποιεῖται σφίσιν ἐν ὁρᾷ τοῦ ἀνθεστηρίῳ· ὅ μὲν γὰρ μονωδίας ἀκροασμένους καὶ μελοποιίας παραβάσεων τε καὶ ρυθμῶν, ὅπόσοι κωμωδίας τε καὶ τραγῳδίας εἰσίν, ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἔμφοιταν φέτος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσεν, ὅτι αὐλοῦ ὑποσημήναντος λυγισμοὺς ὅρχυνται, καὶ μεταξὺ τῆς Ὀρφεώς ἐποποιίας τε καὶ θεολογίας τὰ μὲν ὡς Ὅμως, τὰ δὲ ὡς Νῦμφαι, τὰ δὲ ὡς Βάκχαι πράττουσιν, ἐς ἐπίπληξιν τούτου κατέστη, καὶ, "παύσασθε," εἰπεν, "ἐξορχοῦμενοι τοὺς Σαλαμινίους καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτέρους κειμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας, εἰ μὲν γὰρ Λακωνικὴ ταύτα ὀρχησίς, εὖγε οἱ στρατιώται, γυμνάζεσθε γὰρ πολέμῳ καὶ
LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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.

XXI

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’;
κατὰ Μῆδων ταῦτα ἤ Περσῶν, καθ’ ὑμῶν δὲ ἐστήξει,
τῶν ἀναθέντων αὐτὰ εἰ λίποισθε. κροκωτοὶ δὲ
ὑμῶν καὶ ἄλουργία καὶ κοκκοβαφία τοιαύτη πόθεν;
οὔδὲ γὰρ αἱ Ἀχαρναὶ γε ὡδε ἐστέλλοντο, οὔδὲ ὁ
Κολωνὸς ὡδε ἰππευε. καὶ τὶ λέγω ταῦτα; γυνὴ
ναύαρχος ἐκ Καρίας ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἐπλευσε μετὰ
Ξέρξου, καὶ ἴνα αὕτη γυναικεῖον οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ ἄνδρὸς
στολὴ καὶ ὀπλα, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀβρότεροι τῶν Ξέρξου
γυναικῶν ἐφ’ ἐαυτοὺς στέλλεσθε οἱ γέροντες οἱ
νέοι τὸ ἐφηβικόν, οὐ πάλαι μὲν ὁμοισαν ἐς
Ἀγραύλου φοιτώντες ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθα-
νεῖσθαι καὶ ὀπλα θήσεσθαι, νῦν δὲ ἵσως ὁμοίται
ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος βακχεύσειν καὶ θύρσου
λήψεσθαι, κόρων μὲν οὔδεμιαν φέρον, γυναικομίμῳ
δὲ μορφώματι, κατὰ τὸν Ἕυριπίδην, ἀισχρὸς
diαπρέπου. ἄκοψον δὲ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀνέμους γίγνεσθαι,
καὶ λήδια ἀνασείειν λέγεσθε ἐπιπλα μετεώρως
αὐτὰ κολποῦντες. ἔδει δὲ ἀλλὰ τούτοις γε αἰδεῖ-
σθαι, ἐξουμάχοις ὄντας καὶ πνεύσαντας ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
μέγα, μηδὲ τὸν Βορέαν κηδεστὴν γε ὄντα καὶ
παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀνέμους ἀρσενα ποιεῖσθαι
θῆλυν, οὔδὲ γὰρ τῆς Ὄμεθβίας ἐραστῆς ἀν ποτε ὁ
Βορέας ἐγένετο, εἰ κακείνην ὀρχομένην εἶδε."
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.
Διωρθοῦτο δὲ κάκεινο Ἀθήνησιν, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξυπνότες ἐς θεάτρον τὸ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκρόπολει προσείχον σφαγαῖς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐσπονδάζετο ταῦτα ἐκεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν Κορίνθῳ νῦν, χρημάτων τε μεγάλων ἐωνημένου ἦ γοντο μοιχοί καὶ πόρνοι καὶ τοιχώρυχοι καὶ βαλαντιστομοὶ καὶ ἀνδρα-ποδισταὶ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐθνη, οἱ δ’ ὁπλιζον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκέλευον ξυμπίπτειν. Ἐλάβετο δὲ καὶ τούτων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ καλούντων αὐτῶν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἂν ἐφ’ παρελθεῖν ἐς χωρίον ἀκάθαρτων καὶ λύθρου μεστῶν. ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ἐν ἐπιστολῇ, καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔλεγεν ἃ ὁπώς ἡ θεὸς ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἡδὴ ἐκλείπει τοιοῦτων αἰμα ύμῶν ἐκχεοῦτων αὐτῆ. δοκεῖτε γὰρ μοι προ-ιόντες, ἐπειδὰν τὰ Παναθήναια πέμπτη, μηδὲ βοῦς ἔτι, ἀλλ’ ἐκατόμβας ἀνθρώπων καταθύσειν τῇ θεῷ. σὺ δὲ, Διόνυσε, μετὰ τοιοῦτον αἰμα ἐς τὸ θεάτρον φοίτας; κάκει σοι σπένδουσιν οἱ σοφοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι; μετάστηθι καὶ σὺ, Διόνυσε. Κιθαίρων καθαρώτερος.” τοιάδε εὑρον τὰ σπουδαιότατα τῶν φιλοσοφηθέντων Ἀθήνησιν αὐτῷ τότε.

Ἐπρέσβευε δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Θεσπαλοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Πυλαίᾳ ξυλλόγους, 396
XXII

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

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

ἐν οἷς οἱ Θετταλοὶ τὰ Ἀμφικτυονικὰ πράττονσιν, οἱ δὲ δείσαντες ἐψηφίσαντο ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ προσήκοντα τῷ τάφῳ. καὶ τὸ Δεσπώδου σήμα τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου μουνοῦ περιέβαλεν ἄγασθεὶς τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν κολωνίαν βαδίζων, ἔφ’ οὐ λέγονταί Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιχωσθῆναι τοῖς τοξεύμασιν, ἤκουσε τὸν ὁμιλητῶν διαφερομένων ἀλλήλοις, ὃ τι εἶν τὸ ψηφιλότατον τῆς Ἑλλάδος, παρεῖχε δὲ άρα τὸν λόγον ἡ Οἶτη τὸ ὅρος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς οὕσα, καὶ ἀνελθών ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, "ἐγώ," ἐφ’, "τὸ ψηφιλότατον τούτῳ ἥγονται, οἱ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ὑπὲρ ἑλευθερίας ἀποθανόντες ἀντανήγαγον αὐτὸ τῇ Οἶτῃ καὶ ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς 'Ολυμποὺς ἦραν. ἐγώ δὲ ἀγαμαὶ μὲν καὶ τούσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας, τὸν δὲ Ἀκαρνάνα Μεγιστίαν καὶ πρὸ τούτων, ἄ γὰρ πεισομένους ἐγώ ἔγνωσκε, τούτων ἐπεθύμησε κοινωνήσαι τοῖς ἄνδράσιν, οὐ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν δείσας, ἀλλὰ τὸ μετὰ τοιώνδε μὴ τεθνάναι.”

CAP. XXIV

'Ἐπεφοίτησε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἱεροῖς πᾶσι τῷ τῇ Δωδωναίῳ καὶ τῷ Πυθικῷ καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἀβαίς, ἐς Ἀμφιώρεω τε καὶ Τροφωνίου ἐβάδισε καὶ ἐς τῷ Μουσεῖον τῷ ἐν Ἔλικῳ ἄνέβη. φοιτῶντι δὲ ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ διορθομένῳ αὐτὰ ξυνεφοίτων μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἤκολούθουν δὲ οἱ γνώριμοι.
held in Pylaea, at which the Thessalians transact the Amphi-
ctyonic business. And they were so frightened that they passed a resolu-
tion 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."

XXIV

And he also visited all the Greek shrines, namely the shrine 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
μοι, λόγων τε κρατήρες ἵσταντο καὶ ἕρύοντο αὑτῶν οἱ διψόντες. οὖν, δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπίων καὶ καλούντων αὐτῶν Ἡλείων ἐπὶ κοινωνίαιν τοῦ ἅγιονος, "δοκεῖτε μοι," ἐφη, "διαβάλλειν τὴν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων δόξαν προσβείδων δεόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς αὐτόθεν ἡξοντας." γενομέμοις δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν μυκησαμένης τῆς περὶ τὸ Δέκαιον θαλάττης, "οὖτος," εἶπεν, "ὁ αὐχήν τῆς γῆς τετμησεται, μάλλον δὲ οὐ." εἰχε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τούτῳ πρόρρησιν τῆς μικρὸν ὑστερον περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τομῆς, ἢν μετὰ ἐτη ἑπτά Νέρων διενοθήθη· τὰ γὰρ βασίλεια ἐκλήπτοι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφίκετο κηρύγμασιν ὑποθήσων ἐαυτὸν Ὀλυμπικοῖς τε καὶ Πυθικοῖς, ἐνικα δὲ καὶ Ἰσθμοὶ: αἱ δὲ νῖκαι ἦσαν κιθαροδίαι καὶ κήρυκες, ἐνικα δὲ καὶ τραγῳδοῦς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. τότε λέγεται καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καινοτομίας ἄφαισθαι, περιπλούν αὐτὸν ἐργαζόμενος καὶ τὸν Λεγαίον τῷ Ἀδρίᾳ ξυμβάλλον, ὅς μὴ πᾶσα ναῦς ὑπὲρ Μαλέαν πλέοι, κομίζοιτο τε αἱ πολλαὶ διὰ τοῦ ῥήγματος ξυντέμνουσαι τὰς περιβολὰς τοῦ πλοῦ. πὴ δὲ ἀπέβη τὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου λόγιον; ἡ ὀρυχὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Δεκαίου λαβοῦσα στάδια προύβη ὑσώς τέτταρα ξυνεχῶς ὀρυττόντων, σχεῖν δὲ λέγεται Νέρων τῆν τομὴν οἱ μὲν Λεγαίων Ὀλυμπίων

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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 from this very land.” 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 in the seventh year of his reign 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 it possible for ships to sail right round and by it, and to unite 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
CAP. XXIV

φιλοσοφησάντων αυτῷ τὰς θαλάττας καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ 
Λεχαίου πέλαγος ὑπερχυθέν ἀφαίρεσίν εἰπόντων 
τὴν Δίνυναν, οὐ δὲ νεώτερα περὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ δείσαντα. 
τοιούτων μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀπολλώνιου τὸ τὸν Ἰσθμοῦν 
τετμησεσθαι καὶ οὐ τετμησεσθαι.

XXV

CAP. XXV

Ἐν Κορίνθῳ δὲ φιλοσοφοῦν ἔτυχαν τὸτε Ἀθηναῖοι, 
ἀνὴρ ξυνειληφὼς ἀπαύγαν τὸ ἐν Κυκλῆ κράτος, 
οὐ διαβορίους ὕστερον ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν εαυτοῦ λόγων 
οὐκ ἄγεννὼς ἐπεμνήσθη, παθῶν δὲ πρὸς τὸν 
Ἀπολλώνιου, ὅπερ φασὶ τὸν Ἀντισθένην πρὸς τὴν 
τὸν Σωκράτους σοφίαν παθεῖν, εἴπετο αὐτῷ μαθητιῶν 
καὶ προσκείμενος τοὺς λόγους, καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ 
γνωρίμων τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτέρους ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον 
ἐτρεπεν, ὅν καὶ Μένιππος ἦν ὁ Λύκιος, ἐτη μὲν ἡγο-
γονῶς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, γυώμης δὲ ἰκανῶς ἔχων καὶ 
τὸ σῶμα εὗ κατεσκευασμένος, ἐφεκε γοῦν ἀθλητῇ 
καλῷ καὶ ἐλευθερῷ τὸ εἴδος. ἔρασθαι δὲ τὸν Μέ-
νιππον οἱ πολλοὶ ἔνιοτε ὑπὸ γυναικὸν ξένου, τὸ δὲ 
γύναιον καλῷ τε ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἰκανῶς ἀβρά, καὶ 
πλούτειν ἐφάσκεν, οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων ἀρα ἀτεχνῶς 
ἡν, ἀλλὰ ἐδόκει πάντα. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ὅδον τὴν ἐπὶ 
Κεγχοεᾶς βαδίζοντι αὐτῷ μόνῳ, φάσμα ἐντυχὸν 
γυνῇ τε ἐγένετο, καὶ χείρα ξυνήθεν ἐράν αὐτοῦ 
πάλαι φάσκουσα, Φοίνισσα δὲ εἶναι καὶ οἴκειν ἐν 402
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.

XXV

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
προαστεῖφ τῆς Κορίνθου, τὸ δὲνα ἐπούσα
προάστειον, "ἔς ὁ ἐσπέρας," ἔφη, "ἄφικομένῳ
σοι φθῆ τε ὑπάρξῃ ἐμοῦ ἄδούσης καὶ οἶνος, οἴον
οὕπω ἔπιες, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀντεραστὴς ἐνοχλήσει σε,
βιῶσομαι δὲ καλὴ ἕνν καλῷ." τούτως ὑπαχθεῖς ὁ
νεανίας, τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλην φιλοσοφίαν ἔρρωτο,
tῶν δὲ ἐρωτικῶν ἥττητο, ἐφοίτησε περὶ ἐσπέραν
αὐτῆ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν χρόνου ἐθάμιζεν, ὡσπερ
παιδικοῖς, οὕπω ἔμυνεις τοῦ φάσματος.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἀνθριαντοποιοῦ δίκην ἐς τὸν
Μένιππον βλέπων ἐξογράφει τὸν νεανίαν καὶ
ἐθεώρει, καταγνοὺς δὲ αὐτὸν, "σὺ μέντοι," εἶπεν, "ὁ
καλὸς τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν καλῶν γυναικῶν θηρευόμενος
ὀφιν θάλπεις καὶ σὲ ὀφις." θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ
Μένιππον, "ὅτι γυνὴ σοι," ἔφη, "ἐστὶν οὐ γαμετή.
tί δέ; ἡ γὰρ ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ἐράσθαι;" "νη Δί, " εἶπεν,
"ἐπειδὴ διάκειται πρὸς με ὡς ἐρώσασα." "καὶ
γῆμαις δ’ ἀν αὐτήν;" ἔφη. "χαρίει γὰρ ἀν εἰη
τὸ ἀγαπῶσαν γῆμαι." ἤμετο οὖν, "πηνίκα οἱ
γάμοι; " "θερμοί," ἔφη, "καὶ ἴσως αὕριον." ἐπι-
φυλάξας οὖν τὸν τοῦ σύμποσίου καιρὸν ὁ Ἀπολ-
λώνιος καὶ ἐπιστάς τοῖς δαιτυμώσιν ἄρτι ἵκουσι,
"ποῦ," ἔφη, "ἡ ἀβρά, δι’ ἥν ἥκετε;" "ἐνταῦθα,"
eἶπεν ὁ Μένιππος καὶ ἀμὰ ὑπανίστατο ἐφυθριῶν.

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Phoenician woman and lived in a suburb of Corinth, and she mentioned the name of the particular 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 by way of relaxation, 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

rose slightly from his seat, blushing. "And 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.

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 world of ours, 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 in fact 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
XXVI

Τότε καὶ πρὸς Βάσσον διηνέχθη τὸν ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου, πατραλοίας γὰρ οὗτος καὶ ἔδοκει καὶ ἐπεπίστευτο, σοφίαν δὲ ἐαυτοῦ κατεψεύδετο καὶ χαλινος οὐκ ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ γλώττῃ. λοιδορούμενον δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπέσχεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, οἷς τε ἐπέστειλεν οἷς τε διελέχθη κατ’ αὐτοῦ. πᾶν γὰρ, ὅπερ ὡς ἐσ πατραλοίαν ἐλεγεν, ἀληθῆς ἔδοκει, μή γὰρ ἂν ποτε τοιόνδε ἄνδρα ἐσ λοιδορίαν ἐκπεσεῖν, μηδ’ ἄν εἰπεῖν τὸ μὴ ὅν.

XXVII

Τὰ δὲ ἐν Ὁλυμπίᾳ τοῦ ἄνδρος τοιαῦτα· ἀνιόντι τῶν Ἀπολλωνίων ἐσ Ὁλυμπίαν ἐνέτυχον Λακεδαιμο-
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.

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.

XXVII

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

νών πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ ξυνομαίας, Λακωνικὸν δὲ ὁδὲν
περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλ' ἀβρότερον αὐτῶν εἶχον
καὶ συβάρδος μεστοὶ ἦσαν. ἦδον δὲ ἀνδρὰς λείους
tὰ σκέλη, λυπάρουσ τὰς κόμας καὶ μηδὲ γενεῖοις
χρωμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα μαλάκους,
τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἐπέστειλεν, ὡς ἐκεῖνους
κήρυγμα ποιήσασθαι δημοσία, τὴν τε πίπταν τῶν
βαλανείων ἐξαιροῦντας, καὶ τὰς παρατιτρίας
ἐξελάυνοντας, ἐς τὸ ἀρχαῖον τε καθίσταμένους
πάντα, οἴεν παλαίστρα τε ἄνηβησαν καὶ σπουδαῖ,
καὶ τὰ φιλίτια ἐπανήλθε, καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ Δακεδαῖς
μυὸν ἐαυτῇ ὁμοῖα. μαθὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς τὰ οἴκοι
dιορθομένους, ἐπεμψεν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπ' Ὀλυμπίας
βραχυτέραν τῆς Λακωνικῆς σκυτάλης, ἔστι δὲ
ἡδὲ:

"Ἀπολλώνιος ἐφόροις χαίρειν.
' Ἀνδρὸν μὲν τὸ μῆ ἀμαρτάνειν, γενναῖον δὲ τὸ καὶ
ἀμαρτάνοντας αἰσθέσθαι."

XXVIII

CAP. XXVIII

'Ιδὸν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἔδος τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπία, "χαίρε,"
eἶπεν, "ἀγαθὲ Ζεὺς, σὺ γὰρ οὐτω τι ἀγαθὸς, ὡς καὶ
σαυτοῦ κοινωνησαί τοῖς ἀνθρώποις." ἐξηγήσατο
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, and drove out of the city the women who professed to rejuvenate dandies, 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:—

“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.”

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

2 Literally “hair-pluckers.”
δὲ καὶ τὸν χαλκοῦν Μίλωνα καὶ τὸν λόγον τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν σχῆματος. οὐ γὰρ Μίλων ἐστάναι μὲν ἐπὶ δίσκου δοκεῖ τῶ πόδε ἄμφω συμβεβηκὼς, ρόαν δὲ ἐξουσία ἡ ἀρίστερά, ἡ δὲ δεξία, ὁρθοὶ τῆς χειρὸς ἐκείνης οἱ δάκτυλοι καὶ οἴνον διείροντες. οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ Ὄλυμπίαν τε καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν λόγοι τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἱστοροῦσι τούτον ἀτρεπτὸν γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐκβιβασθῆναι ποτὲ τοῦ χῶρου, ἐν δὲ ἐστι, δηλοῦσθαι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀπρίξ τῶν δακτύλων ἐν τῇ ἕννοχῇ τῆς ρόας, τὸ δὲ μηδ' ἄν σχισθῆναι ποτ' ἀπ' ἄλληλων αὐτούς, εἴ τις πρὸς ἔνα αὐτῶν ἀμιλλότο, τῷ τάς διαφύσες ἐν ὀρθοῖς τοῖς δακτύλοις εὐ ἔννοημόσθαι, τὴν ταινίαν δὲ, ἣν ἀναδείκται, σωφροσύνης ἠγοῦνται ξύμβολον. ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος σοφῶς μὲν ἐπεν ἐπινενοηθήσας ταῦτα, σοφώτερα δὲ εἶναι τὰ ἀληθέστερα. "ὡς δὲ γιγνώσκοιτε τὸν νοῦν τοῦ Μίλωνος, Κροτωνιάται τὸν ἀθλητὴν τούτον ἱερέα ἐστήσαντο τῆς Ἡρας. τὴν μὲν δὴ μίτραν ὅ τι χρή νοεῖν, τὶ ἄν ἐξηγούμην ἐτι, μημονεύσας ἱερέως ἀνδρός; ἡ δὲ μόνη φυτῶν τῇ Ἡρα φύεται, ὅ δὲ ὕπο τοῖς ποσὶ δίσκοις, ἐπὶ ἀσπιδίου βεβηκὼς ὁ ἱερεὺς τῇ Ἡρᾳ εὐχεται, τούτι δὲ καὶ ἡ δεξιὰ σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ ἔργον τῶν δακτύλων καὶ τὸ μῆπῳ διεστὼς τῇ ἀρχαὶ ἀγαλματοποιίᾳ προσκεῖσθω."
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 as it were stringing together. Now among the people of Olympia and Arcadia the story told about this athlete is, that he was so inflexible and firm that he could never be induced to leave the spot on which he stood; and this is the meaning of the clenched fingers as he grasps the pomegranate, and of the look as if 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 between which he has left no interval, that you may ascribe to the antique style of the sculpture.”
XXIX

Παρατυγχάνων δὲ τοὺς δρωμένους ἀπεδέχετο τῶν Ἡλείων, ὡς ἐπεμελοῦντό τε αὐτῶν καὶ ξῦν κόσμῳ ἔδρων, μεῖών τε οὐδὲν ἢ οἱ αγωνιούμενοι τῶν ἀθλητῶν κρίνεσθαι φόντο, καὶ μήθ' ἐκόντες τι μὴ ἀκοντεῖς ἀμαρτάνειν προῦνοιντο. ἐρομένων δ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἑταίρων, τίνας Ἡλείους περὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τῶν Ὑλισίων ἠγοιτύ, "εἰ μὲν σοφοὺς," ἕφη, "οὐκ οἶδα, σοφιστᾶς μέντοι."

XXX

XXIX

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

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?"
CAP. XXX

“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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Επασχεν, "εἶτα," ἐφη, "ὡς κάθαρμα, τὸν μὲν πατέρα τὸν σεαυτόν, ὅν ἦσα καὶ σεαυτὸν γεγυμώσκεις, οὐκ ἀρ' οἴει πότ' ἄν ἱκανὸς ἔπαινέσαι, τὸν δ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν πατέρα καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὁλων, ὅσα περὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἐστίν, εὐκόλους οὕτως ἐγκωμιάζων οὐθ', ὅν ἔπαινεις, δέδιας, οὔτε ξύνης ἐς λόγον καθιστάμενος μείζονα ἀνθρώπου;"

XXXI

Côp. XXXI

Ἄ ὃ ἔν 'Ὀλυμπίᾳ διαλέξεις τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ περὶ τῶν χρησιμωτάτων ἐγύρνοντο, περὶ σοφίας τε καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ καθάπαξ, ὅποσαι ἄρεται εἰς, περὶ τούτων ἀπὸ τῆς κρητιδος τοῦ νεώ διελέγετο, πάντας ἐκπίληττον οὐ ταῖς διανοίαις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἱδέαις τοῦ λόγου. περι- στάντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, ξένου τε παρὰ τῷ Δίῳ ἐποιοῦντο καὶ τῶν οὕκοι νέων πατέρα βίου τε νομοθέτην καὶ γερόντων γέρας. ἔρομενον δὲ Κορινθίου τινὸς κατὰ ἀχθηδόνα, εἰ καὶ θεοφάνια αὐτῷ ἄξονι, "ναὶ τῷ Σιώ," ἐφη, "ἐτοιμά γε." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἀπήγαγεν αὐτοὺς τῶν τοιούτων, ὡς μὴ φθονοίτο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερβὰς τὸ Ταῦγετον εἶδεν ἐνεργοῦν Δακεδαιμόνα καὶ τὰ τοῦ Λυκούργου πάτρια εὑ πράττοντα, οὐκ ἄγδες ἐνόμισε τὸ καὶ 418
"you wretch, you are not sure that you can ever CHAP. 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."

XXXI

The conversations which Apollonius held in CHAP. 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 the hospitality of 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 Taygetus, 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
CAP. XXXI τοὺς τέλεστι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξυγγενέσθαι περὶ ὅν ἔρωταν ἐβούλουντο· ἦροντο οὖν ἀφικόμενον, πῶς θεοὶ θεραπευτέοι, ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, "ὡς δεσπόται."

XXXII

'Ετύγχανε δὲ περὶ τῶν χρόνων τούτων νεανίας Λακεδαιμόνιος αἰτὶαν ἔχων παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἄδικῶν περὶ τὰ ἤθη. Καλλικρατίδα μὲν γὰρ τοῦ περὶ Ἀργυνοῦσας ναυαρχήσαντος ἢν ἔχονος, ναυκληρίας δὲ ἤρα καὶ οὐ προσεῖχε τοῖς κοινοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔξεπλει καὶ Σικελίαν ναὸς πεποιημένος. ἀκούσας οὖν κρίνεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, δεινὸν ὡθη ἐπειδὲ τὸν νεανίαν ὑπαχθέντα ἐν ἁίκην, καὶ, "ὁ λέοςτε," ἔφη, "τὶ πεφροντικῶς περίει καὶ, μεστὸς ἐννοίας:" "ἀγάν," εἶπεν, "ἐπήγγελται 420
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?"

XXXII

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
μοι δημόσιος, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς ναυκληρίας εἰμὶ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ οὐ πράττω." "πατὴρ δὲ σοι ναυκληρὸς ἐγένετο ἢ πάππος;" "ἀπαγε," εἶπε, "γυμνασί-αρχοι τε καὶ ἔφοροι καὶ πατρονόμοι πάντες, Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ὁ πρόγονος καὶ τῶν ναυαρχη-σάντων ἐγένετο." "μῶν," ἐφ', "τὸν ἐν 'Ἀργινού-σαις λέγεις;" "ἐκείνου," εἶπε, "τὸν ἐν τῇ ναυαρχίᾳ ἀποθανόντα." "εἴτ' οὐ διέβαλε σοι," εἶπε, "τὴν θάλατταν ἡ τελευτὴ τοῦ προγόνου;" "μὰ Δί'," εἶπεν, "οὐ γὰρ ναυμαχῆσον γε πλέω." "ἀλλ' ἐμπό-ρων τε καὶ ναυκλήρων κακοδαιμονεστέρον τι εὔρεις ἔθνος; πρῶτον μὲν περινοστοῦσι, ξητοῦσιν ἀγορὰν κακῶς πράττουσαν, εἶτα προξένους καὶ καπήλους ἀναμιχθέντες πωλοῦσί τε καὶ πωλοῦνται, καὶ τόκοις ἀνοσίοις τὰς αὐτῶν κεφαλὰς ὑποτιθέντες ἐς τὸ ἄρ-χαῖον σπεύδουσι, κἂν μὲν εὖ πράττωσι, εὔπλοει ἡ ναῦς, καὶ πολὺν ποιοῦνται λόγον τοῦ μῆτε ἐκόντες ἀνατρέψαι μήτε ἄκοντες, εἰ δὲ ἡ ἐμπορία πρὸς τὰ χρέα μὴ ἀναφέροιτο, μεταβάντες ἐς τὰ ἔφολκια προσαράττουσι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τὸν ἐτέρων ναῦται βίον θεοῦ ἀνάγκην εἰπόντες ἀθεώτατα καὶ οὐδὲ ἄκοντες αὐτοὶ ἀφείλοντο. εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ τοιοῦτον ἢν τὸ θαλαττούργον τε καὶ ναυτικὸν έθνος, ἀλλὰ τὸ γε Σπαρτιάτην ὄντα καὶ πατέρων γεγονότα, οἶ μέσην ποτὲ τὴν Σπάρτην ὕκησαν, ἐν κοίλῃ νην κεῖσθαι λήθην μὲν ἵσχοντα Δυκούργον τε καὶ Ἰφίτου, φόρτου δὲ μνήμονα καὶ ναυτικῆς ἀκριβο-
been instituted against me, because I go in for sea-
far ing 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
captain of the fleet.” “I suppose,” said Apollonius,
“you 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 buy, associating with factors
and brokers, and they put out their own capital at
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 sea-
far ing 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 ἀπεστιών; εἰ γὰρ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τὴν γοῦν Σπάρτην αὐτὴν ἔδει ἐνθυμεῖσθαι, ὡς, ὅποτε μὲν τῆς γῆς εἰχετο, οὐρανομῆκη δόξασαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ θαλάττης ἐπεθύμησε, βυθισθεῖσάν τε καὶ ἀφανισθεῖσαν ὦκ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ." τούτως τὸν νεανίαν οὐτω τι ἐχειρώσατο τοῖς λόγοις, ὡς νεύσαντα αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν γῆν κλαίειν, ἐπεὶ τοσοῦτον ἦκουσεν ἀπολελεϊφθαι τῶν πατέρων, ἀποδόσθαι τε τὰς ναῦς, ἐν αἷς ἔξη. καθεστώτα δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀσπαζόμενον, καθήγαγε παρὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ παρητήσατο τῆς δίκης.

XXXIII

Κάκεινο τῶν ἐν Δακεδαίμονι ἐπιστολὴ ἐκ βασιλέως Δακεδαιμονίου 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 Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἀπορία εἰχοῦσα, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη πρὸς ἐαυτὴν ἦριζεν, εὔτε χρῆ παραιτομένους τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εὔτε ὑπερφρονοῦντας ἐπιστέλλειν πρὸς ταῦτα ἕμβουλον ἐποιοῦντο τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἦθους, ὁ δὲ, ὡς εἰδε διεστήκοτας, παρῆλθε τε ἐς τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν καὶ ὅδε ἐβραχυ-
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.

XXXIII

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
CAP. XXXII
λόγησε: “Παλαμήδης εὗρε γράμματα οὗχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ γράφειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ γιγνώσκειν ἃ δεῖ μὴ γράφειν.” οὕτω μὲν δὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπῆγε τοῦ μήτε θρασεῖς μήτε δειλοὺς ὀφθηναι.

XXXIV

CAP. XXXIV

Διατρίψας δὲ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ μετὰ τῆν Ὄλυμπίαν χρόνον, ὡς ἐτελεύτα ὁ χειμών, ἐπὶ Μαλέαν ἦλθεν ἀρχομένου ἡρος, ὡς ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν ἀφήνων, διαινοοῦν ἔνα ἀυτῷ ταῦτα ἐγένετο ὅναρ τοιόνδε: ἐδόκει γυναῖκα μεγίστην τε καὶ πρεσβυτάτην περιβάλλειν αὐτῶν καὶ δεῖσθαι οἱ ἐξουγενεσθαι, πρὶν ἐς Ἰταλοὺς πλεύσαι, Διὸς δὲ εἶναι ἡ τροφὸς ἔλεγε, καὶ ἤν αὐτῇ στέφανος πάντ' ἔχον τὰ ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης. λογισμῷ δὲ αὐτῷ διδοὺς τής ὄψεως ξυνῆκεν, ὁτι πλευστέα εἴη ἐς Κρήτην πρότερον, ἡν τροφὸν ἤγοιμεθα τοῦ Διός, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ταύτῃ ἐμαίευθη, ὁ δὲ στέφανος καὶ ἄλλην ἔσως δηλώσαι νήσου. οὐσῶν δὲ ἐν Μαλέα νεὼν πλεύσων, αἱ ἐς Κρήτην ἀφήσειν ἐμελλον, ἐνέβη ναῦν ἀποχρόσαν τῷ κοινῷ· κοινῷ δὲ ἐκάλει τοὺς τε ἑταίρους καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἑταίρων δούλους, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος παρεώρα. προσπλεύσας δὲ Κυδωνία, καὶ παραπλεύσας ἐς Κυνὸς ὅ, τὸν μὲν Λαβύρινθον, ὃς ἐκεῖ δείκνυται, ξυνείχε δὲ, οἱμαί, ποτε τὸν Μινώταυρον, βουλομένων ἰδεῖν τῶν ἑταίρων, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ξυνεχώρει τούτῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἄν

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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.

XXXIV

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,
Εφη θειτής γενέσθαι της ἀδικίας τοῦ Μίνω. προῆι δὲ ἐπὶ Γόρτυναν πόθω τῆς Ἰδης. ἀνελθὼν οὖν καὶ τοῖς θεολογογομένοις ἐντυχὼν, ἐπορεύθη καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Δεβηναιῶν· ἔστι δὲ Ἅσκληπίου, καὶ ὄσπερ ἦ Ἀσία ἐς τὸ Πέργαμον, οὕτως ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τούτῳ ἔνυφαιτα ἡ Κρήτη, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ Λυβῶν ἐς αὐτὸ περαιούνται· καὶ γὰρ τέτραπται πρὸς τὸ Διβυκὸν πέλαγος κατὰ γοῦν τὴν Φαιστοῦ, ἐνθα τὴν πολλὴν ἀνείργῃ θάλασσαν ὄ μικρὸς θάλασσας. Δεβηναιῶν δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν ὁμομάσθαι φασίν, ἐπειδὴ ἀκρωτηρίῳ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατατείνει λέοντι ἐκασμένου, ὅποι πολλὰ αἱ ἐντυχίαι τῶν πετρῶν ἀποφαινοῦσι, μυθῶν τε ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ ἄδουσιν, ὡς λέων εἰς οὕτως γένοιτο τῶν ὑποζηγῶν ποτὲ τῇ Ἑρη. ἐνταῦθα διαλεγομένου ποτὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου περὶ μεσημ- βρίαν, διελέγετο δὲ πολλοὶς ἀνδράσιν, ύφ’ ὄν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐθεραπεύετο, σεισμὸς ἀθρώς τῇ Κρήτῃ προσέβαλε, βροντὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐκ νεφῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὑπῆχθεν, ἡ θάλασσα δὲ ὑπενόστησε στάδια ἱσος ἐπτα. καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἔδεισαν, μὴ τὸ πέλαγος ὑποχωρῆσαν ἐπιστάσηται τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀπενεχθῶσιν, ὅ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, “θαρσεῖτε,” ἐφη, “ἡ γὰρ θάλασσα γῆν ἔτεκε.” καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄστι καὶ αὐτοῦ τῆς ὁμόνοιας τῶν στοιχείων λέγειν, καὶ ὅτι μηδὲν ἄν ἡ θάλασσα νεώτερον ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐργάσατο, μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἀφικόμενοι τινες ἐκ τῆς Κυδωνιάτιδος ἠγγειλαν, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τε καὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἦν ἐγένετο ἡ διοισθία, νῆσος ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀνεδόθη περὶ τῶν πορθμοῖν τῶν 428
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 its 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXIV διαρρέοντα Θήραν τε καὶ Κρήτην. ἐάσαντες οὖν λόγου μήκος ἐλθώμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν Ἡρῴδη σπουδᾶς, αἱ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ μετὰ τὰ ἐν Κρήτῃ.

XXXV

CAP. XXXV Νέρων οὐ ἐπεκαθήρει φιλοσοφεὶν, ἀλλὰ περιέργον αὐτῷ χρῆμα οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες ἐφαίνοντο καὶ μαντικὴν συσκεύασσαν, καὶ ἦχθη ποτὲ ὁ τρίβων ἐς δικαστήριον, ὡς μαντικῆς σχῆμα. εἴδ ό τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ Μουσώνιος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, ἀνὴρ Ἀπολλωνίου μόνου δεύτερος, ἐδέθη ἐπὶ σοφία καὶ ἐκεῖ μενῶν ἐκδιδύνευσεν, ἀπέθανε δὲ ἀν τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ δήσαντι, εἰ μὴ σφόδρα ἔρρωτο.

XXXVI

CAP. XXXVI Ἐν τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει φιλοσοφίας οὕσης ἔτυχε προσῳδῇ τῇ Ἡρῷῳ, στάδια δὲ εἶκοσι καὶ ἕκατὸν ἀπέχουν ἐνέτυχε Φιλολάῳ τῷ Κέττιεί περὶ τὸ νέμος τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἁρκιίᾳ. ἤν δὲ ὁ Φιλόλαος τὴν μὲν γλώτταν ἐνυγκείμενος, μαλακώτερος δὲ καρπερήσατι τί. οὐτὸς ἀναλύων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡρῴδης αὐτὸς τὸ ἐφ' ἑκεῖ φεύγοντι, καὶ ὅτῳ ἐντύχοι φιλοσοφοῦντι παρεκελεύετο τὸ αὐτὸ πράττειν. προσειπὼν οὖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐκέλευεν ἐκστήναι τῷ καιρῷ, μηδὲ ἐπιφοιτάν τῇ Ἡρῴδῃ διαβεβλημένου τοῦ 430
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.

XXXV

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.

XXXVI

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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φιλοσοφείν, καὶ διηγεῖτο τὰ ἑκεῖ πραττόμενα θαρὰ ἐπιστρέφομενος, μὴ ἐπακροφότο τις αὐτοῦ κατόπιν.

"σὺ δὲ καὶ χορὸν φιλοσόφων ἀναψάμενος," εἶπε,

"βαδίζεις φθόνον μεστός, οὐκ εἰδὼς τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους ταῖς πύλαις ὑπὸ Νέρωνος, οἱ ξυλλήψονται σὲ τε καὶ τούτους, πρὶν ἔσω γενέσθαι." "τί δ';" εἶπεν, "ὁ Φιλόλαος, τὸν αὐτοκράτορα σπουδαζεὶν φασίν;" "ἡμιοχεί," ἔφη, "δημοσία καὶ ἂδει παριῶν ἐς τὰ Ἀρωμαίων θέατρα καὶ μετὰ τῶν μονομαχοῦντων ξῇ, μονομαχεὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἀποσφάττει." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "εἶτα," ἔφη, "ὁ βέλτιστος, μειῶν τι ἡγῇ θέαμα ἀνδράσι πεπαιδευμένοις ἡ βασιλεία ἰδεῖν ἀσχημονοῦντα; θεοῦ μὲν γὰρ παίγνιον ἀνθρωπος" εἶπε "κατὰ τὴν Πλάτωνος δόξαν, βασιλεὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπου παίγνιον γιγνόμενος καὶ χαριζόμενος τοῖς ὀχλοῖς τὴν ἔαυτοῦ ἀισχύνην, τίνας οὐκ ἂν παράσχοι λόγους τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσι;" "νὴ Δι'," εἶπεν ὁ Φιλόλαος, "εἰγε μετὰ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου γίγνοντο, εἰ δὲ ἀπόλοιο ἀναχθεῖς καὶ Νέρων σε ὁμοῦ φάγων μηδὲν ἱδόντα δὲν πράττει, ἐπὶ πολλῷ ἔσται σοι τὸ ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἡ τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ ἐγένετο, ὅποτε παρὰ τὸν Κύκλωπα ἠλθεν, ἀπώλεσε γὰρ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐταίρων ποθήσας ἰδεῖν αὐτῶν καὶ ἠτιθεῖς ἀτόπου καὶ ὁμοῦ θεάματος." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "οἰεὶ γὰρ," ἔφη, "τοῦτον ἦττον 432
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 lose your life by going thither, 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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Φωνή δὲ ταύτα μείζονι ἐλεγε καὶ ἐφόκει κλάοντι. ἐνταῦθα δείσας ὁ Δάμιος περὶ τοὺς νέους, μὴ χείρως αὐτῶν γένοιτο ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ Φιλολάου πτοιας, ἀπολαβὼν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ἀπολειφόμενον, ἔφη, "τοὺς νέους ὁ λαγώς οὕτως τρόμων καὶ ἀθυμίας ἀναπημ- πλάς πάντα." ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "καὶ μὴν πολλῶν," ἔφη, "ἀγαθῶν οὕτων, ἡ μηδ' εὐξαμένῳ μοι πολλάκις παρὰ τῶν θεῶν γέγονε, μέγιστον ἂν ἔγωγε φαίην ἀπολελαυκέναι τὸ νυνὶ τοῦτο, παρα- πέπτωκε γὰρ βάσανος τῶν νέων, ἡ σφόδρα ἐλέγξει τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐτερον τι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦτο πράπτοντας." καὶ ἦλεγχθησαν αὐτίκα οἱ μὴ ἐρρωμένοι σφόν, ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Φιλολάου λόγων ἀπαχθέντες οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν νοσεῖν, οἱ δ' οὐκ εἶναι αὐτῶς ἐφόδια, οἱ δὲ τῶν οὐκοῦ ἔραν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ὀνειράτων ἐκπεπλήχθαι, καὶ περιήλθεν ἐς ὅκτω ὁμιλητὰς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἢ πεπτάρων καὶ τριάκοντα, οὗ ξυνεφοίτων αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην. οἱ δ' ἀλλοι Νέρωνα ὑπὲρ καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἀποδράντες φυγῆ ὁχοντο.
commits such crimes?" And Philolaus answered: "Let him do what he likes, but do you at least save these your companions."

XXXVII

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.
ΑΕΥΒΑΥΛΛΑΞΑΣ ΤΗ ΕΜΠΟΥΣΗ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΡΙΔΗΣ Ο ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΑΜΙΣ, “ΟΥ ΛΟΙΔΟΡΗΣΟΜΑΙ,” ΕΦΗ, “ΤΟΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΕΛΟΙΠΟΣΙΝ ΗΜΑΣ, ΑΛΛ’ ΥΜΑΣ ΕΠΑΙΝΕΣΟΜΑΙ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ, ΌΤΙ ΑΝΔΡΕΣ ΕΣΤΕ ΕΜΟΙ ΏΜΟΙ, ΟΥΔ’, ΕΙ ΤΙΣ ΝΕΡΩΝΑ ΔΕΙΣΑΣ ΑΠΗΛΘΕ, ΔΕΙΛΟΝ ΗΓΗΣΟΜΑΙ ΤΟΤΟΝ, ΑΛΛ’ ΕΙ ΤΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΟΥΣ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΚΡΕΙΤΤΩΝ ΓΗΝΕΤΑΙ, ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΣ ΥΠ’ ΕΜΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΕΙΡΗΣΕΤΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΔΙΔΑΞΟΜΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ, ΟΠΟΣΑ ΟΙΔΑ. ΔΟΚΕΙ ΔΥ ΜΟΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΥΞΑΣΘΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ, ΔΙ’ ΟΥΣ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΝΟΥΝ ΖΗΘΕΝ ΥΜÎΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΚΕΪΝΟΙΣ, ΕΠΕΙΘ’ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΠΟΙΕΙΣΘΑΙ, ΘΕΩΝ ΓΑΡ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΟΥΔ’ ΕΝ ΑΛΛΩ ΕΣΜΕΝ. ΠΑΡΙΤΗΤΕΑ ΕΣ ΠΟΛΙΝ, Η ΤΩΣΟΥΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗΣ ΜΕΡΩΝ ΆΡΧΕΙΝ ΠΩΣ ΟΥΝ ΑΝ ΠΑΡΕΛΘΟΙ ΤΙΣ, ΕΙ ΜΗ ΕΚΕΪΝΟΙ ΗΓΟÎΝΤΟ; ΚΑΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΔΟΣ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΗ ΚΑΘΕΣΤΗΚΙΑΣ ΟΥΤΩ ΧΑΛΕΠΤΗΣ, ΩΣ ΜΗ ΕΞΕΙΝΑΙ ΣΟΦΟΙΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ. ΑΝΟΗΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΜΗΔΕΝΙ ΔΟΚΕΙΣΤΩ ΤΟ ΘΑΡΣΕΙΝ ΟΔΟΝ, ΗΝ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ ΦΕΥΓΟΥΣΙΝ, ΕΓΓ’ ΓΑΡ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΑΝ ΗΓΟΥΜΑΙ ΦΟΒΕΡΟΝ ΟΥΣ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤ’ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ, ΩΣ ΕΚΠΛΑΓΗΝΑΙ ΠΟΤΕ ΥΠ’ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΟΦΟΥ, ΕΙΤ’ ΟΥΔ’ ΑΝ ΠΡΟΘΕΙΝΗ ΑΝΘΡΕΙΑΣ ΜΕΛΕΤΑΣ, ΕΑΝ ΜΗ ΜΕΤΑ ΚΙΝΔΥΝΩΝ ΓΗΓΟÎΝΤΟ. ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΩΣ ΕΠΕΛΘΩΝ ΓΗΝ, ΌΣΗΝ ΟΥΠΩ ΤΙΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ, ΘΕΡΙΑ ΜΕΝ ‘ΑΡΑΒΙΑ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΙΝΔΙΚΑ ΠΆΜΠΟΛΛΑ ΕΙΣΩΝ, ΤΟ ΔΕ ΘΕΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΤΟ, Ο ΚΑΛΟΥΣΙΝ ΟΙ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΝ,
XXXVIII

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 are not remote from the gods even in a foreign country. 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,
οὖτε ὅποσαι κεφαλαί αὐτῶ, οἴδα, οὖτε εἰ γαμψτό-

νυχόν τε καὶ καρχαρόδουν ἐστὶ. καίτοι πολιτικῶν

μὲν εἶναι τὸ θηρίον τούτο λέγεται καὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν

πόλεων οἶκεῖν, τοσοῦτο δὲ ἀγριώτερον διάκειται

τῶν ὁρεινῶν τε καὶ ύλαιών, ὅσῳ λέοντες μὲν καὶ

παρδάλεις ἐνίοτε κολακευόμενοι ἥμερούνται καὶ

μεταβάλλουσι τοῦ θῆσων, τοὺτο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν

καταψηχώντων ἐπαρισκοῦν ἀγριώτερον αὐτῶν

γίγνεται καὶ λαφύσσει πάντα. περὶ μὲν γε θηρίων

οὐκ ἂν εἴποις, ὅτι τὰς μητέρας ποτὲ τὰς αὐτῶν

ἐδαίσαντο, Νέρων δὲ ἐμπεφόρηται τῆς βορᾶς

ταύτης. εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτα γέγονεν ἐπὶ Ὀρέστη καὶ

Ἀλκμαιωνι, ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνοι σχῆμα τοῦ ἔργου πατέ-

ρες ἦσαν, ὃ μὲν ἀποθανόν ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικός,

ό δὲ ὀρμον πραθείς, οὕτωσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐσποιηθεῖς ὑπὸ

τῆς μητρὸς γέροντι βασιλεῖ καὶ κληρονομῆσας τὸ

ἄρχειν, ναυαγόν τὴν μητέρα ἀπέκεινε, πλοῖον ἐπ'

αὐτῇ ξυνθείς, ύφ' οὐ ἀπώλετο πρὸς τῇ γῇ. εἰ δὲ

ἐκ τούτων φοβερῶν τις ἤγείται Νέρωνα, καὶ διὰ

τούτο ἀποπηθήκας φιλοσοφίας, οὐκ ἀσφαλῆς αὐτῶν

νομίζων τὸ ἀπὸ θυμοῦ τι αὐτῷ πράττειν, ἵστω τὸ

μὲν φοβερὸν ἐκεῖνον ὑπάρχον, ὅσοι περ ἄν

σωφροσύνης τε καὶ σοφίας ἀπτωται, τούτως γὰρ

καὶ τὰ παρά τῶν θεῶν ἐν ἔξει, τὰ δὲ τῶν ὑβρι-

ζῶντων ὦθουν ἤγείτο, καθᾶ καὶ τὰ τῶν μεμεθυ-

σμένων, καὶ γὰρ δὴ κάκεινος γε ἡλιθίονς μὲν

ἡγούμεθα, φοβεροὺς δὲ οὖ. ἄρμεν οὖν ἐκ τῆς

Ῥώμης, εἴγε ἐρρόμεθα, 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 Alemaeon, 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...
κηρύγματα, δι’ ὧν ἐξείρησε φιλοσοφίαν, ἔστιν ἡμῖν τὸ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους λέγειν:

οὐ γὰρ τί μοι Ζεὺς ἦν ὁ κηρύξας τάδε,

οὐδὲ Μοῦσαι καὶ Ἀπόλλων λόγιοι. εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν Νέρωνα γιγνώσκειν τὰ ἱαμβεία ταύτα, τραγωδία, ὡς φασί, χαίροντα.

ἐνταῦθα τοῖς τὸ Ὄμηρον ἐνθυμηθείς, ως, ἐπειδὰν ὁ λόγος ἀρμόσῃ πολεμικοὺς ἀνδρας, μία μὲν κόρυς γίγνονται, μία δὲ ἀστίσ, εὑρεῖν ἀν μοι δοκεῖ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τοῦτο τοὺς ἄνδρας γενόμενον ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνιου λόγων ξυγκροτηθέντες, ἀποθνῄσκειν τε ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας ἔρρωτο καὶ βελτίως τῶν ἀποδράντων φαίνεσθαι.

XXXIX

Προσῆσαν μὲν οὖν ταῖς πῦλαις, οἱ δὲ ἐφεστῶτες οὐδὲν ἡρῶτων, ἀλλὰ περιήθρουν τὸ σχῆμα καὶ ἐθαυμάζουν· ὁ γὰρ τρόπος ἱερὸς ἐδόκει καὶ οὖν ἐνωκὼς τοῖς ἀγείρουσι. καταλύουσι δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐν πανδοχεῖο περὶ τὰς πῦλας καὶ δεῖπνον αἴρουμενοι, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἐσπέρας ἦδη ἐτύγχανεν, ὡς ἐπὶ κώμον ἔρχεται μεθύ̄νων ἀνθρωπος οὐκ ἀγλευκὸς τῆς φωνῆς ἑχων, περιήμε δὲ ἀρα κύκλῳ τὴν Ῥώμην ἄδων τα τοῦ Νέρωνος μέλη καὶ μεμισθωμένος τοῦτο, τὸν δὲ ἀμελῶς ἀκούσαντα ἢ μὴ καταβαλόντα μισθὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως ξυνεκεχόρητο

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

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

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, Iliad 13. 130 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.

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
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αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπάγειν ὡς ἁσεβοῦντα. ἤν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ κιθάρα καὶ ἡ πρόσφορος τῷ κιθαρίζειν σκεῦς πᾶσα, καὶ τίνα καὶ νευρὰν τῶν ἐφαψαμένων τε καὶ προεντεκαμένων ἀποκειμένην εὗ κοιτίδι εἶχεν, ἵν ἐφασκεν ἐκ τῆς Νέρωνος ἐωνῆσθαι κιθάρας δυνών μναίν καὶ ἀποδώσεσθαι αὐτὴν οὐδενί, ἵνα κιθαριδῶς ἦ τῶν ἀρίστων τε καὶ ἀγωνιομένων Πυθοῖ. ἀναβαλόμενος ὄπως εἰώθει, καὶ βραχὺν διεξέλθων ὑμνὸν τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐπίγειε μέλη τὰ μὲν ἐξ 'Ορεστείας, τὰ δὲ ἐξ 'Αντιγόνης, τὰ δ' ὀποθενοῦν τῶν τραγῳδουμένων αὐτῷ, καὶ φόδας ἐκαμπτεν, ὀπόσας Νέρων ἐλύγιζε τε καὶ κακῶς ἐσπρεφεν. ἀργότερον δὲ ἀκρωμένων ὁ μὲν ἁσεβείσθαι Νέρωνα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐφασκε καὶ πολεμίους τῆς θείας φωνῆς εἰναί, οὶ δὲ ὁπ προσεῖχον. ἐρωμένου δὲ τοῦ Μενίππου τοῦ Ἀπολλώνιου, πῶς ἀκούοι λέγοντος ταῦτα, "πῶς," ἔφη, "ἡ ὡς οτε τάδεν; ἡμεῖς μέντοι, ὁ Μενίππε, μὴ παροξυνώμεθα πρὸς ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ τῶν μισθῶν τῆς ἐπιδείξεως δόντες ἐὰσωμεν αὐτῶν θύειν ταῖς Νέρωνος Μούσαις."

XL

CAP. XL

Τούτο μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπαρωνύθη. ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Τελεσίνος ὁ ἔτερος τῶν υπάτων καλέσας τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, "τί," ἔφη, "τὸ σχῆμα;" ὁ 442.
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 draw out the airs which Nero was in the habit of murdering by his miserable phrasing 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."

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
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 asked for; 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

αται 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 Tele-sinus 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."
Διαλεγομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ οἱ θεοὶ ἐθεραπεύοντο μᾶλλον, καὶ ξυνήσαν οἱ ἀνήρωποι ἐς ταῦτα, ὡς τὰ ἀγαθὰ πλεῖον παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἔξοντες, καὶ οὕτω διεβάλλοντο αἱ ξυνοσίαι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διὰ τὸ σπουδάζεσθαι τε δημοσία λέγεσθαι τε ἐς πάντας, οὐδὲ γὰρ θύραι ἐπεπόλαξεν, οὐδὲ ἐτρίβετο περὶ τοὺς δυνατοὺς, ἀλλὰ ἥσπαξετο μὲν ἐπιφοιτῶντας, διελέγετο δὲ αὐτοῖς ὀπόσα καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος διατεθεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Κορινθιακοῖς λόγοις εἰρήκα, παραγενόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀρώμην ύστερον ἐθεράπευε μὲν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ἐπηφίει δ' αὐτὸν τῷ Νέρωνι, τέχνη ταῦτα ὑπωπτεύθη τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον αὐτὸς ἔδοκεν καθεικέναι ἐς αὐτὰ, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον, ὅποτε γυμνὰσιον μὲν ἐξεποιήθη τῷ Νέρωνι θαυμασιώτατον τῶν ἐκεί, λευκήν δ' ἐθνον ἐν αὐτῷ ἡμέραν Νέρων τε αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ βουλή ἡ μεγάλη καὶ τὸ ἱππεύον τῆς Ῥώμης, παρελθὼν δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ γυμνάσιον διεξῆλθε λόγον κατὰ τῶν λουμένων, ὡς ἐκλειμμένων τε καὶ αὐτοὺς χραινόντων, καὶ ἐδείκνυεν, ὅτι περιττὸν ἀνάλωμα εἰ ἦ τὰ
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.

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
CAP. XLII

τοιαύτα, ἐφ’ οἷς ξυνήρατο μὲν αὐτῷ τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτίκα τὸ τὸν Νέρωνα εὐφωνοτάτα έαυτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἥμεραν ἐκείνην ἄδειν—ἡδὲ δὲ ἐν καρπηλείῳ πεποιημένῳ ἐς τὸ γυμνάσιον διάζωμα ἔχων γυμνὸς, ὠσπερ τῶν κατηλών οἱ ἀσελγέστατοι—οὐ μὴν διέφυγεν ὁ Δημήτριος τὸ ἐφ’ οἷς εἶπε κινδυνεύσαι, Τυγελλίνου γάρ, ὑφ’ ὃ τὸ ξίφος ἢ τοῦ Νέρωνος, ἀπῆλαυνεν αὐτὸν τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς τὸ βαλανεῖον κατασκάψαντα οἰς εἶπε, τὸ δ’ Ἀπολλώνιον ἀφανῶς ἀνίχνευν, ὡπότε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιλήψιμον τι καὶ παραβεβλημένον εἶποι.

XLIII

CAP. XLI

Ὁ δ’ οὔτε καταγελῶν φανερὸς ἢν οὔτ’ αὐτῷ πεφροντικὸς, ὡσπερ οἱ φυλαττόμενοι τινα κινδυνοῦν, ἀλλ’ ἀποχράντος περὶ τῶν προκειμένων διελέγετο, ξυμφιλισοσφοῦντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Τελεσίνου καὶ ἔτέρων ἀνδρῶν, οἱ καὶ τοῦ φιλοσοφίας ἐπικινδύνως πραττούσης οὐκ ἄν φοντο κινδυνεύσαι ξύν ἐκείνῳ σπουδάζοντες. ὑπωπτεύετο δέ, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐφ’ οἰς καὶ περὶ τῆς διοσκημίας εἶπε: γενομένης γάρ ποτε ἐκλείψεως ἦλιον καὶ βροντῆς ἐκδοθείης, ὡπερ ἦκιστα ἐν ἐκλείσει δοκεῖ ξυμβαίνειν, ἀναβλέψας ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν, 450
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.

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.
'Εμπεσόντος δὲ ἐν Ἡρώμη νοσήματος, ὁ κατάρρησον οἱ ἰατροὶ ἀνομάζουσιν, ἀνίστανται δὲ ἄρα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βήχες καὶ ἡ φωνὴ τοὺς καλοῦσι πονηρῶς ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ἴερὰ πλέα ἦν ἰκετευόντων τοὺς θεούς, ἐπεὶ διωδήκει τὴν φάρμαγα Νέρων καὶ μελαίνη τῇ φωνῇ ἔχρητο· ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐροήγυντο μὲν πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἄνοιαν, ἐπέπληττε δὲ οὐδενὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Μένιππον παροξυνόμενον.
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.

XLIV

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.
ΚΑΠ. ΧΛΙΒ.

ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐσωφρονίζε τε καὶ κατείχε, ἠγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγαγγα γ
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,

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Κάκεινο Ἄπολλώνιον θαύμα· κόρη ἐν ὁρᾷ γάμου τεθυνάναι ἐδόκει, καὶ ὁ νυμφίος ἠκολούθει τῇ κλίνῃ βοῶν ὁπόσα ἐπ` ἀτελεῖ γάμῳ, ξυνωλοφύρετο 456
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.”

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
XLVI

'Ετύγχανε δὲ περὶ τὸν χρόνον τούτον καὶ Μουσώνοις κατειλημμένοι εἰν τοῖς δεσμωτηρίοις τοῦ Νέρωνος, ὃν φασὶ τελεότατα ἀνθρώπων φιλοσοφῆσαι, καὶ φανέρως μὲν ὡς διελέγοντο ἀλλήλους, παρατησαμένου τοῦ Μουσωνίου τούτο, ὡς μὴ ἀμφότεροι κεινούρσειαν, ἐπιστολιμαίοις δὲ τὰς ξυνον...
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.

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
CAP. σίας ἐποιοῦντο, φοιτῶντος ἐς τὸ δεσμωτηρίου τοῦ Μενίππου καὶ τοῦ Δάμιδος. τὰς δὲ οὐχ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων ἐπιστολὰς ἐάσαντες, τὰς ἀναγκαίας παραθησόμεθα κἀξ ὃν ὑπάρχει κατιδεῖν τι μέγα:

'Απολλώνιος Μουσώνιῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

Βουλόμας παρὰ σὲ ἀφικόμενος κοινωνήσαι σου λόγου καὶ στέγης, ὡς τὶ ὅνησαιμι σε· εἰ γε μὴ ἀπιστείς, ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ποτε Θησέα ἐξ "Αἰδον ἐλυσε, γράφε, τὶ βούλει. ἕρρωσο.

Μουσώνιος 'Απολλώνιῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

"Ὡν μὲν ἑνενοήθης, ἀποκείσεται σου ἐπαίνος, ἀνὴρ δὲ ὁ ὑπομείνας ἀπολογίαν καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖ δείξας ἑαυτόν. ἕρρωσο.

'Απολλώνιος Μουσώνιῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὑπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων λυθῆναι μὴ βουληθεῖς, παρῆλθε μὲν ἐς δικαστήριον, ἀπέθανε δὲ. ἕρρωσο.

Μουσώνιος 'Απολλώνιῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

Σωκράτης ἀπέθανεν, ἐπεὶ μὴ παρεσκεύασεν ἐς ἀπολογίαν ἑαυτόν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογήσομαι. ἕρρωσο.
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 more important ones in which we get glimpses of lofty topics:

“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 in my behalf, I shall never do anything but commend you: but he who has waited patiently 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.”
'Εξελαύνοντος δὲ ἐσ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῦ Νέρωνος, καὶ προκηρύξαντος δημοσίᾳ μηδενά ἐμφιλοσοφεῖν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τρέπεται ὁ Ἀπολλάνιος ἐπὶ τὰ ἐσπέρια τῆς γῆς, ἀ φασιν ὀρίζεσθαι ταῖς Στήλαις, τὰς ἀμπώτεις τοῦ Ὡκεανοῦ ἐποψόμενος καὶ τὰ Γάδειρα. καὶ γάρ τι καὶ περὶ συλλογισμοῦ τῶν ἐκείνη ἀνθρώπων ἦκουν, ὡς ἐς πολὺ τοῦ θείου προηγόντων, ἰκολούθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ γνώριμοι πάντες ἐπαινοῦντες καὶ τὴν ἀποδημίαν καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα.
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.
BOOK V
CAP. I

Περὶ δὲ τῶν Ῥητῶν, ὡς ὅρια τῆς γῆς τοῦ Ῥωμαίου φασὶ πήξασθαι, τὰ μὲν μυθώδη ἔώ, τὰ δὲ ἀκοῆς τε καὶ λόγου ἄξια δηλώσω μᾶλλον. Εὐρώπης καὶ Διβύς ἀκραὶ σταδίων ἐξήκοντα πορθμὸν ἐπέχουσαι τὸν Ὀκεανὸν ἔσ τὰ ἔσω πελάγη φέρουσι, καὶ τὴν μὲν τῆς Διβύς ἀκραί, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῆς Ἀβιννα, λέοντες ὑπερνέμονται περὶ τὰς ὀφρὺς τῶν όρῶν, ἄ ἔσω ὑπερφαίνεται, ξυνάπτουσαν πρὸς Γαιτούλους καὶ Τίγγας ἀμφω θηριώδη καὶ Διβυκά ἐθνη, παρατείνει δὲ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ὀκεανὸν μέχρι μὲν τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Σάληκος ἐννακόσια σταδία, τὸ δὲ ἐντεύθεν οὐκ ἂν ξυμβάλοι τὰς ὀπόσα, μετὰ γὰρ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἅβιος ἡ Διβύς καὶ οὐκέτι ἄνθρωποι. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἐυρώπης ἀκρωτήριον, ὁ καλεῖται Κάλπις, δεξιὰ μὲν ἐπέχει τοῦ ἐσπλου, σταδίων ἐξακοσίων μῆκος, λήγει δὲ ἐς τὰ ἀρχαία Γάδειρα.
BOOK V

I

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.
III

CAP. Тὰς δὲ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ τροπὰς καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν περὶ Κελτοὺς εἶδον, ὅποιοι λέγονται, τὴν δὲ αὐτὰν ἔπὶ πολλὰ εἰκάζων, δι' ἧν ἀπειρον οὖτω πέλαγος ἐπιχωρεῖ τε καὶ ἀνασπᾶται, δοκῶ μοι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐπεσκέψαται τὸ ὄν. ἐν μιᾷ γὰρ τῶν πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς ἐπιστολῶν τὸν Ὀκεανὸν φησιν ὕφυδροις ἐλαυνόμενον πνεύμασιν ἐκ πολλῶν χασμάτων, ἃ ὑπ' αὐτῷ τε καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἡ γῆ παρέχεται, χωρεῖν ἐστὶ τὸ ἔξω καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν πάλιν, ἔπειδὰν ὡσπερ ἁσθμα ὑπὸνοστήσῃ τὸ πνεῦμα. πιστοῦται δὲ αὐτὸ κακὸς τῶν νοσοῦντων περὶ Γάδειρα: τὸν γὰρ χρόνον, δὲν πλημμυρεῖ τὸ ύδωρ, οὐκ ἀπολείπουσιν αἰ ψυχὰς τοὺς ἀποθνῄσκοντας, διὸ παρ᾽ οὐκ ἄν ἐξωβαίνειν, εἰ μὴ καὶ πνεῦμα τῇ γῇ ἐπεχώρει. ἃ δὲ περὶ τὴν σελήνην φασὶ φαίνεσθαι τικτομένην τε καὶ πληρουμένην καὶ φθινοῦσαν, ταῦτα περὶ τὸν Ὀκεανὸν οἶδα, τὰ γὰρ ἐκείνης ἀνισοὶ μέτρα, ἐξωμινύθων αὐτῇ καὶ ἔξωπληρούμενος.

III

CAP. Ἡμέρα δ᾽ ἐκδέχεται νύκτα καὶ νυξ τὴν ἡμέραν περὶ Κελτοὺς μὲν κατ᾽ ὅλγον ὑπαπίοντος τοῦ σκότους ἡ τοῦ φωτός, ὡσπερ ἐνταῦθα, περὶ Γάδειρα δὲ καὶ Στήλας ἄθροῶς λέγονται τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς

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II

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 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

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
CAP. III ἐμπίπτειν, ὡσπερ αἱ ἀστραπαὶ. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς Μακάρων νῆσους ὀρίζεσθαι τῷ Λιβυκῷ τέρματι πρὸς τὸ ἀσίκητον ἀνεχοῦσας ἀκρωτήριον.

IV

Τὰ δὲ Γάδειρα κεῖται μὲν κατὰ τὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης τέρμα, περιττοὶ δὲ εἰςι τὰ θεῖα. γῆρως οὖν βωμὸν ἱδρυνται καὶ τὸν θάνατον μόνοι ἀνθρώπων παισονίζουν, βωμοὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ καὶ πενίας καὶ τέχνης καὶ Ἡρακλέους Ἀιγυπτίου καὶ ἔτεροι τοῦ Θηβαίου: τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐγγύς Ἐρύθειαν ἔλασαι φασίν, ὅτε δὴ τὸν Γηρύόννη τε καὶ τὰς βοῦς ἔλειν, τὸν δὲ σοφίᾳ δόντα γῆν ἀναμετρήσασθαι πᾶσαν ἐς τέρμα. καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἕλληνικοὺς εἶναι φασὶ τὰ Γάδειρα καὶ παιδεύσασθαι τὸν ἡμεδαπὸν τρόπον αὐτότερον γοῦν Ἀθηναίους Ἕλληνων μάλιστα, καὶ Μενεσθεὶ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ θύειν, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ τὸν ναύ-μαχον σοφίας τε καὶ ἀνδρείας ἀγαθόντες χαλκοῦν ἱδρυνται ἐννοοῦν καὶ ὡσπερ χρησμῷ ἐφιστάντα.
once, like a flash of lightning. And they also say that the Islands of the Blessed are bounded by the limits of Libya and emerge towards the uninhabited promontory.

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 penetrated as far as the neighbouring city of Erythea, on which occasion he took captive Geryon and his cows; and they say that in his devotion to wisdom he traversed 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 lifelike attitude and, as it were, pondering an oracle.

V

They say also that they saw trees here such as are not found elsewhere upon the earth; and that these
CAP. δὲ εἶναι, φύεσθαι δὲ τοῦ σήματος, ὁ ἤπι τῶν Γηρυνοῦν ἑστηκε, παραλλάττοντα ἐκ πίνυος τε καὶ πεύκης ἐς εἰδος ἔτερον, λείβεσθαι δὲ αἴματι, καθάπερ τῷ χρυσῷ τῆς Ἡλιάδα αὔγειρον. ᾧ δὲ νῆσος, ἐν ἦ τὸ ἱερόν, ἐστὶ μὲν ὅποσὶ ὁ νεώς, πετρῶδες δὲ αὐτῆς οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ βαλβίδι ξεστῇ εἰκασται. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τιμᾶσθαι μὲν ἀμφό τὼ Ἡρακλεῖς φασὶν, ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτῶν οὐκ εἶναι, βωμοὺς δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ἀἰγυπτίου δύο χαλκοὺς καὶ ἀσήμους, ἕνα δὲ τοῦ Ἡθβαίου—τὰς δὲ ύδρας τε καὶ τὰς Διομήδους ὑποὺς καὶ τὰ δῶδεκα Ἡρακλεός ἔργα ἐκτετυπώσθαι φασὶ κάνταυθα—λίθου ὑντα. ἣ Πυγμαλίωνος δὲ ἐλαία ἢ χρυσῆ, ἀνάκειται δὲ κάκεινη ἐς τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ἀξία μὲν, ὡς φασι, καὶ τοῦ θαλλοῦθαυμάζειν, ὥς εἰκασται, θαυμάζεσθαι δ' ἂν ἔπι τῷ καρπῷ μᾶλλον, βρύειν γὰρ αὐτὸν σμαράγδου λίθου. καὶ Τεῦκρον τοῦ Τελαμωνίου ξωστήρα χρυσοῦν φασὶ δείκνυσθαι, πῶς δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὁκεανὸν πλεύσαντος ἢ ἐφ' ὃ τι, οὔτε αὐτὸς ὁ Δάμις ξυνιδεῖν φησιν οὔτε ἐκείνων ἀκούσαι. τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ στήλας χρυσοῦν μὲν πεποιηθῶσι καὶ ἀργύρου ἐξυπερήκτων ἐς ἐν χρώμα, εἶναι δὲ αὐτὰς ὑπὲρ πῆχυν τετραγώνου τέχνης, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄκμονες, ἐπιγεγράφθαι δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς οὔτε Λυγυπτίοις οὔτε Ἰνδικοῖς γράμμασιν, οὔτε οἷος ξυμβαλεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὡς οὐδὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐφραζον, "οὐ ἤγχωρει μοι," ἔφη, "ὁ
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 platform. 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
CAP. V

'Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος μὴ οὐ λέγειν, ὅποσα οἶδα: Γῆς καὶ Ὀκεανοῦ ξύλδεσμοι αἴδε αἱ στήλαι εἰσιν, ἐπεγράφατο δὲ αὐτὰς ἐκεῖνος ἐν Μοιρῶν οἶκῳ, ὡς μήτε νεῖκος τοῖς στοιχείοις ἐγγένοιτο μήτε ἀτιμάσειαν τὴν φιλότητα, ἢν ἀλλήλων ἱσχοῦσιν."

VI

CAP. VI

Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναπλώσαι τὸν Βαϊτιν, ὡς δηλοῖ μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ φύσιν ἐπειδὰν γὰρ πλημμύρῃ το πέλαγος, ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς ὁ ποταμὸς παλιρροὺς ἱσταί, πνεύματος δὴπον ἀπωθουμένου αὐτὸν τῆς θαλάττης. τὴν δὲ ἡπειρον τὴν Βαϊτικῆν, ἢς ὁ ποταμὸς οὕτος ὀμώνυμος, ἀρίστην ἡπείρων φασὶ, πόλεων τε γὰρ εὖ ἔχειν καὶ νομῶν, καὶ διήχθαι τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἀστή πάντα, γεωργίας τε ἔμμπασης μεστῆν εἶναι καὶ ὀρῶν, οἷα τῆς Ἀττικῆς αἱ μετοπώριναι τε καὶ μυστηριώτιδες.

VII

CAP. VII

Διαλέξεις δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ παραπεσόντων ὁ Δάμις πλέοιν μὲν γενέσθαι φησίν, ἄξιας δὲ τοῦ ἀναγράψαι τάσδε καθημένων ποτὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἀναγελάσας ὁ Μένιππος, ἀναμέμνητο δὲ ἄρα τοῦ Νέρωνος, "τί," ἔφη, "τὸν γενναίον ἣγώμεθα; τίνας," ἔφη, "ἐστεφανώσθαι 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.”

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 in its course visits 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.

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
CAP. VII

ἀγώνων; τούς δὲ βελτίστους "Ελληνας οὐ ξύν ὤλῳ γέλωτι φοιτᾶν ἐσ τάς πανηγύρεις;" ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ὡς μὲν ἐγώ," ἐφη, "Τελεσίνου ἦκουν, δέδιεν ὁ χρήστος Νέρων τὰς Ἡλείων μάστιγας παρακελευομένων γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν κολάκων νικάν τὰ ᾨλύμπια καὶ ἀνακηρύττειν τὴν Ῥώμην, "ἡν γε," ἐφη, "μὴ βασκήνωσιν Ἡλείωι, λέγονται γὰρ μαστιγοῦν καὶ φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ," πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνοητότερα τούτων προανεφώνησεν. ἐγὼ δὲ νικήσειν μὲν Νέρωνα ἐν Ὄλυμπίᾳ φημὶ, τὶς γὰρ οὔτω θρασύς, ὡς ἐναντίαν θέσθαι; Ὅλυμπία δὲ οὔ νικήσειν, ἀτε μηδὲ ἐν ὅρᾳ ἄγουσιν πατρίῳ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Ὅλυμπίοις τοῦ πέρυσιν ἐνιαυτοῦ ὀντός, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Ἡλείους Νέρων ἀναβαλέσθαι αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἐπιδημίαν, ὡς ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον ἡ τῷ Διὸ θύσοντας τραγῳδίαν δὲ ἐπαγγεῖλαι καὶ κιθαρῳδίαν ἀνδράσιν, ὦς μήτε θεάτρον ἐστι μήτε σκηνὴ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα, στάδιον δὲ αὐτοφυές καὶ γυμνὰ πάντα, τὸν δὲ νικάν, ἂ χρῆ ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι, καὶ τὴν Ἀὐγοῦστον τε καὶ Ἰουλίον σκευὴν ρίψαντα μεταμφιέσθαι κυνὶ τὴν Ἀμοβέως καὶ Τερπνοῦ, τὶ φήσεις; καὶ τὰ μὲν Κρέοντος τε καὶ Ὀἰδίποδος οὕτως ἔξακριβῶν, ὡς δεδίειν, μὴ πὴ λάθη ἀμαρτῶν θύρας ἢ στολῆς ἢ σκηπτροῦ, ἐαυτοῦ 476
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
δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων οὐτως ἐκπίπτειν, ὡς ἀντὶ τοῦ νομοθετεῖν νόμους άδειν καὶ ἄγειρειν ἔξω θυρῶν, ὧν ἔσω χρῆ καθῆσθαι τοῦ βασιλέα χρηματίζοντα ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης; εἰσίν, ὁ Μένιππε, τραγῳδοὶ πλείους, ἐς οὖς Νέρων ἐαυτὸν γράφει τί οὖν; εἰ τις αὐτῶν μετὰ τὸν Οἰνόμαον ἢ τὸν Κρεσφόντην ἀπελθὼν τοῦ θεάτρου, μεστὸς οὖτο τοῦ προσωπείου γένοιτο, ὡς ἄρχειν μὲν ἐτέρων βουλεσθαί, τύραννον δὲ αὐτῶν ἤγειρθαί, τί καὶ φήσεις τούτον; ἄρ’ οὖκ ἐλλεβόροι δεῖσθαι καὶ φαρμακοποσίας, ὑπόση τοὺς νοὺς ἐκκαθαίρει; εἰ δ’ αὐτὸς ὁ τυραννεύων ἐς τραγῳδοὺς καὶ τεχνίτας τὰ πράγματα ἐαυτοῦ ἀγοῖ, λεαίνων τὴν φωνὴν καὶ δεδίως τὸν Ἄλειον ἢ τὸν Δελφόν, ἢ μὴ δεδίως μὲν, κακῶς δὲ οὕτως ὑποκρινόμενος τὴν ἐαυτοῦ τέχνην, ὡς μὴ μαστυγώσεσθαι νομίζειν πρὸς τούτον, ὅποις αὐτῶς ἄρχειν τέτακται, τί τοὺς κακοδαίμονας ἀνθρώπους ἐρεῖς ύπὸ τοιούτῳ καθάρματι ξύντας; τοῖς δὲ Ἕλλησι τίνα ἡγή, ὁ Μένιππε; πότερα Ξέρξην καταπιμπράντα ἢ Νέρωνα ἄδοντα; εἰ γὰρ ἐνθυμηθεῖς τὴν ἀγορᾶν, ἢν ἐς τὰς ἐκείνου φώδας ξυμφέρουσι, καὶ ὡς ἐξωθοῦνται τῶν οἰκίων καὶ ὡς οὖκ ἐξεστὶ σπουδαῖον οὔδεν ἢ σκεῦος ἢ ἀνδράποδον αὐτῶς πεπάσθαι, περὶ γυναῖκας τε καὶ παισίν ὡς δεινὰ πεῖσονται τὰς ἐπιρρήτους ἡδονὰς ἐς ἀπάσης οἰκίας ἐκλέγοντος τοῦ Νέρωνος, δύκαι τε ὡς πολλαὶ ἀναφύσονται, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀλλὰς ἕα, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς θεάτροις καὶ ταῖς φῶδαῖς· οὖν ἧλθες ἀκροασάμενοι Νέρωνος, ἢ παρῆσθα μὲν, ῥᾳθύμως.
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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII

dε ἕκροω, ἐγέλας, οὐκ ἐκρότησας, οὐκ ἔθυσας ὑπὲρ τῆς φωνῆς, ἵνα Πυθῶδε λαμπροτέρα ἐλθοῦν πολλαὶ σοι δόξουσι θεατῶν Ἰλιάδες περὶ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας εἶναι. τὸ γὰρ τετμήσεσθαι τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἢ οὐ τετμήσεσθαι, τέμνεται δὲ, ὡς φασί, νῦν, πάλαι προϊμαθον θεοῦ φήματος." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Δάμις, "ἂλλ' ἐμοιγε," ἐφη, "ὁ Ἀπολλώνιε, τὸ περὶ τὴν τομὴν ἔργον ὑπερφώνειν δοκεῖ τα Νέρωνος πάντα, ἥ γὰρ διάνοια ὀρᾶς, ὡς μεγάλη." "δοκεῖ μὲν," ἐφη, "κάμοι, ὁ Δάμι, τὸ δὲ ἀτελέσ αὐὴς διαβάλλει αὐτὸν, ὡς ἀτελῆ μὲν ἄδοντα, ἀτελῆ δὲ ὀρύττοντα. τὰ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἀναλεγόμενος ἐπαινῶ τὸν ἀνδρα, οὐχ ὅτι τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἔξευξεν, ἂλλ' ὅτι διέβη αὐτὸν, Νέρωνα δὲ οὔτε πλευσοῦ-μενον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ὄρῳ οὔτε ἐσ τέρμα τῆς ὀρυχῆς ἥξοντα, δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ φόβον μεστὸς ἀναχωρῆσαι τῆς Ἐλλάδος, εἰ μὴ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἀπόλολεν."

VIII

CAP. VIII

'Αφικομένου δὲ τινος ἐς Γάδειρα μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν τοὺς ταχεῖς διαθεόντων δρόμους, καὶ κελεύοντος εὐαγγέλωνθευειν τρισολυμπιονίκην Νέρωνα ἄδοντας, τὰ μὲν Γάδειρα ἐξυνει τῆς νύκης καὶ ὅτι ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ 48ο
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 will retire from Hellas in a fit of panic.”

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 Spanish impressions of Nero’s Olympic victories.
CAP. VIII

τις εὐθείαν ἀγάπην ευδοκίμου, ἐπειδὴ, ως εἶπον, ἔστὶν ἡ Ἐλληνίδος σπεύδουσιν, αἰὶ δὲ πόλεις αἰὶ πρόσοικοι τοῖς θεοῖς Γαθεῖροις οὔτε ἐγκνωσκόμενοι ὃ τι εὐθείαν τὰ Ὀλύμπια, οὔδὲ ὃ τι ἀγαθὰ ἢ ἀγάπην, οὐδὲ ἐφʼ ὅτι θύουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀπήγγελτο ἐς γελοίους, δόξας πολέμου νίκην ἡγούμενοι ταύτα καὶ ὅτι ὁ Νέρων ἦρηκοι τινὰς ἀνθρώπους Ὀλυμπίους; οὐδὲ γὰρ τραγῳδίας ποτὲ ἡ κιθαρῳδίας θεαταὶ ἐγεγόνεσαν.

IX

CAP. IX

Τοὺς γοῦν οἰκοῦντας τὰ Ἰπτόλα, πόλις δὲ κάκεινη Βασιλικὴ, φησιν ὃ Δάμις παθεῖν τι πρὸς τραγῳδίας ὑποκριτήν, οὐ καμὲ ἄξιον ἐπιμυνηθήναι θυντω ἡγὸ τῶν πόλεων θαμὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἰ Πυθικαὶ ἤδη ἀπηγγέλλοντο, τραγῳδίας ὑποκριτῆς τῶν οὐκ ἄξιομένων ἀνταγωνιζόμεθα τῷ Νέρωνι ἐπής ταῖς ἐσπερίους πόλεις ἀγαίρων, καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ χρώμενος ηὐδοκίμει παρὰ τοῖς ἂντον βαρβάροις, πρόστων μὲν δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ ἥκειν παρὰ ἀνθρώπους, οὐ μὴ πο τραγῳδίας ἔκουσαν, εἰτ ἐπειδὴ τὰς Νέρωνος μελῳδίας ἀκριβῶς ἐφασκε. παρελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὰ Ἰπτόλα φοβερὸς μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο καὶ ὅν ἐσιώτα χρόνον ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς, καὶ ὀρῶντες οἱ ἀνθρώποι βαδίζοντα μὲν αὐτῶν μέγα, κεχρυότα δὲ τοσοῦτον, ἐφεστῶτα δὲ ὀκρί-
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.

IX

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...
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. IX

βασιν οὖτως ψυχλοῖς τερατωδὴ τε τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐσθήματα, οὐκ ἀφοβοὶ ἦσαν τοῦ σχῆματος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξαρας τὴν φωνὴν γεγωνὸν ἐφθέγξατο, φυγῇ οἱ πλείστοι ὄχουσο, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ δαίμονος ἐμβοηθέντες. τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ ἡθὴ τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων καὶ οὖτως ἀρχαία.

X

Σπουδήν δὲ ποιουμένου τοῦ τῆς Βαυτικῆς ἐπιτροπεύουτος ἐς ξυνουσίαν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἔλθειν, ὁ μὲν ἀηδείς ἐφη τὰς ξυνουσίας τὰς ἐαυτοῦ φαίνεσθαι τοῖς μὴ φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ὅ δὲ προσέκειτο αἰτῶν τούτῳ: ἐπεὶ δὲ χρηστός τε εἶναι ἐλέγετο καὶ διαβεβλημένος πρὸς τοὺς Νέρωνος μίμους, γράφει πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἦν ἐς τὰ Γάδειρα ἔλθοι, ὁ δὲ ἀφελῶν τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄρκουν ξὺν ὀλίγους καὶ ἐαυτῷ ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις ἦλθεν. ἀσπασάμενοι δὲ ἀλλήλους καὶ μεταστησάμενοι τοὺς παρὸντας, ὁ τι μὲν διελέχθησαν, οὐδεὶς οἰδε, τεκμαίρεται δὲ ὁ Δάμις ἐπὶ Νέρωνα ξυμβῆναι σφᾶς. τριῶν γὰρ ἡμερῶν ἱδία σπουδάσαντες, ὁ μὲν ἀπῆκε περιβαλῶν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὁ δὲ, "ἔρρωσο," ἐφη, "καὶ μέμνησο τοῦ Βίνδικος." τί δὲ τούτῳ ἦν; ἐπὶ Νέρωνα ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ ἄδοντα τὰ ἑθνη τὰ ἐσπέρια λέγεται κινησαί Βίνδιξ, ἄνὴρ οἷος ἔκτεινεν τὰς νευρᾶς, ὡς Νέρων ἀμαθῶς ἔφαλλε, πρὸς γὰρ τὰ στρατόπεδα, ὡς ἐπετέκτακτο, λόγον κατ' αὐτοῦ διηλθεῖν, ὅν ἐκ πάνω γενναίας φιλοσοφίας ἐπὶ τύμαννον ἀν τις πνεύσειεν ἐφη γὰρ
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.

X

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 to detest 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
CAP. XI

Νέρωνα εἶναι πάντα μᾶλλον ἡ κυθαρσίδον καὶ κυθαρσίδον μᾶλλον ἡ βασιλέα. προφέρειν δὲ αὐτῷ μανίαν μὲν καὶ φιλοχορματίαν καὶ ὁμότητα καὶ ἀσέλγειαν πᾶσαν, τὸ δὲ ὀμότατον τῶν ἐκεῖνου μὴ προφέρειν αὐτῷ· τὴν γὰρ μητέρα ἐν δίκη ἀπεκτο-νέαι, ἐπειδὴ τοιοῦτον ἔτεκε. ταυτ' οὖν ὡς ἦσται προγιγνώσκοιν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἔνυπταττε τῷ Βινδίκι ὁμορον ἄρχοντα, μονονουχὶ ὀπλα ὑπὲρ τῆς Ρώμης τιθέμενος.

XI

CAP. XI

Φλεγμαίνοντων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν, τρέ-πονται τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Διβύην καὶ Τυρρηνοὺς, καὶ τὰ μὲν πεζῇ βαδίζουσι, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ πλοῖαν πορεύο-μενοι κατίσχουσιν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, οὐ τὸ Λιλύβαιον. παραπλεύσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην τε καὶ πορθμὸν, ἐνθὰ ὁ Τυρρηνὸς Ἀδρία ξυμβάλλων χαλεπῆν ἐργάζονται τὴν Χάρυβδιν, ἀκούσαί φασίν, ὡς Νέρων μὲν πεθεύοι, τεθνήκοι δὲ Βινδίξ, ἀπτοῦντο δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς οἱ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Ρώμης, οἱ δὲ ὀπόθεν τοὺς ἔθνοι. ἐρμομένων δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐταίρων, οἱ προβήσουσαν ταύτα καὶ ὅτου λουπὸν ἡ ἀρχὴ ἔσοτο, "πολλῶν," εἰπε, "Θηβαίων." τὴν γὰρ ἰσχύν, ἢ πρὸς ὅλων Βιτέλιος τε καὶ Γάλβας καὶ Οθων ἔχρησαντο, Θηβαίως εἰκασεν, οἱ χρόνον κομιδὴ βραχὺν ἧχησαν 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 cruelest of his crimes; for he said that he had quite rightly put to death his mother, because she had borne such a monster. Apollonius, forecasting how all this must end, 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.

\[\text{XI}\]

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.
"Οτι μὲν γὰρ τὰ τοιαύτα δαίμονία κινήσει προεγίγνωσκε, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς γόνητα τὸν ἀνδρὰ ἡγουμένοις ὦν ἔχει ὁ λόγος, δήλοι μὲν καὶ τὰ εἰρήμενα, σκεψώμεθα δὲ κάκεινα· οἱ γόνητες, ἡγούμαι δ' αὐτούς ἐγὼ κακοδαιμονεστάτους ἀνθρώπων, οἱ μὲν ἐς βασάνους εἰδώλων χωροῦντες, οἱ δ' ἐς θυσίας βαρβάρους, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐπίσαι τί ἡ ἀλείψαι, μεταποιεῖν φασὶ τὰ εἰμαρμένα, καὶ πολλοὶ τούτων κατηγορίαις ὑπαχθέντες τὰ τοιαύτα ὡμολόγησαν σοφοὶ εἶναι. ὁ δὲ ἐπετοῦ μὲν τοὺς ἐκ Μοιρῶν, προὐλεγε δὲ, ὡς ἀνάγκη γενέσθαι αὐτᾶ, προεγίγνωσκε δὲ ὁ γοητεύων, ἄλλ' ἐξ ὧν οἱ θεοὶ ἐφαίνον. Ἰδὼν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τοὺς τρίποδας καὶ τοὺς οἰνοχόους καὶ ὅσα αὐτόματα ἐσφοιτᾶν ἐποῦν, οὕθ' ὅπως σοφίζουντο αὐτᾶ, ἱρετο, οὕτ' ἐδείηθη μαθεῖν, ἄλλ' ἐπήνει μὲν, ἥραν οὗτ ἠξίουν.

Αφικομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς Συρακούσας γυνῆ τῶν οὐκ ἄφανῶν τέρας ἀπεκύησεν, ὅποις ὀπίτω ἐμαίευθη· τρεῖς γὰρ τῷ βρέφει κεφαλαὶ ἦσαν ἐξ οἰκείας ἐκάστη δέρης, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ αὐταῖς ἐνὸς πάντα. οἱ μὲν δὴ παχέως ἐξηγούμενοι τὴν Σικελίαν ἐφασαν, τριμακρία γὰρ, ἀπολείπεσθαι, εἰ μὴ ὀμονοήσεις τε 488
XII

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: 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

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...

XIV

Πορευθέντες δὲ ἐπὶ Κατάνης, οὗ τὸ ὄρος ἦ Ἁὔνη, Καταναίων μὲν ἀκουσάι φασιν ἕγουμένων.
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 Galatia, and was not even accorded a public funeral, but lies buried like any private person. And the whole episode was past and over within a single year.

XIV

Next they came to Catana, where is Mount Etna; and they say that they heard from the inhabitants of
the city a story about Typho being bound on the spot and about fire rising from him, and this fire sends up the smoke 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 talent?” “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 Typho = Typhon and typho = to smoke.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XIV

ἀλλ᾿ ἐαυτοῦ τινα ὄντον ἐτραπετο, εἰτα, ὡσπερ οἱ τοῖς εὐτελεστέροις βρῶμασι καλῶς ἐστιώντες, ἀπὸ σμικρῶν πραγμάτων διδάσκει μεγάλα, καὶ προ-
θέμενοι τὸν λόγον ἐπάγει αὐτῷ τὸ πράττε ἡ μὴ πράττε, εἰτα τοῦ φιλαλήθους μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ποιηταὶ ἢσατο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ βιάζονται πιθανοῦς φαινεσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν λόγους, ὁ δὲ ἐπαγγέλλων λόγον, ὃς ἔστιν ψευδῆς, πᾶς οἶδεν ὅτι, αὐτὸ τὸ μὴ περὶ ἀληθινῶν ἔρειν ἀληθεύει. καὶ ὁ μὲν ποιητής εἰπὼν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον καταλείπει τῷ υγιαίνοντι ἀκροατῇ βασανίζειν αὐτόν, εἰ ἐγένετο, ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν μὲν ψευδὴ λόγον, ἐπαγγείλαν ὄν νουθεσίαν, ὡσπερ ὁ Αἰσωπὸς, δείκνυσιν ὡς ἐς τὸ χρῆσιμον τῆς ἀκροασεως τῷ ψεῦδει κέχρηται. χαρίειν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ καὶ τὰ ἄλογα ἢδῶν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξια τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, εκ παιδῶν γὰρ τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις ξυγγενόμενοι καὶ ὑπ᾿ αὐτῶν ἐκνηπιωθέντες, δόξας ἀναλαμβάνομεν περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ζῴων, τὰ μὲν ὡς βασιλικᾶ εὖ, τὰ δὲ ὡς εὐηθη, τὰ δὲ ὡς κομψά, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἁκέραια, καὶ ὁ μὲν ποιητῆς εἰπὼν

πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῶν δαίμονίων

ἡ τοιοῦτο τι ἐπιχορεύσας ἀπῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ Αἰσωπὸς ἐπιχρησμῳδήσας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον καταλύει τὴν ξυνουσίαν ἐς ὑ προϋθετο.

1 Eurip. Alcestis, last line.
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
telling 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.
"Εμε δέ, ὁ Μένιππε, καὶ μῦθον περὶ τῆς Αἰσώπου σοφίας ἐδιδάξατο ἡ μήτηρ κομιδῆ νήπιον, ὡς εἶχε μὲν ποτὲ ποιμὴν ὁ Αἰσώπος, νέμοι δὲ πρὸς ἱερῷ Ἑρμοῦ, σοφίας δὲ ἐρφῇ καὶ εὐχοίτο αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τούτου, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἔτεροι ταύτῶν αἰτοῦντες ἐπιφοιτῶεν τῷ Ἑρμῆ, ὁ μὲν χρυσόν, ὁ δ' ἄργυρον, ὁ δὲ κηρύκειον ἑλέφαντιον, ὁ δὲ τῶν οὕτω τι λαμπρῶν ἀνάπτων, ὁ δ' Ἀἰσώπος ἔχει μὲν οὕτως, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἔχειν, φείδιοτο δὲ καὶ ὅν εἴχε, γάλακτος δὲ αὐτῷ σπένδοι, ὅσον ὄς ἀμελχ-θεῖσα ἐδίδοι καὶ κηρίον ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν φέροι, ὅσον τὴν χείρα ἐμπλήσαι, ἐστίαν δ' αὐτόν καὶ μύρτοις φέτο καὶ παραθές ἄν τῶν ῥόδων ἢ τῶν ἰων κομιδῆ ὀλίγα. "τι γὰρ δεῖ, ὁ Ἑρμῆ," ἔλεγε, "στεφάνους πλέκειν καὶ ἀμελεῖν τῶν προβάτων;" ὡς δὲ ἄφικοντο ἐσ ῥητὴν ἕμέραν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς σοφίας διανομῆν, ὁ μὲν Ἑρμῆς ἀτε λόγιοσ καὶ κερδῶς, "σὺ μὲν," ἔφη, "φιλοσοφίαν ἔχε," τῷ πλείστα δὴπουθεν ἀναθέντι, "σὺ δὲ ἐς ῥητόρων ἥθη χώρει," τῷ δεύτερά που χαρισαμένῳ, "σοι δὲ ἀστρονομεῖν χώρα, σοι δὲ εἶναι μουσικῷ, σοι δὲ ἥρφου ποιητῇ μέτρου, σοι δὲ, ἰαμβεῖον." ἐπεί δὲ 496
"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 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 rewards, 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
καὶ τοις λογιῶτατος ὄν, κατανάλωσεν ἄκων ἀπαντα
tὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρη, καὶ ἔλαβεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκπεσόν τοῦ Ἀἰσώπου, ἐνθυμεῖται τὰς Ὡρας, ὅφ’
ὅν αὐτὸς ἐν κορυφαῖς τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ἐτράφη, ὡς ἐν σπαργάνοις ποτὲ αὐτῷ ὑπερῴει μῦθον διελθοῦσαν
περὶ τῆς βοός, ὅν διελέξθη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἢ βούς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῆς τε καὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐς ἑρωτα αὐτὸν τῶν
τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος βοῶν κατέστησαν, καὶ δίδωσιν ἑντεύθεν τὴν μυθολογίαν τῷ Ἀἰσώπῳ, λοιπὴν ἐν
σοφίας οἶκῳ οὐσάν, ἡ” ἐχε,” εἰπὼν, ἢ πρώτα ἐμα-
θοῦ.” αἱ μὲν δὴ πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῆς τέχνης ἑνθέντε ἀφίκοντο τῷ Ἀἰσώπῳ, καὶ τοιοῦτε ἀπέβη
tὸ τῆς μυθολογίας πράγμα.

XVI

"Ἰσως δ’ ἀνόητων ἐπαθον ἐπιστρέψαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς
dιανοηθεῖς ἐς λόγους φυσικωτέρους τε καὶ ἄλη-
θεστέρους ὅν οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ τῆς Αἴτνης ἄδουσιν,
αὐτὸς ἐς ἔπαινον μύθων ἄπηνέχθην, οὐ μὴν ἄχαρις
ἡ ἐκβολή τοῦ λόγου γέγονεν ὃ γὰρ μῦθος, ὅν
παραιτούμεθα, οὐ τῶν Ἀἰσώπου λόγων ἑστίν,
ἀλλὰ τῶν δραματικωτέρων καὶ ὅν οἱ ποιηταὶ
θρυλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ Τυφὼ τινα ἡ Ἐγκέ-
λαδον δεδεσθαὶ φασίν ὑπὸ τῷ ὦρει καὶ δυσθανα-
τοῦντα ἀσθμαίνει τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο, ἔγω δὲ γίγανται
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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.

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
CAP. XVI μὲν γεγονέναι φημί, καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς γῆς ἀνα-
δείκνυσθαι τοιαύτη σώματα ῥαγέντων τῶν τάφων,
οὐ μὴν ἐσ ἁγώνα ἐλθεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλ' ὑβρίσαι
μὲν τάχα ἐσ τοὺς νεὼς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἔθη, οὐρανὸς
δὲ ἐπιπηδῆσαι καὶ μὴ ξυνχωρεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπ'
αὐτοῦ εἶναι, μανία μὲν λέγειν, μανία δὲ οἴεσθαι.
καὶ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνος ὁ λόγος καίτοι δοκῶν εὐφημότερος
εἶναι τιμάσθω, ὥς Ἡφαίστῳ μέλει τοῦ χαλκεύειν
ἐν τῇ Λείτυῃ, καὶ κτυπεῖται τις ἐνταύθα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
ἀκμῶν, πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα ὄρη πολλαχοῦ τῆς
γῆς ἐμπυρα καὶ οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμεν ἐπιφημίζοντες
αὐτοῖς γίγαντας καὶ Ἡφαίστους.

XVII

CAP. XVII "Τίς οὖν ἡ τῶν τοιῶν ὅρων αἰτία; γῇ κράσιων
ἀσφάλτου καὶ θείου παρεχομένη τύφεται μὲν καὶ
παρ' ἑαυτῆς φύσει, πῦρ δ' οὕτω ἐκδιδόσιν, εἰ δὲ
σηραγγώδης τούχου καὶ υποδράμοι αὐτὴν πνεῦμα,
φρυκτὸν ἕδη αἴρει. πλεονεκτήσασα δὲ ἡ φλόξ,
ὕστερ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀπορρεῖ τῶν ὅρων καὶ ἐσ τὰ πεδία
ἐκχεῖται, χωρεῖ τε ἐπὶ θάλατταν πῦρ ἄθροι
ἐκβολὰς ποιούμενον, ὀλ'ai τῶν ποταμῶν εἰσὶ. χώρος
d' Εὐσεβῶν, περὶ οὖς τὸ πῦρ ἔρρη, λεγέσθω μὲν
κανταύθα τις, ἴγωμεθα δὲ τοῖς ὅσια πράττουσι
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giants have existed, and that gigantic bodies are revealed all over the 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 so rash as to assign to them giants and gods like Hephaestus.

XVII

"What then is the explanation of such mountains? It is this: the earth by affording a mixture of asphalt and pitch, 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 sends up into the air as it were a torch; 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
CAP. XVII  γῆν μὲν πᾶσαν ἀσφαλῆ χώρον εἶναι, θάλατταν δὲ εὐπορον οὐ πλέουσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεῖν πειρω-μένους." ἂεὶ γὰρ τοὺς λόγους ἀνέπαυεν ἐς τὰ χρηστὰ τῶν παραγγελμάτων.

CAP. XVIII  Ἐμφιλοσοφήσας δὲ τῇ Σικελίᾳ χρόνον, ὅσ ἀπο- χρώσαν αὐτῷ σπουδὴν εἶχεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκομίζετο περὶ ἀρκτούρου ἐπιτολάς. ἀλῶπον δὲ τοῦ πλοῦ γενομένου κατασχῶν ἐς Λευκάδα, "ἀπο- βῶμεν," ἐφὶ, "τῆς νεώς ταύτης, οὗ γὰρ λών αὐτῇ ἐς Ἀχαιάν πλέυσαί." προσέχοντος δὲ οὔδε- νός τὸ λόγῳ πλὴν τῶν γιγνωσκόντων τὸν ἄνδρα, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ Λευκάδιας νεώς ὁμοῦ τοῖς βουλο- μένοις ἔμπλευν ἐς Λέχαιον κατέσχεν, ἢ δὲ ναῖς ἡ Συρακουσία κατέδυ ἐσπλέουσα τὸν Κρισάιον κόλπον.

CAP. XIX  Μυθεῖς δ' Ἀθηνησίων, ἐμύει δ' αὐτῶν ιεροφάν- της, ὅν αὐτὸς τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπεμαντεύσατο, ἐνέτυχε καὶ Δημητρίῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, μετὰ γὰρ τὸ Νέρωνος βαλανείον καὶ ἀ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶπε, διητάτο Ἀθηνησίων ὁ Δημητρίος οὕτω γενναίως, ὅσ μηδὲ τὸν χρόνον, ὅν Νέρων περὶ τοὺς ἀγώνας ὑβρίζει, ἐξελθεῖν τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἐκεῖνος καὶ Μουσομίπτων ἔφασκεν ἐντετυ- χηκέναι περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν δεδεμένῳ τε καὶ κεκε-502
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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.

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.

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,
Χειμάσας δ' ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἱεροῖς πᾶσιν εἶχετο τῆς ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ὁδοὺ περί ἔαρ, πολλά μὲν ἐπιπλήξας, πολλά δὲ συμβουλεύσας ταῖς πόλεσιν, πολλῶν δὲ ἐς ἐπαίνον καταστάς, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπαίνον ἀπείχετο, ὅποτε τι ύμιῶς πράσσοιτο, καταβὰς δὲ ἐς Πειραιᾶ ναῦς μὲν τις ὄρμει πρὸς ἱστίοις οὖσα καὶ ἐς Ὕοιναν ἀφήςουσα, ὁ δ' ἐμπορος οὐ χυνεχόρει ἐμβαίνειν, ἱδίοστολον γὰρ αὐτὴν ἄγειν. ἔρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλώνιου, "τίς ὁ φόρτος;" "θεῶν," ἔφη, "ὡγάλματα ἀπάγω ἐς Ὅοιναν, τὰ μὲν χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθον, τὰ δὲ ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ." "ἲδρυσόμενος ἦ τί;" "ἀποδωσόμενος," ἔφη, "τοῖς βουλομένοις ἴδρυεσθαι." "δέδιας οὖν, ὃ λῦστε, μὴ συλήσωμεν τὰ ὑγάλματα ἐν τῇ νη;" "οὐ τούτο," ἔφη, "δέδια, τὸ
where he was fettered and under orders to dig; he CHAP. consoled him as best he could with better hopes for the future, 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.

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
Flavius Philostratus

Cap. XX

δὲ πλείστοι ξυμπλεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ ὀμιλίας ἀναπίμπλασθαι φαύλου διαίτης τε, ὀπόσῃ ναυτικῇ, δεινῶν ἵγούμαι." "καὶ μὴν, ὡς ἑλπίστη, εἰπε, "δόκεις γάρ μοὶ τις Ἀθηναῖος εἴναι, τὰς ναῦς, αἷς ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔχρησασθε, καὶ τοινυανικῆς ἀταξίας ἐμπεπλησμένας, ἐνέβαινον οἱ θεοὶ ξῦν ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ὄφοντο ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν χραίνεσθαι, καὶ ἀμαθῶς οὕτως ἀπωθῇ τῆς νεὼς φιλοσόφους ἄνδρας, οἷς μάλιστα οἱ θεοὶ χαίρουσιν, καὶ τάντα ἐμπορίαν τοὺς θεοὺς πεποιημένοις; ἂς γὰρ ἀγαλματοποιία ἢ ἄρχαία οὐ τοῦτο ἐπραττεν, οὔδὲ περιήσαν τὰς πόλεις ἀποδιδομένου τοὺς θεοὺς, ἀλλ' ἀπάγοντες μόνον τὰς αὐτῶν χεῖρας καὶ ὄργανα λιθουργᾶ καὶ ἐλεφαντουργᾶ, ὑλῆ τε παρατιθέμενοι ἄργον, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἱεροῖς τὰς δημιουργίας ἐποιῶντο, σὺ δ' ὡσπερ τὰ Ἀρκανικὰ τε καὶ Σκυθικά, ἀπείη δὲ εἰπεῖν τίνα, οὕτω τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τοὺς λυμένας τε καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἄγων οὐδὲν οὐεὶ ἀσεβές πράττεσθαι; καὶ μὴν καὶ σπερμοδολογοῦσιν ἐνοι τῶν ἄνθρωπων, ἐξαψάμενοι τι Δήμητρος ἢ Διονύσου ἀγαλμα, καὶ τρέφεσθαι φασίν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν οὕς φέρουσι, τὸ δ' αὐτοὺς συνεῖσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ μὴ ἐμπί- πλασθαι τοῦτον, δεινῆς ἐμπορίας, εἰπομί δ' ἂν καὶ ἄνοιας, εἰ μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦτον δέδοικας." τοιαῦτα ἐπισπληξαὶ ἐπὶ νεῶς ἐτέρας ἐπλει.
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 countrymen 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; and they provided the raw materials and plied their handicraft in the temples themselves; but you are leading the gods into harbours and market places just as if they were wares 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 unmanliness, even if you have no misgivings of your own about the consequences." Having administered this rebuke he took his passage on another ship.

1 Probably temple slaves or prostitutes.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

XXI

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
CAP. XXI

"η τὸν λυπούμενον μὲν κοιμῆσθαι αὐτῷ τὴν λύπην ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐλοῦ, τὸν δὲ χαίροντα ἱλαρώτερον ἐαυτοῦ γλύγνεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἐρώτατα θερμότερον, τὸν δὲ φιλοθύτην ἐνθεώτερον τε καὶ ὑμνώδη;" "τοῦτο οὖν," ἐφη, "ὅ Κάνε, πότερον αὐτὸς ἐργάζεται ὁ αὐλὸς διὰ τὸ χρυσὸ τε καὶ ὀρειχάλκου καὶ ἐλάφων κνήμης ἔξυγκεισθαι, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅνων, ἢ ἐτερὸν ἐστιν, ὃ ταῦτα δύναται;" "ἐτερον," ἐφη, "ὅ Απολ- λώνε; ἡ γὰρ μουσική καὶ οἱ τρόποι καὶ τὸ ἀναμίξ καὶ τὸ εὐμετάβολον τῆς αὐλήσεως καὶ τὰ τῶν ἁμοιών θῆ, ταῦτα τοὺς ἀκροωμένους ἀρ- μότει καὶ τὰς φυχὰς ἐργάζεται σφῶν, ὅποιας βούλουνται." "ξυνῆκα," ἐφη, "ὅ Κάνε, ὁ τι σοι ἡ τέχνη πράττει: τὸ γὰρ ποικίλον αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἐσ πάντας τρόπους, τούτο εξασκεῖσ τε καὶ παρέχεις τοῖς παρὰ σὲ φοιτῶσιν. ἔμοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὸ σοῦ εἰρημένους καὶ ἐτέρων δοκεῖ ὁ αὐλὸς δεῖσθαι. τῆς τε εὐπνοίας καὶ τῆς εὐστομίας καὶ τοῦ εὐχειρα εἶναι τὸν αὐλοῦντα, ἐστι δὲ εὐπνοία μὲν, ἢ τοῦτο καὶ λευκὸν ἢ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ μὴ ἐπικτυπῆ ἢ φάρνυξ, τούτι γὰρ ἔοικε φθόγγος ἀμοῦσφο, εὐστομία δὲ, ἢν τὰ χείλη ἐνθέμενα τήν τοῦ αὐλοῦ γιάλωται μὴ πιμπραμένου τὸν προσώπου αὐλή, τὸν δὲ εὐ- χειρα αὐλητήν πολλοῦ ἡγούμαι ἄξιον, ἢν μήτε ὁ καρπὸς ἀπαγορεύθαι ἀνακλώμενος μήτε οἱ δάκτυλοι βραδεῖς ὃσιν ἐπιπέτισθε οἰς φθόγγοις, καὶ γὰρ τὸ ταχέως μεταβάλλειν ἐκ τρόπου εἰς τρόπον περὶ τοὺς εὐχειρᾶς ἐστὶ 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 airs 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 hear 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 plenty 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
all these facilities, you may play with confidence, O Canus, for the Muse Euterpe will be with you.

XXII

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 needs, 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.”
XXIII

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

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 as one friend longs 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 the
CAP. XXIV

όσπερ τοῖς φέρονσι τὰ ἱερά. παραπεμπομένου
de αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ τῶν ἑθνῶν ἕγεμόνες, ἄνδρες
ήγοντο τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ δώδεκα λησταὶ τὴν αἰτίαν,
ὁ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἰδών, “οὐ πάντες,” εἶπεν, “ὁ δείνα
γὰρ καταψευσθεὶς ἀπείσι.” καὶ πρὸς τοὺς
dημίους, ὑφ᾽ ὧν ἠγοντο, “ὑφεῖναι,” ἐφη, “κελεύω
tοῦ δρόμου καὶ σχολαίότερον ἦκειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα,
ὑστατόν τε ἀποκτείναι τοῦτον, μετέχει γὰρ οὐδὲν
tῆς αἰτίασεως, ἀλλὰ ὑμεῖς γε ὅσι᾽ ἀν πράττοιτε
φειδόμενοι τούτων βραχὺ μέρος ἡμέρας, οὐς λύουν
ἡν μηδ᾽ ἀποκτείνειν” καὶ ἀμα ἐνδιέτριβεν οἷς
ἔλεγεν, οὐκ εἰωθὸς ἐαυτῷ ἀποτείνων μήκος. τί δ᾽
αὐτῷ ἐνόει τοῦτο, αὐτίκα ἐδείχθη ὅκτῳ γὰρ ἡδή
ἀποτετμημένων τάς κεφαλὰς ἱπτεὺς ἑλαύνων ἑπὶ
tὸ ὄρυγμα, “Φαρίώνοι,” ἐβόα, “Φείσασθε,” μὴ
γὰρ εἶναι ληστὴν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ ἐαυτῶν μὲν κατεψευ-
σθαί δέει τοῦ στρεβλῶσεθαι, βασανισθέντων δὲ
ἐτέρων χρηστὸν ωμολογήσθαι ἄνδρα. ἐὼ τὸ
πῆδημα τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ ὅσον ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐκροτη-
σαν καὶ ἄλλως θαυμαστικοὶ ὄντες.

XXV

CAP. XXV

Ἀνελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ὁ μὲν κόσμος ὁ
περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ ἐφ᾽ ἐκάστῳ λόγος θεῖος τε ἐφαί
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ship into the city, they gazed upon him as if he was a god, and made way for him in the allies, 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 or he would not be going with you.” 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.

XXV

And when he had gone up into the temple, he was struck by the orderliness of its arrangements,
CAP. XXV

νετο καὶ κατὰ σοφίαν ξυντεθεῖσι, τὸ δὲ τῶν ταύρων αἰμα καὶ οἱ χῆνες καὶ ὁπόσα ἐθύετο, οὐκ ἐπήνει τὰ τοιάδε, οὐδὲ ἐς δαίτας θεῶν ἦσαν ἐρωμένου δ' αὐτῶν τοῦ ἱερέως, τί μαθῶν οὐχ οὕτω θύου, "σὺ μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἀπόκριναι μοι μᾶλλον, τί μαθῶν οὕτω θύεις;" εἶπόντος δὲ τοῦ ἱερέως, "καὶ τίς οὐτω δεινός, ὡς διορθοῦσθαι τὰ Ἀιγυπτίων;"

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 consider that they constituted 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 affairs 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 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 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."

1 A frankincense model of a bull.
Τούτοις ἐπέκοπτε τῶν Διηγομένων ὡς ἀμαθῆ τῶν θεών. προσκειμένης δὲ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὑπ' ἐπι τῇ θέᾳ ταύτῃ, μιαφυνούντων δὲ ἀλλήλους, ἐπιπληξίων ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν, "ποί," ἐφη, "παρατενεῖτε ἀποθνήσκοντες οὐχ ὑπὲρ τέκνων οὐδὲ ἱερῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς χραίνοιτε μὲν τὰ ἱερὰ λύθρου μεστοὶ ἐς ταύτα ἡκοντες, φθείροντες δὲ ἐς τείχους; καὶ Τροίαν μὲν, ὡς ἐοικεν, ὑπός εἰς διεπόρθησεν, ὥν ἐσοφίσαντο οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τότε, ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δὲ ἀρματα ἦζεν καὶ ὑπόποι, δι' ὦς οὐκ ἐστιν ὑμῖν εὐνύης ξῆνον ἀπόλλυσθε γοῦν οὐχ ὑπὸ Ἀτρειδῶν, οὖδ᾽ ὑπὸ Διακιδῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων, ὁ μην' οἱ Τρῶες ἐν τῇ μέθη. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν, οὐ πάλης καὶ πυγμῆς καὶ τοῦ παγκρατιάζειν ἀθλα, οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ ἀθλητῶν ἀπε-θανεν, ὡς καὶ ἐξυγγνώμης ὑπαρχοῦσης, εὖ τις ὑπερ-σπουδάζοι περὶ τὸ ὁμόφυλον, ὑπὲρ δὲ ὑπ' ἐπι πρὸ πρὸν ἐνταῦθα γυμνὰ μὲν ὑμῖν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ξίφη, βολαὶ δὲ ἐτοιμοὶ λίθων. πῦρ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τοιαύτην πόλιν, ἐνθα οἴμωγη τε καὶ ὑβρις

ὅλλοντων τε καὶ ὄλλυμένων, ἰεῖ δ' αἰματι γαία.

αἰδεύθητε τὸν κοινὸν τῆς Διηγομένων κρατῆρα 520
XXVI

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
CAP. XXVI Νεῖλον. ἀλλὰ τὶ Νεῖλον μνημονεύω πρὸς ἀνθρώπους αὖματος ἀναβάσεις διαμετροῦντας μᾶλλον ἡ ὑδατος;" καὶ πλείω ἐσ τὴν ἐπὶ-πληξίν ταύτην διελέχθη ἐτερα, ὡς διδάσκει ὁ Δάμις.

CAP. XXVII Οὔεσπασιανοῦ δὲ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν περι-νοοῦντος περὶ τὰ ὀμορα τῇ Ἀγύπτῳ ἔθνη, καὶ προ-χωροῦντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀγυπτίου, Δίωνες μὲν καὶ Εὐ-φρᾶται, περὶ δὲ μικρὸν ύστερον εἰρήσεται, χαίρειν παρεκελεύοντο: μετὰ γὰρ τὸν πρῶτον αὐτοκράτορα, ὦφ' οὗ τὰ Ἑωμαῖον διεκοσμήθη, τυραννίδες οὐτω χαλεπαί ἔσχυσαν ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἐτη, ὡς μηδὲ Κλαύδιον τὰ μέσα τούτων τρισκαίδεκα ἀρξαντα χρηστὸν δόξαι: καίτοι πεντήκοντα ὡς ἐς τὸ ἀρχεῖν παρῆλθεν, ὅτε νοὺς μάλιστα ὑγιάινει ἀνθρώπων, παιδείας δὲ ξυμπάσης ἐδόκει ἐραν ἀλλὰ κάκεινος τηλικόσδε ὡν πολλὰ μειρακιώδη ἔπαθε καὶ μηλόβοτον γυναικὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνήκειν, ὦφ' ὃν οὔτω ῥαθύμως ἀπέθανεν, ὡς καίτοι προγυνώσκων, ἄ ἐμελλε πείσεσθαι, μηδ' ἂ προῆδει, φυλάξασθαι.
'Απολλώνιος δὲ παραπλησίως μὲν Εὐφράτη καὶ Δίων περὶ τούτων ἔχαρε, μελέτην ὡ αὐτά οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο ἐς πάντας, ῥητορικωτέραν ἕγομενος τὴν
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.

XXVII

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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XXVIII

CAP. XXVIII

Θύσαις γὰρ καὶ οὕπω χρηματίσας κατ’ ἄξιαν ταῖς πόλεσι προσειπε τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ ὅσπερ 524
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,
in 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 in-
habitants polluted both by what they did and by
what they suffered, which was the reason why Vespa-
sian 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.

XXVIII

For after he had sacrificed, and before he gave official audiences to the cities, he addressed himself
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 equality 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."

**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
'Απολλωνίῳ τὴν χείρα, καὶ παραγαγὼν αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τὰ βασίλεια, "ίσως," ἐφη, "μειρακιώδης ἐνίοις δοκῶ βασιλείας ἀπτόμενος περὶ ἐτος ἐξηκοστοῦν τοῦ βίου· δῶσοι οὖν ἀπολογίαν, ὡς ἀπολογοῦ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοὺς ἄλλους· ἐγὼ γὰρ πλοῦτον μὲν ἠττηθεῖς οὐδὲ ἐν μειρακίῳ ποτὲ οἶδα, τὰς δὲ ἀρχὰς τε καὶ λαμπρότητας, ὅποσαι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆ προσήκουσιν, οὕτω σωφρόνως καὶ μετρίως διεθέμην, ὡς μήτε ὑπέρφρων μὴ τι αὐτοπτήχως δόξαι, νεώτερα δὲ οὐδ’ ἐπὶ Νέρωνα ἐνεθυμῆθην, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν, εἰ καὶ μή κατὰ νόμους, παρ’ ἀνδρὸς γοῦν αὐτοκράτορος παραλαβῶν εἴχεν, ὑφιέμην αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν Κλαύδιον, διὸ ὑπατόν τε ἀπεδειξε με καὶ ξύμβουλον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ὅποτε Νέρωνα ἰδοίμι ἀσχημονοῦντα, δάκρυνα μοι εξεπιπτεῖν ἐνθυμουμένῳ τὸν Κλαύδιον, ήφ’ οἶνον καθάρματος τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκληρονομήθη. ὅρων δὲ μηδ’ ὅποτε Νέρων ἐκποδῶν γέγονεν ἐπὶ τὸ λίθον μεθιστάμενα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ’ οὕτως ἀτίμως τὴν ἀρχὴν πράττουσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ Βιτέλιοι κείσθαι, θαρρῶν ἥδη ἐπ’ αὐτὴν εἴμι, πρῶτον μὲν, ἐπειδὴ βουλομαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρασχεῖν ἐμαυτὸν πολλοῦ ἄξιον, εἶτα, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς ἀνθρωπον ὁ ἀγὼν ἢσται κραιπαλὰντα, Βιτέλιος γὰρ μύρῳ μὲν λούται πλεῖον ἡ ἐγὼ ύδατι, δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ ξίφει πληγεῖς μύρου ἐκδώσειν μᾶλλον ἡ ἀλμα, οὐνὸς δὲ οὖν ξυνάπτων μαίνεται, καὶ κυβεὺει μὲν δεδιωὸς μή τι αὐτὸν οἱ πεπτοῖ.
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 in 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 the 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
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σφήλωσιν, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἀρχῆς ἀναρριπτεῖ παίζων, ἔταίραις δὲ ὕποκείμενος ἐπιθόρυνται ταῖς γεγαμμέναις, ἥδιω φάσκων τὰ μετὰ κινδύνων ἔρωτικά. εὖ τὰ ἀσελγέστερα, ὥσ μὴ τοιαῦτα ἐπὶ σοῦ λέγοιμι: μὴ δὴ περιίδοιμι Ῥωμαίους υπὸ τοιούτου ἀρχθέντας, ἀλλ’ ἠγεμόνας ποιούμενος τοὺς θεοὺς ἀνὴρ γυνοίμην ἐμαυτῷ ὀμοιοῖς· θεῖν ἐκ σοῦ, Ἀπολλώνιε, πείσμα ἐγὼ βάλλομαι, φασὶ γὰρ πλείστα σε τῶν θεῶν αἰσθάνεσθαι, καὶ ξύμβουλον ποιοῦμαι σε φροντίδων, ἐφ’ αἷς ἐστὶ γῆ καὶ θάλαττα, ἵν’ εἴ μὲν εὔμενή τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν φαύνοιτο, πράττοιμι ταῦτα, εἴ δὲ ἐναντία καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἐμοὶ μηδὲ Ῥωμαίων, μὴ ἐνοχλοῖν τοὺς θεοὺς ἀκοντας.”

XXX

CAP. XXX

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 ampest 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."

XXX

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
καὶ μηδὲν ἐμοῦ δέον, πέραινε δέ, ἃ ὀρθῶς ἐβουλεύσω." ξυμβεβήκει δὲ ἁρὰ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην Δομετιανοῦ μὲν τὸν Οὐσεπασιανὸν παῖδα παρατετάχθαι πρὸς τὸν Βιτέλιον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πατρὸς, πολιορκίας δ' αὐτὸν περισχούσης ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, τὸν μὲν διαπεφυγέναι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας, τὸν νεῶν δ' ἐμπετρῆσθαι, καὶ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ φαίνεσθαι πολλῷ θάττου ἢ εἰ κατὰ Ἀὐγουστον ἐπράττετο. τοσαύτα σπουδάσαντες ὁ μὲν ἀπῆλθε τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰπὼν μὴ ἐξυγχωρεῖν αὐτῷ τὰ Ἰουδαῖον πάτρια κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἄλλο τι παρ' ἄ έκείνοι πράττον πράττειν, ὁ δὲ ἀνέλαμπτε τε ἐντὸ μᾶλλον καὶ οὐ ἐξυγχώρει τοῖς πράγμασι διαφεύγειν ἐαυτόν, ἀλλ' ὡς βεβαιῶν τε καὶ αὐτῷ καθωμολογημένων εἰχετο δι' ἄ ἥκουσεν.

XXXI

Τῇ δ' ὑπεραία περὶ ὀρθρὸν ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεῖα Ἦκων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἤρετο τοὺς δορυφόρους, ὁ τι βασιλεὺς πράττοι, οἱ δὲ ἐγρηγορεῖν τε αὐτὸν πάλαι ἐφασαν καὶ πρὸς ἐπιστολαῖς εἶναι. καὶ ἀκούσας τούτο ἀπῆλθεν εἰπὼν πρὸς τὸν Δάμαν "ο ἀνήρ ἄρξει." ἐπανελθὼν δὲ περὶ ἦλιον ἀνίσχοντα Δίωνα μὲν καὶ Εὐφράτην ἐπὶ θύραις εὑρε, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας φιλοτήμως ἑρωτώσει διήλθε τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ, ἡν τὸν βασιλέως ἥκουσε, τὰς δὲ αὐτοῦ δόξας ἀπεσιώτησεν. ἐσκληθεῖς δὲ
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.

XXXI

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
πρῶτος, "ὦ βασιλεῦ," εἰπεν, "Εὐφράτης καὶ Δίων πάλαι σοι γνώριμοι ὅντες πρὸς θύρας εἰσίν οὐκ ἀφρόντιδες τῶν σῶν· κάλει δὴ κάκεινος ἐς κοινὸν λόγον, σοφῶ γὰρ τῷ ἄνδρε. " ἀκλείστους," ἐφη, "θύρας παρέχω σοφοῖς ἄνδράσι, σοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ στέρνα ἀνεῴχθαι δοκεῖ τάμα."

XXXII

'Επεὶ δὲ ἐσεκλήθησαν, "ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ διανοίας," εἰπεν, "ὦ ἄνδρεσ, ἀπολελόγημαι, χθὲς Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ γενναίῳ. "ἡκούσαμεν," ἡ δ' ὁ Δίων, "τῆς ἀπολογίας, καὶ νοῦν εἶχε." "τὴνερον δὲ," εἰπεν, "ὦ φίλε Δίων, ξυμφιλοσοφήσωμεν ὑπὲρ τῶν βεβουλευμένων, ἵνα ψ ός κάλλιστα καὶ κατὰ σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πάντα πράττομεν ἐννοῶν γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Τιβέριον, ὡς ἐς τὸ ἀπάνθρωπὸν τε καὶ ἀμόδων τὴν ἀρχὴν μετέστησεν, εἰτα τὸν ἐπὶ ἐκείνῳ Γάιον, ὡς διονυσομαίνων καὶ λυδίζων τὴν στολήν καὶ πολέμους νικῶν οὐκ ὄντας ἐς πάντα τὰ Ῥωμαίων αἰσχρῶς ἐβάκχευσεν, εἰτα τὸν χρηστὸν Κλαύδιον, ὡς ὑπὸ γυναικῶν ἡττηθεὶς ἐπελάθετο τοῦ ἀρχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ χήν, ἀπέθανε γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὡς φασὶ, Νέρωνος δὲ τί ἀν καθαπτομὴν, εἰπόντος Ἀπολλωνίου βραχὺν καὶ ἰδροῦν λόγον περὶ ἄνεσεως τε καὶ ἐπιτάσεως, ἀδιότερον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἤσχυνε; τί δ' ἄν περὶ δὲν Γάλβας ξυνετάττεν, εἴποιμι, ὡς ἐπ' ἁγορᾶς μέσης ἀπέθανεν

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said: "O King, Euphrates and Dion, long your ac-
quaintances, 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."

XXXII

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
CAP. XXXII

'Ο δ' Ἐνφράτης ἀφανῶς μὲν ἦδη ἐβάσκαινε τῷ Οἴθωνα καὶ τὸν Πεῖσωνα; εἰ δὲ καὶ Βιτελίῳ τῷ πάντων ἀσελγεστάτῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραδοίημεν, ἀναβίον." Νέρων ὅρων οὖν, ὡς ἄνδρες, ὑφίσταντο τὴν ἄρχειν, ἐμβεβλημένοι τῷ αὔριῳ, καὶ Ταῦτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἦδη τῶν ἀνθρώπων. "πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "ἄνθρωπος," ἐφι, "τῶν πάνω σοφῶν τοὺς ἐαυτῶν μαθητὰς παρὰ τοὺς φαυλοτέρους τῶν αὐλητῶν ἐπεμπε μαθησομένους, πῶς δεῖ μὴ αὐλείν τὸ μὲν ἕτη, πῶς δεῖ μὴ ἀρχεῖν, μεμάθηκας, ὡς βασιλεῖ, παρὰ τούτων, οὐ πονηρῶς ἤρξαν, τὸ δ', ὅπως δεὶ ἀρχεῖν, σπουδάσωμεν."

XXXIII

Απολλώνιος, προσκείμενου αὐτῷ τὸν βασιλέα ὁ ρόον μᾶλλον ἡ τοῖς χρηστηρίοις τοὺς ἐσ αὐτὰ ἔκοντας, ἀνοιδήσας δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον τότε καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἐπάρας παρ' ὧ εἰώθη, "οὐ χρή," ἐφι, "κολακεύειν τὰς ὁρμάς, οὐδὲ ἀνοίγων συνεκφέρεσθαι τοῖς παρὰ τὴν ἤμιαν τι πράττουσι, καταρρυθμίζουν δὲ αὐτοῖς, εὔπερ φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἃ γὰρ εἰ προσήκει πράττειν, ἐδει βουλευομένους φαίνεσθαι, ταῦθ' ὃν πεπράξεται τρόπον κελεύεις λέγειν οὕτω μαθῶν, 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 betray 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.”

XXXIII

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 rhythm 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
κτέων οἱ λόγοι. ἔγν ὃ ἐκ Βιτέλιον μὲν καταλυθήναι κελεύω, μιαρὸν γὰρ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν οἴδα καὶ μεθύοντα ἀσελγεία πάση, σὲ δ' ἄνδρα εἴδος ἁγαθὸν καὶ γενναιότητι προύχοντα, οὕ τις ἤρηναι τὰ μὲν Βιτελίον διορθοῦσθαι, τὰ σεαντοῦ δὲ μήπω εἰδέναι. οἷς μὲν δὴ αἱ μοναρχίαι ὕβριζονσιν, οὐκ ἐμὸν ἁρή μανθάνειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς εἰρήκας, γιγνόσκοις δ' ἄν, ὡς νεότης μὲν ἔπὶ τυραννίδα πηδῶσα προσήκοντα ἑαυτῇ ποὺ πράττει, τὸ γὰρ τυραννεύειν οὔτως ἔσοικε νέοις, ὡς τὸ μεθύειν, ὡς τὸ ἔραν, καὶ νέος μὲν τυραννεύσας οὔτως κακός, ἧν μὴ 1 μιαφόνος παρὰ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ ὁμός καὶ ἀσελγής δόξῃ, γέρωντος δὲ ἐπὶ τυραννίδα ἢκοντος, πρώτη αἰτία τὸ τοιαῦτα βούλεσθαι καὶ γὰρ Ἦν φιλάνθρωπος φαινήται καὶ κεκοσμημένος, οὐκ ἐκείνου ταῦτα νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἠλίκιας καὶ τοῦ κατηρτυκέναι, δόξει δὲ καὶ πάλαι τοῦτο καὶ νέος ἔτι ἐπιθυμήσας ἀμαρτεῖν, αἱ δὲ τοιαύται ἀμαρτίαι πρόσκεινται μὲν δυστυχία, πρόσκεινται δὲ δειλία; δοκεῖ γὰρ τὸς ἣ καταγενοῦς τῆς ἑαυτῶν τύχης τὸ ἐν ὑφι τυραννεύσαι παρεῖναι, ἥ τυραννησείοντι ἐκστήναι ἑτέρῳ δείσας δὴπον αὐτὸν ὡς ἄνδρα. τὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς δυστυχίας εἰσθα, τὸ δὲ τῆς δειλίας πῶς παρατήρηση, καὶ ταῦτα Νέρωνα δοκῶν δείσαι τὸν δειλότατον τε καὶ

1 Kayser omits μή, which the sense requires.
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 courage 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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ραθυμότατον; ἢ γὰρ ἐνεθυμήθη Βίνδιξ ἐπ’ αὐτόν, σέ, υἱὸ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ἐκάλει πρῶτον. καὶ γὰρ στρατιάν εἰχες, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, ἦν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἡγες, ἐπιτηδειοτέρα ἦν τιμωρεῖσθαι Νέρωνα· ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ πάλαι ἀφεστᾶσιν οὐ μόνον Ἦρωμαιοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων· οἱ γὰρ βίον ἂμικτὸν εὐρόντες καὶ οὗς μῆτε κοινῇ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τράπεζα μὴτε σπονδαί μὴτε εὐχαὶ μὴτε θυσίαι, πλέον ἀφεστᾶσιν ἡμῶν ἡ Σοῦσα καὶ Βάκτρα καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ ταῦτα Ἰνδοί· οὐκοῦν οὔτε εἰκός ἦν τιμωρεῖσθαι τούτους ἀφισταμένους, οὗς βέλτιον ἦν μηδὲ κτάσθαι. Νέρωνα δὲ τίς οὐκ ἄν ἦν ἤνεστο τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ ἀποκτεῖναι, μονονοῦ πίνοντα τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἷμα καὶ ἐν μέσοις τοῖς φόνοις ἄδοντα; καὶ τοιοῦ ἐμοῦ τὰ ὅτα ὅρθα ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ σοῦ λόγους, καὶ ὅποτε τις ἐκεῖθεν ἀφίκοιτο τρισμυρίους Ἰουδαίων ἀπολωλέναι φάσικον ὡτὸ σοῦ καὶ πεντακισμυρίους κατὰ τὴν ἐφεξῆς μάχην, ἀπολαμβάνων τὸν ἠκοντα ἡμιμέτρους ἡρῶτων, τῇ δ’ ὁ ἄνηρ; μὴ μεῖζον τι τούτων; ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Βιτέλιον εἰδὼλον πεποιημένους τοῦ Νέρωνος ἐπ’ αὐτόν στρατεύεις, ἢ μὲν βεβούλευσαι, πράττε, καλὰ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτως ὡδὲ ἔχετω· Ἦρωμαιοι τὸ δημοκρατεῖσθαι πολλοῦ ἄξιον, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ὄντων αὐτοῖς ἐπ’ ἐκείνης τῆς πολυτείας ἐκτήθη παῦε μοναρχίαν, περὶ ἦς 540
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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toiavta eirhkas, kal didou 'Rwmaiois mev to toiv
dhmou kratos, santo dè to 'eleutherias autois
árgai.

XXXIV

CAP. XXXIV

Tosauvta toiv Eufratou eipvontos oron o 'Aptol-
laivos toiv Dirwv proustidevewn tiv gynv mh, touti
gar kai tov neumati epedhalou kai ois estheiei
lehontas, "mh ti," efh, "Dirw, tois eirhmenois
prostihis;" "vh Dl," eite, "pih mev ómioia, pi dè
anomia: to mev gar ws polla Bethion an zv
Nérowna katalwv málkon h tà tov 'Ioudaiov
diorboúmenos, gàvymai kämoi provs se eirhsebai, sou
dè efokeis agwvno psoymenof mh kataluthnai pote
auton: o gar tiv parakhiv tòvn ekewin pragmaton
env tisemenos, erfanvne pov tiv anetropon epì
pantaic, ouis kakods érrwto. tiv dè epiv tòv Vitélou
ormh enpavw: tov gar tvarvnída kathethewian
pavsa meiçov ãgymai to µpdb ësasai fotos.
dhmovratian dé aspázoymai mev—kai gar ei tivs
áristokratías íttovn ãde ã politeia, ãlêla
turavndwv te kai olugarchrówn aíreptwterà tois
swfrosi—dèdia dé, mê cheirozheies ãde 'Rwmaiois
autai aì tvarvnides psoymekunai xaleptivn èrga-
swntai tiv metafblh, kai mê dùvontai mête
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upon Romans a popular government, and on yourself the glory of inaugurating for them a reign of liberty.”

XXXIV

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 disagreee with his remarks; for I think I have myself told you that he would have been much better employed deposing Nero than setting Jewry to rights. But your contention appears to be that he ought never to have been deposed, on the ground that 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.
ἐλευθεριάζειν μήτε πρὸς δημοκρατιὰν ἀναβλέπειν, ὡσπέρ οἱ ἐκ σκότους ἐς ἄθρόνιν φῶς βλέψαντες. οὖν φημὶ δεῖν τὸν μὲν Βιτέλιον ἑξωθεὶν τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ ὡς τάχιστα γε καὶ ἀριστα τοῦτο ἐσταί, γυγνέσθω, δοκεῖ δὲ μοι παρασκευάζεσθαι μὲν ὡς πολεμήσοντα, πόλεμον δὲ αὐτῷ μὴ προκηρύττειν, ἀλλὰ τιμωρίαν, εἰ μὴ μεθεῖτο τῆς ἀρχῆς, κἂν ἔλης αὐτῶν, τούτι δ' ὑπάρξειν ἡγούμαι σοι μηδὲ πονήσαντι, δίδου Ρωμαίοις αἴρεσιν τῆς αὐτῶν πολιτείας, κἂν μὲν αἱρώνται δημοκρατίαν, ξυγχώρει τούτι γὰρ σοι πολλῶν μὲν τυραννίδων, πολλῶν δὲ 'Ολυμπιάδων μείζων, καὶ πανταχοῦ μὲν γεγράψῃ τῆς πόλεως, πανταχοῦ δὲ ἐστήξεις χαλκοῦς, ἥμων δ' ἀφορμὰς παραδώσεις λόγων, αἷς οὔτε Ἀρμόδιος οὔτε Ἀριστογέιτων παραβεβλησταῖ τις. εἰ δὲ μοναρχίαν προσδέχοντο, τίνι λοιπὸν ἅλλα ἢ σοὶ ψηφίσασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν πάντας; ἀ γὰρ ἐξων ἡδὴ τῷ κοινῷ παρῆσεις, σοὶ δήπου μᾶλλον ἡ ἐτέρω δῶσουσιν.

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Σιωπή μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Βασιλέως ἰγώνα ἐπεδήλου τῆς γνώμης, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ' ὡσπέρ αὐτοκράτωρ χρηματίζων τε καὶ πράττων ἀπάγεσθαι ἐδοκει τῆς Βουλῆς ταύτης, καὶ ὁ 'Ἀπολλώνιος, "δοκεῖτέ μοι," εἶπεν, "ἀμαρ-
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."

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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 βασιλεά περὶ πραγμάτων ἡδη βεβουλευμένων, ἑς ἀδολεσχίαις καθιστάμενοι μειρακιώδη καὶ ἀργοτέραν τοῦ καίρου. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ κεκτημένῳ δύναμιν, ὅπόσῃν οὕτος, καὶ βεβουλευμένῳ, τί δρόμην ἂν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀγαθῶν, εὐμβουλοί τῶν τοιούτων ἐγίνεσθε, προῦβαινεν ἂν ὁ λόγος ὑμῖν—αἰ γὰρ φιλόσοφοι γνώμαι τῶν φιλοσόφων τῶν ἀκροατῶν διορθοῦνται—ἀνδρὶ δὲ εὐμβουλεύοντας ὑπάτῳ καὶ ἄρχειν εἰθισμένῳ, καὶ ὁ ἐτοιμὸν, ἐπειδαν ἐκπέσῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀπολωλέναι, τί δὲ ἐπιπλήττειν, εἰ μὴ διωθεῖται τὰ παρὰ τῆς τύχης, ἀλλὰ δέχεται μὲν αὐτὰ ἥκωντα, βουλεύεται δὲ, ὅπως χρησταί σωφρόνως οἰς ἔχει; ὡσπερ οὖν, εἰ ἀθλητὴν ὀρῶντες εὐψυχία τε κατεσκευασμένον καὶ μήκει καὶ τῆν ἁρμονίαν τοῦ σώματος ἐπιτηδειον, ἐς Ὁλυμπίαν βαδίζοντα δι᾽ Ἀρκαδίας, ἡδη προσελθόντες ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἐρρώνυμεν, ἕκελεύομεν δὲ αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὰν νικήσῃ τὰ Ὁλυμπία, μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τῆς νίκης, μὴ δὲ ὑπέχειν τὴν κεφαλὴν τῷ κοτίνῳ, ληρεῖν ἂν ἐδόξαμεν ἡ παιδεῖν ἐς τοὺς ἐπέρων πόνους, οὕτως ἐνθυμοῦμεν τὸν ἀνδρα, καὶ ὅποσι μὲν αἰχμῇ περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅποσος δὲ χαλκὸς ἀπτράπτει, πλήθος δὲ ὑππὼν ὄσον, αὐτὸς δὲ ὅς γενναῖος τε καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ πρέπου κατασχεῖν ἄ διανοεῖται, πέμπωμεν ἐφ’ ἂ ὁρμηκεν αἰσθα μὲν φθεγγόμενοι πρὸς αὐτῶν, 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
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XXXV. τούτων παρεγγυῶντες. οὕτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο ἐνεθυμήθη, ὅτι δυοῖν παῖδοιν πατήρ οὗτος, οὗ στρατοπέδων ἦδη ἀρχουσίν, οἷς εἰ μὴ παραδώσει τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἔχθιστοις χρῆσται, καὶ τί λοιπόν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκπεπολεμήσθαι πρὸς τὸν έαυτοῦ οἶκον; τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ὑποδεξάμενος θεραπεύσεται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν έαυτοῦ παῖδων, στηρίξεται δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ παῖδες, δορυφόροις δὲ αὐτοῦ χρῆσται, μᾶ Δ', οὐ μεμισθωμένοις, οὐδ' ἡναγκασμένοις, οὐδ' πλαττομένοις εὖνοιν πρόσωπων, ἀλλ' ἐπιτη- δειστάτοις τε καὶ φιλτάτοις.

Ἐμοὶ πολιτείας μὲν οὔτεμιάς μέλει, ξῶ γὰρ ὑπὸ τοὺς θεοὺς, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶπων ἀγέλην οὐκ ἄξιῶ φθείρεσθαι χῆτει βουκόλων δικαίου τε καὶ σωφρόνοι. ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰς ἄρετῆ προφετῶν μεθίστησι τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐς τὸ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀρχὴν φαίνεσθαι, οὕτως ἡ ἐνὸς ἀρχὴ πάντα ἐς τὸ ἕμμφερον τοῦ κοινοῦ προορῶσα δήμος ἐστίν. οὐ κατελυσας, φησί, Νέρωνα. σὺ δὲ, Εὐφράτα; Δῶν δὲ; ἔγω δὲ; ἀλλ' ὅμως οὖδεις ἡμῖν ἐπιπλῆττει τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἡγεῖται δειλοῦς, εἰ φιλοσόφων ἀνδρῶν μυρίας ἡδη καθελόντων τυραννίδας, ἀπελεύθημεν ἡμεῖς τοῦ δόξαι ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας τι πράττειν. καίτοι τὸ γε ἐπ' ἐμοὶ καὶ παρετατόμην πρὸς Νέρωνα, πολλὰ μὲν κακοῆθως διελεγχθεῖς καὶ τὸν ὁμότατον Τιγελλίνων ἐπικόφασι ἄκουόντα, ἃ δὲ περὶ τὰ ἐσπέρια τῶν χωρίων ὁφέλουν Βίνδικα, Νέρωνα.

1 Kayser reads διαλέξθεις against the sense.
pleads 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 bodyguard, 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.

"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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δήπον ἐπετείχξζον. ἀλλ' ούτε ἐμαυτὸν διὰ ταῦτα φήσω καθηρηκέναι τὸν τύραννον, ούτε ὑμᾶς, ἔτει μὴ ταῦτ' ἐπράπττετε, μαλακωτέρους ἡγήσομαι τοῦ φιλοσοφία προσήκοντος. ἀνδρὶ μὲν οὖν φιλοσόφῳ τὸ ἐπὶ νοῦν ἐλθὸν εἰρήσεται, ποιήσεται δὲ, οἴμαι, λόγον τοῦ μὴ τι ἀνοήτως ἢ μανικὼς εἰπεῖν· ὑπάτῳ δ' ἐνθυμομένῳ καταλύσαι τύραννον πρῶτον μὲν δεὶ βουλῆς πλείονος, ἵν' ἐξ ἀφανοῦσ προσβαίη τοῖς πράγμασιν, εἶτ' ἐπιτηδείου σχῆματος ἐς τὸ μὴ παρῳκεῖν δοκεῖν. εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὃς ἀπέφηνεν αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ ὃ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλεύσειν τε καὶ πράξειν ὁμοσε, μέλλου χρήσεσθαι τοῖς ὁπλοῖς, ἀπολογεῖσθαι δήπον τοῖς θεoῖς δεὶ πρότερον, ὥς ξυν ὁσία ἐπιορκοῦντα, φίλων τε δεὶ πλείονων, οὐ γὰρ ἀχαρακτότους γε, οὐδὲ ἀφράκτους χρή τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, καὶ χρημάτων ὡς πλείστων, ἵν' ὑποποιήσαιτο τάς δυνάμεις καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιτιθεμένοις ἀνθρώπῳ τὰ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ κεκτημένῳ. τριβὴ δὲ ὅση περὶ ταῦτα, ὅσοι δὲ χρόνοι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκδέχεσθε, ὅτι θουλεσθε, μὴ γὰρ ἐς ἐλεγχον ἰσομεν ὧν ἐνεθυμήθη μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, οὔτος, ἡ τύχη δὲ οὔδε ἀγωνισμένῳ ἐξυέλαβε· πρὸς δὲ ἐκείνῳ τί ἐρεῖτε; τὸν γὰρ χθὲς ἄρχοντα καὶ στεφανούμενον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἐν τοῖς δεύρῳ ἱεροῖς, χρηματίζοντα δὲ λαμπρῶς καὶ ἀφθόνως, 550
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
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tούτον κελεύετε δημοσία κηρύττειν τήμερον, ὡς ἰδιώτης μὲν εἴη λοιπῶν, παρανοοῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἥλθεν; ὁσπερ γὰρ ἐπιτελῶν τὰ δεδογμένα προθύμους δορυφόρους, οἷς πιστεύων ταῦτ’ ἐνεθυμήθη, παραστήσεται, οὕτως ἐς τὸ μεθόστασθαι τῶν δοξάντων ἥκων πολεμίῳ τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπιστουμένῳ χρήσεται.”

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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.”

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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

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χρήσις. μὴ τέμνει τῶν ἀσταχύων τοὺς ύψηλοὺς τε καὶ ύπεραιροῦτας, ἀδικοὺς γὰρ ὁ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους λόγος, ἀλλὰ τὸ δύσον ἐξαίρει μᾶλλον, ὡσπερ τὰς ἀκάνθας τῶν ληών, καὶ φοβερὸς δόκει τοὺς νεώτερα πράπτουσι μὴ ἐν τῷ τιμωρεῖσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῷ τιμωρήσεσθαι. νόμος, ὦ βασιλεὺς, καὶ σοῦ ἀρχέτω· σωφρονεστέρον γὰρ νομοθετήσεις, ἣν μὴ ύπερορᾶς τῶν νόμων. θεοῦς θεράπευε μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον μεγάλα μὲν γὰρ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰληφας, ύπὲρ μεγάλων δὲ εὐχή. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκουτα, ὡς βασιλεὺς πράττε, τὰ δὲ τῷ σώματι, ὡς ἰδιώτης. περὶ δὲ κύβων καὶ μέθης καὶ ἔρωτῶν καὶ τοῦ διαβεβλήσθαι πρὸς τὰ τοιαύτα τί ἄν σοι παραίνοῃ, ὃν φασὶ μηδὲ ἐφ᾽ ἡλικίας ταῦτα ἐπαινέσαι; παιδεῖς εἰσὶ σοι, βασιλεῦ, δύο καὶ γεωναϊοί, ὡς φασίν. ἀρχε τούτων μάλιστα, τὰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνως ἀμαρτηθέντα σὲ δὴπον διαβαλεῖ. ἐστοὶ δὲ σοι καὶ ἀπειλῇ πρὸς αὐτούς, ὡς οὐ παραδώσεις τὴν ἀρχὴν σφισίν, εἰ μὴ που καλοί τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ μείνωσιν, ἵνα μὴ κληρονομίαν ἡγῶνται τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἀλλ᾽ ἄρετῆς ἄθλα. τὰς δὲ ἐμπολυτευομένας ἡδονὰς τῇ Ῥώμῃ, πολλαὶ δὲ αὐταῖ, δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, εὖμμέτρως παύειν, χαλεπῶν γὰρ μεταβαλέιν δὴμον ἐς τὸ ἄθροισ σώφρον, ἀλλὰ δὲι κατ᾽ ὅλων ἐμποιεῖν ῥυθμὸν ταῖς γνώμαις, τὰ μὲν φανερῶς, τὰ δὲ ἀφανῶς διορθούμενον. ἀπελευθέρων τε καὶ δοῦλων, οὐς ἡ ἀρχὴ σοι δίδωσι, ἀνέλωμεν τρυφῆν 554
not down the loftier stalks which overtop the rest, 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 unpunished. 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 disciplining 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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τοσούτῳ ταπεινότερον αυτούς ἐθίσαντες φρονεῖν, ὃσῳ μείζονος δεσπότου εἰσίν. τί λοιπὸν ἀλλ' ἢ περὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἰπεῖν, οὐ ἐς τὰ ἐθνη φοιτῶσιν, οὐ περὶ διὰ αὐτῶς ἐκπέμψεις, ἀριστίνην γάρ που τὰς ἀρχὰς δώσεις, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν κληροσομένων τὸ ἀρχεῖν· τούτων γὰρ τοὺς μὲν προσφόρους τοῖς ἐθνεσιν, ἄ διέλαξον, φημὶ δεῖν πέμπειν, ὡς ὁ κλῆρος, ἐλληνίζοντας μὲν Ἐλληνικῶν ἀρχεῖν, ῥωμαίζοντας δὲ ὑμογλώττων καὶ ξυμφώνων. οἶεν δὲ τούτ' ἐνεθυμήθην, λέξω· κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὖς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ διητώμην, ἡγεῖτο τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀνθρώπος οὐκ εἰδὼς τὰ Ἐλλήνων, καὶ οὐδ' οἱ Ἐλληνες τι ἐκείνου ξυνίεσαν. ἐσφήλεν οὖν καὶ ἐσφάλη τὰ πλείστα, οἱ γὰρ ξύνεδροί τε καὶ κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις γνώμης ἐκατήλευν τὰς δίκας διαλαβόντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα, ὡσπερ ἀνδράποδον. ταῦτά μοι, βασιλεῦ, παρέστη τῆμερον, εἴ δὲ τι καὶ ἐτερον ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔλθοι, πάλιν ξυνελευσόμεθα. ῥυπι δὲ τὰ προσήκουτα τῇ ἀρχῇ πράττε, μὴ ἄργοτερος τοῖς ὑπηκόοις δόξης.

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"Ο δὲ Εὐφράτης, "τοῖς μὲν δεδογμένοις ξυγχωρῶν," ἐφη, "τί γὰρ ἄν πλέον μεταδιδάσκων πράτ-
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.”

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Euphrates declared his assent to all these conclusions, “For,” said he, “what can I gain by
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τοιμί; φιλοσοφίαν δέ, ὃ βασιλεῖ, τοῦτε γὰρ λοιπὸν προσειρήσει, τὴν μὲν κατὰ φύσιν ἐπαινεῖ καὶ ἀσπάζου, τὴν δὲ θεοκλυτεῖν φάσκουσαν παρατοῦ, καταψευδόμενοι γὰρ τοῦ θείου πολλὰ καὶ ἀνόητα ἡμᾶς ἑπαίρουσιν." ταυτὶ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον αὐτῷ ἔλεγετο, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἀπῆκε μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γνωρίμων, διανύσας τὴν σπουδὴν βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου θρασύτερον τι περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν, ἔστηκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ διακρούομενος αὐτοῦ, "ἐσκαλείτε," ἐφη, "τοὺς δεομένους τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀπολαβέτω ἡ βουλή τὸ ἑαυτῆς σχῆμα."

Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ὁ Εὐφράτης ἔλαβε διαβαλῶν ἑαυτῶν, καὶ γὰρ βάσκανός τε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ύβριστῆς ἔδοξε, καὶ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας οὐχ ὡς ἐγίγνωσκεν εἰρηκώς, ἀλλ' ἐσ ἀντιλογίαν τοῦ Ἀπολλώνιον δι' ἀ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνῳ ἐδόκει: οὐ μὴν ἀπερρίπτει αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ἐπεδήλου τι ὀργῆς πρὸς ταῦτα. καὶ τὸν Δίωνα οὐκ ἐπῆκε μὲν ἐναράμενον αὐτῷ τῆς γνώμης, οὐ μὴν ἑπαύσατο ἀγαπῶν ἐπίχαρις τε γὰρ τὰς διαλέξεις ἐδόκει καὶ τὰς ἔριδας παρηγεῖτο, ὥσιν τε ἐπέφαινε τοὺς λόγους, οὐαὶ τοῦ πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀτμοῦ ἐκπνεῖ, προσῆν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἀποσχεδίαζεν ἀρίστα ἀνθρώπων. τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἠγάπα ὑμοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπέκειτο αὐτῷ διόνυτι μὲν τὰ ἀρχαῖα, διηγομένῳ

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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."

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.
FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

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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
deprecated, 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."

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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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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."
Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς διαφορᾶς, ἦ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τε καὶ Ἐὔφρατη ἐγένετο, τοιάδε εὐροῦ, ἐξελάσαντος δὲ τού βασιλέως καθήπτουτο ἀλλήλων ἐς τὸ φανερόν, ὃ μὲν Ἐὔφρατης ξὺν ὀργῇ τε καὶ λοιδορίαις, ὃ δὲ ἀἱ φιλοσόφως καὶ ξὺν ἐλέγχῳ μᾶλλον. ὅπόσα μὲν δὴ Ἐὔφρατοι κατηγόρηκεν, ὡς παρὰ τὸ πρέπον φιλοσοφίᾳ πράττοντος, ἔξεστιν Ἀπολλωνίῳ μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολῶν, πλείους γάρ ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀφεκτέα τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον διαβαλεῖν προσθήκην, ἀλλὰ παραδοῦναι τὸν Ἀπολλωνίῳ βίον τοῖς μῆπῳ εἰδοσί. τὸ μέντοι περὶ τοῦ ξύλου λεγόμενον, λέγεται δὲ ἐπανατείνασθαι μὲν αὐτὸ διαλεγομένῳ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, μὴ καθικέσθαι δὲ, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ δεινότητι τοῦ πεπληξομένου προσγράφουσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ λογισμῷ τοῦ πλήξοντος, δι' ὅν ἐγένετο κρείττων ὀργῆς νεικηκυνίας ἦδη.

XL

'Ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δίωνος φιλοσοφία ρήτορικωτέρα τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἐς τὸ εὐφραίνον κατεσκευασμένη μᾶλλον, ὅθεν διορθούμενος αὐτῶν φησιν, "ἀὐλῷ καὶ λύρᾳ μᾶλλον ἥ λόγῳ θέλγε," καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῶν πρὸς: Δίωνα ἐπιστολῶν ἐπιπλήττει τῇ δημαγωγίᾳ ταύτη.

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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.

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.
ΧΙΙ

Τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀφικέσθαι αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα ἔτι, μὴ δὲ ξυγγενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ τὴν Αὐγουστίου καίτοι καλουντὶ καὶ πλείστα ὑπὲρ τούτου γράφοντι, ὀπόθεν ξυνέβη, δηλώσας Βούλομαν. Νέρων ἐλευθέραν ἀφῆκε τὴν Ἑλλάδα σωφρονεστερὸν τι ἕαυτοῖς γυναῖς, καὶ ἐπανήλθοιν αἱ πόλεις ἐς ἡθη Δώρικα καὶ Ἀττικὰ, πάντα τε ἀνήβησε ξὺν ὀμονοίᾳ τῶν πόλεων, δὲ μὴ δὲ πάλαι ἡ Ἑλλάς εἶχεν, Ὑσεπασιανὸς δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἀφείλετο αὐτὴν τοῦτο, στάσεις προβαλλόμενοι καὶ ἄλλα οὕτω τῆς ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ὀργῆς: ταῦτ' οὖν οὐ μόνον τοῖς παθοῦσιν, ἄλλα καὶ τῷ Ἀπολλώνιῳ πικρότερα τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἡθοὺς ἐδοξεῖ, ὅθεν ἐπέστειλε τῷ βασιλεῖ ὅδε:

Ἀπολλώνιος Ὑσεπασιανὸς βασιλεῖ χαῖρειν.

'Εδουλώσω τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς φασί, καὶ πλέον μὲν οὐ εἰ τι ἤχειν Ἐρέξου, λεληθας δὲ ἐλαττον ἤχων Νέρωνος. Νέρων γὰρ ἤχων αὐτὸ παρητῆσατο. ἐρρωσο.

Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Διαβεβλημένος οὕτω πρὸς Ἑλληνας, ὡς δουλοῦσαι αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρους ὄντας, τι ἐμοῦ ἤυνότος δέν; ἐρρωσο.

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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.”
Τὸ αὐτὸ.

Νέρων τοὺς Ἔλληνας παῖς ὁλευθέρωσε, σὺ δὲ αὐτοὺς σπουδάζων ἐδουλώσω. ἔρρωσο.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ διαβάλλοντα Οὐσπασιανὸν Ἀπολλωνίῳ τοιάδε ἐγένετο, ἀκούὼν δ’ αὐτὸν εὐ διατηθεμενον τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα ἄρχην πᾶσαν, οὐκ ἀφανὺς ἢν χαίρων καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐαυτῷ ἁγαθὸν πράττεσθαι.

XLI

Θανυμάσιον Ἀπολλωνίου κάκεινο ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐδοξεῖ· λέοντα ἤμερον ἀπὸ ρυτήροις ἤγε τις, ὄσπερ κύνα, ὁ δὲ οὖ μόνον τὸν ἄγοντα ἤκαλλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡστὶς προσέθεναι, καὶ ἤγειρε μὲν πολλαχοῦ τῶν πόλεων, παρῆι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ καθάρος εἶναι ὑπὸς ἁγαθὸν τὸν ἵππον ἠττεν, ἀλλὰ μελιττοῦται διήγετο καὶ ἄρτοις καὶ πραγήμασι καὶ κρεῶν τοῖς ἐφθοῖς, ἐντυχεῖν δὲ ἢν αὐτῷ καὶ οἶνον πίνοντι μὴ μεθισταμένῳ τοῦ ἢτος. προσελθὼν δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καθημένῳ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῖς τε γόνασιν αὐτοῦ προσεκνυζάτο καὶ ἐλιπάρει παρὰ πάντας ἄνθρώπους, ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ ἔστω, μεισθοῦ ἔνεκα, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίος, “δεῖταί μου,” ἐφή, “ὁ λέων ἀναδιδάξας ύμᾶς, ὅτου ἄνθρωπον ψυχὴν ἔχει· ἔστι τοῖνυν Ἀμασίς οὕτος, ὁ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου περὶ τὸν Σαῦτην νομὸν.” ἔπει δ’ ἦκουσεν ὁ λέων ταῦτα, ἄνεβρυχῆσατο ἐλεεινόν καὶ θρηνῶδες καὶ ἀλοφύρατο 568
To the same.

"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

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
Ευνοκλάσας, δάκρυα ιείς αυτά, καταψών οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, "δοκεῖ," ἐφή, "πέμπειν τὸν λέοντα ἐς Δεουτόπολιν ἀνακεισόμενον τῷ ἱερῷ, βασιλέα γὰρ ἐς τὸ βασιλικότατον τῶν θηρίων μεταβαλόντα οὐκ ἄξιον ἀγείρειν, καθάπερ τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων." ἐντεῦθεν οἱ ίερεῖς ξυνελθόντες έθυσαν τῷ Ἀμάσιδι, καὶ κοσμήσαντες τὸ θηρίον στρέπτῳ καὶ ταινίαις παρέπεμπον ἐς τὴν Αὐγυπτον αὐλοῦντες καὶ ὑμνοῦντες καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀδοντες.

XLII

Τικάνως δὲ ἔχων τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐστελλετο ἐς Αὐγυπτον τε καὶ ἐς Αἰθιοπίαν ἐς ξυνούσιαν τῶν Γυμνῶν. τὸν μὲν δὴ Μένυππον, ἐπειδὴ τῶν διαλεγομένων ἦδη ἐτύγχανε καὶ παρρησία χρῆσθαι δεινὸν ἦν, κατελιπεν αὐτόθι ἐφεδρον τῷ Ἑὐφράτῃ, καὶ τὸν Διοσκουρίδην ἴδων οὐκ ἐρρωμένους πρὸς τὴν ἀποδημίαν διακείμενον παρητήσατο τῆς ὁδοῦ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ξυναγαγόν, μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς ἀπολυπόντας αὐτὸν περὶ τὴν Ἀρικίαν προσεγένοντο πλείους ἑτερου, δυνεῖ πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας εὐθένδε ἀρξάμενος. "'Ολυμπικῆς προρρῆσεως," ἐφη, "δέομαι πρὸς ύμᾶς, ὅ ἄνδρες· Ὀλυμπική δὲ πρόρρησις ἢ τοιάδε εἰη ἂν Ὑλείοι τοὺς ἄθλητὰς, ἐπειδὰν ἤκη Ὀλύμπια, γυμνὰ-ξουσιν ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ὑλείᾳ, καὶ ξυναγαγόντες αὐτοὺς ὁ μὲν Δελφὸς, ὁτὲ Πύθια, ὁ δὲ Κορινθιος, ὁτὲ Ἡθμία, "ἔτε," φασῖν, "ἐς τὸ στάδιον, καὶ γύνεσθε ἄνδρες οἱον νυκάν," Ὑλείοι

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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.

**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:—

"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
δὲ, ἐπειδὰν ἱωσὶν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, διαλέγονται πρὸς τοὺς ἁθλητὰς ὁδε. “εἰ πεπόνηται ὕμιν ἐπαξίως τοῦ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ράθυμον μηδὲ ἁγεννὲς εἰργασται, ἵτε θαρροῦντες, οἷς δὲ μὴ ὁδε ἡσκηται, χωρεῖτε οἱ βούλεσθε.”

Εὐνῆκαν οἱ ὄμιληται τοῦ λόγου καὶ κατέμειναν ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἴκοσι παρὰ τῷ Μενίππῳ, οἳ δὲ λοιποὶ δέκα, οἴμαι, ὄντες, εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ οἶον ἐμβατήρια πλοῦθος θύσαντες, ἐξόρουν εὐθὺ πυραμίδων ἐπὶ καμήλων ὄχούμενοι, δεξιόν θέμενοι τὸν Νεῖλον, πολλαχοῦ δὲ διεπλεῖτο αὐτοῖς ὁ ποταμὸς ὑπὲρ ἱστορίας τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντων, οὔτε γὰρ πόλιν οὔτε ἱερὸν οὔθ' ὀπόσα τεμένη κατ' Ἀὔγους, οὖδὲν τούτων ἄφωνοι παρῆλθον, ἀλλ' ἱεροὺς τινὰς ἀεὶ λόγους διδασκόμενοι τε καὶ διδάσκοντες, καὶ ἡ ναὸς, ἣν ἐμβαίη Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐφ' ἰκεῖ θεωρίδι.
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.'

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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