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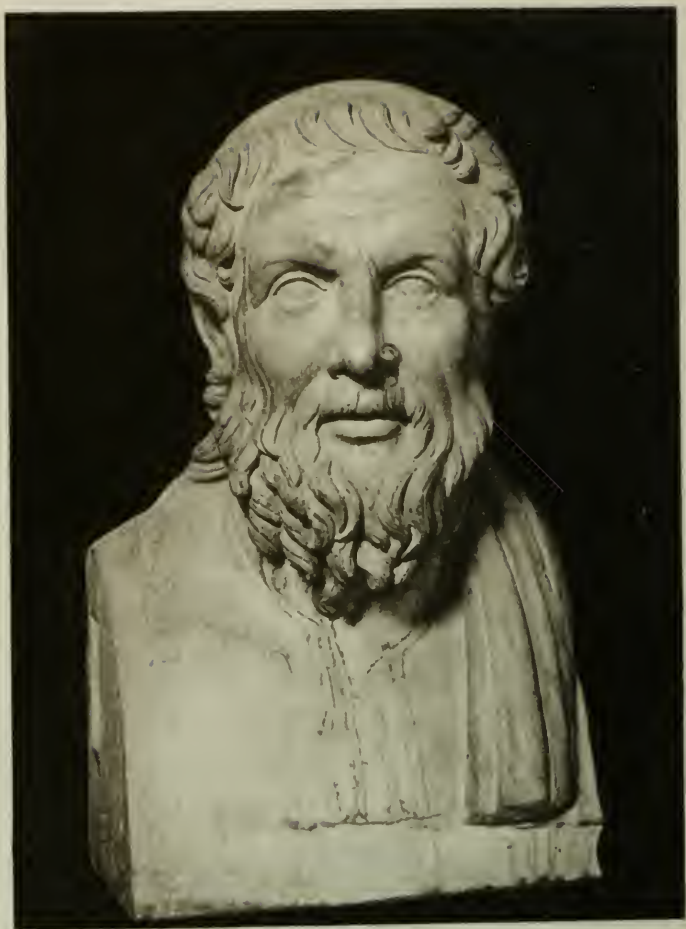
PHILOSTRATUS

I



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

PHILOSTRATUS  
THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS  
OF TYANA

THE EPISTLES OF APOLLONIUS AND THE  
TREATISE OF EUSEBIUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
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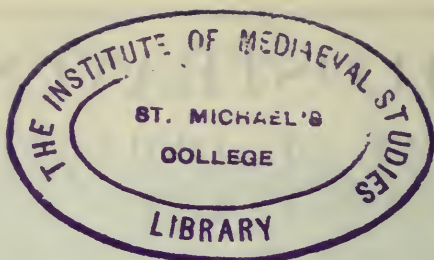
IN TWO VOLUMES

I



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## INTRODUCTION

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

It is well to conclude this all too brief notice of Apollonius with a passage cited by Eusebius<sup>1</sup> 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

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius, *On the Preparation for the Gospel*, Bk. iv. Ch. 13.



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

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



# PHILOSTRATUS

## BOOK I

# ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

## ΤΑ ΕΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΤΑΝΕΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ

Α'

I

CAP.  
I. Οἱ τὸν Σάμιον Πυθαγόραν ἐπαινοῦντες τάδε  
ἐπ' αὐτῷ φασιν· ὥς Ἴων μὲν οὐπω εἴη, γένοιτο δὲ  
ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτὲ Εὐφορβος, ἀναβιοίῃ τε ἀποθανών,  
ἀποθάνοι δέ, ὥς ᾧδαὶ Ὀμήρου, ἐσθῆτά τε τὴν ἀπὸ  
θνησειδίων παραιτοῖτο καὶ καθαρεύοι βρώσεως,  
ὀπόση ἐμψύχων, καὶ θυσίας· μὴ γὰρ αἱμάττειν  
τοὺς βωμούς, ἀλλὰ ἢ μελιττοῦτα καὶ ὁ λιβανωτὸς  
καὶ τὸ ἐφυμνήσαι, φοιτᾶν ταῦτα τοῖς θεοῖς παρὰ  
τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, γιγνώσκειν τε, ὥς ἀσπάζονται  
τὰ τοιαῦτα οἱ θεοὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς ἐκατόμβας καὶ  
τὴν μάχαιραν ἐπὶ τοῦ κανοῦ. ξυνεῖναι γὰρ δὴ  
τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ μανθάνειν παρ' αὐτῶν, ὅπη τοῖς  
ἀνθρώποις χαίρουσι καὶ ὅπη ἄχθονται, περὶ τε  
φύσεως ἐκεῖθεν λέγειν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους  
τεκμαίρεσθαι τοῦ θείου καὶ δόξας ἀνομοίους ἀλλή-

# PHILOSTRATUS

## THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

### BOOK I

#### I

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

CHAP.  
I  
Religious  
asceticism of  
Pythagoras

CAP. I. λαις περὶ αὐτοῦ δοξάζειν, ἑαυτῷ δὲ τόν τε Ἀπόλλω  
 ἤκειν ὁμολογοῦντα, ὡς αὐτὸς εἶη, ξυνεῖναι δὲ καὶ  
 μὴ ὁμολογοῦντας τὴν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὰς Μούσας  
 καὶ θεοὺς ἑτέρους, ὧν τὰ εἶδη καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα οὐπω  
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους γινώσκειν. καὶ ὅτι ἀποφάναιτο  
 ὁ Πυθαγόρας, νόμον τοῦτο οἱ ὁμιλεῖται ἡγούντο καὶ  
 ἐτίμων αὐτὸν ὡς ἐκ Διὸς ἦκοντα, καὶ ἡ σιωπὴ δὲ  
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου σφίσιν ἐπήσκητο· πολλὰ γὰρ θεῖά  
 τε καὶ ἀπόρρητα ἦκουον, ὧν κρατεῖν χαλεπὸν ἦν  
 μὴ πρῶτον μαθοῦσιν, ὅτι καὶ τὸ σιωπᾶν λόγος.  
 καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν Ἀκραγαντῖνον Ἐμπεδοκλέα βα-  
 δίσαι φασὶ τὴν σοφίαν ταύτην, τὸ γὰρ

χαίρετ', ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι  
 θνητός  
 καὶ

ἤδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ γενόμην κόρη τε κόρος τε  
 καὶ ὁ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ βοῦς, ὃν λέγεται πέμμα  
 ποιησάμενος θῦσαι, τὰ Πυθαγόρου ἐπαινοῦντος  
 εἶη ἄν. καὶ πλείω ἕτερα περὶ τῶν τὸν Πυθαγόρου  
 τρόπον φιλοσοφησάντων ἱστοροῦσιν, ὧν οὐ προσ-  
 ἤκει με νῦν ἄπτεσθαι σπεύδοντα ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον, ὃν  
 ἀποτελέσαι προὔθεμην.

## 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

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



# LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

## II

FOR quite akin to theirs was the ideal which Apollonius pursued, and more divinely than Pythagoras he wooed wisdom and soared above tyrants; and though he lived in times not long gone by nor again quite of our own day, yet men know him not because of the true wisdom, which he practised as a sage and sanely; but one man singles out one feature for praise in him and another another; while some, because he had interviews with the wizards of Babylon and with the Brahmans of India, and with the nude ascetics of Egypt, put him down as a wizard, and spread the calumny that he was a sage of an illegitimate kind, judging of him ill. For Empedocles and Pythagoras himself and Democritus consorted with wizards and uttered many supernatural truths, yet never stooped to the black art; and Plato went to Egypt and mingled with his own discourses much of what he heard from the prophets and priests there; and though, like a painter, he laid their colours on to his rough sketches, yet he never passed for a wizard, although much envied of mankind for his wisdom. For the circumstance that Apollonius foresaw and foreknew so many things does not in the least justify us in imputing to him this kind of wisdom; we might aswell 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

CHAP.

II

Apollonius  
was no  
wizard

## FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

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

### III

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

foretold the fall of the house,—and truly, for it did fall; and of how he said that day would be turned into night, and stones would be discharged from heaven round Aegospotami, and of how his predictions were fulfilled? Now these feats are set down to the wisdom of Anaxagoras by the same people who would rob Apollonius of the credit of having predicted things by dint of wisdom, and say that he achieved these results by art of wizardry.

It seems to me then that I ought not to condone or acquiesce in the general ignorance, but write a true account of the man, detailing the exact times at which he said or did this or that, as also the habits and temper of wisdom by means of which he came near to being considered a supernatural and divine being.

And I have gathered my information partly from the many cities where he was loved, and partly from the temples whose long-neglected and decayed rites he restored, and partly from the accounts left of him by others and partly from his own letters. For he addressed these to kings, sophists, philosophers, to men of Elis, of Delphi, to Indians, and Egyptians; and his letters dealt with the subjects of the gods, of customs, of moral principles, of laws, and in all these departments he corrected the errors into which men had fallen. And the precise details which I have collected are as follows.

CHAP.  
II  
Such accusations call for a true Life of Apollonius

The sources used by Philostratus

### III

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

CHAP.  
III  
The memoirs of Damis used

CAP. III. κοινωνῆσαι καὶ αὐτός φησι, καὶ γνώμας καὶ λόγους καὶ ὅποσα ἐς πρόγνωσιν εἶπε. καὶ προσήκων τις τῷ Δάμιδι τὰς δέλτους τῶν ὑπομνημάτων τούτων οὕτω γινωσκομένας ἐς γνώσιν ἤγαγεν Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ βασιλίδι. μετέχοντι δέ μοι τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν κύκλου—καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς πάντας λόγους ἐπῆνει καὶ ἡσπάζετο—μεταγράψαι τε προσέταξε τὰς διατριβὰς ταύτας καὶ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι, τῷ γὰρ Νινίῳ σαφῶς μὲν, οὐ μὴν δεξιῶς γε ἀπηγγέλλετο. ἐνέτυχον δὲ καὶ Μαξίμου τοῦ Αἰγιέως βιβλίων ξυνειληφότι τὰ ἐν Αἰγαῖς Ἀπολλωνίου πάντα, καὶ διαθῆκαι δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ γεγράφатаι, παρ' ὧν ὑπάρχει μαθεῖν, ὡς ὑποθειάζων τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐγένετο. οὐ γὰρ Μοιραγένει γε προσεκτέον, βιβλία μὲν ξυνθέντι ἐς Ἀπολλωνίον τέτταρα, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀγνοήσαντι. ὡς μὲν οὖν ξυνήγαγον ταῦτα διεσπασμένα, καὶ ὡς ἐπεμελήθηεν τοῦ ξυνθῆναι αὐτά, εἶρηκα, ἐχέτω δὲ ὁ λόγος τῷ τε ἀνδρὶ τιμὴν, ἐς ὃν ξυγγέγραπται, τοῖς τε φιλομαθεστέροις ὠφέλειαν· ἥ γὰρ ἂν μάθοιεν, ἂ μήπω γινώσκουσιν.

IV

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



## 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.

CHAP.  
III

at the  
instance  
of the  
empress  
Julia

Also  
Maximus  
of Aegae

The work of  
Moeragenes  
ignored

### 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

CHAP.  
IV

Parentage  
and  
miraculous  
birth of  
Apollonius

CAP. IV. δαίμονος, ὁ Πρωτεύς ὁ παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ ἐξαλλάττων· ἡ δὲ οὐδὲν δείσασα ἤρετο αὐτόν, τί ἀποκνήσοι· ὁ δὲ “ἐμέ” εἶπε· “σὺ δὲ τίς;” εἰπούσης “Πρωτεύς,” ἔφη, “ὁ Αἰγύπτιος θεός.” ὅστις μὲν δὴ τὴν σοφίαν ὁ Πρωτεύς ἐγένετο, τί ἂν ἐξηγοίμην τοῖς γε ἀκούουσι τῶν ποιητῶν, ὡς ποικίλος τε ἦν καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλος καὶ κρείττων τοῦ ἀλῶναι, γινώσκειν τε ὡς ἐδόκει καὶ προγιγνώσκειν πάντα; καὶ μεμνήσθαι χρή τοῦ Πρωτέως, μάλιστα ἐπειδὰν προῖων ὁ λόγος δεικνύῃ τὸν ἄνδρα πλείω μὲν ἢ ὁ Πρωτεύς προγόνοντα, πολλῶν δὲ ἀπόρων τε καὶ ἀμηχάνων κρείττω γενόμενον ἐν αὐτῷ μάλιστα τῷ ἀπειλήφθαι.

V

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

he was born, there came an apparition of Proteus, CHAP. IV 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.

### V

Now he is said to have been born in a meadow, CHAP. V hard by which there has been now erected a sumptuous temple to him; and let us not pass by The god's annunciation to his mother 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

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

VI

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

VII

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

sudden fright is apt to bring on a premature delivery. CHAP. V  
But the people of the country say that just at the Portents at his birth  
moment of the birth, a thunderbolt seemed about to  
fall to earth and then rose up into the air and dis-  
appeared 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 CHAP. VI  
god of oaths, so they say, and they call it the well of The well of Asbama  
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 CHAP. VII  
their letters, he showed great strength of memory Education by Euthydemus in Tarsus  
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

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

CHAP.  
VII

Remova to  
Aegae to  
live in the  
temple of  
Asclepius

His Pytha-  
gorean  
teacher  
Euxenus

CAP. VII. ἂ μανθάνουσι παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὸ γὰρ “χαῖρε” καὶ τὸ “εὖ πράττε” καὶ τὸ “Ζεὺς ἴλεως” καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οἱ ὄρνιθες εὖχονται, οὔτε εἰδότες ὅ τι λέγουσιν οὔτε διακείμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ ἐρρυθμισμένοι τὴν γλῶτταν· ὁ δέ, ὥσπερ οἱ νέοι τῶν ἀετῶν ἐν ἀπαλῷ μὲν τῷ πτερῷ παραπέτονται τοῖς γειναμένοις αὐτοὺς μελετώμενοι ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τὴν πτῆσιν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ αἵρεσθαι δυνηθῶσιν, ὑπερπέτονται τοὺς γονέας, ἄλλως τε καὶ λίχνους αἰσθωνται καὶ κνίσσης ἕνεκα πρὸς τῇ γῇ πετομένους, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος προσεῖχε τε τῷ Εὐξένῳ παῖς ἔτι, καὶ ἤγετο ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ βαίνων ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγου, προελθὼν δὲ ἐς ἕτος δέκατον καὶ ἕκτον ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Πυθαγόρου βίον, πτερωθεὶς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τινος κρείττονος. οὐ μὴν τὸν γε Εὐξενον ἐπαύσατο ἀγαπῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐξαιτήσας αὐτῷ προάστειον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, ἐν ᾧ κῆποί τε ἀπαλοὶ ἦσαν καὶ πηγαί, “σὺ μὲν ζῆθι τὸν σεαυτοῦ τρόπον,” ἔφη, “ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν Πυθαγόρου ζήσομαι.”

## VIII

CAP. VIII. Ἦγουμένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ Εὐξένου μεγάλης διανοίας ἄπτεσθαι καὶ ἐρομένου, ὁπόθεν ἄρξειτο, “ὅθεν περ οἱ ἰατροί,” ἔφη, “καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι καθαίροντες τὰς γαστέρας τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ νοσεῖν ἐῷσι, τοὺς δὲ ἰῶνται.” καὶ εἰπὼν τοῦτο τὰς μὲν ἐμψύχους βρώσεις ὥς οὔτε καθαρὰς καὶ τὸν νοῦν παχυνοῦσας παρητήσατο, τραγήματα δὲ καὶ λάχανα ἐσιτέιτο, καθαρὰ εἶναι φάσκων, ὁπόσα ἢ



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

birds know what they learn from men; for the birds CHAP. VII 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 CHAP. VIII 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 Apollonius renounces flesh diet and wine 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,

CAP.  
VIII

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

## IX

CAP.  
IX

Ἄξιον δὲ μὴδὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ παρελθεῖν βίον γε ἀφηγούμενον ἀνδρός, ὃς καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἦν ἐν λόγῳ· μεράκιον γὰρ δὴ Ἀσσύριον παρὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἦκον ἐτρύφα νοσοῦν καὶ ἐν πότοις ἔζη, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπέθνησκεν· ὑδέρῳ δὲ ἄρα εἵχετο καὶ μέθῃ χαῖρον αὐχμοῦ ἡμέλει. ἡμελεῖτο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ διὰ ταῦτα, καὶ οὐδὲ ὄναρ αὐτῷ ἐφοίτα.



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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.

CHAP.  
VIII

Wears linen  
alone

### 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

CHAP.  
IX

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

CAP.  
IX. ἐπιμεμφομένῳ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιστάς ὁ θεὸς “εἰ Ἀπολ-  
λωνίῳ,” ἔφη, “διαλέγοιο, ῥᾶων ἔση.” προσελθὼν  
οὖν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ “τί ἄν,” ἔφη, “τῆς σῆς σοφίας  
ἐγὼ ἀπολαύσαιμι; κελεύει γάρ με ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς  
συνεῖναί σοι.” “ὅ,” ἦ δ' ὅς, “ἔσται σοι πρὸς τὰ  
παρόντα πολλοῦ ἄξιον· ὑγείας γάρ που δέη;”  
“νῆ Δί,” εἶπεν, “ἦν γε ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐπαγγέλ-  
λεται μέν, οὐ δίδωσι δέ.” “εὐφήμει,” ἔφη, “τοῖς  
γὰρ βουλόμενοις δίδωσι, σὺ δὲ ἐναντία τῇ νόσῳ  
πράττεις, τρυφῇ γὰρ διδοὺς ὀψοφαγίαν ἐπεσ-  
άγεις ὑγροῖς καὶ διεφθορόσι τοῖς σπλάγχχνοις  
καὶ ὕδατι ἐπαντλεῖς πηλόν.” ταυτὶ μὲν σαφέ-  
στερα, οἶμαι, τῆς Ἡρακλείτου σοφίας ἐχρη-  
σμήδει· ὁ μὲν γὰρ δεῖσθαι ἔφη τοῦ ποιήσοντος  
ἐξ ἐπομβρίας αὐχμόν, ἐσελθόντος αὐτὸν τουτουὶ  
τοῦ πάθους, οὐκ εὐξύνετ' αὐτὸν λέγων, οὐδὲ δῆλα,  
ὁ δ' ἠγαγεν ἐς ὑγίειαν τὸ μειράκιον τὰ σοφὰ  
σαφῶς ἐρμηνεύσας.

## X

CAP.  
X. Ἰδὼν δὲ ἀθρόον ποτὲ ἐν τῷ βωμῷ αἶμα, καὶ  
διακείμενα ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὰ ἱερά, τεθυμένους τε  
βοῦς Αἰγυπτίους καὶ σὺς μεγάλους, καὶ τὰ μὲν  
δέροντας αὐτούς, τὰ δὲ κόπτοντας, χρυσίδας τε  
ἠνακειμένας δύο καὶ λίθους ἐν αὐταῖς τῶν Ἰνδικῶ-  
τάτων καὶ θαυμασίων, προσελθὼν τῷ ἱερεῖ “τί  
ταῦτα;” ἔφη, “λαμπρῶς γάρ τις χαρίζεται τῷ

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

in a dream. The youth grumbled at this, and there-  
upon 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 water-logged and worn-out stomach, and as it  
were, choke water with a flood of mud." This was  
a clearer response, in my opinion, than Heraclitus,  
in his wisdom, gave. For he said when he was  
visited by this affection that what he needed was  
some one to substitute a drought for his rainy weather,  
a very unintelligible remark, it appears to me, and  
by no means clear; but the sage restored the youth  
to health by a clear interpretation of the wise saw.

CHAP.  
IX

### X

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

CHAP.  
X

Ostracises  
a wicked  
Cilician

CAP. X. θεῶ.” ὁ δὲ “θαυμάσῃ,” ἔφη, “μᾶλλον, ὅτι μήτε  
 ἰκετεύσας ποτὲ ἐνταῦθα μήτε διατρίψας, ὃν οἱ  
 ἄλλοι χρόνον, μήτε ὑγιάνας πω παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ,  
 μηδ’ ἅπερ αἰτήσων ἦλθεν ἔχων. χθὲς γὰρ δὴ  
 ἀφιγμένῳ ἔοικεν, ὁ δ’ οὕτως ἀφθόνως θύει. φησὶ  
 δὲ πλείω μὲν θύσειν, πλείω δὲ ἀναθήσειν, εἰ πρό-  
 σοιτο αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀσκληπιός. ἔστι δὲ τῶν πλου-  
 σιωτάτων· κέκτηται γοῦν ἐν Κιλικίᾳ βίον πλείω  
 ἢ Κίλικες ὁμοῦ πάντες· ἰκετεύει δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἀπο-  
 δοῦναί οἱ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐξερρηκότα.”  
 ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὥσπερ γεγηρακῶς εἰώθει, τοὺς  
 ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐς τὴν γῆν στήσας “τί δὲ ὄνομα αὐτῷ;”  
 ἤρετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσε “δοκεῖ μοι,” ἔφη, “ὦ  
 ἱερεῦ, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον μὴ προσδέχεσθαι  
 τῷ ἱερῷ, μιὰρὸς γάρ τις ἦκει καὶ κεχρημένος οὐκ  
 ἐπὶ χρηστοῖς τῷ πάθει, καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ πρὶν  
 εὐρέσθαι τὶ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πολυτελῶς θύειν οὐ  
 θύοντός ἐστιν, ἀλλ’ ἐαυτὸν παραιτουμένου σχε-  
 τλίων τε καὶ χαλεπῶν ἔργων.” ταῦτα μὲν ὁ  
 Ἀπολλώνιος. ὁ δ’ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐπιστὰς νύκτωρ  
 τῷ ἱереὶ “ἀπίτω,” ἔφη, “ὁ δεῖνα τὰ ἐαυτοῦ ἔχων,  
 ἄξιός γάρ μηδὲ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχειν.”  
 ἀναμανθάνων οὖν ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, γυνὴ  
 μὲν τῷ Κίλικι τούτῳ ἐγεγόνει θυγατέρα ἔχουσα  
 προτέρων γάμων, ὁ δὲ ἦρα τῆς κόρης καὶ ἀκολά-  
 στως εἶχε ξυνήν τε οὐδ’ ὥς λαθεῖν· ἐπιστᾶσα



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

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

## XI

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

### XI

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

CHAP.  
XI  
Insists on  
morality in  
Religion

The Prayer  
of  
Apollonius

## FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XI. πᾶσιν, ὃν δ' ἂν κατεστιγμένον ἴδωσι καὶ διε-  
φθορότα, καταλείπουσι τῇ δίκῃ, τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς  
ἐπιμηνίσαντες, ὅσον ἐτόλμησαν καὶ ἱερὰ ἐσφοιτᾶν  
μὴ καθαροὶ ὄντες.” καὶ ἅμα ἐς τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν  
βλέψας “φιλοσοφεῖς.” ἔφη “ὦ Ἀσκληπιέ, τὴν  
ἄρρητόν τε καὶ συγγενῇ σου φιλοσοφίαν μὴ  
συγχωρῶν τοῖς φαύλοις δεῦρο ἤκειν, μηδ' ἂν πάντα  
σοι τὰ ἀπὸ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Σαρδῶων ξυμφέρωσιν· οὐ  
γὰρ τιμῶντες τὸ θεῖον θύουσι ταῦτα καὶ ἀνά-  
πτουσιν, ἀλλ' ὠνούμενοι τὴν δίκην, ἣν οὐ συγχω-  
ρεῖτε αὐτοῖς δικαιοτάτοι ὄντες.” πολλὰ τοιαῦτα  
ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐφιλοσόφει ἐν ἐφήβῳ ἔτι.

## XII

CAP. XII. Κάκεινα τῆς ἐν Αἰγαῖς διατριβῆς· Κιλίκων  
ἦρχεν ὑβριστῆς ἄνθρωπος καὶ κακὸς τὰ ἐρωτικά·  
ἐς τοῦτον ἦλθε λόγος τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου ὥρας, ὃ δὲ  
ἐρρώσθαι φράσας οἷς ἔπραττεν· ἐν Ταρσοῖς δὲ ἄρα  
ἀγορὰν ἦγεν· ἐξωρμήθη ἐς τὰς Αἰγὰς νοσεῖν τε ἑαυ-  
τὸν φήσας καὶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ δεῖσθαι, καὶ προσ-  
ελθὼν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ βαδίζοντι ἰδίᾳ “σύστησόν  
με” ἔφη “τῷ θεῷ.” ὃ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν “καὶ τί σοι  
δεῖ τοῦ συστήσοντος,” εἶπεν, “εἰ χρηστὸς εἶ; τοὺς  
γὰρ σπουδαίους οἱ θεοὶ καὶ ἄνευ τῶν προξενούντων  
ἀσπάζονται.” “ὅτι νῆ Δι’,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιε,

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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.

CHAP.  
XI

## XII

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

CHAP.  
XII  
Attempts  
of the  
vicious  
Governor  
of Cilicia on  
Apollonius

## FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. XII σὲ μὲν ὁ θεὸς πεποίηται ξένον, ἐμὲ δὲ οὐπω.”  
 “ἀλλὰ κάμου,” ἔφη, “καλοκάγαθία προὔξენησεν,  
 ἣ χρώμενος, ὡς δυνατόν νέω, θεράπων τέ εἰμι τοῦ  
 Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἐταῖρος· εἰ δὲ καὶ σοὶ καλοκάγα-  
 θίας μέλει, χώρει θαρρῶν παρὰ τὸν θεὸν καὶ εὖχον,  
 ὅ τι ἐθέλεις.” “νὴ Διῖ,” εἶπεν, “ἦν σοί γε προ-  
 τέρῳ εὖξωμαι.” “καὶ τί,” ἔφη, “ἐμοὶ εὖξη;” “ὅ,”  
 ἦ δ’ ὅς, “εὖχεσθαι δεῖ τοῖς καλοῖς· εὐχόμεθα δὲ  
 αὐτοῖς κοινωνεῖν τοῦ κάλλους καὶ μὴ φθονεῖν τῆς  
 ὥρας.” ἔλεγε δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθρύπτων ἑαυτὸν καὶ  
 τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑγραίνων, καὶ τί γὰρ οὐχ ἐλίπτων  
 τῶν οὕτως ἀσελγῶν τε καὶ ἐπιρρήτων· ὁ δὲ ταυρη-  
 δὸν ὑποβλέψας αὐτὸν “μαίνη,” ἔφη, “ὦ κάθαρμα.”  
 τοῦ δ’ οὐ μόνον πρὸς ὀργὴν ταῦτα ἀκούσαντος,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπειλήσαντος, ὡς ἀποκόψοι αὐτοῦ τὴν  
 κεφαλὴν, καταγελάσας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος “ὦ ἡ δεῖνα  
 ἡμέρα” ἀνεβόησε· τρίτη δὲ ἄρα ἦν ἀπ’ ἐκείνης, ἐν  
 ἣ δῆμιοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπέκτειναν τὸν ὑβριστὴν  
 ἐκείνον, ὡς ξὺν Ἀρχελάῳ τῷ Καππαδόκias  
 βασιλεῖ νεώτερα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους πράττοντα. ταῦτα  
 καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα Μαξίμῳ τῷ Αἰγιεῖ ξυγγέ-  
 γραπται, ἡξιώθη δὲ καὶ βασιλείων ἐπιστολῶν  
 οὗτος εὐδοκιμῶν τὴν φωνήν.

## XIII

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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.

CHAP.  
XII

## XIII

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

CHAP.  
XIII  
Apollonius  
reforms his  
elder  
brother

διέλαχε πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀκόλαστόν τε καὶ φιλοπότην ὄντα. καὶ τῷ μὲν τρίτον τε καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἦν ἔτος καὶ ἡλικία οἷα μὴ ἐπιτροπεύεσθαι, ὁ δ' αὖ εἴκοσι γεγόνει καὶ οἱ νόμοι αὐτὸν ὑπεῖχον τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις. διατρίψας οὖν ἐν Αἰγαῖς πάλιν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Λύκειόν τε ἀποφῆνας καὶ Ἀκαδημίαν, φιλοσοφίας γὰρ ἡχῶ πάσης ἐν αὐτῷ ἦν, ἐπαν- ἦλθεν ἐς τὰ Τύανα ἀνὴρ ἥδη καὶ κύριος τῶν ἑαυτοῦ· εἰπόντος δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν τινος, ὡς σωφρονίσαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν προσήκοι αὐτῷ καὶ μεταβαλεῖν τοῦ τρόπου, “τουτὶ μὲν θρασύ,” ἔφη, “δόξει, πρεσ- βύτερον γὰρ νέος πῶς ἂν σωφρονίζοιμι; ὡς δέ μοι δυνατόν, ἰάσομαι αὐτὸν τουτωνὶ τῶν παθῶν.” δίδωσι δὴ αὐτῷ τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μοίρας, τὸν μὲν πλειόνων δεῖσθαι φήσας, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὀλίγων, ἐφιστὰς δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ σοφῶς ὑπαγόμενος ἐς τὸ σωφρονίζοντι πείθεσθαι “ὁ μὲν πατήρ,” ἔφη, “μεθέστηκεν, ὃς ἐπαίδενέ τε ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐνουθέτει, λοιπὸς δὲ σὺ ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ δήπου ἐγώ· εἴτ' οὖν ἐγώ τι ἁμαρτάνοιμι, σύμβουλος γίγνου καὶ ἰὼ τὰμά, εἴτ' αὐτός τι ἁμαρτάνοις, ἀνέχου διδάσκον- τος.” κἀκείνουν μὲν, ὥσπερ οἱ καταψῶντες τοὺς δυσηνίους τε καὶ μὴ εὐαγώγους τῶν ἵππων, ἐς πειθῶ ἤγαγε καὶ μετερρύθμισε τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων πολλῶν ὄντων, καὶ γὰρ κύβων ἦττητο καὶ οἶνου, καὶ ἐφ' ἑταίρας ἐκώμαζεν, ἐπαιρούσης αὐτὸν κόμης, ἣν καὶ βαφαῖς ἥσκει, σοβῶν τε καὶ ἄνω βαίνων.



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

CHAP.  
XIII

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

CHAP.  
XIII

Rejects  
marriage

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

## XIV

CAP. XIV Ἐρομένου δέ ποτε τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ Εὐξέ-  
νου, τί δῆτα οὐ ξυγγράφοι καίτοι γενναίως δοξά-  
ζων καὶ ἀπαγγελία χρώμενος δοκίμῳ καὶ ἐγγηγε-  
μένῳ “ὅτι,” ἔφη, “οὐπω ἐσιώπησα.” καὶ ἐνθένδε  
ἀρξάμενος σιωπᾶν ῥήθη δεῖν, καὶ τὴν μὲν φωνὴν  
κατεῖχεν, οἱ δ’ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὁ νοῦς πλείστα μὲν  
ἀνεγίγνωσκον, πλείστα δὲ ἐς μνήμην ἀνελέγοντο·  
τότοι μνημονικὸν ἑκατοντούτης γενόμενος καὶ  
ὑπὲρ τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἔρρωτο, καὶ ὕμνος αὐτῷ τις ἐς  
τὴν μνημοσύνην ἦδετο, ἐν ᾧ πάντα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ  
χρόνου μαραίνεσθαί φησιν, αὐτόν γε μὴν τὸν  
χρόνον ἀγῆρω τε καὶ ἀθάνατον παρὰ τῆς μνημο-  
σύνης εἶναι. οὐ μὴν ἄχαρις τά γε ἐς ξυνουσίας  
ἦν παρ’ ὃν ἐσιώπα χρόνον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ λεγό-  
μενα καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τι ἐπεσήμαινον καὶ ἡ χεὶρ  
καὶ τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς νεῦμα, οὐδὲ ἀμειδῆς ἢ  
σκυθρωπὸς ἐφαίνετο, τὸ γὰρ φιλέταιρόν τε καὶ τὸ  
εὐμενὲς εἶχε. τοῦτον ἐπιπονώτατον αὐτῷ φησι  
γενέσθαι τὸν βίον ὅλων πέντε ἐτῶν ἀσκηθέντα,  
πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἔχοντα μὴ εἰπεῖν, πολλὰ δὲ  
πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀκούσαντα μὴ ἀκούσαι, πολλοῖς δ’  
ἐπιπλήξαι προαχθέντα “τέτλαθι δὴ κραδίη τε



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

CHAP.

XIV

His five  
years' spell  
of silence

*Odys.* γ. 18

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

XV

CAP. Διέτριψέ τε τοὺς τῆς σιωπῆς χρόνους τὸν  
XV μὲν ἐν Παμφύλοις, τὸν δὲ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, καὶ βαδίζων  
δι’ οὕτω τρυφώντων ἔθνων οὐδαμοῦ ἐφθέγγετο,  
οὐδ’ ὑπήχθη γρύξαι. ὁπότε μὲν στασιαζούσῃ  
πόλει ἐντύχοι, πολλαὶ δὲ ἐστασίαζον ὑπὲρ  
θεαμάτων οὐ σπουδαίων, παρελθὼν ἂν καὶ  
δείξας ἑαυτόν, καὶ τι καὶ μελλούσης ἐπιπλήξεως  
τῇ χειρὶ καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ ἐνδειζάμενος, ἐξήρητ’  
ἂν ἀταξία πᾶσα, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν μυστηρίοις ἐσιώπων.  
καὶ τὸ μὲν τοὺς ὀρχηστῶν τε καὶ ἵππων ἕνεκα  
στασιάζειν ὠρμηκότας ἀνασχεῖν οὐπω μέγα, οἱ  
γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοιούτων ἀτακτοῦντες, ἂν πρὸς ἄνδρα  
ἴδωσιν, ἐρυθριῶσί τε καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιλαμβάνονται  
καὶ ῥᾶστα δὴ ἐς νοῦν ἤκουσι, λιμῷ δὲ πεπιεσμένην  
πόλιν οὐ ῥάδιον εὐηνίῳ καὶ πιθανῷ λόγῳ μεταδι-  
δάξαι καὶ ὀργῆς παῦσαι. ἀλλ’ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ  
ἡ σιωπῇ πρὸς τοὺς οὕτω διακειμένους ἤρκει.  
ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς Ἀσπενδον τὴν Παμφύλων—  
πρὸς Εὐρυμέδοντι δὲ οἰκεῖται ποταμῷ ἡ πόλις  
αὕτη, τρίτῃ τῶν ἐκεῖ—ὄροβοι δ’ ὄνιοι καὶ τὰ ἐς  
βρῶσιν ἀναγκαῖα διέβосκεν αὐτούς, τὸν γὰρ  
σίτον οἱ δυνατοὶ ξυγκλείσαντες εἶχον, ἵν’ ἐκκαπη-  
λευθείη τῆς χώρας. ἀνηρέθιστο δὴ ἐπὶ τὸν



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

CHAP.  
XIV

### XV

THESE years of silence he spent partly in Pamphylia and partly in Cilicia ; and though his paths lay through such effeminate races as these, he never spoke nor was even induced to murmur. Whenever, however, he came on a city engaged in civil conflict (and many were divided into factions over spectacles of a low kind), he would advance and show himself, and by indicating 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

CHAP.  
XV

The selfish  
corn-mer-  
chants of  
Aspendus

CAP.  
XV

ἄρχοντα ἡλικία πᾶσα καὶ πυρὸς ἐπ' αὐτον  
 ἥπτοντο καίτοι προσκείμενον τοῖς βασιλείοις  
 ἀνδριάσιν, οἳ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ  
 φοβερώτεροι ἦσαν τότε καὶ ἀσυλότεροι, Τιβερίου  
 γε ὄντες, ἐφ' οὗ λέγεται τις ἀσεβῆσαι δόξαι  
 τυπτήσας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δοῦλον φέροντα δραχμὴν  
 ἀργυρᾶν νενομισμένην ἐς Τιβέριον. προσελθὼν  
 οὖν τῷ ἄρχοντι ἤρετο αὐτὸν τῇ χειρί, ὃ τι εἴη  
 τοῦτο, τοῦ δὲ ἀδικεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν φήσαντος, ἀδικεῖ-  
 σθαι δὲ μετὰ τοῦ δήμου, λόγου δ' εἰ μὴ τύχοι,  
 ξυναπολείσθαι τῷ δήμῳ, μετεστράφη τε εἰς τοὺς  
 περιεστηκότας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ ἔνευσεν ὡς χρὴ  
 ἀκοῦσαι, οἳ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐσιώπησαν ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως  
 τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἔθεντο ἐπὶ τῶν  
 βωμῶν τῶν αὐτόθι. ἀναθαρρήσας οὖν ὁ ἄρχων  
 “ὁ δεῖνα,” ἔφη, “καὶ ὁ δεῖνα,” πλείους εἰπὼν, “τοῦ  
 λιμοῦ τοῦ καθεστηκότος αἵτιοι, τὸν γὰρ σίτον  
 ἀπολαβόντες φυλάττουσι κατ' ἄλλος ἄλλο τῆς  
 χώρας.” διακελευομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀσπενδίων  
 ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς φοιτᾶν, ἀνένευσεν ὁ  
 Ἀπολλώνιος μὴ πράττειν τοῦτο, μετακαλεῖν δὲ  
 μᾶλλον τοὺς ἐν τῇ αἰτίᾳ καὶ παρ' ἐκόντων  
 εὔρεσθαι τὸν σίτον. ἀφικομένων δὲ μικροῦ μὲν  
 ἐδέησε καὶ φωνὴν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ῥῆξαι, παθὼν τι  
 πρὸς τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δάκρυα—καὶ γὰρ παιδία  
 ξυνερρυήκει καὶ γυναῖα, καὶ ὠλοφύροντο οἱ  
 γεγηρακότες, ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ ἀποθανούμενοι λιμῷ—

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

CHAP.  
XV

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

XVI

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

CHAP.  
XV

### XVI

AFTER the term of his silence was over he also visited the great Antioch, and passed into the Temple of the Apollo of Daphne, to which the Assyrians attach the legend of Arcadia. For they say that Daphne, the daughter of Ladon, there underwent her metamorphosis, and they have a river flowing there, the Ladon, and a laurel tree is worshipped by them which they say 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

CHAP.  
XVI  
Finds  
Antioch of  
Syria  
uncongenial



CAP. XVI ὁ λόγος βούλεται; ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἰδὼν τὸ ἱερὸν

χαρίεν μὲν, σπουδὴν δ' ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπους ἡμιβαρβάρους καὶ ἀμούσους “Ἀπολλον,” ἔφη, “μετάβαλε τοὺς ἀφώνους ἐς δένδρα, ἵνα καὶ ὡς κυπάριττοι ἡχῶσιν.” τὰς δὲ πηγὰς ἐπισκεψάμενος, ὡς γαλίνην ἄγουσι καὶ κελαρύζει σφῶν οὐδεμία, “ἡ ἀφωνία,” εἶπεν, “ἡ ἐνταῦθα οὐδὲ ταῖς πηγαῖς ξυγχωρεῖ φθέγγεσθαι.” πρὸς δὲ τὸν Λάδωνα ἰδὼν “οὐχ ἡ θυγάτηρ,” ἔφη, “σοὶ μόνῃ μετέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺ τῷ δόξαι βάρβαρος ἐξ Ἑλληνός τε καὶ Ἀρκάδος.” ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγνω διαλέγεσθαι, τὰ μὲν ὀμιλούμενα τῶν χωρίων καὶ ἀτακτοῦντα παρηγεῖτο, φήσας οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἑαυτῷ δεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν, τὰ δὲ σεμνότερα ἐσεφοίτα καὶ ᾧκει τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ μὴ κληιστά. ἡλίου μὲν δὴ ἀνίσχοντος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τινα ἔπραττεν, ἃ μόνοις ἐποίει δῆλα τοῖς ἐτῶν τεττάρων σιωπᾶν γεγυμνασμένοις, τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καιρύν, εἰ μὲν Ἑλλὰς ἡ πόλις εἶη καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ γνώριμα, ξυγκαλῶν ἂν τοὺς ἱερέας ἐφιλοσόφει περὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ διωρθοῦτο αὐτούς, εἴ που τῶν νομιζομένων ἐξαλλάττοιεν, εἰ δὲ βάρβαρά τε καὶ ἰδιότροπα εἶη, διεμάνθανε τοὺς ἰδρυσαμένους αὐτὰ καὶ ἐφ' ὅτῃ ἰδρύθη, πυθόμενός τε, ὅπῃ θεραπεύεται ταῦτα καὶ ὑποθέμενος, εἴ τι σοφώτερον τοῦ δρωμένου ἐνθυμηθείη,

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

CHAP.  
XVI

A day of  
his life in  
Antioch

CAP.  
XVI μετῆι ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁμιλητὰς καὶ ἐκέλευεν ἐρωτᾶν, ἃ βούλονται. ἔφασκε γὰρ χρῆναι τοὺς οὕτω φιλοσοφοῦντας ἡοὺς μὲν ἀρχομένης ξυνεῖναι θεοῖς, προϋούσης δὲ περὶ θεῶν, τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καιρὸν ἀνθρωπείων πέρι τὰς ξυνουσίας ποιεῖσθαι. εἰπὼν δ' ἂν πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους, ὅποσα ἡρώτων, καὶ ἱκανῶς τῆς τοιαύτης ξυνουσίας ἔχων ἐπὶ τὴν διάλεξιν ἀνίστατο λοιπὸν τὴν ἐς πάντας, οὐ πρὸ μεσημβρίας, ἀλλ' ὅποτε μάλιστα ἢ ἡμέρα ἐστίηκοι. καὶ διαλεχθεὶς ἂν ὥς ἀπαρκεῖν ᾤετο, ἡλείφετό τε καὶ τριψάμενος ἴει ἑαυτὸν ἐς ὕδωρ ψυχρόν, γῆρας ἀνθρώπων καλῶν τὰ βαλανεῖα· τῆς γοῦν Ἀντιοχείας ἀποκλεισθείσης ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις ἁμαρτήμασιν “ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν,” ἔφη, “ὁ βασιλεὺς κακοῖς οὖσι βιῶναι πλείονα ἔτη.” Ἐφεσίῳν δὲ βουλομένων καταλιθῶσαι τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ἐκκυροῦν τὰ βαλανεῖα “ὑμεῖς μὲν τὸν ἄρχοντα,” ἔφη, “αἰτιᾶσθε, ἐπειδὴ πονηρῶς λούσθε, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ὅτι λούσθε.”

## XVII

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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."

CHAP.  
XVI

Condemns  
hot baths

## XVII

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

CHAP.  
XVII  
His literary  
and  
oratorical  
style



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

## XVIII

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

CHAP.  
XVII

He spoke as  
one having  
authority

### XVIII

AFTER this he formed the scheme of an extensive voyage, and had in mind the Indian race and the sages there, who are called Brahmans and Hyrcanians; for he said that it was a young man's duty to go abroad and to embark upon foreign travel. But he made 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

CHAP.  
XVIII

Projects a  
visit to  
India

CAP.  
XVIII

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

## XIX

CAP.  
XIX

Καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τὴν ἀρχαίαν Νῆνον, ἐν ᾗ ἄγαλμα ἵδρυται τρόπον βάρβαρον, ἔστι δὲ ἄρα Ἰὼ ἢ Ἰνάχου καὶ κέρατα τῶν κροτάφων ἐκκρούει μικρὰ καὶ οἶον μέλλοντα. ἐνταῦθα διατρίβοντι καὶ πλείω ξυνιέντι περὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἢ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ προφῆται, προσεφοίτησε Δάμις ὁ Νίνιος, ὃν καταρχὰς ἔφην ξυναποδημήσαί οἱ καὶ ξυνέμπορον γενεσθαι τῆς σοφίας πάσης καὶ πολλὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διασώσασθαι, ὃς ἀγασθεὶς αὐτὸν καὶ ζηλώσας τῆς ὁδοῦ “ἴωμεν,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιε, σὺ μὲν θεῷ ἐπόμενος, ἐγὼ δὲ σοί, καὶ γάρ με καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον εὖροις ἄν· εἰ μὲν ἄλλο τι οὐκ οἶδα, τὸ δ' οὖν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἤκον, πόλεις τε, ὁπόσαι εἰσὶν, οἶδα

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

CHAP.  
XVIII  
His  
followers  
refuse

### XIX

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

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

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

CHAP.  
XIX

Apollonius' claim to know all tongues

Damis' memoirs of Apollonius Their style



CAP. XIX. ταυτὶ δὲ τὰ οὕτω μικρὰ ξυλλεγόμενον παρα-  
πλήσιόν που τοῖς κυσὶ πράττειν τοῖς σιτου-  
μένοις τὰ ἐκπίπτοντα τῆς δαιτός, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ  
Δάμις “εἰ δαῖτες,” ἔφη, “θεῶν εἰσι καὶ σιτοῦνται  
θεοί, πάντως που καὶ θεράποντες αὐτοῖς εἰσιν, οἷς  
μέλει τοῦ μηδὲ τὰ πίπτοντα τῆς ἀμβροσίας ἀπόλ-  
λυσθαι.”

## XX

CAP. XX. Τοιοῦδε μὲν ἐταίρου καὶ ἐραστοῦ ἔτυχεν, ᾧ τὸ  
πολὺ τοῦ βίου συνεπορεύθη. παριόντας δὲ  
αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν μέσσην τῶν ποταμῶν ὁ τελώνης  
ὁ ἐπιβεβλημένος τῷ Ζεύγματι πρὸς τὸ πινάκιον  
ἤγε καὶ ἡρώτα, ὅ τι ἀπάγοιεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολ-  
λώνιος “ἀπάγω” ἔφη “σωφροσύνην δικαιοσύνην  
ἀρετὴν ἐγκράτειαν ἀνδρείαν ἄσκησιν,” πολλὰ  
καὶ οὕτω θήλεα εἶρας ὀνόματα. ὁ δ’ ἤδη βλέπων  
τὸ ἑαυτοῦ κέρδος “ἀπόγραφαι οὖν” ἔφη “τὰς  
δούλας.” ὁ δὲ “οὐκ ἔξεστιν,” εἶπεν, “οὐ γὰρ  
δούλας ἀπάγω ταύτας, ἀλλὰ δεσποίνας.” τὴν  
δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν μέσσην ὁ Τίγρις ἀποφαίνει  
καὶ ὁ Εὐφράτης, ρέοντες μὲν ἐξ Ἀρμενίας καὶ  
Ταύρου λήγοντος, περιβάλλοντες δὲ ἡπειρον, ἐν ᾗ  
καὶ πόλεις μέν, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον κῶμαι, ἔθνη τε

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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."

CHAP.  
XIX

### 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."

CHAP.  
XX  
Anecdote  
of the  
Bridge

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

Character of  
Mesopo-  
tamia

CAP.  
XX

Ἀρμένια καὶ Ἀράβια, ἃ ξυγκλείσαντες οἱ ποταμοὶ ἔχουσιν, ὧν καὶ νομάδες οἱ πολλοὶ στείχουσιν, οὕτω τι νησιώτας ἑαυτοὺς νομίζοντες, ὥς ἐπὶ θάλατταν τε καταβαίνειν φάσκειν, ὅτ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς βαδίζοιεν, ὅρον τε ποιεῖσθαι τῆς γῆς τὸν τῶν ποταμῶν κύκλον· ἀποτορνεύσαντες γὰρ τὴν προειρημένην ἡπειρον ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἵενται θάλατταν. εἰσὶ δ', οἳ φασιν ἐς ἔλος ἀφανίζεσθαι τὸ πολὺ τοῦ Εὐφράτου καὶ τελευτᾶν τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἐν τῇ γῇ. λόγου δ' ἔνιοι θρασυτέρου ἐφάπτονται, φάσκοντες αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ ρέοντα ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀναφαίνεσθαι καὶ Νεῖλῳ συγκεράνυσθαι. ἀκριβολογίας μὲν δὴ ἔνεκα καὶ τοῦ μηδὲν παραλελείφθαι μοι τῶν γεγραμμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμιδος ἐβουλόμην ἂν καὶ τὰ διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων τούτων πορευομένοις σπουδασθέντα εἰπεῖν, ξυνελαύνει δὲ ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος ἐς τὰ μείζω τε καὶ θαυμασιώτερα, οὐ μὲν ὥς δυοῖν γε ἀμελῆσαι τούτοις, τῆς τε ἀνδρείας, ἣ χρώμενος ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος διεπορεύθη βάρβαρα ἔθνη καὶ ληστρικά, οὐδ' ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις πω ὄντα, τῆς τε σοφίας, ἣ τὸν Ἀράβιον τρόπον ἐς ξύνεσιν τῆς τῶν ζώων φωνῆς ἦλθεν. ἔμαθε δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τουτωνὶ τῶν Ἀραβίων πορευόμενος ἄριστα γιγνωσκόντων τε αὐτὸ καὶ πραττόντων. ἔστι γὰρ τῶν Ἀραβίων ἤδη κοινὸν καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων ἀκούειν μαντευομένων, ὅποσα οἱ χρησμοί, ξυμβάλλονται δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων σιτούμενοι τῶν δρακόντων οἳ μὲν καρδίαν φασίν, οἳ δὲ ἡπαρ.

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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.

CHAP.  
XX

Apollonius  
learns from  
Arabs the  
language  
of birds



• CAP.  
XXI

Κτησιφῶντα δὲ ὑπερβαλὼν καὶ παριῶν ἐς τὰ Βαβυλῶνος ὅρια, φρουρὰ μὲν αὐτόθι ἦν ἐκ βασιλέως, ἣν οὐκ ἂν παρῆλθέ τις μὴ οὐκ ἐρωτηθεὶς ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἐφ' ὃ τι ἤκοι. σατράπης δὲ τῇ φρουρᾷ ταύτῃ ἐπετέτακτο, βασιλέως τις, οἶμαι, ὀφθαλμός, ὁ γὰρ Μῆδος ἄρτι ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν ἤκων οὐ ξυνεχώρει ἑαυτῷ ἀδεῶς ζῆν, ἀλλὰ ὄντα τε καὶ οὐκ ὄντα δεδιὼς ἐς φόβους κατεπεπτώκει καὶ πτοίας. ἄγονται τοίνυν παρὰ τὸν σατράπην Ἀπολλώνιος τε καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ ἔτυχε μὲν σκηνὴν ἐφ' ἄρμαμάξης πεποιημένος καὶ ἐξελαύνων ποι, ἰδὼν δὲ ἄνδρα αὐχμοῦ πλέων ἀνέκραγέ τε ὥσπερ τὰ δειλὰ τῶν γυναιῶν καὶ ξυνεκαλύψατο, μόγισ τε ἀναβλέψας ἐς αὐτόν. “πόθεν ἡμῖν ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ἦκεις;” οἷον δαίμονα ἠρώτα. ὁ δὲ “ὑπ' ἐμαυτοῦ,” ἔφη, “εἴ πη καὶ ἄκουτες ἄνδρες γένοισθε.” πάλιν ἤρετο, ὅστις ὢν ἐσφοιτᾷ τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, ὁ δὲ “ἐμή,” ἔφη, “πᾶσα ἡ γῆ καὶ ἀνείταί μοι δι' αὐτῆς πορεύεσθαι,” τοῦ δὲ “βασανιῶ σε,” εἰπόντος “εἰ μὴ λέγοις,” “εἰ γὰρ ταῖς σαυτοῦ χερσίν,” εἶπεν, “ὥς αὐτὸς βασανισθείης, θιγὼν ἀνδρός.” ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ αὐτόν ὁ εὐνοῦχος, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἐρμηνέως ἑώρα δεόμενον, ἀλλ' ὑπολαμβάνοντα τὴν φωνὴν ἀλύπως τε καὶ



## XXI

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.

CHAP.  
XXI  
Passes from  
Ctesiphon  
to Babylon  
Demeanour  
of the  
frontier  
satrap

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

“By the gods,” he said, “who are you?” this time CHAP.  
XXI  
 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 Apollonius’  
vegetarian-  
ism  
 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

CAP. XXI. λεπτῶς με ἐστιᾶν, ἣν ἄρτους τε δῶς καὶ τραγήματα.” “δώσω,” ἔφη, “ζυμίτας τε ἄρτους καὶ φοίνικος βαλάνους ἡλεκτρώδεις τε καὶ μεγάλας. δώσω καὶ λάχανα, ὅποσα ὁ Τίγρις κηπεύει.” “ἀλλ’ ἡδίω,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “τὰ ἄγρια καὶ αὐτόματα λάχανα τῶν ἡναγκασμένων καὶ τεχνητῶν.” “ἡδίω μὲν,” ἔφη ὁ σατράπης, “ἡ χώρα δὲ ἡμῖν ἢ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἀψινθίου πλήρης οὔσα ἀηδὴ αὐτὰ φύει καὶ πικρά.” πλὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦ σατράπου γε ἀπεδέξατο, καὶ ἀπιὼν ἤδη “ὦ λῶστε,” ἔφη, “μὴ λῆγε μόνον καλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄρχου,” νουθετῶν που αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ “βασανιῶ σε,” καὶ οἷς ἐν ἀρχῇ βαρβαρίζοντος ἤκουσε.

## XXII

CAP. XXII. Προελθόντες δὲ εἴκοσι στάδια λεαίνῃ ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἀπεςφαγμένη ἐν θήρᾳ, καὶ ἦν τὸ θηρίου μέγα καὶ ὅσον οὐπω εἶδον, ἐβόων τε οἱ ἐκ τῆς κώμης συερρυηκότες, καί, νῆ Δί’, οἱ τεθηρακότες, ὥς τι μέγα θαῦμα ἐν αὐτῷ ὀρῶντες· καὶ ἦν ἀτεχνῶς θαῦμα· σκύμνους γὰρ ἀνατμηθεῖσα ὀκτὼ εἶχεν. ὁ δὲ τῆς λεαίνης τόκος, αἱ λέαιναι μηνῶν μὲν κυῖσκουσιν ἕξ, τρεῖς δὲ ἀποτίκτουσιν, ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν σκύμνων παρὰ μὲν τὴν πρώτην τρεῖς, ἐπὶ

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## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

CHAP.  
XXI

### XXII

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

CHAP.  
XXII  
The portent  
of the slain  
lioness



## FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.  
XXII

δὲ τῆς δευτέρας δύο, τρίτου δὲ ἀπτομένη τόκου  
μονήρη σκύμνον ἀποτίκτει μέγαν, οἶμαι, καὶ  
ἀγριώτερον τῆς φύσεως. οὐ γὰρ προσεκτέα τοῖς  
λέγουσιν, ὡς ξήναντες οἱ σκύμνοι τὰς τῶν λεαι-  
νῶν μήτρας ἐκδέδονται τοῦ σπλάγχνου. δοκεῖ  
γὰρ τῇ φύσει τῷ τικτομένῳ πρὸς τὸ τίκτον ἐπιτή-  
δεια εἶναι ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ γένους. ἐνιδὼν οὖν  
ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ θηρίῳ καὶ πολλὸν χρόνον ἐπι-  
σχὼν “ὦ Δάμι,” ἔφη, “ὁ χρόνος τῆς παρὰ βασιλέα  
ἀποδημίας ἐνιαυτοῦ ἔσται καὶ μηνῶν ὀκτώ, οὔτε  
γὰρ ἐκείνος ἀνήσει θάπτον, οὔτε ἡμῖν λῶον ἀπελ-  
θεῖν πρὸ τούτου. τεκμαίρεσθαι δὲ χρὴ τῶν μὲν  
σκύμνων ἐς μῆνας, τῆς λεαίνης δὲ ἐς ἐνιαυτόν, τέ-  
λεια γὰρ τελείοις παραβλητέα.” “οἱ δὲ δὴ στρου-  
θοί,” ἔφη ὁ Δάμις, “οἱ παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ τί φήσου-  
σιν, οὓς ὁ δράκων μὲν ἐν τῇ Αὐλίδι ἐδαίσατο ὀκτὼ  
ὄντας, ἐννάτην ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς τὴν μητέρα ἐλών; Κάλχας  
δ’ ἐξηγούμενος ταῦτα ἐννέα ἐνιαυτοῖς ἀνεῖπε κατα-  
πολεμήσεσθαι τὴν Τροίαν· καὶ ὅρα μὴ καθ’  
“Ὀμηρόν τε καὶ Κάλχαντα ἐς ἐννέα ἡμῖν ἔτη ἢ  
ἀποδημία τεῖνῃ.” “καὶ εἰκότως,” ἔφη, “ὦ Δάμι,  
καὶ τοὺς νεοττοὺς Ὀμηρος ἐνιαυτοῖς εἰκάζει, γεγό-  
ναισι γὰρ ἤδη καὶ εἰσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀτελῇ θηρία καὶ  
μήπω γεγονότα, ἴσως δὲ μὴδ’ ἂν γενόμενα, πῶς ἂν  
ἐνιαυτοῖς εἰκάζοιμι; τὰ γὰρ παρὰ φύσιν οὔτ’ ἂν  
γένοντο, ταχεῖάν τε ἴσχει διαφθοράν, καὶ γένηται.  
ἀλλ’ ἔπου δὴ τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ἴωμεν εὐξόμενοι τοῖς  
θεοῖς οἱ ταῦτα φαίνουσι.”

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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."

CHAP  
XXII

## XXIII

CAP.  
XXIII

Προελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Κισσίαν χώραν καὶ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι ἤδη ὄντι, δόξα ἐνυπνίου ἐφοίτησεν ὧδε τῷ φήναντι θεῷ ξυντεθεῖσα· ἰχθὺς ἐκπεπτωκότες τῆς θαλάττης ἐν τῇ γῇ ἤσπαιρον, θρῆνον ἀνθρώπων ἰέντες καὶ ὀλοφυρόμενοι τὸ ἐκβεβηκέναι τοῦ ἡθους, δελφῖνά τε τῇ γῇ παρανέοντα ἰκέτευον ἀμῦναί σφισιν ἐλεεινοὶ ὄντες, ὥσπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ ἐν τῇ ξένῃ κλαίοντες. ἐκπλαγεῖς δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου, ξυμβάλλεται μὲν αὐτοῦ ὅπως καὶ ὅπη εἶχε, διαταράττειν δὲ βουλόμενος τὸν Δάμιν, καὶ γὰρ τῶν εὐλαβεστέρων αὐτὸν ἐγίγνωσκεν, ἀπαγγέλλει πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν ὄψιν, δέος πλασάμενος ὡς ἐπὶ πονηροῖς, οἷς εἶδεν· ὁ δὲ ἀνεβόησέ τε ὡς αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ταῦτα, καὶ ἀπῆγε τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ πρόσω “μή πη,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἡμεῖς ὥσπερ ἰχθὺς ἐκπεσόντες τῶν ἡθῶν ἀπολώμεθα, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλεεινὰ ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδαπῇ εἴπωμεν, καὶ πού καὶ ἐς ἀμήχανον ἐμπεσόντες ἰκετεύσωμεν δυνάστην τινὰ ἢ βασιλέα, ὁ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀτιμάσῃ, καθάπερ τοὺς ἰχθὺς οἱ δελφῖνες.” γελάσας δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος “σὺ μὲν οὐπω φιλοσοφεῖς,” εἶπεν, “εἰ δέδicias ταῦτα, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶ το ἐνύπνιον τείνει δηλώσω· Ἐρετριεῖς γὰρ τὴν Κισσίαν ταύτην χώραν οἰκοῦσιν οἱ ἐξ Εὐβοίας ποτὲ Δαρείῳ ἀναχθέντες ἔτη ταῦτα πεντακόσια, καὶ λέγονται, ὥσπερ ἡ ὄψις ἐφάνη, ἰχθύων πάθει περὶ τὴν ἄλῳσιν χρήσασθαι· σαγηνευθῆναι γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀλῶναι πάντας.

## XXIII

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

CHAP.  
XXIII

His dream  
about the  
captive  
Eretrians



CAP.  
XXIII,

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

XXIV

CAP.  
XXIV

Ξυνωδὰ δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὁ Δάμις περὶ τῶν Ἑρετριέων ἀναγέγραφεν· οἰκοῦσι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ, Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολὺν ἀπέχοντες ἡμέρας ὁδὸν δρομικῶ ἀνδρί, ἢ χώρα δὲ ἄπολις, ἢ γὰρ Κισσία κῶμαι πᾶσα, καὶ τι καὶ νομάδων ἐν αὐτῇ γένος μικρὰ τῶν ἵππων ἀποβαίνοντες. ἢ δὲ τῶν Ἑρετριέων οἰκεῖται μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μέση, περιβέβληται δὲ ποταμοῦ τάφρον, ἣν αὐτοὶ βαλ-



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

and all. It would seem then that the gods are instructing me to visit them and tend their needs, supposing I can do anything for them. And perhaps also the souls of the Greeks whose lot was cast in this part of the world are enlisting my aid for their land. Let us then go on and diverge from the high-road, and ask only about the well, hard by which their settlement is." Now this well is said to consist of a mixture of pitch and oil and water, and if you draw up a bucket and pour it out, these three elements divide and part themselves from one another. That he really did visit Cissia, he himself acknowledges in a letter which he wrote to the sophist of Clazomenae; for he was so kind and 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.

CHAP.  
XXIII

Letter  
to the  
Sophist of  
Clazomenae  
Scopelianus  
about them

### XXIV

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

CHAP.  
XXIV  
The story  
of Datis  
and the  
Eretrians  
carried  
captive  
to Media

CAP.  
XXIV ἔσθαι περὶ τῇ κώμῃ λέγονται, τείχος αὐτὴν ποιούμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Κισσίᾳ βαρβάρους. ὑπομβρος δὲ ἀσφάλτῳ ἢ χώρᾳ καὶ πικρὰ ἐμφυτεύσαι, βραχυβιώτατοί τε οἱ ἐκείνῃ ἄνθρωποι, τὸ γὰρ ἀσφαλτῶδες ποτὸν ἐς πολλὰ τῶν σπλάγχχνων ἰζάνει. τρέφει δ' αὐτοὺς λόφος ἐν ὀρίοις τῆς κώμης, ὃν ὑπεραίροντα τοῦ παρεφθορότος χωρίου σπείρουσι τε καὶ ἡγοῦνται γῆν. φασὶ δὲ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ὥς ἐπτακόσιοι μὲν τῶν Ἐρετριέων πρὸς τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα ἥλωσαν, οὔτι που μάχιμοι πάντες, ἦν γάρ τι καὶ θῆλυ ἐν αὐτοῖς γένος καὶ γεγηρακός, ἦν δ', οἰμαί, τι καὶ παιδία, τὸ γὰρ πολὺ τῆς Ἐρετρίας τὸν Καφηρέα ἀνέφυγε καὶ ὅ τι ἀκρότατον τῆς Εὐβοίας. ἀνήχθησαν δὲ ἄνδρες μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακοσίους, γυναῖα δὲ ἴσως δέκα, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπ' Ἰωνίας τε καὶ Λυδίας ἀρξάμενοι διεφθάρησαν ἐλαυνόμενοι ἄνω. λιθοτομίαν δὲ αὐτοῖς παρεχόμενου τοῦ λόφου, καὶ τινες καὶ λιθουργοὺς εἰδότες τέχνας, ἱερά τε ἐδείμαντο Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ ἀγοράν, ὁπόσῃν εἰκὸς ἦν, βωμούς τε ἰδρύσαντο Δαρείῳ μὲν δύο, Ξέρξῃ δὲ ἓνα, Δαριδαίῳ δὲ πλείους. διετέλεσαν δὲ ἐς Δαριδαῖον ἔτη μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν ὀκτὼ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα γράφοντες τὸν Ἑλλήνων τρόπον, καὶ οἱ τάφοι δὲ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι σφῶν “ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεινός” γεγράφεται, καὶ τὰ γράμματα Ἑλλήνων μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐπω ταῦτα ἰδεῖν φασι. καὶ ναῦς ἐγκεχαραγ-

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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 Daridæus. But up to the time of Daridæus, 88 years after their capture, they continued to write in the manner of the Greeks, and what is more, their ancient graves are inscribed with the legend: "So and so, the son of so and so." And though the letters are Greek, they said that they never yet had made them out. And there were ships engraved on

CHAP.  
XXIV

Apollonius  
restores  
their graves

CAP.  
XXIV

μένας τοῖς τάφοις, ὡς ἕκαστος ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ ἔζη  
πορθμεύων ἢ πορφυρεύων ἢ θαλάττιον ἢ καὶ ἄλ-  
ουργὸν πράττων, καὶ τι καὶ ἐλεγεῖον ἀναγνῶναι  
γεγραμμένον ἐπὶ ναυτῶν τε καὶ ναυκλήρων σήματι·

Οἷδε ποτ' Αἰγαίοιο βαθύρροον οἶδμα πλέοντες  
Ἐκβατάνων πεδίῳ κείμεθ' ἐνὶ μεσάτῳ.  
χαῖρε κλυτὴ ποτε πατρίς Ἐρέτρια, χαίρετ'  
Ἀθῆναι,  
γείτονες Εὐβοίης, χαῖρε θάλασσα φίλη.

Τοὺς μὲν δὴ τάφους διεφθορότας ἀναλαβεῖν τε  
αὐτὸν ὁ Δάμις φησὶ καὶ ξυγκλείσαι, χέασθαί τε  
καὶ ἐπενεγκεῖν σφισιν, ὅποσα νόμιμα, πλὴν τοῦ  
τεμεῖν τι ἢ καθαγίσαι, δακρύσαντά τε καὶ ὑπο-  
πλησθέντα ὁρμῆς τάδε ἐν μέσοις ἀναφθέγξασθαι·  
“Ἐρετριεῖς οἱ κλήρῳ τύχης δεῦρ' ἀπενεχθέντες,  
ὕμεῖς μὲν, εἰ καὶ πόρρῳ τῆς αὐτῶν, τέθαφθε γοῦν,  
οἱ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐνταῦθα ῥίψαντες ἀπώλουντο περὶ τὴν  
ὑμετέραν νῆσον ἄταφοι δεκάτῳ μεθ' ὑμᾶς ἔτει· τὸ  
γὰρ ἐν κοίλῃ Εὐβοίᾳ πάθος θεοὶ φαίνουσιν.”  
Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ πρὸς τὸν σοφιστὴν ἐπὶ τέλει τῆς  
ἐπιστολῆς “καὶ ἐπεμελήθην,” φησίν, “ὦ Σκοπε-  
λιανέ, τῶν σῶν Ἐρετριέων νέος ὢν ἔτι, καὶ  
ὠφέλησα ὃ τι ἐδυνάμην καὶ τοὺς τεθνεῶτας αὐτῶν  
καὶ τοὺς ζῶντας.” τί δῆτα ἐπεμελήθη τῶν ζώντων;  
οἱ πρόσοικοι τῷ λόφῳ βάρβαροι σπειρόντων τῶν  
Ἐρετριέων αὐτὸν ἐλνίζοντο τὰ φυόμενα περὶ τὸ



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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 seafarers, which ran thus :

CHAP.  
XXIV

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

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

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

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

CAP. XXIV. θέρος ἦκοντες καὶ πεινῇν ἔδει γεωργοῦντας ἐτέροις. ὁπότ' οὖν παρὰ βασιλέα ἀφίκετο, εὔρετο αὐτοῖς τὸ χρῆσθαι μόνους τῷ λόφῳ.

XXV

CAP. XXV. Τὰ δὲ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου καὶ ὁπόσα Βαβυλῶνος πέρι προσήκει γιγνώσκειν, τοιάδε εὔρον· ἡ Βαβυλὼν τετείχισται μὲν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ τετρακόσια στάδια, τοσαύτη κύκλῳ, τείχος δὲ αὐτῆς τρία μὲν τὸ ὕψος ἡμίπλευρα, πλέθρου δὲ μείον τὸ εὖρος, ποταμῷ δὲ Εὐφράτῃ τέμνεται ξὺν ὁμοιότητι τοῦ εἵδους, ὃν ἀπόρρητος ὑποστείχει γέφυρα, τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις ἀφανῶς ξυνάπτουσα. γυνὴ γὰρ λέγεται Μηδεῖα τῶν ἐκείνῃ ποτὲ ἄρχουσα τὸν ποταμὸν ὑποζεύξαι τρόπον, ὃν μήπω τις ποταμὸς ἐξεύχθη· λίθους γὰρ δὴ καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ ἄσφαλτον καὶ ὁπόσα ἐς ἔφυδρον ξύνδεσιν ἀνθρώποις εὔρηται, παρὰ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ νήσασα τὸ ῥεῦμα ἐς λίμνας ἔτρεψε, ξηρόν τε ἤδη τὸν ποταμὸν ὠρυγεν ὀργυιὰς ἐς δύο σήραγγα ἐργαζομένη κοίλῃν, ἣν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια τὰ παρὰ ταῖς ὄχθαις ὥσπερ ἐκ γῆς ἀναφαίνοντο, καὶ ἤρεψεν αὐτὴν ἴσως τῷ τοῦ ῥεύματος δαπέδῳ. οἱ μὲν δὴ θεμέλιοι ἐβεβήκεσαν καὶ οἱ τοῖχοι τῆς σήραγγος, ἅτε δὲ τῆς ἀσφάλτου δεομένης τοῦ ὕδατος ἐς τὸ λιθοῦσθαί τε καὶ πηγνυσθαι ὁ Εὐφράτης ἐπαφείθη ὑγρῷ τῷ ὀρόφῳ,

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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*<sup>1</sup>  
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

<sup>1</sup> A *plethron* was equal to 101 English feet.

CAP.  
XXV

καὶ ὧδε ἔσται τὸ ζεῦγμα. τὰ δὲ βασιλεία χαλκῷ, μὲν ἤρεπται καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀστράπτει, θάλαμοι δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶνες καὶ στοαί, τὰ μὲν ἀργύρῳ, τὰ δὲ χρυσοῖς ὑφάσμασι, τὰ δὲ χρυσῷ αὐτῷ καθάπερ γραφαῖς ἠγλάϊσται, τὰ δὲ ποικίλματα τῶν πέπλων ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν σφίσιν ἤκει λόγων, Ἀνδρομέδαι καὶ Ἀμυμῶναι καὶ Ὀρφεὺς πολλαχοῦ. χαίρουσι δὲ τῷ Ὀρφεῖ, τιάραν ἴσως καὶ ἀναξυρίδα τιμῶντες, οὐ γὰρ μουσικὴν γε, οὐδὲ ὥδᾶς, αἷς ἔθελγεν. ἐνύφανταί που καὶ ὁ Δᾶτις τὴν Νάξον ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνασπῶν, καὶ Ἀρταφέρνης περιεστηκῶς τὴν Ἑρέτριαν, καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην, ἃ νικᾶν ἔφασκεν· Ἀθῆναι γὰρ δὴ ἐχόμεναί εἰσι καὶ Θερμοπύλαι καὶ τὰ Μηδικώτερα ἔτι, ποταμοὶ ἐξαιρούμενοι τῆς γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ζεῦγμα καὶ ὁ Ἄθως ὥς ἐτμήθη. φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶνι ἐντυχεῖν, οὐ τὸν ὄροφον ἐς θόλου ἀνῆχθαι σχῆμα οὐρανῷ τινι εἰκασμένον, σαπφειρίνη δὲ αὐτὸν κατηρέφθαι λίθῳ —κυανωτάτῃ δὲ ἢ λίθος καὶ οὐρανία ἰδεῖν—καὶ θεῶν ἀγάλματα, οὓς νομίζουσιν, ἴδρυται ἄνω καὶ χρυσᾷ φαίνεται, καθάπερ, ἐξ αἰθέρος. δικάζει μὲν δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνταῦθα, χρυσαῖ δὲ ἴυγγες ἀποκρέμανται τοῦ ὀρόφου τέτταρες, τὴν Ἀδράστειαν αὐτῷ παρεγγυῶσαι καὶ τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αἵρεσθαι. ταύτας οἱ μάγοι αὐτοὶ φασιν ἀρμόττεσθαι, φοιτῶντες ἐς τὰ βασιλεία, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὰς θεῶν γλώττας.



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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 Thermopylae, and other pictures still more to the Median taste, such as rivers drained from off the land and a bridge over the sea and the piercing of Athos. But they say that they also visited a man's apartment of which the roof had been carried up in the form of a dome, to resemble in a manner the heavens, and that it was roofed with sapphire, a stone that is very blue and like heaven to the eye; and there were images of the gods, which they worship, fixed aloft, and looking like golden figures shining out of the ether. And it is here that the king gives judgement, and golden wrynecks are hung from the ceiling, four in number, to remind him of Adrastea, the goddess of justice, and to engage him not to exalt himself above humanity. These figures the Magi themselves say they arranged; for they have access to the palace, and they call them the tongues of the gods.

CHAP.  
XXV

Greek  
works of  
art in  
Babylon

Juvenal x.  
176

## XXVI

CAP.  
XXVI

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

## XXVII

CAP.  
XXVII

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

# LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

## 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."

CHAP.  
XXVI

Apollonius  
interviews  
the Magi

## 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

CHAP.  
XXVII

He refuses  
to worship  
the king's  
image

## FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

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

### XXVIII

CAP.  
XXVIII Δραμῶν δὲ αὐτὸς παρὰ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἳ δὴ νομίζονται βασιλέως ὦτα, ἀνατυποῖ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, προειπὼν ὅτι μήτε προσκυνεῖν βούλεται μήτε τι ἀνθρώπῳ ἔοικεν· οἳ δὲ ἄγειν κελεύουσι τιμῶντά τε καὶ μηδὲν ὕβρει πράττοντα, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθεν, ἤρετο αὐτὸν ὁ πρεσβύτατος ὃ τι μαθὼν καταφρονήσῃε τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ δὲ “οὐπω,” ἔφη, “κατεφρόνησα.” “καταφρονήσεας δ' ἄν;” πάλιν ἐρομένου, “νὴ Δί’,” εἶπεν, “ἦν γε ξυγγενόμενος μὴ καλὸν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν εὖρω αὐτόν.” “ἀπάγεις δὲ δὴ τίνα αὐτῷ δῶρα;” τοῦ δὲ αὖ τήν τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα φήσαντος “πότερον,” ἔφη, “ὥς οὐκ ἔχοντι;” “μὰ Δί’,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλ' ὥς μαθησομένῳ χρῆσθαι, ἣν ἔχῃ αὐτάς,” “καὶ μὴν χρώμενος τούτοις,” ἔφη, “τὴν τε βασιλείαν, ἣν ὀράς, ἀπολωλυῖαν αὐτῷ ἀνέλαβε, τὸν τε οἶκον ἐπανήγαγε τοῦτον, οὐκ ἀπόνως οὐδὲ ῥαθύμως.” “πόστον δὲ δὴ τοῦτο ἔτος τῇ ἀνακτηθείσῃ ἀρχῇ;” “τρίτου,”

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## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

CAP.  
XXVII

### XXVIII

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?"

CHAP  
XXVIII

His proud  
bearing  
towards  
the great  
king

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

Βλέψας οὖν ὁ βάρβαρος ἐς τὸν πλησίον “ἔρμαιον,” ἔφη, “θεῶν τις ἄγει τουτονὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐνταῦθα, ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ξυγγενόμενος ἀγαθῷ πολλῷ βελτίῳ τὸν βασιλέα ἡμῖν ἀποφανεῖ καὶ σωφρονέστερον καὶ ἡδίῳ, ταυτὶ γὰρ διαφαίνεται τοῦ ἀνδρός.” ἐσέθεον οὖν εὐαγγελιζόμενοι πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις ἐστήκοι σοφός τε καὶ Ἑλλήν καὶ ξύμβουλος ἀγαθός.

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

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.

## XXIX

CAP.  
XXIX

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀνηγγέλη ταῦτα, ἔτυχε μὲν θύων παρόντων αὐτῷ τῶν μάγων, τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνοις δρᾶται, καλέσας δὲ αὐτῶν ἓνα “ἥκει,” ἔφη, “τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ὃ διηγούμην σοι τήμερον ἐπισκοπούμένῳ με ἐν τῇ εὐνῇ.” ὄναρ δὲ ἄρα τῷ βασιλεῖ τοιοῦτον ἀφίκτο· ἐδόκει Ἀρταξέρξης εἶναι ὁ τοῦ Ξέρξου καὶ μεθεστηκέναι ἐς ἐκείνον τὸ εἶδος, περιδεῶς τε εἶχε, μὴ ἐς μεταβολὴν ἤδη τὰ πράγματα ἦκη αὐτῷ, ἐς τοῦτο ἐξηγουμένῳ τὴν μεταβολὴν τοῦ εἵδους. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσεν Ἑλληνά τε καὶ σοφὸν εἶναι τὸν ἤκοντα, ἐσῆλθεν αὐτὸν Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων ποτὲ ἦκων ξυνεγένετο τῷ Ἀρταξέρξει καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐκείνόν τε ἐποίησεν ἑαυτὸν τε παρέσχετο. καὶ προτείνας τὴν δεξιὰν “κάλει,” ἔφη, “καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ καλλίστου ἄρξαιτο ξυνθύσας τε καὶ ξυνευξάμενος.”

## XXX

CAP.  
XXX

Εἰσῆει μὲν δὴ παραπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ πλειόνων, τουτὶ γὰρ ᾧοντο καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ χαρίζεσθαι μαθόντες ὡς χαίροι ἀφιγμένῳ, διῶν δὲ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια οὐ διέβλεψεν ἐς οὐδὲν τῶν θαυματομένων, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁδοιπορῶν διῆει αὐτά, καὶ καλέσας τὸν Δάμιν “ἦρου με,” ἔφη, “πρώην, ὃ τι ὄνομα ἦν τῇ Παμφύλῳ γυναικί, ἣ δὲ Σαπφοῖ τε ὁμιλῆσαι



# LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

## XXIX

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."

CHAP.  
XXIX  
The king  
welcomes  
him as a  
second  
Themisto-  
cles

## XXX

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

CHAP.  
XXX  
Apollonius  
insensible  
to the  
palace  
splendours

## FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.  
XXX

λέγεται καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους, οὓς ἐς τὴν Ἄρτεμιν τὴν Περγαίαν ἄδουσι, ξυνθεῖναι τὸν Αἰολέων τε καὶ Παμφύλων τρόπον.” “ἡρόμην,” ἔφη, “τὸ δὲ ὄνομα οὐκ εἶπας.” “οὐκ, ὦ χρηστέ, εἶπον, ἀλλ’ ἐξηγούμην σοι τοὺς νόμους τῶν ὕμνων καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ ὅπη τὰ Αἰολέων ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατόν τε καὶ τὸ ἴδιον Παμφύλων παρήλλαξε· πρὸς ἄλλω μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγενόμεθα, καὶ οὐκέτ’ ἤρου με περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος· καλεῖται τοίνυν ἡ σοφὴ αὕτη Δαμοφύλη, καὶ λέγεται τὸν Σαπφούς τρόπον παρθένους τε ὁμιλητρίας κτήσασθαι ποιήματά τε ξυνθεῖναι τὰ μὲν ἐρωτικά, τὰ δὲ ὕμνους. τά τοι ἐς τὴν Ἄρτεμιν καὶ παρῳδῆται αὐτῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Σαπφῶων ᾗσται.” ὅσον μὲν δὴ ἀπείχε τοῦ ἐκπεπλήχθαι βασιλέα τε καὶ ὄγκον, ἐδήλου τῷ μηδὲ ὀφθαλμῶν ἄξια ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλὰ ἐτέρων πέρι διαλέγεσθαι κακεῖνα δήπου οὐχ ἡγεῖσθαι ὀρᾶν.

## XXXI

CAP.  
XXXI

Προῖδὼν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς προσιόντα, καὶ γάρ τι καὶ μῆκος ἢ τοῦ ἱεροῦ αὐλῇ εἶχε, διελάλησέ τε πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγύς, οἷον ἀναγιγνώσκων τὸν ἄνδρα, πλησίον τε ἤδη γιγνομένου μέγα ἀναβοήσας, “οὗτος,” ἔφη, “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.

CHAP.  
XXX

### 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

CHAP.  
XXXI

Refuses to  
attend the  
king's  
sacrifice  
of a horse

CAP.  
XXXI

ἐμὸς ἀδελφὸς ἰδεῖν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ φησὶ θαυμαζόμενον τε καὶ προσκυνούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν σπουδαίων, καὶ ἀπεξωγράφησέ μοι τότε τοιοῦτον αὐτόν, ὁποῖος ἦκει.” προσελθόντα δὲ καὶ ὑσπασάμενον προσεῖπέ τε ὁ βασιλεὺς φωνῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ δὴ ἐκέλευσε θύειν μετ’ αὐτοῦ· λευκὸν δὲ ἄρα ἵππον τῶν σφόδρα Νισαίων καταθύσειν ἔμελλε τῷ Ἡλίῳ φαλάροις κοσμήσας, ὥσπερ ἐς πομπήν, ὁ δ’ ὑπολαβὼν “σὺ μέν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, θῦε,” ἔφη, “τὸν σαυτοῦ τρόπον, ἐμοὶ δὲ ξυγχώρησον θῦσαι τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ.” καὶ δραξάμενος τοῦ λιβανωτοῦ, “Ἥλιε,” ἔφη, “πέμπε με ἐφ’ ὅσον τῆς γῆς ἐμοί τε καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ γιγνώσκοιμι ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς, φαῦλους δὲ μήτε ἐγὼ μάθοιμι μήτε ἐμὲ φαῦλοι.” καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα τὸν λιβανωτὸν ἐς τὸ πῦρ ἤκεν, ἐπισκεψάμενος δὲ αὐτὸ ὅπη διανίσταται καὶ ὅπη θολοῦται, καὶ ὁπόσαις κορυφαῖς ἄττει, καί που καὶ ἐφαπτόμενος τοῦ πυρός, ὅπη εὖσημόν τε καὶ καθαρὸν φαίνοιτο “θῦε,” ἔφη, “λοιπόν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κατὰ τὰ σαυτοῦ πάτρια, τὰ γὰρ πάτρια τὰμὰ τοιαῦτα.”

## XXXII

CAP.  
XXXII

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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 Nisaeon breed, which he had adorned with trappings as if for a triumphal procession. But Apollonius replied : "Do you, O king, go on with your sacrifice, in your own way, but permit me to sacrifice in mine." And he took up a handful of frankincense and said : "O thou Sun, send me as far over the earth as is my pleasure and thine, and may I make the acquaintance of good men, but never hear anything of bad ones, nor they of me." And with these words he threw the frankincense into the fire, and watched to see how the smoke of it curled upwards, and how it grew turbid, and in how many points it shot up ; and in a manner he caught the meaning of the fire, and watched how it appeared of good omen and pure. Then he said : "Now, O king, go on with your sacrifice in accordance with your own traditions, for my traditions are such as you see."

CHAP.  
XXXI

### XXXII

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

CHAP.  
XXXII  
Expounds  
his self-  
discipline  
to the king

“Ἑλλην;” “πᾶσαν,” εἶπεν, “ἴσα τῇ ἐγχωρίῳ ταύτῃ, καὶ λέγε ὃ τι βούλει, διὰ τοῦτο γάρ που ἐρωτᾷς.” “διὰ τοῦτο,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἄκουε· ἡ μὲν ὀρμή μοι τῆς ἀποδημίας Ἰνδοὶ εἰσι, παρελθεῖν δὲ οὐδ’ ὑμᾶς ἐβουλήθην, σέ τε ἀκούων ἄνδρα, οἷον ἐξ ὄνυχος ἤδη ὀρῶ, σοφίαν τε, ἥπερ ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἐπιχώριος μελετωμένη μάγοις ἀνδράσι, κατιδεῖν δεόμενος, εἰ τὰ θεῖα, ὡς λέγονται, σοφοὶ εἰσι· σοφία δὲ ἐμοὶ Πυθαγόρου Σαμίου ἀνδρός, ὃς θεοὺς τε θεραπεύειν ὧδέ με ἐδιδάξατο, καὶ ξυνιέναι σφῶν ὀρωμένων τε καὶ οὐχ ὀρωμένων, φοιτᾶν τε ἐς διάλεξιν θεῶν, καὶ γήινῳ τούτῳ ἐρίῳ ἐστάλθαι, οὐ γὰρ προβάτου ἐπέχθη, ἀλλ’ ἀκήρατος ἀκηράτων φύεται, ὕδατός τε καὶ γῆς δῶρα, ὀθόνη· καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἄνετον τῆς κόμης ἐκ Πυθαγόρου ἐπήσκησα, καὶ τὸ καθαρεύειν ζώου βορᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου μοι σοφίας ἤκει. ξυμπότης μὲν δὴ καὶ κοινωνὸς ῥαστώνης ἢ τρυφῆς οὐτ’ ἂν σοι γενοίμην οὐτ’ ἂν ἐτέρῳ οὐδενί, φροντίδων δὲ ἀπόρων τε καὶ δυσευρέτων δοίην ἂν λύσεις, οὐ γινώσκων τὰ πρακτέα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προγιγνώσκων.” ταῦτα ὁ Δάμις μὲν διαλεχθῆναί φησι τὸν ἄνδρα, Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ἐπιστολὴν αὐτὰ πεποίηται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἑαυτῷ ἐς διάλεξιν εἰρημένων ἐς ἐπιστολὰς ἀνετυπώσατο.

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

case any Greek arrives?" "I know it thoroughly," CHAP.  
XXXII  
replied the king, "as well as I do my native language; so say you what you like, for this I suppose is the reason why you put the question to me." "It was my reason," said the other; "so listen. The goal of my voyage is India, but I had no intention of passing you by; for I heard that you were such a man as from a slight acquaintance I already perceive you to be, and was desirous also of examining the wisdom which is indigenious 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.

CAP.  
XXXIII

Ἐπεὶ δὲ χαίρειν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφη καὶ ἀγάλλεσθαι ἤκοντι μᾶλλον, ἣ εἰ τὰ Περσῶν καὶ Ἰνδῶν πρὸς τοῖς οὖσιν αὐτῷ ἐκτήσατο, ξένον τε ποιεῖσθαι καὶ κοινωνὸν τῆς βασιλείου στέγης, “εἰ ἐγὼ σε, ὦ βασιλεῦ,” εἶπεν, “ἐς πατρίδα τὴν ἐμὴν Τύανα ἤκοντα ἡξίουν οἰκεῖν οὐ ἐγώ, οἰκῆσαι ἂν ἤρας;” “μὰ Δί’,” εἶπεν, “εἰ μὴ τοσαύτην γε οἰκίαν οἰκήσειν ἔμελλον, ὁπόσῃν δορυφόρους τε καὶ σωματοφύλακας ἐμούς αὐτόν τε ἐμέ λαμπρῶς δέξασθαι.” “ὁ αὐτὸς οὖν,” ἔφη, “καὶ παρ’ ἐμοῦ λόγος· εἰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτὸν οἰκήσω, πονηρῶς διαιτηῆσομαι, τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλον λυπεῖ τοὺς σοφούς μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμᾶς τὸ ἐλλεῖπον· ξενιζέτω με οὖν ιδιώτης ἔχων ὁπόσα ἐγώ, σοὶ δὲ ἐγὼ ξυνέσομαι ὁπόσα βούλει.” ξυνεχώρει ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὥς μὴ ἀηδὲς τι αὐτῷ λάθοι πράξας, καὶ ᾤκησε παρ’ ἀνδρὶ Βαβυλωνίῳ χρηστῷ τε καὶ ἄλλως γενναίῳ. δειπνοῦντι δὲ ἤδη εὐνοῦχος ἐφίσταται τῶν τὰς ἀγγελίας διαφερόντων, καὶ προσειπὼν τὸν ἄνδρα “βασιλεὺς,” ἔφη, “δωρεῖταί σε δέκα δωρεαῖς καὶ ποιεῖται κύριον τοῦ ἐπαγγεῖλαι αὐτάς, δεῖται δέ σου μὴ μικρὰ αἰτῆσαι, μεγαλοφροσύνην γὰρ ἐνδείξασθαι σοί τε καὶ ἡμῖν βούλεται.” ἐπαινέσας δὲ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν “πότε οὖν χρή αἰτεῖν;” ἤρετο, ὁ δὲ “αὔριον,” ἔφη, καὶ ἅμα ἐφοίτησε παρὰ πάντας τοὺς βασιλέως



## XXXIII

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

CHAP.  
XXXIIIRefuses to  
lodge in the  
palace

CAP.  
XXXIII

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

CHAP.  
XXXIII

His form  
of prayer

Discusses  
Eunuchism  
with Damis

CAP.  
XXXIII

σωφροσύνην καὶ βιαίῳ τέχνῃ ἐς τὸ μὴ ἐρᾶν ἡγμένους. σωφροσύνη γὰρ τὸ ὀρεγόμενόν τε καὶ ὀρμῶντα μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι ἀφροδισίων, ἀλλ' ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ κρείττω φαίνεσθαι τῆς λύττης ταύτης.” ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Δάμις “ταῦτα μὲν καὶ αὖθις ἐπισκεψόμεθα,” ἔφη, “ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, ἃ δὲ χρὴ ἀποκρίνασθαι αὖριον πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπαγγελίαν λαμπρὰν οὖσαν διεσκέφθαι προσήκει. αἰτήσεις μὲν γὰρ ἴσως οὐδέν, τὸ δ' ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἄλλω, φασί, τύφῳ παραιτεῖσθαι δοκοίης, ἅπερ ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς διδῶ, τοῦτο ὅρα καὶ φυλάττου αὐτό, ὀρῶν οἱ τῆς γῆς εἰ καὶ ὅτι ἐπ' αὐτῷ κείμεθα. δεῖ δὲ φυλάττεσθαι διαβολάς, ὡς ὑπεροψία χρώμενον, γιγνώσκειν τε ὡς νῦν μὲν ἐφόδιά ἐστιν ἡμῖν ὅποσα ἐς Ἰνδοὺς πέμψαι, ἐπανιοῦσι δὲ ἐκεῖθεν οὐτ' ἂν ἀποχρήσαι ταῦτα, γένοιτο δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἕτερα.”

## XXXIV

CAP.  
XXXIV

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

CHAP.  
XXXIII

### 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 Phytton of Rhegium, when he was in

CHAP.  
XXXIV  
Refuses  
kingly  
gifts, and  
rebukes  
Damis  
for his  
greediness

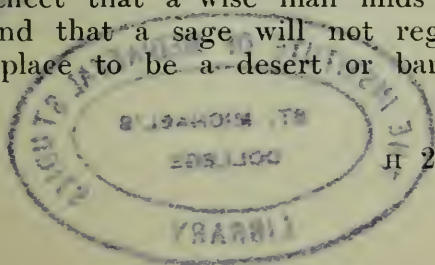
CAP.  
XXXIV

οὕτω τι ἐς τοὺς Διονυσίου κατέδυσαν θησαυρούς, ὥς μόγις ἀνασχεῖν ἐκείθεν. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν Κνίδιον φασιν Εὐδοξον, ἐς Αἴγυπτόν ποτε ἀφικόμενον, ὑπὲρ χρημάτων τε ὁμολογεῖν ἦκειν καὶ διαλέγεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπὲρ τούτου, καὶ ἵνα μὴ πλείους διαβάλλω, Σπεύσιππον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον οὕτω τι ἐρασιχρήματον γενέσθαι φασίν, ὥς ἐπὶ τὸν Κασάνδρου γάμον ἐς Μακεδονίαν κωμάσαι ποιήματα ψυχρὰ ξυνθέντα, καὶ δημοσίᾳ ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ χρημάτων ᾄσαι. ἐγὼ δὲ ἡγοῦμαι, ὦ Δάμι, τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν σοφὸν πλείω κινδυνεύειν ἢ οἱ πλέοντες τε καὶ ξὺν ὅπλοις μαχόμενοι, φθόνος γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτὸν στείχει, καὶ σιωπῶντα καὶ φθεγγόμενον, καὶ ξυντείνοντα καὶ ἀνιέντα, κὰν παρέλθῃ τι κὰν προσέλθῃ τῷ, κὰν προσείπῃ κὰν μὴ προσείπῃ. δεῖ δὲ πεφράχθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, γιγνώσκειν τε ὥς ἀργίας μὲν ἡττηθεὶς ὁ σοφὸς ἢ χολῆς ἢ ἔρωτος ἢ φιλοποσίας, ἢ ἐτοιμότερόν τι τοῦ καιροῦ πράξας, ἴσως ἂν καὶ ξυγγνώμην φέροιτο, χρήμασι δὲ ὑποθεὶς ἑαυτὸν οὔτ' ἂν ξυγγινώσκειτο καὶ μισοῖτ' αὖν, ὥς ὁμοῦ πάσας κακίας συνειληφώς· μὴ γὰρ ἂν ἡττηθῆναι χρημάτων αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ γαστρὸς ἡττητο καὶ ἀμπεχόνης καὶ οἴνου καὶ τοῦ ἐς ἐταίρας φέρεσθαι. σὺ δ' ἴσως ἡγῇ τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἀμαρτεῖν ἡττον εἶναι τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν ἢ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἢ Πυθοῖ, καὶ οὐκ ἐνθυμῇ ὅτι σοφῶ ἄνδρὶ Ἑλλὰς πάντα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔρημον ἢ βάρβαρον χωρίον οὔτε ἡγήσεται ὁ σοφὸς οὔτε νομιεῖ, ζῶν γε ὑπὸ τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ βλέπει

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK 1

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,

CHAP.  
XXXIV



CAP.  
XXXIV

μὲν ὀλίγους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, μυρίοις δ' ὄμμασιν αὐτὸς ὁράται. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀθλητῇ ξυνῆσθαι τούτων τινί, ὃ Δάμι, οἱ παλαίειν τε καὶ παγκρατιάξειν ἀσκοῦσιν, ἄρα ἂν ἡξίους αὐτόν, εἰ μὲν Ὀλύμπια ἀγωνίζοιτο καὶ ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν ἴοι, γενναῖόν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, καὶ νῆ Δί', εἰ Πύθια ἄγοιτο ἢ Νέμεα, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ σώματος, ἐπειδὴ φανεροὶ οἱ ἀγῶνες καὶ τὰ στάδια ἐν σπουδαίῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, εἰ δὲ θύοι Φίλιππος Ὀλύμπια πόλεις ἡρηκῶς, ἢ ὁ τούτου παῖς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ νίκαις ἀγῶνα ἄγοι, χεῖρον ἤδη παρασκευάζειν τὸ σῶμα καὶ μὴ φιλονίκως ἔχειν, ἐπειδὴ ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ ἀγωνιεῖται ἢ Μακεδονία ἢ Αἰγύπτῳ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐν Ἑλλησι καὶ σταδίοις τοῖς ἐκεῖ ;” ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ τῶν λόγων τούτων ὁ Δάμις οὕτω διατεθῆ-  
ναί φησιν, ὥς- ξυγκαλύψασθαι τε ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸς εἰρηκῶς ἔτυχε, παραιτεῖσθαι τε τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ξυγγνώμην αὐτῷ ἔχειν, εἰ μήπω κατανενοηκῶς αὐτὸν ἐς ξυμβουλίαν τε καὶ πειθῶ τοιαύτην ὥρμησεν. ὁ δὲ ἀναλαμβάνων αὐτόν “θάρρει,” ἔφη, “οὐ γὰρ ἐπίπληξιν ποιούμενος, ἀλλὰ τοῦμόν ὑπογράφων σοι ταῦτα εἶπον.”





## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

because he, at any rate, lives under the eyes of <sup>CHAP.</sup> virtue, and although he only sees a few men, yet he <sup>XXXIV</sup> 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."

## XXXV

CAP.  
XXXV

Ἀφικομένου δὲ τοῦ εὐνούχου καὶ καλοῦντος αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα “ἀφίξομαι,” εἶπεν, “ἐπειδὰν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὖ μοι ἔχῃ.” θύσας οὖν καὶ εὐξάμενος ἀπήει, περιβλεπόμενός τε καὶ θαυμαζόμενος τοῦ σχήματος. ὥς δὲ ἔσω παρῆλθε, “δίδωμί σοι,” ἔφη ὁ βασιλεὺς, “δέκα δωρεάς, ἄνδρα σε ἡγούμενος, οἷος οὐπω τις ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων δεῦρ’ ἦλθεν.” ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν “οὐ πάσας,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, παραιτήσομαι, μίαν δέ, ἣν ἀντὶ πολλῶν δεκάδων αἰροῦμαι, προθύμως αἰτήσω.” καὶ ἅμα τὸν περὶ τῶν Ἑρετριέων διῆλθε λόγον, ἀναλαβὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δάτιδος. “αἰτῶ οὖν,” ἔφη, “μὴ περικόπτεσθαι τοὺς ἀθλίους τούτους τῶν ὀρίων τε καὶ τοῦ λόφου, ἀλλὰ νέμεσθαι σφᾶς μέτρον τῆς γῆς, ὃ Δαρεῖος ἐνόμισε, δεινὸν γάρ, εἰ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐκπεσόντες μηδ’ ἦν ἀντ’ ἐκείνης ἔχουσιν, ἔξουσιν.” ξυντιθέμενος οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς “Ἑρετριεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ἔς μὲν τὴν χθὲς ἡμέραν ἐμοῦ τε πολέμιοι καὶ πατέρων ἐμῶν ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ ὅπλων ποτὲ ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἦρξαν, καὶ παρεωρῶντο, ὥς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἀφανισθείη, λοιπὸν δὲ φίλοι τε ἀναγεγράφονται καὶ σατραπεύσει αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, ὃς δικαίῳσει τὴν χώραν. τὰς δὲ ἐννέα δωρεάς,” ἔφη, “διὰ τί οὐ λήψῃ;” “ὅτι, ὦ βασιλεῦ,” εἶπεν, “οὐπω φίλους ἐνταῦθα ἐκτησάμην.” “αὐτὸς

## XXXV

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

CHAP.  
XXXVHe  
intercedes  
with the  
king in  
behalf  
of the  
Eretrians

CAP.  
XXXV δὲ οὐδενὸς δέη”; “φῆσαντος· “τῶν γε τραγημάτων,” ἔφη, “καὶ τῶν ἄρτων, ἃ με ἡδέως τε καὶ λαμπρῶς ἐστιά.”

XXXVI

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

### XXXVI

WHILE they were thus conversing with one another CHAP.  
a hubbub was heard to proceed from the palace, of XXXVI  
eunuchs and women shrieking all at once. And Incident  
in fact an eunuch had been caught misbehaving with illustrative  
one of the royal concubines just as if he were an of the  
adulterer. The guards of the harem were now manners of  
dragging him along by the hair in the way they do Eunuchs  
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 εὐνὴν τὴν ἐμήν;” “ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὑπὲρ ξυγ-  
γνώμης,” ἔφη, “βασιλεῦ, ταῦτα εἶπον, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ  
τιμωρίας, ἣ ἀποκναίσει αὐτόν· εἰ γὰρ ζήσεται  
νοσῶν καὶ ἀδυνάτων ἀπτόμενος, καὶ μήτε σῖτα  
μήτε ποτὰ ἥσει αὐτόν μήτε θεάματα, ἃ σέ τε καὶ  
τούς σοι συνόντας εὐφρανεῖ, πηδήσεταιί τε ἡ  
καρδία θαμὰ ἐκθρώσκοντος τοῦ ὕπνου, ὃ δὴ  
μάλιστα περὶ τοὺς ἐρῶντάς φασι γίγνεσθαι, καὶ  
τίς μὲν οὕτω φθόῃ τήξει αὐτόν, τίς δὲ οὕτω λιμὸς  
ἐπιθρύψει τὰ σπλάγχχνα; εἰ δὲ μὴ τῶν φιλο-  
ψύχων εἴη τις αὐτός, ὧ βασιλεῦ, δεήσεταιί σου  
ποτε καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν, ἢ ἑαυτόν γε ἀποκτενεῖ,  
πολλὰ ὀλοφυρόμενος τὴν παρούσαν ταύτην  
ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ μὴ εὐθὺς ἀπέθανε.” τοῦτο μὲν δὴ  
τοιούτον τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ οὕτω σοφόν τε καὶ  
ἡμερον, ἐφ’ ᾧ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνῆκε τὸν θάνατον τῷ  
εὐνούχῳ.

## XXXVII

CAP.  
XXXVII

Μέλλων δέ ποτε πρὸς θήρα γίγνεσθαι τῶν ἐν  
τοῖς παραδείσοις θηρίων, ἐς οὓς λέοντές τε ἀπό-  
κεινται τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ ἄρκτοι καὶ παρδάλεις,  
ἡξίου τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον παρατυχεῖν οἱ θηρῶντι, ὃ  
δὲ “ἐκλέλῃσαι, ὧ βασιλεῦ,” ἔφη, “ὅτι μηδὲ  
θύοντί σοι παρατυγχάνω; καὶ ἄλλως οὐχ ἡδὺ  
θηρίοις βεβασανισμένοις καὶ παρὰ τὴν φύσιν τὴν  
ἑαυτῶν δεδουλωμένοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι.” ἐρομένου δὲ  
αὐτόν τοῦ βασιλέως, πῶς ἂν βεβαίως καὶ

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

CHAP.  
XXXVI

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

### XXXVII

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:

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

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

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

CHAP.  
XXXVII

## XXXVIII

CAP.  
XXXVIII

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

## 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."

CHAP.  
XXXVIII  
He belittles  
the king's  
palaces and  
wealth

## XXXIX

CAP.  
XXXIX

Πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἰπὼν καὶ τυ-  
χὼν αὐτοῦ προθύμου πράττειν ἅ ξυνεβούλευεν, ἔτι  
καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς μάγους ξυνουσίας ἱκανῶς ἔχων  
“ ἄγε, ὦ Δάμι,” ἔφη, “ ἐς Ἰνδοὺς ἴωμεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ  
τοῖς Λωτοφάγοις προσπλεύσαντες ἀπήγοντο τῶν  
οἰκείων ἡθῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ βρώματος, ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ γευό-  
μενοί τινος τῶν ἐνταῦθα καθήμεθα πλείω χρόνον  
τοῦ εἰκότος τε καὶ ξυμμέτρου.” “ κάμοί,” ἔφη ὁ  
Δάμις, “ ὑπερδοκεῖ ταῦτα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνεθυμούμην τὸν  
χρόνον, ὃν ἐν τῇ λεαίνῃ διεσκέψω, περιέμενον ἀνυ-  
σθῆναι αὐτόν· οὐπω μὲν οὖν ἐξήκει πᾶς, ἐνιαυτὸς  
γὰρ ἡμῖν ἤδη καὶ μῆνες τέτταρες· εἰ δὲ ἤδη κομι-  
ζοίμεθα, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι;” “ οὐδὲ ἀνήσει ἡμᾶς,” ἔφη, “ ὦ  
Δάμι, ὁ βασιλεὺς πρότερον ἢ τὸν ὄγδοον τελευτῆσαι  
μῆνα· χρηστὸν γάρ που ὀράς αὐτὸν καὶ κρείττω ἢ  
βαρβάρων ἄρχειν.”

## XL

CAP.  
XL

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι λοιπὸν ἐδόκει καὶ  
ξυνεχώρησέ ποτε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπιέναι, ἀνεμνήσθη  
τῶν δωρεῶν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἃς ἀνεβάλλετο ἐς τ'  
ἂν φίλοι αὐτῷ γένωνται, καὶ “ ὦ βέλτιστε,”  
ἔφη, “ βασιλεῦ, τὸν ξένον οὐδὲν εὖ πεποίηκα  
καὶ μισθὸν ὀφείλω τοῖς μάγοις· σὺ οὖν ἐπιμελή-  
θητι αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦμὸν προθυμήθητι περὶ ἀνδρας  
σοφούς τε καὶ σοὶ σφόδρα εὖνους.” ὑπερησθεῖς



## XXXIX

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.”

CHAP.

XXXIX

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

## XL

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

CHAP.

XL

The king equips them for further travel

CAP. οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς “τούτους μὲν αὖριον ζηλωτοῦς,”  
 XI. ἔφη, “καὶ μεγάλων ἡξιωμένους ὑποδείξω σοι,  
 σὺ δ’ ἐπεὶ μηδενὸς δέη τῶν ἐμῶν, ἀλλὰ τούτοις  
 γε ξυγχώρησον χρήματα παρ’ ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ  
 ὃ τι βούλονται,” τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Δάμιν δείξας.  
 ἀποστραφέντων οὖν κἀκείνων τὸν λόγον τοῦτον  
 “ὀράς,” ἔφη, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰς ἐμὰς χεῖρας, ὡς  
 πολλαί τέ εἰσι καὶ ἀλλήλαις ὅμοιαι;” “σὺ δὲ  
 ἀλλὰ ἡγεμόνα ἄγου,” ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφη, “καὶ καμή-  
 λους, ἐφ’ ὧν ὀχήσεσθε, τὸ γὰρ μῆκος τῆς ὁδοῦ  
 κρεῖττον ἢ βαδίσαι πᾶσαν.” “γιγνέσθω,” ἔφη, “ὦ  
 βασιλεῦ, τοῦτο, φασὶ γὰρ τὴν ὁδὸν ἄπορον εἶναι  
 μὴ οὕτως ὀχουμένῳ, καὶ ἄλλως τὸ ζῶον εὐσιτόν τε  
 καὶ ῥάδιον βόσκειν, ὅπου μὴ χιλὸς εἴη. καὶ ὕδωρ  
 δέ, οἶμαι, χρή ἐπισιτίσασθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν αὐτὸ ἐν  
 ἄσκοις, ὥσπερ τὸν οἶνον.” “τριῶν ἡμερῶν,” ἔφη  
 ὁ βασιλεὺς, “ἄνυδρος ἢ χώρα, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ πολλή  
 ἀφθονία ποταμῶν τε καὶ πηγῶν, βαδίζειν δὲ δεῖ  
 τὴν ἐπὶ Καυκάσου, τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια ἄφθονα καὶ  
 φίλη ἢ χώρα.” ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ὅ  
 τι αὐτῷ ἀπάξει ἐκείθεν. “χαρίεν,” ἔφη, “ὦ βασιλεῦ,  
 δῶρον· ἦν γὰρ ἡ συνουσία τῶν ἀνδρῶν σοφώτερόν  
 με ἀποφήνη, βελτίων ἀφίξομαί σοι ἢ νῦν εἰμι.”  
 περιέβαλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα εἰπόντα καὶ  
 “ἀφίκοιο,” εἶπε, “τὸ γὰρ δῶρον μέγα.”

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK I

was more than delighted, and said : “ I will show you CHAP.  
XL  
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.”





## BOOK II

## B'

### I

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

### II

CAP. II Τὸ δὲ ὄρος τοῦτο ἀρχὴν ποιῶμεθα Ταύρου τοῦ δι' Ἀρμενίας τε καὶ Κιλικῶν ἐπὶ Παμφύλους καὶ Μυκάλην στείχοντος, ἥ τελευτῶσα ἐς θάλατταν, ἦν Κᾶρες οἰκοῦσι, τέρμα τοῦ Καυκάσου νομίζουσιν, ἄλλ' οὐχ, ὡς ἔνιοί φασιν, ἀρχή· τό τε γὰρ τῆς Μυκάλης ὕψος οὐπω μέγα καὶ αἱ ὑπερβολαὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου τοσοῦτον ἀνεστᾶσιν, ὡς σχίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτὰς τὸν ἥλιον. περιβάλλει δὲ Ταύρῳ ἐτέρῳ καὶ τὴν ὁμορον τῇ

## 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.

CHAP.

I

They quit  
Babylon

### 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

CHAP.

II

The ranges  
of Caucasus  
and Taurus

CAP.  
II

Ἰνδικῇ Σκυθίαν πᾶσαν κατὰ Μαιωτίν τε καὶ ἀριστερὸν Πόντον, σταδίων μάλιστα δισμυρίων μῆκος, τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐπέχει μέτρον τῆς γῆς ὁ ἀγκῶν τοῦ Καυκάσου· τὸ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἡμεδαπῇ Ταύρου λεγόμενον, ὡς ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν πορεύοιτο, χρόνῳ ἀπιστηθὲν πιστοῦνται λοιπὸν αἱ παρδάλεις, ἃς οἶδα ἀλISCOΜΕΝΑΣ ἐν τῇ Παμφύλῳ ἀρωματοφόρῳ. χαίρουσι γὰρ τοῖς ἀρώμασι, καὶ πολλοὺ τὰς ὀσμάς ἔλκουσαι φοιτῶσιν ἐξ Ἀρμενίας διὰ τῶν ὁρῶν πρὸς τὸ δάκρυον τοῦ στύρακος, ἐπειδὴν οἱ τε ἄνεμοι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πνεύσωσι καὶ τὰ δένδρα ὁπώδη γένηται. καὶ ἀλῶναί ποτέ φασιν ἐν τῇ Παμφυλίᾳ πάρδαλιν στρεπτῷ ἄμα, ὃν περὶ τῇ δέρῃ ἔφερε, χρυσοῦς δὲ ἦν καὶ ἐπεγέγραπτο Ἀρμενίοις γράμμασι ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΗΣ ΘΕΩΙ ΝΤΣΙΩΙ. βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ Ἀρμενίας τότε ἦν Ἀρσάκης, καὶ αὐτός, οἶμαι, ἰδὼν τὴν πάρδαλιν ἀνῆκε τῷ Διονύσῳ διὰ μέγεθος τοῦ θηρίου. Νύσιος γὰρ ὁ Διονύσος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἰνδοῖς Νύσης Ἰνδοῖς τε ὀνομάζεται καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πρὸς ἀκτῖνα ἔθνεσιν. ἡ δὲ χρόνον μὲν τινα ὑπεξεύχθη ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ χεῖρα ἡνέσχετο ἐπαφωμένην τε καὶ καταψῶσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνοίστησεν αὐτὴν ἔαρ, ὅτε δὴ ἀφροdisίων ἦττους καὶ παρδάλεις, ἀνέθορεν ἐς τὰ ὄρη πόθῳ ἀρσένων, ὡς εἶχε τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ἤλω περὶ τὸν κάτω Ταῦρον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρώματος ἐλχθεῖσα. ὁ δὲ Καύκασος ὀρίζει μὲν τὴν Ἰνδικήν τε καὶ Μηδικήν, καθήκει δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν ἐτέρῳ ἀγκῶνι.



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

Scythia which borders on India, and skirts Maeotis CHAP. II 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, On leopards 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 Armenian inscription on a leopard's collar Arsaces to the Nysian god.” Now the king of Armenia was certainly at that time Arsaces, and he, I imagine, finding the pard, had let it go free in honour of Dionysus because of its size. For Dionysus is called Nysian by the Indians and by all the Oriental races from Nysa in India. And this animal had been for a time under the restraint of man, and would let you pat it with your hand and caress it; but when it was goaded to excitement by the springtime, for in that season the pards begin to rut, it would rush into the mountains, from longing to meet the male, decked as it was with the ring; and it was taken in the lower Taurus whither it had been attracted by the fragrance of the gum. And the Caucasus bounds India and Media, and stretches down by another arm to the Red Sea.

## III

CAP. III. Μυθολογείται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τὸ ὄρος, ᾧ καὶ Ἑλλήνες ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἄδουσιν, ὡς Προμηθεὺς μὲν ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπία δεθείη ἐκεῖ, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἕτερος, οὐ γὰρ τὸν Θηβαῖόν γε βούλονται, μὴ ἀνάσχοιτο τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τοξεύσειε τὸν ὄρνιν, ὃν ἔβασκεν ὁ Προμηθεὺς τοῖς σπλάγχχνοις· δεθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἐν ἄντρῳ φασίν, ὃ δὲ ἐν πρόποδι τοῦ ὄρους δείκνυνται, καὶ δεσμὰ ὁ Δάμις ἀνῆψθαι τῶν πετρῶν λέγει οὐ ῥάδια ξυμβαλεῖν τὴν ὕλην, οἱ δ' ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους· δικόρυμβος δὲ ἡ κορυφή καὶ φασιν, ὡς τὰς χεῖρας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐδέθη διαλειπουσῶν οὐ μείον ἢ στάδιον, τοσοῦτος γὰρ εἶναι. τὸν δὲ ὄρνιν τὸν αἰτὸν οἱ τῷ Καυκάσῳ προσοικοῦντες ἐχθρὸν ἡγοῦνται καὶ καλιάς γε, ὁπόσας ἐν τοῖς πάγοις οἱ αἰετοὶ ποιοῦνται, καταπιμπρᾶσιν ἰέντες βέλη πυρφόρα, θήρατρά τε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴστανται τιμωρεῖν τῷ Προμηθεῖ φάσκοντες· ὧδε γὰρ τοῦ μύθου ἤττηνται.

## IV

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

### 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.

CHAP.  
III

Legend of  
Prometheus  
and the  
eagle

### 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

CHAP.  
IV

A hobgoblin  
visits the  
voyagers

<sup>1</sup> 606 English feet.

CAP.  
IV. ὁδοιπορία τάδε εὗρον ἀφηγήσεως ἄξια· ἐπορεύοντο μὲν γὰρ ἐν σελήνῃ λαμπρᾷ, φάσμα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐμπούσης ἐνέπεσε, τὸ δεῖνα γινομένη καὶ τὸ δεῖνα αὖ καὶ οὐδὲν εἶναι, ὃ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ξυνήκεν, ὃ τι εἶη, καὶ αὐτός τε ἐλοιδορεῖτο τῇ ἐμπούσῃ, τοῖς τε ἄμφ' αὐτὸν προσέταξε ταὐτὸ πράττειν, ταυτὶ γὰρ ἄκος εἶναι τῆς προσβολῆς ταύτης· καὶ τὸ φάσμα φυγῇ ὥχετο τετριγός, ὥσπερ τὰ εἶδωλα.

## V

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

CHAP.  
IV

### V

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

CHAP.  
V  
Discussion  
with Damis  
about  
mountain-  
climbing and  
religion

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

CHAP.  
V

CAP. V. προσοίκου Μυκάλης, λέγονται δὲ καὶ τῷ Παγγαίῳ ἔνιοι φροντιστηρίῳ χρήσασθαι καὶ ἕτεροι τῷ Ἀθῶ. ἐγὼ δὲ μέγιστον τούτων ἀνελθὼν ὕψος οὐδὲν σοφώτερος ἑαυτοῦ καταβήσομαι.” “οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι,” ἔφη, “αἱ γὰρ τοιαῖδε περιωπαὶ γλαυκότερον μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀποφαίνουσι καὶ μείζους τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ἐκ νυκτός, ἃ καὶ ποιμέσιν ἤδη καὶ αἰπόλοις ἐστὶ δῆλα, ὅπη δὲ τὸ θεῖον ἐπιμελεῖται τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους καὶ ὅπη χαίρει ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ θεραπευόμενον, ὃ τί τε ἀρετὴ καὶ ὃ τι δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ σωφροσύνη, οὔτε Ἀθῶς ἐκδείξει τοῖς ἀνελθοῦσιν οὔτε ὁ θαυμαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν Ὀλυμπος, εἰ μὴ διορώη αὐτὰ ἢ ψυχὴ, ἣν, εἰ καθαρὰ καὶ ἀκήρατος αὐτῶν ἄπτοιτο, πολλῷ μείζον ἔγωγ’ ἂν φαίην ἄττειν τουτουὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου.”

VI

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



## 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."

CHAP.  
V

### 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

CHAP.  
VI.  
Natives  
on the  
Cophen

CAP. VI ἡσθέντες, ἐκέλευόν τε πλησίον ἤκειν καὶ ἀφικομένοις οἶνόν τε ὄρεγον, ὃν ἀπὸ τῶν φοινίκων σοφίζονται, καὶ μέλι ἀπὸ ταύτου φυτοῦ καὶ τεμάχῃ λεόντων καὶ παρδάλων, ὧν καὶ τὰ δέρματα νεόδαρτα ἦν, δεξάμενοι δὲ πλὴν τῶν κρεῶν πάντα ἀπήλασαν ἐς τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς καὶ ἐχώρουν πρὸς ἔω.

## VII

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

CHAP.  
VI

### VII

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

CHAP.  
VII  
Discussion  
of palm  
wine, and  
necessity of  
teetotalism

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

CHAP.  
VII

CAP. VII. τοῦ πίνειν ἀπάγοιμ' ἂν οὔτε τοὺς ὀπαδοὺς τούτους, ξυγχωροίην δ' ἂν ὑμῖν καὶ κρεῶν σιτεῖσθαι, τὸ γὰρ ἀπέχεσθαι τούτων ὑμῖν μὲν ἐς οὐδὲν ὀρώ προβαίνον, ἐμαυτῷ δὲ ἐς ἃ ὁμολόγηταί μοι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐκ παιδός.” ἐδέξαντο τὸν λόγον τοῦτον οἱ περὶ τὸν Δάμιν καὶ ἡσπάσαντο εὐωχεῖσθαι, ῥᾶον ἡγούμενοι πορεύεσθαι, ἣν ἀφθονώτερον διαιτῶνται.

## VIII

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

CHAP.  
VII

### VIII

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

CHAP.  
VIII  
Shrine of  
Dionysus  
on the  
mountain  
of Nysa

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

IX

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

CHAP.  
VIII

### IX

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

CHAP.  
IX  
Visit of  
Dionysus  
to India

His offering  
to Delphi

Indian  
legends of  
Dionysus

CAP.  
IX

ἐκ Θηβῶν τὸ γόνυ τῆς ἀμπέλου, οὗ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὀργιάσαι. οἱ δὲ τὴν Νῦσαν οἰκοῦντες οὐ φασὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ὄρος, ἀλλ' ὀρμήσαι μὲν, ἐπειδὴ φιλότιμός τε ἦν καὶ ἀρχαιολογίας ἥπτων, δείσαντα δὲ μὴ εἰς ἀμπέλους παρελθόντες οἱ Μακεδόνες, ἃς χρόνου ἤδη οὐχ ἑωράκεσαν, εἰς πόθον τῶν οἴκοι ἀπενεχθῶσιν, ἢ ἐπιθυμίαν τινὰ οἴνου ἀναλάβωσιν εἰθισμένοι ἤδη τῷ ὕδατι, παρελᾶσαι τὴν Νῦσαν, εὐξάμενον τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ θύσαντα ἐν τῇ ὑπωρείᾳ. καὶ γιννώσκω μὲν οὐκ εἰς χάριν ταῦτα ἐνίοις γράφων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ξὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ στρατεύσαντες οὐδὲ ταῦτα εἰς τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀνέγραψαν, δεῖ δὲ ἀληθείας ἐμοὶ γοῦν, ἣν εἰ κἀκεῖνοι ἐπήνεσαν, οὐκ ἂν ἀφείλυντο καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἐγκωμίου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον· τοῦ γὰρ ἀνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ βακχεῦσαι αὐτόν, ἃ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι, μείζον, οἶμαι, τὸ ὑπὲρ καρτερίας τοῦ στρατοῦ μηδὲ ἀναβῆναι.

## X

CAP.  
X

Τὴν δὲ Ἄορνον πέτραν οὐ πολὺν ἀπέχουσιν τῆς Νύσης ἰδεῖν μὲν οὐ φησιν ὁ Δάμις, ἐν ἐκβολῇ γὰρ κεῖσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ δεδιέναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐκτρέπεσθαι ποι παρὰ τὸ εὐθύ, ἀκοῦσαι δέ, ὡς ἀλωτὸς μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ γένοιτο, Ἄορνος δὲ ὀνομάζοιτο οὐκ ἐπειδὴ στάδια πεντεκαίδεκα ἀνέστηκε, πέτονται

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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.

CHAP.  
IX  
Alexander  
never  
ascended to  
his shrine

### X

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

CHAP.  
X  
The rock  
*Aornus*

CAP.  
X γὰρ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦτο οἱ ἱεροὶ ὄρνιθες, ἀλλ' ἐν κορυφῇ τῆς πέτρας ῥήγμα εἶναί φασι τοὺς ὑπερπετομένους τῶν ὀρνίθων ἐπισπώμενον, ὥς Ἀθήνησί τε ἰδεῖν ἐστὶν ἐν προδόμῳ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν γῆς, ὑφ' οὗ τὴν πέτραν Ἀορνον κεκληῆσθαι τε καὶ εἶναι.

## XI

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

CHAP.  
X

### XI

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

CHAP.  
XI

Discussion  
of mahouts  
and  
elephant  
intelligence

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

CHAP.  
XI

CAP.  
XI

δὲ μάχιμόν τε καὶ ὀπλιτεύοντα πῶς ἂν ἀναβαίνοι  
οὗτος; οὔτε γὰρ ἀσπίδα δύναιτ' ἂν φέρειν, ἥς δεῖ  
τοῖς ἵππεύουσιν, οὔτ' ἂν θώρακα ἢ κράνος, αἰχμὴν  
δὲ πῶς οὗτος, ὃς οὐδὲ ἄτρακτον βέλους ἢ τοξεύ-  
ματος κραδαίνοι ἂν, ψελλιζομένῳ ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ  
ἐοικῶς ἔτι; ” “ ἕτερον οὖν τι, ” ἔφη, “ ὦ Δάμι, ἐστίν,  
ὃ τὸν ἐλέφαντα τοῦτον ἡνιοχεῖ καὶ πέμπει, καὶ οὐχ  
ὁ ἡνιοχος οὗτος, ὃν σὺ μόνον οὐ προσκυνεῖς ὑπὸ  
θαύματος. ” τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος “ τί ἂν εἴη τοῦτο,  
Ἀπολλώνιε; ὁρῶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ θηρίου πλὴν τοῦ παι-  
δὸς οὐδὲν ἕτερον. ” “ τὸ θηρίον, ” ἔφη, “ τοῦτο εὐπαί-  
δευτόν τε παρὰ πάντα ἐστί, κάπειδαν ἅπαξ  
ἀναγκασθῇ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπῳ ζῆν, ἀνέχεται τὰ ἐκ τοῦ  
ἀνθρώπου πάντα καὶ ὁμοθήειαν ἐπιτηδεύει τὴν  
πρὸς αὐτόν, χαίρει τε σιτούμενον ἀπὸ τῆς χειρός,  
ὥσπερ οἱ μικροὶ τῶν κυνῶν, προσιόντα τε τῇ  
προνομαίᾳ αἰκάλλει καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὴν  
φάρυγγα ἐσωθοῦντα ἀνέχεται καὶ κέχνηεν ἐφ' ὅσον  
τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ δοκεῖ, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς νομάσιν  
ἑωρῶμεν. νύκτωρ δὲ λέγεται τὴν δουλείαν ὀλοφύ-  
ρεσθαι, μὰ Δί', οὐ τετριγός, ὅποιον εἴωθεν, ἀλλ'  
οἰκτρὸν τε καὶ ἐλεεινὸν ἀνακλᾶον, εἰ δὲ ἄνθρωπος  
ἐπισταίῃ ὀδυρομένῳ ταῦτα, ἴσχει τὸν θρῆνον ὁ ἐλέ-  
φας, ὥσπερ αἰδούμενος. αὐτὸς δὲ ἑαυτοῦ, ὦ Δάμι,  
ἄρχει καὶ ἡ πειθὼ αὐτόν ἡ τῆς φύσεως ἄγει μᾶλλον  
ἢ ὁ ἐπικείμενός 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."

CHAP.  
XI

## XII

CAP.  
XII

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

## XII

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.

CHAP.  
XII  
Different  
breeds  
of elephants

Elephants  
used in war

The  
elephant of  
Porus at  
Taxila

## XIII

CAP.  
XIII

Ἰόβας δέ, ὃς ἡρξέ ποτε τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ ἔθνους, φησὶ μὲν ξυμπεσεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐπ' ἐλεφάντων πάλαι Λιβυκοὺς ἵππέας—εἶναι δὲ τοῖς μὲν πύργον ἐς τοὺς ὀδόντας κεχαραγμένον, τοῖς δὲ οὐδέν—νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης τὴν μάχην ἡττηθῆναι μὲν τοὺς ἐπισήμους φησί, φυγεῖν δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἀτλαντα τὸ ὄρος, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐλεῖν τετρακοσίων μήκει ἐτῶν ὕστερον τῶν διαφυγόντων ἓνα καὶ τοῦπίσημον εἶναι αὐτῷ κοῖλον καὶ οὐπω περιτετριμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου. οὗτος ὁ Ἰόβας τοὺς ὀδόντας κέρατα ἡγεῖται τῷ φύεσθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς ὅθεν περ οἱ κρόταφοι, παραθήγεσθαι δὲ μηδενὶ ἐτέρῳ, μένειν δ' ὥς ἔφυσαν καὶ μὴ, ὅπερ οἱ ὀδόντες, ἐκπίπτειν εἰτ' ἀναφύεσθαι· ἐγὼ δ' οὐ προσδέχομαι τὸν λόγον· κέρατά τε γὰρ εἰ μὴ πάντα, τά γε τῶν ἐλάφων ἐκπίπτει καὶ ἀναφύεται, ὀδόντες δὲ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκπεσοῦνται καὶ ἀναφύονται πάντες, ζῶων δ' ἂν οὐδενὶ ἐτέρῳ χαυλιόδους ἢ κυνόδους αὐτομάτως ἐκπέσοι, οὐδ' ἂν ἐπανέλθοι ἐκπεσόν, ὅπλου γὰρ ἔνεκα ἢ φύσις ἐμβιβάζει αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰς γένους. καὶ ἄλλως τὰ κέρατα γραμμὴν ἀποτορνεύει κύκλῳ πρὸς τῇ ῥίζῃ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον, ὥς αἰγές τε δηλοῦσι καὶ ποιμναι καὶ βόες, ὀδοὺς δὲ λεῖος ἐκφύεται καὶ ἦν μὴ πηρώσῃ τι αὐτόν, τοιόσδε αἰὲς μένει, μετέχει γὰρ τῆς λιθώδους ὕλης τε καὶ οὐσίας. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ κερασφορεῖν περὶ τὰ δίχηλα τῶν ζώων μόνα



## XIII

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

CHAP.  
XIII  
Juba on the  
age of  
elephants

And on the  
character of  
their tusks

CAP.  
XIII

ἔστηκε, τὸ δὲ ζῶον τοῦτο πεντώνυχον καὶ πολυσχιδὲς τὴν βάσιν, ἢ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐσφίγχθαι χηλαῖς ὥσπερ ἐν ὑγρῷ ἔστηκε. καὶ τοῖς μὲν κερασφόροις ἅπασιν ὑποβάλλουσα ἢ φύσις ὅστᾳ σηραγγώδη περιφύει τὸ κέρασ ἔξωθεν, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων πλήρες ἀποφαίνει καὶ ὅμοιον, ἀναπτύξαντι δὲ σύριγξ αὐτὸ λεπτὴ διέρπει μέσον, ὥσπερ τοὺς ὀδόντας· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν τῶν ἐλείων ὀδόντες πελιδνοὶ καὶ μανοὶ μεταχειρίσασθαί τε ἄτοποι, πολλαχοῦ γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑποδεδύκασιν σήραγγες, πολλαχοῦ δὲ ἀνεστᾶσι χάλαζαι μὴ ξυγχωροῦσαι τῇ τέχνῃ, οἱ δὲ τῶν ὀρείων μείους μὲν ἢ οὔτοι, λευκοὶ δὲ ἱκανῶς καὶ δύσεργον περὶ αὐτοὺς οὐδέν, ἄριστοι δὲ οἱ τῶν πεδινῶν ὀδόντες, μέγιστοί τε γὰρ καὶ λευκότεροι καὶ ἀναπτύξαι ἡδεῖς καὶ γίνονται πᾶν ὃ τι θέλει ἢ χεῖρ. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἦθῃ ἐλεφάντων χρὴ ἀναγράφειν, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐλῶν ἀλισκομένους ἀνοήτους ἡγοῦνται καὶ κούφους Ἴνδοί, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν κακοήθεις τε καὶ ἐπιβουλευτάς, καὶ ἦν μὴ δέωνταί τινος, οὐ βεβαίους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οἱ πεδινοὶ δὲ χρηστοί τε εἶναι λέγονται καὶ εὐάγωγοι καὶ μιμήσεως ἐρασταί· γράφουσι γοῦν καὶ ὀρχοῦνται καὶ παρενσαλεύουσι πρὸς αὐλὸν καὶ πηδῶσιν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐκείνοι.

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.

## XIV

CAP.  
XIV

Ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸν Ἰνδὸν περαιουμένους, ἦσαν δέ, οἶμαι, τριάκοντα, καὶ χρωμένους ἡγεμόνι τῷ σμικροτάτῳ σφῶν, καὶ τοὺς μείζους αὐτῶν ἀνειληφότας τοὺς αὐτῶν πώλους ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ὀδόντων προβολὰς τὰς τε προνομαίας ἐπέξευχότας δεσμοῦ ἔνεκα “ταῦτα μέν,” ἔφη, “ὦ Δάμι, οὐδὲ ἐπιτάττοντος οὐδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἀφ’ ἐαυτῶν οὔτοι διὰ ξύνεσίν τε καὶ σοφίαν πράττουσι, καὶ ὁρᾷς, ὡς παραπλησίως τοῖς σκευαγωγοῦσιν ἀνειλήφασιν τοὺς πώλους καὶ καταδησάμενοι αὐτοὺς ἄγουσιν;” “ὁρῶ,” ἔφη, “ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, ὡς σοφῶς τε αὐτὸ καὶ ξυνετῶς πράττουσι. τί οὖν βούλεται τὸ εὖηθες ἐκείνο φρόντισμα τοῖς ἐρεσχελοῦσι φυσικὴν ἢ μὴ τὴν πρὸς τὰ τέκνα εἶναι εὖνοϊαν; τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐλέφαντες ἤδη βοῶσιν, ὡς παρὰ τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῖς ἦκει· οὐ γὰρ δὴ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων γε μεμαθήκασιν αὐτό, ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα, οἳ γε μηδὲ ξυμβεβιώκασιν πῶ ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ φύσει κεκτημένοι τὸ φιλεῖν ἃ ἔτεκον, προκίχδονται τε αὐτῶν καὶ παιδοτροφοῦσι.” “καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας εἶπης, ὦ Δάμι· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ζῶον δεύτερον ἀνθρώπου τάττω κατὰ ξύνεσίν τε καὶ βουλὰς, ἀλλὰ τὰς τε ἄρκτους ἐνθυμοῦμαι μᾶλλον, ὡς ἀγριώταται θηρίων οὔσαι πάνθ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν σκύμνων πράττουσι, τοὺς τε λύκους, ὡς αἰὲ προσκείμενοι τῷ ἀρπάζειν ἢ μὲν θήλεια φυλάττει



## 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

CHAP.

XIV

Affection of  
elephants  
for their  
youngApollonius  
on parental  
love in all  
animals

CAP.  
XIV

ἃ ἔτεκεν, ὁ δὲ ἄρρην ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν σκυλά-  
κων ἀπάγει αὐτῇ σίτον, τὰς τε παρδάλεις ὡσαύ-  
τως, αἱ διὰ θερμότητα χαίρουσι τῷ γίγνεσθαι  
μητέρες, δεσπόζειν γὰρ δὴ τότε βούλονται τῶν  
ἄρρένων καὶ τοῦ οἴκου ἄρχειν, οἱ δὲ ἀνέχονται τὸ  
ἐξ αὐτῶν πᾶν ἡττώμενοι τοῦ τόκου. λέγεται δέ τις  
καὶ περὶ τῶν λεαινῶν λόγος, ὡς ἐραστὰς μὲν ποι-  
οῦνται τοὺς παρδάλεις καὶ δέχονται αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ  
τὰς εὐνάς τῶν λεόντων ἐς τὰ πεδία, τῆς δὲ γαστρὸς  
ῥᾶν ἀγούσης ἀναφεύγουσιν ἐς τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰ τῶν  
παρδάλεων ἡθῆ, στικτὰ γὰρ τίκτουσιν, ὅθεν  
κρύπτουσιν αὐτὰ καὶ θηλάζουσιν ἐν σκολιαῖς  
λόχμας πλασάμεναι ἀφημερεύειν πρὸς θήραν. εἰ  
γὰρ φωράσειαν τουτὶ οἱ λέοντες, διασπῶνται τοὺς  
σκύμνους καὶ ξαίνουσι τὴν σπορὰν ὡς νόθον.  
ἐνέτυχες δὴπου καὶ τῶν Ὀμηρείων λεόντων ἐνί, ὡς  
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ σκύμνων δεινὸν βλέπει καὶ  
ῥώννυσιν ἑαυτὸν μάχης ἄπτεσθαι. καὶ τὴν τίγριν  
δὲ χαλεπωτάτην οὐσάν φασιν ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ  
καὶ περὶ τὴν θάλατταν τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς  
ἵεσθαι, τοὺς σκύμνους ἀπαιτοῦσαν, καὶ ἀπολα-  
βοῦσαν μὲν ἀπιέναι χαίρουσαν, εἰ δὲ ἀποπλεύσαιεν,  
ῥύεσθαι αὐτὴν πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν  
ἐνίστε. τὰ δὲ τῶν ὀρνίθων τίς οὐκ οἶδεν; ὡς  
ἀετοὶ μὲν καὶ πελαργοὶ καλιὰς οὐκ ἂν πῆξαιντο  
μὴ πρότερον αὐταῖς ἐναρμόσαντες ὁ μὲν τὸν  
ἀετίτην λίθον, ὁ δὲ τὸν λυχνίτην ὑπὲρ τῆς  
ῥογονίας καὶ τοῦ μὴ πελάζειν σφίσι τοὺς ὄφεις.  
καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ σκοπῶμεν, τοὺς μὲν δελφῖνας

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

CHAP.  
XIV

CAP.  
XIV

οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμεν, εἰ χρηστοὶ ὄντες φιλοτε-  
κνοῦσι, φαλαίνας δὲ καὶ φώκας καὶ τὰ ζωοτόκα  
ἔθνη πῶς οὐ θαυμασόμεθα, εἰ φώκη μὲν, ἣν εἶδον  
ἐγὼ ἐν Αἰγαῖς καθειργμένην ἐς κυνήγια, οὕτως  
ἐπένθησεν ἀποθανόντα τὸν σκύμνον, ὃν ἐν τῷ  
οἰκίσκῳ ἀπεκύησεν, ὥς μὴ προσδέξασθαι τριῶν  
ἡμερῶν σίτον, καίτοι βορωτάτῃ θηρίων οὔσα,  
φάλαινα δὲ ἐς τοὺς χηραμοὺς τῆς φάρυγγος  
ἀναλαμβάνει τοὺς σκύμνους, ἐπειδὰν φεύγῃ τι  
ἐαυτῆς μείζον; καὶ ἔχιδνα ὥφθη ποτὲ τοὺς ὄφεις,  
οὓς ἀπέτεκε, λιχμωμένη καὶ θεραπεύουσα ἐκκει-  
μένη τῇ γλώττῃ. μὴ γὰρ δεχόμεθα, ὦ Δάμι, τὸν  
εὐήθη λογον, ὥς ἀμήτορες οἱ τῶν ἐχιδνῶν τίκτονται,  
τουτὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἡ φύσις ξυγκεχώρηκεν, οὔτε ἡ  
πείρα.” ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Δάμις “ξυγχωρεῖς οὖν,”  
ἔφη, “τὸν Εὐριπίδην ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ἱαμβεῖῳ  
τούτῳ, ᾧ πεποιήται αὐτῷ ἡ Ἀνδρομάχη λέγουσα

ἅπασι δ' ἀνθρώποις ἄρ' ἦν  
ψυχὴ τέκνα;”

“ξυγχωρῶ, ἔφη, “σοφῶς γὰρ καὶ δαιμονίως  
εἴρηται, πολλῷ δ' ἂν σοφώτερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον  
εἶχεν, εἰ περὶ πάντων ζώων ὕμνητο.” “ἔοικας,”  
ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιε, μεταγράφειν τὸ ἱαμβεῖον, ἵν'  
οὕτως ἄδοιμεν.

ἅπασι δὲ ζώοις ἄρ' ἦν  
ψυχὴ τέκνα.

καὶ ἔπομαί σοι, βέλτιον γάρ.”



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

CHAP.  
XIV

The tame  
seal at  
Aegae

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

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

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

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

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

## XV

CAP.  
XV

“ Ἄλλ’ ἐκεῖνό μοι εἶπέ· οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν λόγων ἔφαμεν σοφίαν εἶναι περὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ νοῦν περὶ ἃ πράττουσι ; ” “ καὶ εἰκότως, ” εἶπεν, “ ὦ Δάμι, ἔφαμεν, εἰ γὰρ μὴ νοῦς ἐκυβέρνα τόδε τὸ θηρίον, οὔτ’ ἂν αὐτὸ διεγίγνετο οὔτ’ ἂν τὰ ἔθνη, ἐν οἷς γίγνεται. ” “ τί οὖν, ” ἔφη, “ οὕτως ἀμαθῶς καὶ οὐ πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον ἑαυτοῖς τὴν διάβασιν ποιοῦνται ; ἡγεῖται μὲν γάρ, ὡς ὀρεῖς, ὁ μικρότατος, ἔπεται δὲ αὐτῷ τις ὀλίγῳ μείζων, εἴτα ὑπὲρ τοῦτον ἕτερος, καὶ οἱ μέγιστοι κατόπιν πάντες. ἔδει δέ που τὸν ἐναντίον τρόπον αὐτοὺς πορεύεσθαι καὶ τοὺς μεγίστους τείχη καὶ προβλήματα ἑαυτῶν ποιεῖσθαι. ” “ ἄλλ’, ὦ Δάμι, ” ἔφη, “ πρῶτον μὲν ὑποφεύγειν εἰκότασι δίωξιν ἀνθρώπων, οἷς που καὶ ἐντευξόμεθα ἐπομένοις τῷ ἵχνει, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους δεῖ τὰ κατὰ νώτου πεφράχθαι μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, καὶ τοῦτο τακτικώτατον ἡγοῦ τῶν θηρίων, ἔπειτα ἡ διάβασις, εἰ μὲν προδιέβαινον οἱ μέγιστοι σφῶν, οὔπω τεκμαίρεσθαι παρείχον ἂν τοῦ ὕδατος εἰ διαβήσονται πάντες, τοῖς μὲν γὰρ εὐπορός τε καὶ ῥαδίᾳ ἢ περαιώσις ὑψηλοτάτοις οὔσι, τοῖς δὲ χαλεπῇ τε καὶ ἄπορος,

## XV

“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

CHAP.  
XV  
Intelligence  
shewn by  
elephants  
when  
pursued in  
crossing a  
river

CAP.  
XV

μὴ ὑπεραίρουσι τοῦ ρεύματος, διελθὼν δὲ ὁ σμικρό-  
τατος τὸ ἄλυπον ἤδη καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐρμηνεύει,  
καὶ ἄλλως οἱ μὲν μείζους προεμβαίνοντες κοιλό-  
τερον ἂν τὸν ποταμὸν ἀποφαίνοιεν τοῖς σμικροῖς,  
ἀνάγκη γὰρ συνιζάνειν τὴν ἰλὺν ἐς βόθρους διὰ τε  
βαρύτητα τοῦ θηρίου διὰ τε παχύτητα τῶν ποδῶν,  
οἱ δ' ἐλάττους οὐδὲν ἂν βλάπτοιεν τὴν τῶν  
μειζόνων διαπορείαν ἥττον ἐμβοθρεύοντες.”

XVI

CAP.  
XVI

“Ἐγὼ δὲ εὗρον ἐν τοῖς Ἰόβα λόγοις, ὥς καὶ  
ξυλλαμβάνουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἐν τῇ θήρᾳ καὶ  
προΐστανται τοῦ ἀπειπόντος, καὶ ἐξέλωνται αὐτόν,  
τὸ δάκρυον τῆς ἀλόης ἐπαλείφουσι τοῖς τραύμασι  
περιεστῶτες ὥσπερ ἰατροί.” πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἐφιλο-  
σοφεῖτο αὐτοῖς ἀφορμὰς ποιουμένοις τὰ λόγου  
ἄξια.

XVII

CAP.  
XVII

Τὰ δὲ Νεάρχῳ τε καὶ Πυθαγόρᾳ περὶ τοῦ Ἀκε-  
σίνου ποταμοῦ εἰρημένα, ὥς ἐσβάλλει μὲν ἐς τὸν  
Ἰνδὸν οὗτος, τρέφει δὲ ὄφεις ἐβδομήκοντα πηχῶν  
μῆκος, τοιαῦτα εἶναι φασιν, ὅποια εἴρηται, καὶ  
ἀνακείσθω μοι ὁ λόγος ἐς τοὺς δράκοντας, ὧν ὁ  
Δάμις ἀφηγείται τὴν θήραν. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ  
τὸν Ἰνδὸν καὶ πρὸς διαβάσει τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄντες  
ἤροντο τὸν Βαβυλώνιον, εἴ τι τοῦ ποταμοῦ οἶδε,  
διαβάσεως πέρι ἐρωτῶντες, ὁ δὲ οὐπω ἔφη



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

moreover, if the bigger ones went in first, they would CHAP. XV  
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 CHAP. XVI  
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 CHAP. XVII  
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.

The Letter  
of King  
Vardanes

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

CHAP.  
XVII

## XVIII

CAP.  
XVIII

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



## XVIII

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 ?

CHAP.  
XVIIIAn account  
of the River  
Indus

## XIX

CAP.  
XIX

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

## XX

CAP.  
XX

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

## XIX

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.

CHAP.  
XIXComparison  
of the Indus  
with the  
Nile

## XX

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

CHAP.  
XXDress of the  
Indian  
natives

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

CHAP.  
XX

Byssus  
exported to  
Egypt

Greek  
reliefs in  
Temple at  
Taxila

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

## XXI

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

CHAP.  
XX  
Alexander  
and King  
Porus

### XXI

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

CHAP.  
XXI

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

## XXII

CAP.  
XXII Ὃν δὲ διέτριβεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χρόνον, πολὺς δὲ οὗτος ἐγένετο, ἔστ’ ἂν ἀγγελητῇ τῷ βασιλεῖ ξένους ἡκεῖν, “ὦ Δάμι,” ἔφη ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἔστι τι γραφικὴ;” “εἰ γε,” εἶπε, “καὶ ἀλήθεια.” “πράττει δὲ τί ἢ τέχνη αὐτῇ;” “τὰ χρώματα,” ἔφη, “ξυγκεράννυσιν, ὅποσα ἐστί, τὰ κυανὰ τοῖς βατραχείοις καὶ τὰ λευκὰ τοῖς μέλασι καὶ τὰ πυρσὰ τοῖς ὠχροῖς.” “ταυτὶ δέ,” ἡ δ’ ὅς, “ὑπὲρ τίνος μίγνυσιν; οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ μόνου τοῦ ἄνθους, ὥσπερ αἱ κήρινα.” “ὑπὲρ μιμήσεως,” ἔφη, “καὶ τοῦ κύνα τε ἐξεικάσαι καὶ ἵππον καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ ναῦν καὶ



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

CHAP.  
XXI

### XXII

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

CHAP.  
XXII  
Apollonius  
discusses  
painting  
with Damis

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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 ἠγώμεθα οἷαν τῇ χειρὶ ἀπομιμεῖσθαι καὶ τῷ νῷ, γραφικὴν δὲ εἶναι ταύτην, τὴν δ' αὖ μόνω τῷ νῷ εἰκάζειν.” “οὐ διττὴν,” ἔφη ὁ Δάμις, “ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν τελεωτέραν ἠγεῖσθαι προσήκει γραφικὴν γε οὖσαν, ἣ δύναται καὶ τῷ νῷ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ ἐξεικάσαι, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν ἐκείνης μόριον, ἐπειδὴ ξυνήσι μὲν καὶ μιμεῖται τῷ νῷ καὶ μὴ γραφικός τις ὢν, τῇ χειρὶ δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἐς τὸ γράφειν αὐτὰ χρήσαιτο.” “ἄρα,” ἔφη, “ὦ Δάμι, πεπηρωμένος τὴν χεῖρα ὑπὸ πληγῆς τινος ἢ νόσου;” “μὰ Δί,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ μήτε γραφίδος τινὸς ἡφθαι, μήτε ὀργάνου τινὸς ἢ χρώματος, ἀλλ' ἀμαθῶς ἔχειν τοῦ γράφειν.” “οὐκοῦν,” ἔφη, “ὦ Δάμι, ἅμφω ὁμολογοῦμεν μιμητικὴν μὲν ἐκ φύσεως τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡκεῖν, τὴν γραφικὴν δὲ ἐκ τέχνης. τουτὶ δ' ἂν καὶ περὶ τὴν πλαστικὴν φαίνοιτο. τὴν δὲ δὴ ζωγραφίαν αὐτὴν οὐ μοι δοκεῖς μόνον τὴν διὰ τῶν χρωμάτων ἠγεῖσθαι, καὶ γὰρ ἐν χρώμα ἐς αὐτὴν ἤρκεσε τοῖς γε ἀρχαιοτέροις τῶν γραφέων καὶ προῖοῦσα τεττάρων εἶτα πλειόνων ἡψατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ γραμμὴν καὶ τὸ ἄνευ χρώματος, ὃ δὴ σκιᾶς τε ξύγκειται καὶ φωτός, ζωγραφίαν προσήκει καλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁμοιότης τε ὁρᾶται εἰδός τε καὶ νοῦς καὶ αἰδὼς καὶ θρασύτης, καίτοι χηρεύει χρωμάτων ταῦτα, καὶ οὔτε αἶμα ἐνσημαίνει οὔτε κόμης τινὸς ἢ 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

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CAP.  
XXII

ἔοικε καὶ τῷ λευκῷ, καὶ τούτων τινὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν  
 λευκῇ τῇ γραμμῇ γράψωμεν, μέλας δὴπου δόξει,  
 τὸ γὰρ ὑπόσιμον τῆς ῥινὸς καὶ οἱ ὀρθοὶ βόστρυχοι  
 καὶ ἡ περιττὴ γένυς καὶ ἡ περὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς  
 οἶον ἔκπληξις μελαίνει τὰ ὀρώμενα καὶ Ἰνδὸν  
 ὑπογράφει τοῖς γε μὴ ἀνοήτως ὀρώσιν. ὅθεν  
 εἵποίμ' ἂν καὶ τοὺς ὀρώοντας τὰ τῆς γραφικῆς ἔργα  
 μιμητικῆς δεῖσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐπαινέσειέ τις τὸν  
 γεγραμμένον ἵππον ἢ ταῦρον μὴ τὸ ζῶον ἐνθυμη-  
 θεὶς ᾧ εἴκασται, οὐδ' ἂν τὸν Αἴαντά τις τὸν  
 Τιμομάχου ἀγασθείη, ὃς δὲ ἀναγέγραπται αὐτῷ  
 μεμηνώς, εἰ μὴ ἀναλάβοι τι ἐς τὸν νοῦν Αἴαντος  
 εἶδωλον καὶ ὡς εἰκὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεκτονότα τὰ ἐν τῇ  
 Τροίᾳ βουκόλια καθῆσθαι ἀπειρηκότα, βουλὴν  
 ποιούμενον καὶ ἑαυτὸν κτείνειν. ταυτὶ δέ, ὦ Δάμι,  
 τὰ τοῦ Πύρου daίδαλα μῆτε χαλκευτικῆς μόνον  
 ἀποφαινόμεθα, γεγραμμένοις γὰρ εἴκασται, μῆτε  
 γραφικῆς, ἐπειδὴ ἐχαλκεύθη, ἀλλ' ἡγώμεθα σοφί-  
 σασθαι αὐτὰ γραφικόν τε καὶ χαλκευτικὸν ἕνα  
 ἄνδρα, οἶον δὴ τι παρ' Ὀμήρῳ τὸ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου  
 περὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἀσπίδα ἀναφαίνεται.  
 μεστὰ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμέ-  
 νων, καὶ τὴν γῆν ἡματῶσθαι φήσεις χαλκῆν  
 οὔσαν.”

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

or white, and even if we drew one of these Indians CHAP  
XXII 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."

## XXIII

CAP.  
XXIII

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

## XXIV

CAP.  
XXIV

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

### XXIII

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,<sup>1</sup> 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.

CHAP.  
XXIII  
Description  
of houses  
in Taxila

### XXIV

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.

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

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

## XXV

CAP.  
XXV

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

## XXVI

CAP.  
XXVI

Ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ φιλοσοφεῖν ὁ Ἰνδὸς καὶ παραστησάμενος τὸν ἑρμηνέα, “χαίρω,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, φιλοσοφούντά σε ὀρώω.” “ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπερχαίρω,” ἔφη, “ἐπειδὴ οὕτω περὶ ἐμοῦ οἶει.” “τουτὶ δὲ νενόμισται παρ' ὑμῖν,” εἶπεν, “ἢ σὺ πρὸς τὸ ἐπικεῖν τοῦτο τὴν ἀρχὴν κατεστήσω ;” “σωφρόνως,” ἔφη, “νενομισμένῳ σωφρονέστερον χρῶμαι, καὶ πλείστα μὲν ἔχω ἀνθρώπων, δέομαι δὲ ὀλίγων, τὰ γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν φίλων τῶν ἐμαντοῦ ἡγοῦμαι.” “μακάριε τοῦ θησαυροῦ,” εἶπεν, “εἰ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἀντερύῃ τοὺς φίλους, ἐξ ὧν ἀναφύεται σοι πολλά τε καὶ ἀγαθά.” “καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς,” ἔφη, “κοινωνῶ τοῦ πλούτου. τοὺς γὰρ αἰεὶ ποτε διαφόρους τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ βαρβάρους

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

### 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.

CHAP.  
XXV  
Simplicity  
of the  
Indian  
king's life

### 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

CHAP.  
XXVI  
The king's  
life and  
policy

CAP.  
XXVI

προσοικούντας καὶ καταδρομαῖς χρωμένους ἐς  
 τὰ μὰ ὄρια ὑποποιούμαι τουτοισὶ τοῖς χρήμασι, καὶ  
 δορυφορεῖται μοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἡ χώρα, καὶ οὔτε  
 αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰ μὰ φοιτῶσι τούς τε ὁμόρους αὐτοῖς  
 βαρβάρους ἀνείργουσι, χαλεποὺς ὄντας." ἐρομένον  
 δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, εἰ καὶ Πῶρος αὐτοῖς  
 ἐτέλει χρήματα, "Πῶρος," εἶπε, "πολέμου ἦρα,  
 ἐγὼ δὲ εἰρήνης." πάνυ τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις  
 ἐχειροῦτο τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, καὶ οὕτως αὐτοῦ  
 ἡττήθη, ὡς Εὐφράτῃ ποτὲ ἐπιπλήττων μὴ φιλοσο-  
 φοῦντι, "ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν Φραώτην αἰδώ-  
 μεθα," φάναι, ὄνομα γὰρ τῷ Ἰνδῷ τοῦτο ἦν.  
 σατράπου δέ, ἐπειδὴ μεγάλων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἡξιώθη,  
 βουλευθέντος αὐτὸν ἀναδῆσαι μίτρα χρυσῇ κεκο-  
 σμημένη λίθοις ποικίλοις, "ἐγώ," ἔφη, "εἰ καὶ τῶν  
 ζηλούντων τὰ τοιαῦτα ἦν, παρητησάμην ἂν αὐτὰ  
 νῦν καὶ ἀπέρριψα τῆς κεφαλῆς Ἀπολλωνίῳ  
 ἐντυχών, οἷς δὲ μήπω πρότερον ἀναδεῖσθαι ἡξίωσα,  
 πῶς ἂν νῦν κοσμοίμην τὸν μὲν ξένον ἀγνοήσας,  
 ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ ἐκλαθόμενος;" ἤρετο αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ  
 διαίτης ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὁ δέ, "οἴνου μὲν," ἔφη,  
 "πίνω τοσοῦτον, ὅσον τῷ Ἡλίῳ σπένδω, ἃ δ' ἂν  
 ἐν θήρᾳ λάβω, ταῦτα σιτοῦνται ἕτεροι, ἐμοὶ δ'  
 ἀπόχρη τὸ γεγυμνάσθαι. τὰ δὲ ἐμὰ σιτία λάχανα  
 καὶ φοινίκων ἐγκέφαλοι καὶ ὁ καρπὸς τῶν φοινικῶν  
 καὶ ὅποσα ὁ ποταμὸς κηπεύει. πολλὰ δέ μοι καὶ  
 ἀπὸ δένδρων φύεται, ὧν γεωργοὶ αἶδε αἱ χεῖρες."  
 ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ὑπερήδετό τε καὶ ἐς  
 τὸν Δάμιν θαμὰ ἐώρα.



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

border of this country were perpetually quarrelling CHAP. XXVI 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.

## XXVII

CAP.  
XXVII

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

### XXVII

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

CHAP.

XXVII

The  
Brahmans

Apollonius  
talks Greek  
with him

The king's  
bath

CAP.  
XXVII

ἑαυτὸν ἐξήσκει, καὶ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἔρρωτο ὑπὸ τε ἡλικίας—ἐπτα γὰρ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονὼς ἦν— ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ὧδε γυμνάζεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱκανῶς ἔχοι ἐπήδα ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἐγύμναζεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ νεῖν. ὥς δὲ ἐλούσαντο, ἐβάδιζον ἐς τὸ συσσίτιον ἐστεφανωμένοι, τουτὶ δὲ νενόμισται Ἰνδοῖς, ἐπειδὴν ἐς τοῦ βασιλέως πίνωσιν.

## XXVIII

CAP.  
XXVIII

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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 banquetting chamber with wreaths upon their heads; for this is the custom of the Indians, whenever they drink wine in the palace.

CHAP.  
XXVII

### 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

CHAP.  
XXVIII  
The Royal  
Banquet

CAP.  
XXVIII

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

## XXIX

CAP.  
XXIX

Οἱ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὸν Δάμιν ἐξεπλήττοντο αὐτὰ ὡς εὖσκοπα, καὶ τὴν ξυμμετρίαν τῆς τοξείας ἐθαύμαζον, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, ξυνεσίτει γὰρ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὁμοδιαίτῳ ὄντι, τούτοις μὲν ἦττον προσεῖχε, πρὸς δὲ τὸν βασιλέα, “εἰπέ μοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ,” ἔφη, “πόθεν οὕτως ἔχεις φωνῆς Ἑλλάδος, φιλοσοφία τε ἢ περὶ

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

CHAP.  
XXVIII

Tumblers'  
feats at the  
banquet

### XXIX

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

CHAP.  
XXIX  
The king  
expounds  
Indian  
philosophi-  
cal training

σὲ πόθεν ἐνταῦθα ; οὐ γὰρ ἐς διδασκάλους γε οἶμαι ἀναφέρειν, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ εἶναί τινας ἐν Ἰνδοῖς εἰκὸς διδασκάλους τούτου.” γελάσας οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς, “ οἱ μὲν παλαιοί,” ἔφη, “ τὰς ἐρωτήσεις τῶν καταπλεόντων ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ λησταί εἰσιν, οὕτως αὐτὸ καίτοι χαλεπὸν ὃν κοινὸν ἡγοῦντο, ὑμεῖς δέ μοι δοκεῖτε τοὺς ἐπιφοιτῶντας ὑμῖν ἐρωτᾶν, μὴ φιλόσοφοί εἰσιν, οὕτως αὐτὸ καίτοι θεióτατον τῶν κατ’ ἀνθρώπους ὃν καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσιν ὑπάρχειν οἶεσθε. καὶ ὅτι μὲν παρ’ ὑμῖν ταῦτόν τῳ ληστεύειν ἐστίν, οἶδα, ὁμοίῳ μὲν γὰρ σοὶ ἀνδρὶ οὐ φασιν εἶναι ἐντυχεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς, ὥσπερ σκυλεύσαντας αὐτὸ ἐτέρων περιβεβλήθαί τε ἀναρμόστως, καὶ σοβεῖν ἀλλοτρίαν ἐσθῆτα ἐπισύροντας· καὶ νῆ Δί’, ὥσπερ οἱ λησταὶ τρυφῶσιν εἰδότες ὅτι ὑπὸ τῇ δίκῃ κείνται, οὕτω κακείνους φασὶ γαστρί τε διδόναι καὶ ἀφροδισίοις καὶ ἀμπεχόνῃ λεπτῇ. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον· νόμοι ὑμῖν, οἶμαι, εἰσίν, εἰ μὲν τὸ νόμισμα παραφθείροι τις, ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτόν, καὶ παιδίον εἴ τις παρεγγράφοι, ἢ οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅ τι ἐπὶ τούτῳ, τοὺς δὲ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὑποβαλλομένους ἢ παραφθείροντας οὐδεὶς, οἶμαι, νόμος παρ’ ὑμῖν ἴσχει, οὐδὲ ἀρχή τις ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τέτακται.



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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.

CHAP  
XXIX

## XXX

CAP.  
XXX

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

## XXX

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

CHAP.  
XXX

CAP.  
XXX

μένω ἢ ψευσθέντι τῷ ἄρχοντι ἐπιτιμῶσιν οἱ νόμοι μὴ ἄρξαι αὐτὸν ἔτι ἀρχὴν μηδεμίαν, ὥς παραιοῖσιν βίον ἀνθρώπου, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐφήβων ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁρῶντες ἀναμανθάνουσι· πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἡθῶν ἐρμηνεύουσι, πολλὰ δ' ἐν ὀφρύσι καὶ παρειαῖς κεῖται γνωματεύειν τε καὶ θεωρεῖν, ἀφ' ὧν σοφοὶ τε καὶ φυσικοὶ ἄνδρες, ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτρῳ εἶδωλα, τοὺς νοῦς τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαθεῶνται. μεγάλων γὰρ δὴ ἀξιουμένης φιλοσοφίας ἐνταῦθα, καὶ τιμὴν τούτου παρ' Ἰνδοῖς ἔχοντος, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἐκβασανίζεσθαι τε τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἰόντας ἐλέγχοις τε ὑποβεβλήσθαι μυρίοις. ὥς μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ διδασκάλοις αὐτὸ ποιούμεθα καὶ ἐς δοκιμασίαν ἡμῖν τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν ἔχει, σαφῶς εἶρηκα, τοῦμόν δὲ ὧδε ἔχει.

## XXXI

CAP.  
XXXI

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

CHAP.  
XXX

### XXXI

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

CHAP.  
XXXI  
And relates  
his history  
to  
Apollonius

CAP. κτείνουσι τῷ Ἰνδῷ θύοντας, αὐτοὶ τε ἐπеспηδήσαν-  
 XXXI τες τῷ ἄρχειν ξυνέσχον τὰ κοινά. δείσαντες οὖν  
 οἱ ξυγγενεῖς περὶ τῷ πατρὶ μήπω ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτη  
 γεγονότι πέμπουσιν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὑφασιν παρὰ  
 τὸν ἐκεῖ βασιλέα. πλειόνων δὲ ἢ ἐγὼ ἄρχει καὶ  
 εὐδαίμων ἢ χώρα παρὰ πολὺ τῆς ἐνταῦθα. βουλο-  
 μένου δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως παῖδα ποιεῖσθαι,  
 τουτὶ μὲν παρητήσατο φήσας μὴ φιλονεικεῖν τῇ  
 τύχῃ ἀφηρημένη αὐτὸν τὸ ἄρχειν, ἐδεήθη δ' αὐτοῦ  
 ξυγχωρησαί οἱ φιλοσοφῆσαι βαδίσαντι παρὰ  
 τοὺς σοφούς, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ῥᾶον καρτερῆσαι τὰ  
 οἴκοι κακά. βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ  
 κατάγειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίαν ἀρχήν, “εἰ  
 γνησίως,” ἔφη, “φιλοσοφοῦντα αἴσθοιο, κάταγε, εἰ  
 δὲ μή, ἕα με οὕτως ἔχειν.” αὐτὸς οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 ἤκων παρὰ τοὺς σοφούς μεγάλων ἂν ἔφη παρ'  
 αὐτῶν τυχεῖν, εἰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπιμεληθεῖεν γενναίου  
 τὴν φύσιν ἤδη ὄντος, οἱ δὲ κατιδόντες τι ἐν αὐτῷ  
 πλεόν ἡσπάσαντο προσδοῦναι οἱ τῆς αὐτῶν  
 σοφίας, καὶ προθύμως ἐπαίδευον προσκείμενον  
 πάνυ τῷ μανθάνειν. ἐβδόμῳ δὲ ἔτει νοσῶν ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐτελεύτα, μεταπέμπεται  
 αὐτὸν καὶ κοινωνὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποφαίνει τῷ υἱῷ,  
 τὴν τε θυγατέρα ὁμολογεῖ πρὸς ὥραν οὔσαν, ὁ δέ,  
 ἐπειδὴ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως υἱὸν εἶδε κολάκων καὶ  
 οἴνου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν ἡττω μεστὸν τε  
 ὑποψιῶν πρὸς αὐτόν, “σὺ μὲν,” ἔφη, “ταῦτ' ἔχε

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

CHAP.  
XXXI

CAP.  
XXXI

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

XXXII

CAP.  
XXXII

Ἀποθανόντων δέ μοι καὶ τῶν γονέων οὐ μετα-  
πολὺ ἀλλήλων, αὐτοὶ με βαδίσαντα ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας  
ἐκέλευσαν ἐπιμεληθῆναι τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ γεγονότα  
ἐννεακαίδεκα ἔτη. τὰς μὲν οὖν κώμας ἀφήρητό  
με ἤδη ὁ χρηστὸς θεῖος καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ γῆδιά μοι  
ὑπέλιπε τὰ κεκτημένα τῷ πατρί, πάντα γὰρ τῇ  
ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῇ προσήκειν αὐτά, ἐμὲ δ' ἂν μεγάλων  
παρ' αὐτοῦ τυχεῖν, εἴ με ἐφῇ ζῆν. ἔρανον οὖν  
ξυλλεξάμενος παρὰ τῶν τῆς μητρὸς ἀπελευθέρων  
ἀκολούθους εἶχον τέτταρας. καὶ μοι ἀναγιγνώ-  
σκοντι τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας τὸ δρᾶμα, ἐπέστη τις  
ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιστολὴν φέρων παρὰ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιτηδείου  
τῷ πατρί, ὃς με ἐκέλευσε διαβάντα τὸν Ὑδραῶτην



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

CHAP.  
XXXI

### XXXII

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

CHAP.  
XXXII  
His  
restoration  
to his grand-  
father's  
throne

CAP.  
XXXII

ποταμὸν ξυγγίγνεσθαί οἱ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐνταῦθα, πολλὰς γὰρ ἐλπίδας εἶναί μοι ἀνακτήσασθαι αὐτὴν μὴ ἐλινύοντι. τὸ μὲν δὴ δρᾶμα θεῶν τις οἶμαι ἐπὶ νοῦν ἤγαγε καὶ εἰπόμεν τῇ φήμῃ, διαβὰς δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν μὲν ἕτερον τῶν βεβιασμένων ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν τεθνάναι ἤκουσα, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις πολιορκεῖσθαι τούτοις. ἐχώρουν δὴ ξυντείνων καὶ βοῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, δι' ὧν ἔστειχον, ὡς ὁ τοῦ δαίμονος εἶπεν υἱὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἵοιμι, οἱ δὲ χαίροντές τε καὶ ἀσπαζόμενοί με προὔπεμπον παραπλήσιον ἡγούμενοι τῷ πάππῳ, ἐγχειρίδιά τε ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ τόξα, καὶ πλείους αἰεὶ ἐγιγνόμεθα, καὶ προσελθόντα ταῖς πύλαις οὕτω τι ἄσμενοι ἐδέξαντο οἱ ἐνταῦθα, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ἑλίου δᾶδας ἀψάμενοι πρὸ πυλῶν τε ἤκειν καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι δεῦρο ἐφυσμνούντες πολλὰ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ πάππῳ, τὸν δὲ ἔσω κηφήνα πέριξ τὸ τεῖχος ἔκλησαν καίτοι ἐμοῦ παραιτουμένου μὴ τοιῶδε τρόπῳ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν.”

## XXXIII

CAP.  
XXXIII

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

CHAP.  
XXXII

### XXXIII

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

CHAP.  
XXXIII  
The castle  
of the  
Brahman  
Sages never  
visited by  
Alexander

CAP.  
XXXIII

αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐφιλοσόφησαν ;” “Ὁξυ-  
δράκαι,” ἔφη, “ἐκεῖνοι ἦσαν, τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο  
ἐλευθεριάζει τε αἰὲ καὶ πολεμικῶς ἐξήρτυται,  
σοφίαν τε μεταχειρίζεσθαί φασιν οὐδὲν χρηστὸν  
εἰδότες· οἱ δὲ ἀτεχνῶς σοφοὶ κεῖνται μὲν τοῦ  
Ὑφάσιδος καὶ τοῦ Γάγγου μέσοι, τὴν δὲ χώραν  
ταύτην οὐδὲ ἐπῆλθεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὔτι που τὰ  
ἐν αὐτῇ δείσας, ἀλλ’, οἶμαι, τὰ ἱερὰ ἀπεσήμηνεν  
αὐτῷ. εἰ δὲ καὶ διέβη τὸν Ὑφασιν καὶ τὴν περὶ  
αὐτοὺς γῆν ἡδυνήθη ἐλεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γε τύρσιν, ἣν  
ἐκεῖνοι κατοικοῦσιν, οὐδ’ ἂν μυρίους μὲν Ἀχιλλέας,  
τρισμυρίους δὲ Αἴαντας ἄγων ποτὲ ἐχειρώσατο· οὐ  
γὰρ μάχονται τοῖς προσελθοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ διοσημίαις  
τε καὶ σκηπτοῖς βάλλοντες ἀποκρούονται σφᾶς ἱεροὶ  
καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ὄντες· τὸν γοῦν Ἡρακλέα τὸν Αἰγύπ-  
τιον καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ξὺν ὅπλοις διαδραμόντας τὸ  
Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος φασὶ μὲν ποτε ἐλάσαι ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἅμα  
μηχανάς τε παλαμήσασθαι καὶ τοῦ χωρίου ἀπο-  
πειρᾶσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀντιπράττειν οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ ἀτρε-  
μεῖν, ὥς ἐκείνοις ἐφαίνοντο, ἐπεὶ δ’ αὐτοὶ προσήε-  
σαν, πρηστήρες αὐτοὺς ἀπεώσαντο καὶ βρονταὶ  
κάτω στρεφόμεναι καὶ ἐμπίπτουσαι τοῖς ὅπλοις,  
τὴν τε ἀσπίδα χρυσὴν οὔσαν ἀποβαλεῖν ἐκεῖ  
λέγεται ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, καὶ πεποιήνται αὐτὴν ἀνά-  
θημα οἱ σοφοὶ διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους δόξαν,  
διὰ τε τὸ ἐκτύπωμα τῆς ἀσπίδος· αὐτὸς γὰρ  
πεποιήται ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὀρίζων τὰ Γάδειρα καὶ τὰ  
ὄρη στήλας ποιούμενος τὸν τε Ὠκεανὸν ἐς τὰ ἔσω



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

CAP.  
XXXIII

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

XXXIV

CAP.  
XXXIV

Τοιαῦτα διαλεγομένων αὐτῶν ἐπῆλθεν ὁ ὕμνος αὐλῶ ἄμα, ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὸν βασιλέα, ὃ τι ἐθέλοι ὁ κῶμος, “Ἴνδοί,” ἔφη, “παραινέσεις τῷ βασιλεῖ ἄδουσιν, ἐπειδὴν πρὸς τῷ καθεύδειν γίγνηται, ὀνειράσί τε ἀγαθοῖς χρῆσθαι χρηστόν τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ εὐξύμβολον τοῖς ὑπηκόοις.” “πῶς οὖν,” ἔφη, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, διάκεισαι πρὸς ταῦτα; σὲ γάρ που αὐλοῦσιν.” “οὐ καταγελῶ,” ἔφη, “δεῖ γὰρ προσίεσθαι αὐτὰ τοῦ νόμου ἕνεκεν, παραινέσεως μέντοι μηδεμιᾶς δεῖσθαι, ὅσα γὰρ ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς μετρίως τε καὶ χρηστῶς πράττη, ταῦτα ἑαυτῷ δήπου χαριεῖται μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις.”

XXXV

CAP.  
XXXV

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

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

CHAP.  
XXXIII

### XXXIV

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

CHAP.  
XXXIV  
The Hymn  
to the king

### XXXV

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

CHAP.  
XXXV  
Discussion  
of the  
relation of  
drinking to  
divination

CAP  
XXXV

τε τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ἤρετο αὐτόν, ὅ τι ἐνθυμοίτο, “οὐ γάρ που καθεύδεις,” εἶπεν, “ὔδωρ πίνων καὶ καταγελῶν τοῦ οἴνου.” “οὐ γὰρ καθεύδεις ἡγῆ,” ἔφη, “τοὺς τὸ ὔδωρ πίνοντας ;” “καθεύδεις μὲν,” ἔφη, “λεπτὸν δὲ ὕπνον, ὥνπερ ἄκροις αὐτῶν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐφίζάνειν φῶμεν, οὐ τῷ νῷ.” “ἀμφοτέροις,” εἶπε, “καὶ ἴσως τῷ νῷ μᾶλλον· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀτρεμήσει ὁ νοῦς, οὐδὲ ὑποδέξονται οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τὸν ὕπνον· οἱ γοῦν μεμνηότες οὐδὲ καθεύδειν δύνανται διὰ τὴν τοῦ νοῦ πήδησιν, ἀλλ’ ἐς ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα ἀπιούσης τῆς ἐννοίας γοργότερόν τε ἀναβλέπουσι καὶ ἀναιδέστερον, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῶν δρακόντων. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν, ὦ βασιλεῦ,” εἶπε, “σαφῶς ἡρμήνευται τὸ τοῦ ὕπνου ἔργον καὶ ἅττα δηλοῦται αὐτῷ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, σκεψώμεθα, τί μειονεκτήσῃ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοῦ μεθύοντος ὁ τὸ ὔδωρ πίνων.” “μὴ σοφίζου,” ἔφη ὁ βασιλεὺς, “εἰ γὰρ μεθύοντα ὑποθήσῃ, οὐ καθευδήσῃ τοῦτο, βακχεύουσα γὰρ ἡ γνώμη στροβήσῃ τε αὐτὸν καὶ ταραχῆς ἐμπλήσῃ· δοκοῦσί τοι πάντες οἱ ἐκ μέθης καταδαρθεῖν πειρώμενοι ἀναπέμπεσθαί τε ἐς τὸν ὄροφον, καὶ αὖ ὑπόγειοι εἶναι δίνην τε ἐμπεπτωκέναι σφίσιν, οἷα δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰξίονα λέγεται ξυμβαίνειν. οὐκ οὐν ἀξιῷ τὸν μεθύοντα, ἀλλὰ τὸν πεπωκότα μὲν τοῦ οἴνου, νήφοντα δὲ θεωρεῖν, ὥς καθευδήσῃ καὶ ὥς πολλῶ βέλτιον τοῦ αἰοίνου.”



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

## XXXVI

CAP.  
XXXVI

Καλέσας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸν Δάμιν, “πρὸς δεινὸν ἄνδρα,” ἔφη, “ὁ λόγος καὶ σφόδρα γεγυμνασμένον τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι.” “ὁρῶ,” ἔφη, “καὶ τοῦτ’ ἴσως ἦν τὸ μελαμπύγου τυχεῖν. κάμῃ δὲ πάννυ αἰρεῖ ὁ λόγος, ὃν εἴρηκεν. ὦρα οὖν σοι ἀφνίσαντι ἀποτελεῖν αὐτόν.” ἀνακουφίσας οὖν τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “καὶ μὴν ὅσον,” ἔφη, “πλεονεκτοῦμεν οἱ τὸ ὕδωρ πίνοντες πρὸς τὸ καθεύδειν ἥδιον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω τοῦ γε σοῦ λόγου ἐχόμενος· ὥς μὲν γὰρ τετάρακται ἡ γνώμη τοῖς μεθύουσι καὶ μανικώτερον διάκεινται, σαφῶς εἴρηκας, ὁρῶμεν γὰρ τοὺς μέθη κατεσχημένους διττὰς μὲν σελήνας δοκοῦντας βλέπειν, διττοὺς δὲ ἡλίους, τοὺς δὲ ἡττον πεπωκύτας, καὶ πάννυ νήφωσιν, οὐδὲν μὲν τούτων ἡγουμένους, μεστοὺς δὲ εὐφροσύνης καὶ ἡδονῆς, ἡ δὲ προσπίπτει σφίσιν οὐδὲ ἐξ εὐπραγίας πολλάκις, καὶ μελετῶσι δὲ οἱ τοιοῦτοι δίκας οὐδὲ φθεγξάμενοί πω ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, καὶ πλουτεῖν φασιν οὐδὲ δραχμῆς αὐτοῖς ἔνδον οὔσης. ταῦτα δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μανικὰ πάθη· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τὸ ἡδεσθαι διακινεῖ τὴν γνώμην καὶ πολλοὺς οἶδα τῶν σφόδρα ἡγουμένων εὖ πράττειν οὐδὲ καθεύδειν δυναμένους, ἀλλ’ ἐκπηδῶντας τοῦ ὕπνου, καὶ τοῦτ’ ἂν εἴη τὸ παρέχειν φροντίδας καὶ τὰγαθὰ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ

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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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All effects  
of drinking  
hostile to  
reason and  
sound  
divination

CAP.  
XXXVI

φάρμακα ὕπνου μεμηχανημένα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὧν  
 πίνοντες τε καὶ ἀλειψάμενοι καθεύδουσιν ἐκτεί-  
 ναντες αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ ἀποθανόντες, ὅθεν μετὰ τινος  
 λήθης ἀνίστανται καὶ ἄλλοσέ ποι μᾶλλον εἰσιν ἢ  
 οὐπὲρ εἶναι δοκοῦσιν. ὅτι μὲν δὴ τὰ πινόμενα,  
 μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ ἐπαντλουμένα τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ  
 σώματι οὐ γνήσιον οὐδὲ οἰκεῖον ἐπεσάγεται τὸν  
 ὕπνον, ἀλλ' ἢ βαθὺν καὶ ἡμιθνήτα ἢ βραχὺν καὶ  
 διασπώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐντρεχόντων, καὶ χρηστὰ  
 ἢ, ξυνθήσῃ τάχα, εἰ μὴ τὸ δύσερι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ  
 ἐριστικὸν σπουδάζεις. οἱ δὲ ἐμοὶ ξυμπόται τὰ  
 μὲν ὄντα ὁρῶσιν ὡς ὄντα, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ὄντα οὔτ'  
 ἀναγράφουσιν αὐτοῖς οὔθ' ὑποτυποῦνται, κοῦφοί τε  
 οὔπω ἔδοξαν, οὐδὲ μεστοὶ βλακείας οὐδὲ εὐθείας  
 ἢ ἰλαρώτεροι τοῦ προσήκοντος, ἀλλ' ἐφεστηκότες  
 εἰσὶ καὶ λογισμοῦ πλέω, παραπλήσιοι δείλης τε  
 καὶ ὁπότε ἀγορὰ πλήθει, οὐ γὰρ νυστάζουσιν  
 οὗτοι, καὶ πόρρω τῶν νυκτῶν σπουδάζωσιν. οὐ  
 γὰρ ἐξωθεῖ αὐτοὺς ὁ ὕπνος ὥσπερ δεσπότης βρίσας  
 ἐς τὸν αὐχένα δεδουλωμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, ἀλλ'  
 ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ ὀρθοὶ φαίνονται, καταδαρθέντες  
 δὲ καθαρᾷ τῇ ψυχῇ δέχονται τὸν ὕπνον οὔτε ὑπὸ  
 τῶν εὐπραγιῶν ἀνακουφίζόμενοι αὐτοῦ οὔτε ὑπὸ  
 κακοπραγίας τινὸς ἐκθρώσκοντες. ξύμμετρος γὰρ  
 πρὸς ἅμφω ταῦτα ψυχὴ νήφουσα καὶ οὐδετέρου  
 τῶν παθῶν ἥττων, ὅθεν καθεύδει ἡδιστα καὶ ἀλυ-  
 πότατα μὴ ἐξισταμένη τοῦ ὕπνου.



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

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## XXXVII

CAP.  
XXXVII

Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ μαντικὸν τὸ ἐκ τῶν ὀνειράτων, ὃ  
 θειότατον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων δοκεῖ, ῥᾶον διορᾷ μὴ  
 ξυντεθλωμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, ἀλλ' ἀκήρατος  
 δεχομένη αὐτὸ καὶ περιαθρούσα· οἱ γοῦν ἐξηγηταὶ  
 τῶν ὄψεων, οὓς ὀνειροπόλους οἱ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσιν,  
 οὐκ ἂν ὑποκρίνοιτο ὄψιν οὐδεμίαν μὴ πρότερον  
 ἐρόμενοι τὸν καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ εἶδεν. ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἐῷς  
 ἦ καὶ τοῦ περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ὕπνου, ξυμβάλλονται  
 αὐτὴν ὡς ὑγιῶς μαντευομένης τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐπειδὰν  
 ἀπορρύψῃται τὸν οἶνον, εἰ δ' ἀμφὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον  
 ἢ μέσας νύκτας, ὅτε βεβύθισταί τε καὶ ξυντε-  
 θόλωται ἔτι ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, παραιτοῦνται τὴν  
 ὑπόκρισιν σοφοὶ ὄντες. ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς δοκεῖ  
 ταῦτα καὶ τὸ χρησμῶδες ἐν ταῖς νηφούσαις  
 ψυχαῖς τίθενται, σαφῶς δηλώσω· ἐγένετο, ᾧ  
 βασιλεῦ, παρ' Ἑλλησιν Ἀμφιάρεως ἀνὴρ μάντις.  
 “οἶδα,” εἶπε, “λέγεις γάρ που τὸν τοῦ Οἰκλέους,  
 ὃν ἐκ Θηβῶν ἐπανιόντα ἐπεσπάσατο ἡ γῆ ζῶντα.”  
 “οὗτος, ᾧ βασιλεῦ,” ἔφη, “μαντευόμενος ἐν τῇ  
 Ἀττικῇ νῦν ὀνείρατα ἐπάγει τοῖς χρωμένοις, καὶ  
 λαβόντες οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸν χρησόμενον σίτου τε  
 εἵργουσι μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ οἶνου τρεῖς, ἵνα διαλαμ-  
 πούσῃ τῇ ψυχῇ τῶν λογίων σπάσῃ· εἰ δὲ ὁ οἶνος

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AND more than this, as a faculty of divination by means of dreams, which is the divinest and most god-like of human faculties, the soul detects the truth all the more easily when it is not muddled 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 muddled 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 transparency. But if wine were

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Dreams due  
to drink are  
valueless for  
purposes of  
divination

CAP.  
XXXVII

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

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CAP.  
XXXVIII

Ταῦτα διαλεχθέντες, καὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἤδη ἐτύγχανεν, ἐς τὸ ἔξω προῆλθον. καὶ ξυνεῖς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὡς χρηματίζειν δέοι τὸν βασιλέα πρεσβεΐαις τε καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, “ σὺ μὲν,” ἔφη, “ ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ πρᾶττε, ἐμὲ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἄνες τῷ Ἡλίῳ, δεῖ γάρ με τὴν εἰθισμένην εὐχὴν εὐξασθαι.” “ καὶ ἀκούοι γε εὐχομένου,” ἔφη, “ χαριεῖται γὰρ πᾶσιν, ὅπόσοι τῇ σοφίᾳ τῇ



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

a good drug of sleep, then the wise Amphiaraus CHAP. XXXVII 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."

### XXXVIII

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 CHAP. XXXVIII audience to embassies and such-like, said: "You Apollonius' cult of the Sun 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

## FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.  
XXXVIII

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

## XXXIX

CAP.  
XXXIX

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

CHAP.  
XXXVIII

### 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

CHAP.  
XXXIX  
The king  
consults  
him about  
a lawsuit

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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 necessities 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<sup>1</sup>; 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.

CHAP.  
XXXIX

<sup>1</sup> Or render: the gods of the underworld.

## XL

CAP.  
XL Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῆς δίκης ὧδε ἔσχε, προσελθὼν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ Ἰνδῷ, “τήμερον,” εἶπεν, “ἡ τρίτη τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐν αἷς ἐποιοῦ με, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ξένον, τῆς δ’ ἐπιούσης ἕω χρὴ ἐξελαύνειν ἐπόμενον τῷ νόμῳ.” “ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ὁ νόμος,” εἶπεν, “ἤδη διαλέγεται σοι, καὶ γὰρ τῇ αὔριον μένειν ἔξεστιν, ἐπειδὴ μετὰ μεσημβρίαν ἀφίκου.” “χαίρω,” ἔφη, “τῷ ξενίῳ, καὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖς καὶ σοφίζεσθαι τὸν νόμον δι’ ἐμέ.” “εἰ γὰρ καὶ λῦσαι αὐτὸν ἡδυνάμην,” εἶπε, “τό γε ὑπὲρ σοῦ. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνό μοι εἶπέ, Ἀπολλώνιε, αἱ κάμηλοι, ἐφ’ ὧν ὀχεῖσθαί σέ φασιν, οὐκ ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἄγουσιν ὑμᾶς;” “ἐκείθεν,” ἔφη, “δόντος γε αὐτὰς Οὐαρδάνου.” “ἔτ’ οὖν ὑμᾶς ἀπάγειν δυνήσονται, τοσαῦτα ἤδη στάδια ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἤκουσαι;” ἐσιώπησε μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὁ δὲ Δάμις, “οὐπω συνήσιν,” ἔφη, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς ἀποδημίας ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐν οἷς λοιπὸν ἐσμεν, ἀλλ’ ὥς πανταχοῦ σέ τε καὶ Οὐαρδάνην ἔξων παιδιὰν ἡγείται τὸ ἐς Ἰνδοὺς παρελθεῖν. τό τοι τῶν καμήλων οὐ διομολογεῖται πρὸς σέ, ὃν ἔχει τρόπον· διάκεινται γὰρ οὕτω κακῶς, ὥς αὐταὶ μᾶλλον ὑφ’ ἡμῶν φέρεσθαι, καὶ δεῖ ἐτέρων. ἂν γὰρ ὀκλάσωσιν ἐν ἐρήμῳ που τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, ἡμεῖς μέν,” ἔφη, “καθεδούμεθα τοὺς γυῖπας τε καὶ τοὺς λύκους ἀποσοβῶντες τῶν καμήλων, ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀποσοβήσει, προσαπολούμεθα

## XL

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

CHAP  
XL  
The king  
gives the  
travellers  
fresh camels

CAP. γάρ.” ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ βασιλεύς, “ἐγώ,” ἔφη,  
 XI. “τοῦτο ἰάσομαι, ὑμῖν τε γὰρ ἐτέρας δώσω—  
 τεττάρων, οἶμαι, δεῖσθε—καὶ ὁ σατράπης δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ πέμψει εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἐτέρας τέτταρας.  
 ἔστι·δέ μοι ἀγέλη καμήλων ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰνδῷ, λευκαὶ  
 πᾶσαι.” “ἡγεμόνα δέ,” εἶπεν ὁ Δάμις, “οὐκ ἄν,  
 ὦ βασιλεῦ, δοίης;” “καὶ κάμήλόν γε,” ἔφη, “τῷ  
 ἡγεμόνι δώσω καὶ ἐφόδια, ἐπιστελῶ δὲ καὶ Ἰάρχα  
 τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν σοφῶν, ἵν’ Ἀπολλώνιον μὲν  
 ὥς μηδὲν κακίῳ ἑαυτοῦ δέξηται, ὑμᾶς δὲ ὥς  
 φιλοσόφους τε καὶ ὁπαδοὺς ἀνδρὸς θείου.” καὶ  
 χρυσίον δὲ ἐδίδου ὁ Ἰνδὸς καὶ ψήφους καὶ ὀθόνας  
 καὶ μυρία τοιαῦτα· ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος χρυσίον  
 μὲν ἔφη ἱκανὸν ἑαυτῷ εἶναι δόντος γε Οὐαρ-  
 δάνου τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἀφανῶς αὐτό, τὰς δὲ ὀθόνας  
 λαμβάνειν, ἐπειδὴ εἰκόασι τρίβωνι τῶν ἀρχαίων  
 τε καὶ πάνυ Ἀττικῶν. μίαν δέ τινα τῶν ψήφων  
 ἀνελόμενος, “ὦ βελτίστη,” εἶπεν, “ὥς ἐς καιρὸν σε  
 καὶ οὐκ ἄθεε· εὖρηκα,” ἰσχύν, οἶμαί, τινα ἐν αὐτῇ  
 καθεωρακῶς ἀπόρρητόν τε καὶ θείαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ  
 τὸν Δάμιν χρυσίον μὲν οὐδ’ αὐτοὶ προσίεντο, τῶν  
 ψήφων δὲ ἱκανῶς ἐδράττοντο, ὥς θεοῖς ἀναθή-  
 σοντες, ὅτε ἐπανεέλθοιεν εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἥθη.

XLI

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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.

CHAP.  
XLI

And a letter  
to Iarchas

His gift  
of gems

### XLI

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

CHAP.  
XLI

CAP. XLI “Βασιλεὺς Φραώτης Ἰάρχα διδασκάλῳ καὶ τοῖς  
περὶ αὐτὸν χαίρειν.

Ἀπολλώνιος ἀνὴρ σοφώτατος σοφωτέρους ὑμᾶς  
ἑαυτοῦ ἡγείται καὶ μαθησόμενος ἤκει τὰ ὑμέτερα.  
πέμπετε οὖν αὐτὸν εἰδότα ὅποσα ἴστε· ὥς  
ἀπολείται οὐδὲν τῶν μαθημάτων ὑμῖν, καὶ γὰρ  
λέγει ἄριστα ἀνθρώπων καὶ μέμνηται. ἰδέτω δὲ  
καὶ τὸν θρόνον, ἐφ’ οὗ καθίσαντί μοι τὴν βασιλείαν  
ἔδωκας, Ἰάρχα πάτερ. καὶ οἱ ἐπόμενοι δὲ αὐ  
ἄξιοι ἐπαίνου, ὅτι τοιοῦδε ἀνδρὸς ἥττην  
εὐτύχει καὶ εὐτυχεῖτε.”

## XLII

CAP. XLII Ἐξελάσαντες δὲ τῶν Ταξίλων καὶ δύο ἡμερῶν  
ὁδὸν διελθόντες ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὸ πεδίον, ἐν ᾧ λέγε-  
ται πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀγωνίσασθαι Πῶρος, καὶ  
πύλας ἐν αὐτῷ ἰδεῖν φασι ξυγκλειούσας οὐδέν,  
ἀλλὰ τροπαίων ἕνεκα ὠκοδομημένας. ἀνακεῖσθαι  
γὰρ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐφεστηκότα  
τετραρρύμοις ἄρμασιν, οἷος ἐπὶ τοῖς Δαρείου  
σατράπαις ἐν Ἰσσοῖς ἔστηκε. διαλείπουσαι δ’ οὐ  
πολὺ ἀλλήλων δύο ἐξωκοδομῆσθαι λέγονται πύλαι,  
καὶ φέρειν ἢ μὲν Πῶρον, ἢ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον,  
ξυμβεβηκότε, οἶμαι, μετὰ τὴν μάχην, ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
ἰσπαζομένῳ ἔοικεν, ὁ δὲ προσκυνοῦντι.

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK II

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

CHAP.  
XLI

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.”

Letter of  
King  
Phraotes  
to Iarchas  
recom-  
mending  
Apollonius

### 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,<sup>1</sup> 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.

CHAP.  
XLII

They leave  
Taxila. The  
triumphal  
arch of  
Alexander

<sup>1</sup> i.e. with eight horses.

## XLIII

CAP.  
XLIII

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



XLIII

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."

CHAP.  
XLIII  
Altars of  
Alexander  
on the river  
Hyphas

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



## 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 unnavigable. And in breadth it approaches to the river Ister, and this is allowed to be the greatest of all the rivers which flow through Europe. Now the woods along the bank closely resemble those of the river in question, and a balm also is distilled from the trees, out of which the Indians make a nuptial ointment; and unless the 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

CHAP.  
I

The river  
Hyphasis

A nuptial  
ointment

CAP. I. στικταὶ δὲ αἱ φολίδες, χρυσᾶ δὲ τὰ οὐραῖα καί, ὅποτε βούλονται, ἀνακλώμενα. ἔστι δέ τι θηρίου ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τούτῳ σκώληκι εἰκασμένον λευκῷ. τοῦτο οἱ τήκοντες ἔλαιον ποιοῦνται, πῦρ δὲ ἄρα τοῦ ἐλαίου τούτου ἐκδίδεται, καὶ στέγει αὐτὸ πλὴν ὑέλου οὐδέν. ἀλίσκεται δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ μόνῳ τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο πρὸς τειχῶν ἄλωσιν. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ θίγη τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἢ πιμελή, πῦρ ἐκκαλεῖται κρεῖττον σβεστηρίων, ὅποσα ἀνθρώποις πρὸς τὰ πυρφόρα εὔρηται.

II

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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

There is also a creature in this river which The fiery worm  
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 CHAP. II  
captured in these marshes, and these creatures have The unicorn  
a horn upon the forehead, with which they butt like ass, and the  
a bull and make a noble fight of it; the Indians magic cup  
make this horn into a cup, for they declare that no made from  
one can ever fall sick on the day on which he has his horn  
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

## FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

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

### III

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

### IV

CAP.  
IV. Ἐντεῦθεν φασιν ὑπερβαλεῖν τοῦ Καυκάσου τὸ κατατεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν, εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸ ξυνηρεφὲς ἴδαις ἀρωμάτων. τοὺς μὲν δὴ πρῶνας τοῦ ὄρους τὸ κιννάμωμον φέρειν, προσεικέναι δὲ αὐτὸ νέοις κλήμασι, βάσανον δὲ τοῦ ἀρώματος τὴν αἶγα εἶναι· κινναμώμου γὰρ εἴ τις αἰγὶ ὀρέξειε, κνυζήσεται πρὸς τὴν χεῖρα, καθάπερ κύων, ἀπιόντι τε ὁμαρτήσῃ τὴν ῥίνα ἐς αὐτὸ ἐρείσασα, καὶ ὁ αἰπόλος ἀπάγῃ, θρηνήσῃ καθάπερ λωτοῦ ἀποσπωμένη. ἐν δὲ τοῖς κρημνοῖς τοῦ



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

draught potent against disease and so wholesome, CHAP. II  
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 CHAP. III  
a woman who was black from her head to her bosom,  
but was altogether white from her bosom down to A piebald woman  
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 CHAP. IV  
part of the Caucasus which stretches down to the  
Red Sea; and this range is thickly overgrown with The cinnamon of the Caucasus  
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. IV. ὄρους λίβανοί τε ὑψηλοὶ πεφύκασι καὶ πολλὰ εἶδη ἕτερα, καὶ τὰ δένδρα αἱ πεπέριδες, ὧν γεωργοὶ πίθηκοι, καὶ οὐδὲ ᾧ εἴκασται τοῦτο, παρεῖταί σφισιν, ὃν δὲ εἴρηται τρόπον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω· τὸ δένδρον ἢ πέπερις εἴκασται μὲν τῷ παρ' Ἑλλησιν ἄγνω τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸν κόρυμβον τοῦ καρποῦ, φύεται δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀποτόμοις οὐκ ἐφικτὸς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὗ λέγεται πιθήκων οἰκεῖν δῆμος ἐν μυχοῖς τοῦ ὄρους καὶ ὃ τι αὐτοῦ κοῖλον, οὓς πολλοὺ ἀξίους οἱ Ἰνδοὶ νομίζοντες, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πέπερι ἀποτρυνγῶσι, τοὺς λέοντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐρύκουσι κυσί τε καὶ ὄπλοις. ἐπιτίθεται δὲ πιθήκῳ λέων νοσῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ φαρμάκου, τὴν γὰρ νόσον αὐτῷ τὰ κρέα ἴσχει ταῦτα, γεγηρακῶς δὲ ὑπὲρ σίτου, τῆς γὰρ τῶν ἐλάφων καὶ συῶν θήρας ἔξωροι γεγονότες τοὺς πιθήκους λαφύσσουσιν ἐς τοῦτο χρώμενοι τῇ λοιπῇ ῥώμῃ. οὐ μὴν οἱ ἄνθρωποι περιορῶσιν, ἀλλ' εὐεργέτας ἡγούμενοι τὰ θηρία ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς λέοντας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν αἰχμὴν αἶρουνται. τὰ γὰρ πραττόμενα περὶ τὰς πεπέριδας ὧδε ἔχει· προσελθόντες οἱ Ἰνδοὶ τοῖς κάτω δένδρεσι, τὸν καρπὸν ἀποθερίσαντες, ἄλλως ποιοῦνται μικρὰς περὶ τὰ δένδρα, καὶ τὸ πέπερι περὶ αὐτὰς ξυμφοροῦσιν οἶον ῥίπτοῦντες, ὥς ἄτιμόν τι καὶ μὴ ἐν σπουδῇ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οἱ δὲ ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἁβάτων ἀφεωρακότες ταῦτα, νυκτὸς γενομένης ὑποκρίνονται τὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς βοστρύχους τῶν δένδρων περισπῶντες ῥίπτοῦσι

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

CHAP.  
IV

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

The pepper  
tree

Its fruit  
procured  
for men by  
the apes

CAP.  
IV. φέροντες ἐς τὰς ἄλως, οἱ Ἰνδοὶ δὲ ἅμα ἡμέρα σωρ-  
οὺς ἀναιροῦνται τοῦ ἀρώματος οὐδὲ πονήσαντες  
οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ ῥάθυμοί τε καὶ καθεύδοντες.

## V

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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

### V

AFTER crossing the top of the mountain, they say CHAP.  
they saw a smooth plain seamed with cuts and V  
ditches full of water, some of which were carried The  
crosswise, whilst others were straight; these are irrigated  
derived from the river Ganges, and serve both for plain of  
boundaries, and also are distributed over the plain, the Ganges  
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.

## VI

CAP. VI Καταβαίνοντες δὲ τὸ ὄρος δρακόντων θήρα περιτυχεῖν φασι, περὶ ἧς ἀνάγκη λέξαι· καὶ γὰρ σφόδρα εὖηθες ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ λαγῶ καὶ ὅπως ἀλίσκεται καὶ ἀλώσεται, πολλὰ εἰρήσθαι τοῖς ἐς φροντίδα βαλλομένοις ταῦτα, ἡμᾶς δὲ παρελθεῖν λόγον γενναίας τε καὶ δαιμονίου θήρας μηδὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ παραλειφθέντα, ἐς ὃν ταῦτα ἔγραψα· δρακόντων μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἀπείροις μήκεσι κατέζωσται πᾶσα ἡ Ἰνδικὴ χώρα καὶ μεστὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔλη, μεστὰ δὲ ὄρη, κενὸς δὲ οὐδεὶς λόφος. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἔλειοι νωθροὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ τριακοντάπηχυ μῆκος ἔχουσι, καὶ κράνος αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀνέστηκεν, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ ταῖς δρακαίναις ὅμοιοι, μέλανες δὲ ἱκανῶς τὸν νῶτον καὶ ἥττον φολιδωτοὶ τῶν ἄλλων. καὶ σοφώτερον ἥπται τοῦ λόγου περὶ αὐτῶν Ὀμηρος ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ ποιηταί, τὸν γὰρ δράκοντα τὸν ἐν Αὐλίδι τὸν πρὸς τῇ πηγῇ οἰκοῦντα περὶ νῶτα δαφοινὸν εἵρηκεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ποιηταὶ τὸν ὁμοήθη τούτῳ τὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς Νεμέας ἄλσει φασὶ καὶ λοφίαν ἔχειν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν περὶ τοὺς ἐλείους εὔροιμεν.

## VII

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

### 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.

CHAP.  
VI

The several  
sorts of  
dragon in  
India

*Iliad* II. 308

### 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

CHAP.  
VII

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

VIII

CAP. VIII. Οἱ δὲ ὄρειοι δράκοντες τὴν μὲν φολίδα χρυσοῖ φαίνονται, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεδινούς, γένεια δὲ αὐτοῖς βοστρυχώδη, χρυσᾷ κάκεινα, καὶ κατωφρύωνται μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ πεδινοί, ὅμμα τε ὑποκάθῃται τῇ ὀφρύϊ δεινὸν καὶ ἀναιδὲς δεδορκός, ὑπόχαλκόν τε ἡχῶ φέρουσιν, ἐπειδὰν τῇ γῇ ὑποκυμῶσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν λόφων πυρσῶν ὄντων πῦρ αὐτοῖς ἄττει λαμπαδίου πλέον. οὗτοι καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας αἰροῦσιν, 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.

CHAP.  
VIITheir eyes  
contain  
mystic  
gems

## VIII

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

CHAP  
VIII  
Method of  
catching  
dragons  
by means  
of spells

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

IX

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

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## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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.

CHAP  
VIII

### 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

CHAP  
IX  
The city  
Parax

CAP.  
IX

λέγονται δὲ καὶ ζῶων ξυνιέναι φθεγγομένων τε καὶ  
 βουλευομένων, σιτούμενοι δράκοντος οἱ μὲν καρδίαν,  
 οἱ δὲ ἥπαρ. προϊόντες δὲ αὐλοῦ μὲν ἀκοῦσαι δόξαι  
 νομέως δὴ τινος ἀγέλην τάττοντος, ἐλάφους δὲ ἄρα  
 βουκολεῖσθαι λευκάς, ἀμέλγουσι δὲ Ἴνδοι ταύτας  
 εὐτραφὲς ἡγούμενοι τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῶν γάλα.

## X

CAP.  
X

Ἐντεῦθεν ἡμερῶν τεττάρων ὁδὸν πορευόμενοι δι'  
 εὐδαίμονος καὶ ἐνεργοῦ τῆς χώρας προσελθεῖν  
 φασι τῇ τῶν σοφῶν τύρσει. τὸν δὲ ἡγεμόνα  
 κελεύσαντα συνοκλάσαι τὴν κάμηλον ἀποπηδήσαι  
 αὐτῆς περιδεᾶ καὶ ἰδρῶτος πλέων. τὸν δὲ Ἀπολ-  
 λώνιον ξυνεῖναι μὲν οὐ ἤκοι, γελάσαντα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ  
 τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δέει, “δοκεῖ μοι,” φάναι, “οὗτος, εἰ καὶ  
 κατέπλευσεν ἐς λιμένα μακρόν τι ἀναμετρήσας  
 πέλαγος, ἀχθεσθῆναι ἂν τῇ γῇ καὶ δεῖσαι τὸ ἐν  
 ὄρμῳ εἶναι.” καὶ ἅμα εἰπὼν ταῦτα προσέταξε τῇ  
 καμήλῳ συνιζῆσαι, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐθάς λοιπὸν ἦν  
 τῶν τοιούτων, περίφοβον δὲ ἄρα ἐποίει τὸν ἡγεμόνα  
 τὸ πλησίον τῶν σοφῶν ἥκειν, Ἴνδοι γὰρ δεδίασι  
 τούτους μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν σφῶν αὐτῶν βασιλέα, ὅτι  
 καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτός, ὑφ' ᾧ ἐστὶν ἡ χώρα, περὶ  
 πάντων, ἃ λεκτέα τε αὐτῷ καὶ πρακτέα, ἐρωτᾷ  
 τούσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐς θεοῦ πέμποντες,  
 οἱ δὲ σημαίνουσι μὲν, ὅ τι λῶον αὐτῷ πράττειν, ὅ  
 τι δὲ μὴ λῶον, ἀπαγορεύουσιν τε καὶ ἀπο-  
 σημαίνουσι.



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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

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

### X

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. CHAP.  
X  
Castle of  
the sages.  
Terror of  
the guide

## XI

CAP.  
XI

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

## XII

CAP.  
XII

Προσδραμόντα δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ φωνῇ Ἑλλάδι προσειπεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐπω θαυμαστὸν δόξαι διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ πάντας ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνων φθέγγεσθαι, τὸ δὲ “ὁ δεῖνα χαίρε” τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παρασχεῖν ἑκπληξιν, τῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ θάρσος ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀφικτο, βλέψας γὰρ ἐς τὸν Δάμιν, “παρὰ ἄνδρας,” ἔφη, “σοφοὺς ἀτεχνῶς ἤκομεν, εἰόκασι γὰρ προγιγνώσκειν.” καὶ ἅμα ἤρετο τὸν Ἰνδόν, ὅ τι χρὴ πρᾶττειν, ποθὼν ἤδη τὴν ξυνουσίαν, ὃ δὲ Ἰνδός,

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

### 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.

CHAP.  
XI  
The  
messenger  
of the sages  
described

### 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 :

CHAP.  
XII

CAP. XII. “ τούτους μέν,” ἔφη, “ καταλύειν χρὴ ἐνταῦθα, σὲ δὲ ἡκεῖν ὡς ἔχεις, κελεύουσι γὰρ αὐτοί.”

XIII

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

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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

CHAP.  
XII

### XIII

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

CHAP  
XIII

Now the hill the summit of which is inhabited by the sages is, according to the account of our travellers, of about the same height as the Acropolis of Athens; and it rises straight up from the plain, though its natural position equally secures it from attack, for the rock surrounds it on all sides. On many parts of this rock you see traces of cloven feet and outlines of beards and of faces, and here and there impressions of backs as of persons who had 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.

Situation  
of the  
castle

## XIV

CAP.  
XIV

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

## XIV

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

CHAP.  
XIVThe well  
of testingThe jars of  
wind and  
rain

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

XV

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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.

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

### XV

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

CHAP.  
XV  
Levitation  
of the  
Sages

CAP. XV. τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλ' ὅποσα τῷ Ἡλίῳ ξυναπο-  
βαίνοντες τῆς γῆς δρῶσιν, ὡς πρόσφορα τῷ θεῷ  
πράττοντας. τό τοι πῦρ, ὃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκτίνος  
ἐπισπῶνται, καίτοι σωματοειδὲς ὄν, οὔτε ἐπὶ βωμοῦ  
καίειν αὐτοὺς οὔτε ἐν ἵπνοῖς φυλάττειν, ἀλλ'  
ὥσπερ τὰς αὐγὰς, αἱ ἐξ ἡλίου τε ἀνακλῶνται καὶ  
ὔδατος, οὔτω μετέωρόν τε ὀρᾶσθαι αὐτὸ καὶ  
σαλεῦον ἐν τῷ αἰθέρι. τὸν μὲν οὖν δὴ Ἥλιον ὑπὲρ  
τῶν ὠρῶν, ἃς ἐπιτροπεύει αὐτός, ἔν' ἐς καιρὸν τῇ  
γῇ ἴωσι καὶ ἡ Ἰνδικὴ εὖ πράττη, νύκτωρ δὲ  
λιπαροῦσι τὴν ἀκτῖνα μὴ ἄχθεσθαι τῇ νυκτί,  
μένειν δέ, ὡς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἤχθη. τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ  
τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὸ “ἐν τῇ γῇ τε εἶναι τοὺς  
Βραχμᾶνας καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ γῇ.” τὸ δὲ “ἀτειχίστως  
τετειχισμένους” δηλοῖ τὸν ἀέρα, ὑφ' ᾧ ζῶσιν,  
ὑπαίθριοι γὰρ δοκοῦντες αὐλίζεσθαι σκιάν τε  
ὑπεραίρουσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὕντος οὐ ψεκάζονται, καὶ  
ὑπὸ τῷ ἡλίῳ εἰσίν, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοὶ βούλονται. τὸ  
δὲ “μηδὲν κεκτημένους τὰ πάντων ἔχειν” ὧδε ὁ  
Δάμις ἐξηγεῖται. πηγαί, ὅποσαι τοῖς βάκχοις  
παρὰ τῆς γῆς ἀναθρώσκουσιν, ἐπειδὰν ὁ Διόνυσος  
αὐτούς τε καὶ τὴν γῆν σείσῃ, φοιτῶσι καὶ τοῖς  
Ἰνδοῖς τούτοις ἐστιωμένοις τε καὶ ἐστιῶσιν·  
εἰκότως οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοὺς μηδὲν μὲν ἐκ  
παρασκευῆς, αὐτοσχεδίως δέ, ἃ βούλονται, ποριζο-  
μένους, ἔχειν, φησίν, ἃ μὴ ἔχουσιν. κομᾶν δὲ

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

regard any rites they perform, in thus quitting earth CHAP. XV  
 and walking with the Sun, as acts of homage acceptable to the God. Moreover, they neither burn Their extract of sunlight  
 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 Bacchanials see Their water-springs,  
 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 and costume  
 on principle they grow their hair long, as the

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

## XVI

CAP. <sup>XVI</sup> Προσιόντα δὲ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σοφοὶ προσήγοντο, ἀσπαζόμενοι ταῖς χερσίν, ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας ἐκάθητο μὲν ἐπὶ δίφρου ὑψηλοῦ—χαλκοῦ δὲ μέλανος ἦν καὶ πεποίκιλτο χρυσοῖς ἀγάλμασιν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δίφροι χαλκοὶ μὲν, ἄσημοι δὲ ἦσαν, ὑψηλοὶ δὲ ἦττον, ὑπεκάθηντο γὰρ τῷ Ἰάρχῃ—τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον ἰδὼν φωνῇ τε ἠσπάσατο Ἑλλάδι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ γράμματα ἀπῆτει. θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὴν πρόγνωσιν καὶ γράμμα γε ἐν ἔφῃ λείπειν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, δέλτα εἰπὼν, παρῆλθε γὰρ αὐτὸν γράφοντα· καὶ ἐφάνη



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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*.<sup>1</sup> But the material of which they make their raiment is a wool that springs wild from the ground, white like that of the Pamphylians, though it is of softer growth, and a grease like olive oil distils from off it. This is what they make their sacred vesture of, and if anyone else except these Indians tries to pluck it up, the earth refuses to surrender its wool. And they all carry both a ring and a staff of which the peculiar virtues can effect all things, and the one and the other, so we learn, are prized as secrets.

CHAP.  
XV

### XVI

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

CHAP.  
XVI  
Apollonius'  
first  
audience

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

CAP. XVI. τοῦτο ὧδε ἔχον. ἀναγνοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολήν,  
 “ πῶς,” ἔφη, “ ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, περὶ ἡμῶν φρονεῖτε; ”  
 “ πῶς,” εἶπεν, “ ἡ ὥς δηλοῖ τὸ ὑμῶν ἕνεκα ἦκειν με  
 ὁδόν, ἣν μήπω τις τῶν ὅθεν περ ἐγὼ ἀνθρώπων ; ”  
 “ τί δὲ ἡμᾶς πλέον οἶει σαυτοῦ γιγνώσκειν ; ”  
 “ ἐγὼ μέν,” εἶπε, “ σοφώτερα τέ ἡγοῦμαι τὰ ὑμέ-  
 τερα καὶ πολλῶ θεϊότερα. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν πλέον ὦν  
 οἶδα παρ’ ὑμῖν εὔροιμι, μεμαθηκὼς ἂν εἶην καὶ τὸ  
 μηκέτ’ ἔχειν ὃ τι μάθοιμι.” ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ  
 Ἰνδός, “ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι,” ἔφη, “ τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους  
 ἐρωτῶσι, ποταποί τε ἤκουσι καὶ ἐφ’ ὃ τι, ἡμῖν  
 δὲ σοφίας ἐπιδείξιν πρώτην ἔχει τὸ μὴ ἀγνοῆσαι  
 τὸν ἥκοντα. ἔλεγχε δὲ πρῶτον τοῦτο.” καὶ  
 εἰπὼν ταῦτα πατρόθεν τε διήει τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον  
 καὶ μητρόθεν, καὶ τὰ ἐν Αἰγαῖς πάντα, καὶ ὡς  
 προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ ὁ Δάμις, καί, εἰ δὴ τι ἐσπούδασαν  
 ὁδοιποροῦντες ἢ σπουδάζοντος ἐτέρου εἶδον, πάντα  
 ταῦθ’ ὥσπερ κοινωνήσας αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀποδημίας ὁ  
 Ἰνδὸς ἀπνευστί τε καὶ σαφῶς εἶπεν. ἐκπλαγέντος  
 δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ ὁπόθεν εἰδείη, ἐπερομένου,  
 “ καὶ σὺ μέτοχος,” ἔφη, “ τῆς σοφίας ταύτης ἦκεις,  
 ἀλλ’ οὐπω πάσης.” “ διδάξῃ οὖν με,” ἔφη, “ τὴν  
 σοφίαν πᾶσαν; ” “ καὶ ἀφθόνως γέ,” εἶπε, “ τουτὶ  
 γὰρ σοφώτερον τοῦ βασκαίνειν τε καὶ κρύπτειν τὰ  
 σπουδῆς ἄξια, καὶ ἄλλως, Ἀπολλώνιε, μεστόν σε

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

to be the case. Then having read the epistle, he said: "What do you think of us, O Apollonius?" CHAP  
XVI

"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

Prescience  
of the  
Brahmans

CAP. XVI ὁρῶ τῆς μνημοσύνης, ἣν ἡμεῖς μάλιστα θεῶν ἀγαπῶμεν.” “ἡ γὰρ καθεώρακας,” εἶπεν, “ὅπως πέφυκα;” “ἡμεῖς,” ἔφη, “ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, πάντα ὁρῶμεν τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς εἶδη, ξυμβόλοις αὐτὰ μυρίοις ἐξιχνεύοντες. ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ μεσημβρία πλησίον καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τοῖς θεοῖς χρή παρασκευάσαι, νῦν μὲν ταῦτ’ ἐκπονῶμεν, μετὰ ταῦτα δέ, ὅποσα βούλει, διαλεγώμεθα, παρατύγχανε δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς δρωμένοις.” “νὴ Δί’,” εἶπεν, “ἀδικοίην ἂν τὸν Καύκασον καὶ τὸν Ἰνδόν, οὓς ὑπερβάς δι’ ὑμᾶς ἦκω, εἰ μὴ πάντων ἐμφοροίμην ὦν δρώητε.” “Ἐμφοροῦ,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἴωμεν.”

## XVII

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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."

CHAP.  
XVI

### XVII

ACCORDINGLY they betook themselves to a spring of water, which Damis, who saw it subsequently, says resembles that of Dirce in Boeotia ; and first they stripped, and then they anointed their heads with an amber-like drug, which imparted such a warmth to these Indians, that their bodies steamed and the sweat ran off them as profusely as if they were washing themselves 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

CHAP.  
XVII  
The Sages  
bathe

Their  
worship  
and  
levitation

CAP.  
XVII ἄνεμψεν αὐτοὺς ἐς δίπηχυν τοῦ ἀέρος. οἱ δὲ ἦδον ὦδὴν, ὁποῖος ὁ παιὰν ὁ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους, ὃν Ἀθήνησι τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ᾄδουσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν κατήσαν, καλέσας ὁ Ἰάρχας τὸ μειράκιον τὸ τὴν ἄγκυραν φέρον, “ἐπιμελήθητι,” ἔφη, “τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου ἐταίρων.” ὁ δὲ πολλῶ θάπτον ἢ οἱ ταχεῖς τῶν ὀρνίθων πορευθεῖς τε καὶ ἐπανελθὼν, “ἐπιμεμέλημαί” ἔφη. θεραπεύσαντες οὖν τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀνεπαύοντο ἐν τοῖς θάκοις, ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας πρὸς τὸ μειράκιον, “ἔκφερε,” εἶπε, “τῷ σοφῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τὸν Φραῶτου θρόνον, ἵν’ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ διαλέγοιτο.”

## XVIII

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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

CHAP.  
XVII

### XVIII

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,

CHAP.  
XVIII

The Sages  
discuss self-  
knowledge

CAP.  
XVIII ἡγοῖντο, ὁ δέ, “θεοὺς,” εἶπεν, ἐπερομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ, διὰ τί, “ὅτι,” ἔφη, “ἀγαθοὶ ἐσμεν ἄνθρωποι.” τοῦτο τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τοσαύτης ἔδοξεν εὐπαιδευσίας εἶναι μεστόν, ὥς εἰπεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λόγοις.

XIX

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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

CHAP.  
XVIII

### XIX

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

CHAP.  
XIX

The trans-  
migration  
of souls

CAP.  
XIX

ἔργα τε αὐτοῦ μεγάλα οἶδε. καὶ μεγάλων ἀξιοῖ  
τοὺς Αἴαντάς τε καὶ Νιρέας, οἳ μετ' ἐκκῖνον καλοῖ  
τε αὐτῷ καὶ γενναῖοι ἄδονται.” “πρὸς τοῦτον,”  
ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ τὸν πρόγονον θεῶρει τὸν  
ἐμόν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ πρόγονον σῶμα, τουτὶ γὰρ καὶ  
Πυθαγόρας Εὐφορβὸν ἡγεῖτο.

## XX

CAP.  
XX

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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.

CHAP.  
XIX

### 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

CHAP.  
XX  
Tale of the  
expulsion  
of the  
Ethiopians  
from India

CAP.  
XX

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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.

CHAP.  
XX  
King  
Ganges

## XXI

CAP.  
XXI

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

## XXII

CAP.  
XXII

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

## 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.

CHAP.  
XXIGanges  
reincar-  
nated in  
Phraotes

## 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

CHAP.  
XXIIA reincar-  
nation of  
Palamedes

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

XXIII

CAP. XXIII Τοιαῦτα διαλεγόμενων προσελθὼν τῷ Ἰάρχα ἄγγελος, "ὁ βασιλεύς," ἔφη, "περὶ δειλὴν πρῶτην ἀφίξεται, ξυνεσόμενος ὑμῖν περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων." ὁ δέ, "ἡκέτω," εἶπε, "καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ βελτίων ἀπέλθοι γνούς ἄνδρα Ἑλληνα." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα πάλιν τοῦ προτέρου λόγου εἶχετο. ἤρετο οὖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, "σὺ δ' ἂν εἴποις," ἔφη, "τὸ πρῶτον σῶμα καὶ ὅστις πρὸ τοῦ νῦν ἦσθα;" ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, "ἐπειδὴ ἄδοξον ἦν μοι ἐκείνο, ὀλίγα αὐτοῦ μέμνημαι." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἰάρχας,



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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

CHAP.  
XXII

### XXIII

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

CHAP.  
XXIII

Apollonius  
relates his  
former life

CAP.  
XXIII “εἶτα ἄδοξον,” ἔφη, “ἡγῇ τὸ γενέσθαι κυβερνήτης Αἰγυπτίας νεώς; τουτὶ γάρ σε ὀρώ γεγονότα.”  
“ἀληθὴ μὲν,” εἶπεν, “λέγεις, ὦ Ἰάρχα, τουτὶ γὰρ ἀτεχνῶς ἐγενόμην, ἡγοῦμαι δ’ αὐτὸ οὐκ ἄδοξον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταβεβλημένον, καὶ τοσούτου μὲν ἄξιον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅσου περ τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ τὸ στρατοῦ ἡγεῖσθαι, κακῶς δὲ ἀκούον ὑπὸ τῶν καθαπτομένων τῆς θαλάττης. τὸ γοῦν γενναϊότατον τῶν ἐμοὶ πραχθέντων οὐδὲ ἐπαίνου τις ἠξίωσε τότε.” “τί δὲ δὴ γενναῖον εἰργάσθαι φήσεις ἢ τὸ περιβεβληκέναι Μαλέαν τε καὶ Σούνιον χαλινώσας ἐκφερομένην τὴν ναῦν, καὶ τὸ κατὰ πρύμναν τε καὶ πρῶραν τῶν ἀνέμων, ὁπόθεν ἐκδοθήσονται, σαφῶς διεγνωκέναι, ἐρμάτων τε ὑπερᾶραι τὸ σκάφος ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ κοίλῃ, οὐπερ πολλὰ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων ἀναπέπηγεν;”

XXIV

CAP.  
XXIV ‘Ο δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος “ἐπεὶ με,” εἶπεν, “ἐς κυβερνητικὸν ἐμβιβάξεις λόγον, ἄκουε, ὃ δοκῶ μοι τότε ὑγιῶς πρᾶξαι· τὴν θάλατταν ποτε τῶν Φοινίκων λησται ὑπεκάθηντο, καὶ ἐφοίτων περὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀναμανθάνοντες τίς τί ἄγοι. κατιδόντες οὖν ἐμπορίαν λαμπρὰν τῆς νεώς, οἱ τῶν ληστών πρόξενοι διελέγοντό μοι ἀπολαβόντες με, πόσον τι μεθέξοιμι τοῦ ναύλου, ἐγὼ δὲ χιλίων ἔφην, ἐπειδὴ τέτταρες  
278

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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 Eubœa, where any number of spits stick up in the sea?"

CHAP.  
XXIII

### XXIV

BUT Apollonius replied: "Since you tempt me to talk about pilotage, I would have you hear what I consider to have been my soundest exploit at that time. The Phœnician 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

CHAP  
XXIV

The tale  
of the  
Phœnician  
pirates

CAP.  
XXIV

ἐκυβέρνων τὴν ναῦν. ‘οἰκία δέ,’ ἔφασαν ‘ἔστι σοι;’ ‘καλύβη πονηρά,’ ἔφην, ‘περὶ τὴν νῆσον τὴν Φάρον, οὐ πάλαι ποτὲ ὁ Πρωτεύς ᾤκει.’ ‘βούλοιο ἂν οὖν,’ ἤρουντό με, ‘γενέσθαι σοι γῆν μὲν ἀντὶ θαλάττης, οἰκίαν δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς καλύβης, τὸ δὲ ναῦλον δεκάκις τοῦτο, κακῶν τε ἐξελθεῖν μυρίων, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνοιδούσης ἐγχρίπτει τοῖς κυβερνώσιν;’ βούλεσθαι μὲν εἶπον, οὐ μὴν ἀρπαγῶν γε ἑμαυτὸν ἀξιοῦν, ὁπότε σοφώτερος ἑμαυτοῦ γέγονα καὶ στεφάνων ἡξίωμα παρὰ τῆς τέχνης. προϊόντων δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ βαλάντιά μοι δραχμῶν μυρίων δώσειν φασκόντων, εἰ γενοίμην αὐτοῖς, ὃ ἐβούλοντο, λέγειν ἤδη παρεκελευσάμην ὥς μηδὲν ἐλλείψων τοῦ πᾶς ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι σφίσι· λέγουσι δὴ μελεδωνοὶ μὲν εἶναι ληστῶν, δεῖσθαι δέ μου μὴ ἀφελέσθαι αὐτοὺς τὸ τὴν ναῦν ἐλεῖν, μηδὲ ἐς ἄστν ἐκπλεῦσαι, ὁπότε ἐκείθεν ἄραιμι, ἄλλ’ ὑφορμίσασθαι τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ, τὰς ναῦς γὰρ τὰς ληστρικὰς ἐν περιβολῇ ἐστάναι, καὶ ὁμνύναι μοι ἐβούλοντο μὴτ’ αὐτόν με ἀποκτενεῖν, καὶ ἀνήσειν δὲ τὸν θάνατον οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ παραιτῶμαι. ἐγὼ δὲ νουθετεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἑμαυτῷ ἡγούμην, δείσας μὴ ἀπογνόντες ἐμβάλωσι μετεώρῳ τῇ νηὶ καὶ ἀπολώμεθά που τοῦ πελάγους, ὥς δὲ ὑπουργῆσαι ὑπεσχόμην, ἢ ἐβούλοντο, ὁμνύναι ἔφην αὐτοὺς δεῖν ἢ μὴν ἀληθεύσειν



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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

CHAP  
XXIV

CAP.  
XXIV

ταῦτα. ὁμοσάντων τοίνυν, καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἱερῷ διελέγοντο, ‘χωρεῖτε,’ ἔφην, ‘ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν ληστών πλοῖα, ἡμεῖς γὰρ νύκτωρ ἀφήσομεν.’ καὶ πιθανώτερος ἐδόκουν ἔτι περὶ τοῦ νομίσματος διαλεγόμενος, ὡς δόκιμον ἀπαριθμηθεῖν μοι καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἢ τὴν ναῦν ἔλωσιν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐχώρουν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἤκα ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ὑπεράρας τοῦ ἀκρωτηρίου.” “ταῦτ’ οὖν,” εἶπεν ὁ Ἰάρχας, “Ἀπολλώνιε, δικαιοσύνης ἡγῇ ἔργα;” “καὶ πρὸς γε,” ἔφη, “φιλανθρωπίας, τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἀποδόσθαι ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων, μηδ’ ἀπεμπολῆσαι τὰ τῶν ἐμπόρων, χρημάτων τε κρείττω γενέσθαι ναύτην ὄντα, πολλὰς ἀρετὰς οἶμαι ξυνειληφέναι.”

XXV

CAP.  
XXV

Γελάσας οὖν ὁ Ἰνδός, “ἔοικας,” ἔφη, “τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν δικαιοσύνην ἡγεῖσθαι, τουτὶ δὲ οἶμαι καὶ πάντας Ἑλλήνας· ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ ποτε Αἰγυπτίων δεῦρο ἀφικομένων ἤκουσα, φοιτῶσι μὲν ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ἡγεμόνες γυμνὸν ἡρμένοι τὸν πέλεκυν ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς, οὐπω γιγνώσκοντες, εἰ φαύλων ἄρξουσιν, ὑμεῖς δέ, εἰ μὴ πωλοῖεν τὰς δίκας οὗτοι, φάτε αὐτοὺς δικαίους εἶναι. τουτὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀνδραπόδων καπήλους ἀκούω ἐκεῖ πράττειν, εἰ γὰρ ἀφίκοντο κατάγοντες ὑμῖν ἀνδράποδα Καρικὰ καὶ τὸ ἦθος αὐτῶν ἐφερμηνεύοιεν ὑμῖν, ἔπαινον ποιοῦνται τῶν ἀνδραπόδων τὸ μὴ κλέπτειν αὐτά.

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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."

CHAP.  
XXIV

Discussion  
of justice

### XXV

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

CHAP  
XXV  
Criticisms  
of Greek  
morality

CAP.  
XXV

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

such grounds the rulers whose sway you acknowledge, CHAP. XXV  
and after decorating them with such praises as you  
lavish upon slaves, you send them away, objects, as  
you imagine, of universal admiration. Nay more,  
your cleverest poets will not give you leave to be just  
and good, even if you want to. For here was Minos, Minos  
a man who exceeded all men in cruelty, and who  
enslaved with his navies the inhabitants of continent  
and islands alike, and yet they honour him by placing  
in his hand a sceptre of justice and give him a throne  
in Hades to be umpire of spirits; while at the same  
time they deny food and drink to Tantalus, merely Mytho-  
Tantalus  
because he was a good man and inclined to share  
with his friends the immortality bestowed on him by  
the Gods. And some of them hang stones 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

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

## XXVI

CAP.  
XXVI Διατρίβοντας δὲ αὐτοὺς περὶ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον θύρυβος ἐκ τῆς κόμης προσέβαλεν, ἀφίκτο δὲ ἄρα ὁ βασιλεὺς μηδικώτερον κατεσκευασμένος καὶ ὄγκου μεστός. ἀχθεσθεῖς οὖν ὁ Ἰάρχας, “εἰ δὲ Φραώτης,” ἔφη, “καταλύων ἐτύγχανεν, εἶδες ἂν ὥσπερ ἐν μυστηρίῳ σιωπῆς μεστὰ πάντα.” ἐκ τούτου μὲν δὴ ξυνῆκεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὡς βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ὀλίγῳ μέρει, φιλοσοφία δὲ πάσῃ τοῦ Φραώτου λείποιτο, ῥαθύμους δὲ ἰδὼν τοὺς σοφοὺς καὶ μηδὲν παρασκευάζοντας, ὧν δεῖ τῷ βασιλεῖ μετὰ μεσημβρίαν ἤκοντι, “ποῖ,” ἔφη, “ὁ βασιλεὺς διαιτῆσεται;” “ἐνταῦθα,” ἔφασαν, “ὧν γὰρ ἔνεκα ἤκει, νύκτωρ διαλεγόμεθα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ βελτίων ὁ καιρὸς πρὸς βουλὰς.” “καὶ τράπεζα,” ἔφη, “παρακίεσται ἤκοντι;” “νὴ Δί,” εἶπον, “παχεῖά τε καὶ πάντα ἔχουσα, ὅποσα ἐνταῦθα.” “παχέως οὖν,” ἔφη, “διαιτᾶσθε;” “ἡμεῖς μὲν,” ἔφασαν, “λεπτῶς, πλείονα γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐξὸν σιτίζεσθαι μικροῖς χαίρομεν, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πολλῶν

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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.

CHAP.  
XXV

### 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

CHAP.  
XXVI  
Visit of the  
pompous  
king

CAP. XXVI δει, βούλεται γάρ. σιτήσεται δὲ ἔμψυχον μὲν οὐδέν, οὐ γὰρ θέμις ἐνταῦθα, τραγήματα δὲ καὶ ῥίζας καὶ ὠραιᾶ, ὅποσα νῦν ἡ Ἰνδικὴ ἔχει, ὅποσα τε αἰ ἐς νέωτα ὦραι δώσουσιν.”

XXVII

CAP. XXVII “Ἄλλ’ ἰδού,” ἔφη, “οὗτος.” προῆει δὲ ἄρα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀδελφῷ τε καὶ υἱῷ ἅμα, χρυσῷ τε ἀστράπτων καὶ ψήφοις. ὑπανισταμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, κατεῖχεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰάρχας ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ, μηδὲ γὰρ αὐτοῖς πάτριον εἶναι τοῦτο. τούτοις ὁ Δάμις αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ φησι παρατυχεῖν διὰ τὸ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐν τῇ κώμῃ διαιτᾶσθαι, Ἀπολλωνίου δὲ ἀκηκοὺς ἐγγράψαι αὐτὰ ἐς τὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον. φησὶ τοίνυν καθημένοις μὲν αὐτοῖς τὸν βασιλέα προτείνοντα τὴν χεῖρα οἶον εὐχεσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπινεύειν, ὥσπερ ξυντιθεμένους οἷς ἤτει, τὸν δὲ ὑπερήδεσθαι τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ, καθάπερ ἐς θεοῦ ἤκοντα. τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν υἱὸν κάλλιστον μεράκιον ὄντα μηδὲν ὀρᾶσθαι βέλτιον ἢ εἰ ἀνδράποδα τουτωνιτῶν ἀκολούθων ἦσαν. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξαναστῆναι τὸν Ἰνδὸν καὶ φωνὴν ἰέντα κελεύειν αὐτὸν σίτου ἅπτεσθαι, προσδεξαμένου δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἄσμένως, τρίποδες μὲν ἐξεπορεύθησαν Πυθικοὶ τέτταρες αὐτόματοι, καθάπερ οἱ Ὀμηριοὶ προΐοντες, οἶνοχόοι δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς χαλκοῦ μέλανος, οἱ παρ’ Ἑλλησιν οἱ Γανυμήδεις τε καὶ



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

deal, for that is his pleasure. But he will not eat CHAP. XXVI  
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 CHAP. XXVII  
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

The Sages  
entertain  
the king

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

οἱ Πέλοπες. ἡ γῆ δὲ ὑπεστόρνυ πόας μαλακω-  
τέρας ἢ αἱ εὐναί. τραγήματα δὲ καὶ ἄρτοι καὶ  
λάχανα καὶ τρωκτὰ ὠραῖα, πάντα ἐν κόσμῳ  
ἐφοῖτα διακείμενα ἥδιον ἢ εἰ ὁψοποιοὶ αὐτὰ παρ-  
εσκεύαζον, τῶν δὲ τριπόδων οἱ μὲν δύο οἶνου  
ἐπέρρεον, τοῖν δυοῖν δὲ ὁ μὲν ὕδατος θερμοῦ  
κρήνην παρέιχεν, ὁ δὲ αὖ ψυχροῦ. αἱ δ' ἐξ Ἰνδῶν  
φοιτῶσαι λίθοι παρ' Ἑλλησι μὲν ἐς ὄρμους τε καὶ  
δακτυλίους ἐμβιβάζονται διὰ σμικρότητα, παρὰ  
δὲ Ἰνδοῖς οἶνοχόαι τε ψυκτῆρές τε γίγνονται διὰ  
μέγεθος καὶ κρατῆρες ἡλίκοι ἐμπλήσαι τέτταρας  
ὥρα ἔτους διψῶντας. τοὺς δὲ οἶνοχόους τοὺς  
χαλκοὺς ἀρύεσθαι μὲν φησι ξυμμέτρως τοῦ τε  
οἶνου καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, περιελαύνειν δὲ τὰς κύλικας,  
ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πότοις. κατακεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ὡς  
ἐν ξυσσιτίῳ μὲν, οὐ μὴν πρόκριτόν γε τὸν βασιλέα,  
τοῦτο δὴ τὸ παρ' Ἑλλησὶ τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις  
πολλοῦ ἄξιον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτυχέ γε, οὗ ἕκαστος  
ὥρμησεν.

## XXVIII

CAP.  
XXVIII

Ἐπεὶ δὲ προῆι ὁ πότος, “προπίνω σοι,” ὁ Ἰάρ-  
χας εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἄνδρα Ἑλληνα,” τὸν  
Ἀπολλώνιον ὑποκεκλιμένον αὐτῷ δείξας καὶ τῇ  
χειρὶ προσημαίνων, ὅτι γενναῖός τε εἴη καὶ θεῖος.  
ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, “ἤκουσα” ἔφη, “προσήκειν Φραώτῃ

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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

CHAP.  
XXVII

### XXVIII

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

CHAP.  
XXVIII  
The king's  
low opinion  
of  
philosophy

τοῦτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ καταλύοντας.”  
 “ὀρθῶς,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἀληθῶς ἤκουσας, ἐκείνος γὰρ  
 κἀνταῦθα ξενίζει αὐτόν.” “τί,” ἔφη, “ἐπιτη-  
 δεύοντα;” “τί δ’ ἄλλο γε,” εἶπεν, “ἢ ἅπερ  
 ἐκείνος;” “οὐδέν,” ἔφη, “ξένον εἶρηκας ἀσπα-  
 ζόμενον ἐπιτήδευσιν, ἢ μηδὲ ἐκείνῳ ξυνεχώρησε  
 γενναίῳ γενέσθαι.” ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἰάρχας, “σωφρονέ-  
 στερον,” ἔφη, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, περὶ φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ  
 Φραώτου γίγνωσκε, τὸν μὲν γὰρ χρόνον, ὃν μειρά-  
 κιον ἦσθα, ξυνεχώρει σοι ἢ νεότης τὰ τοιαῦτα,  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς ἄνδρας ἐξαλλάττεις ἤδη, φειδώμεθα τῶν  
 ἀνοήτων τε καὶ εὐκόλων.” ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἑρμη-  
 νεύοντος τοῦ Ἰάρχα, “σοὶ δὲ τί,” ἔφη, “ὦ βασιλεῦ,  
 τὸ μὴ φιλοσοφῆσαι δέδωκεν;” “ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρετὴν  
 πᾶσαν καὶ τὸ εἶναί με τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ Ἡλίῳ.” ὁ δὲ  
 ἐπιστομίζων αὐτοῦ τὸν τύφον “εἰ ἐφιλοσόφεις,”  
 εἶπεν, “οὐκ ἂν ταῦτα ᾤου.” “σὺ δέ, ἐπειδὴ φιλο-  
 σοφεῖς, ὦ βέλτιστε,” ἔφη, “τί περὶ σαντοῦ οἶει;”  
 “τό γε ἀνὴρ,” ἔφη, “ἀγαθὸς δοκεῖν, εἰ φιλο-  
 σοφοίην.” ἀνατείνας οὖν τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸν  
 οὐρανόν, “νῆ τὸν Ἥλιον,” ἔφη, “Φραώτου μεστὸς  
 ἦκεις.” ὁ δὲ ἔρμαιόν γε ἐποιήσατο τὸν λόγον καὶ  
 ὑπολαβὼν, “οὐ μάτην ἀποδεδήμηταί μοι,” εἶπεν,  
 “εἰ Φραώτου μεστὸς γέγονα· εἰ δὲ κἀκείνῳ νῦν



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

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

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

XXIX

CAP.  
XXIX Ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη παροιμία τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν-  
ταῦθα ἔληξεν· ἀκούσας γὰρ ἐπαινέισθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ  
τοῦ Φραώτου, τῆς τε ὑποψίας ἐπελάθετο καὶ  
ὑφεῖς τοῦ τόνου, “χαῖρε,” ἔφη, “ἀγαθὲ ξένε.” ὁ  
δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, “καὶ σύ, βασιλεῦ,” εἶπεν, “ἔοικας  
γὰρ νῦν ἤκοντι.” “τίς σε,” ἔφη, “πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
ἤγαγεν;” “οὗτοι,” εἶπεν, “οἱ θεοὶ τε καὶ σοφοὶ  
ἄνδρες.” “περὶ ἐμοῦ δέ,” ἔφη, “ὦ ξένε, τίς λόγος  
ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν;” “ὅσος γε,” εἶπε, “καὶ περὶ  
Ἑλλήνων ἐνταῦθα.” “οὐδέν,” ἔφη, “τῶν παρ’  
Ἑλλησιν ἔγωγε λόγου ἀξιῶ.” “ἀπαγγελῶ ταῦτα,”  
εἶπε, “καὶ στεφανώσουσί σε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ.”

XXX

CAP.  
XXX Καὶ προσκλιθεὶς τῷ Ἰάρχα, “τοῦτον μὲν,” ἔφη,  
“μεθύειν ἔα, σὺ δέ μοι εἰπὲ τοῦ χάριν τοὺς περὶ  
αὐτὸν τούτους, ἀδελφόν, ὡς φατέ, καὶ υἱὸν ὄντας  
οὐκ ἀξιούτε κοινῆς τραπέζης, οὐδὲ ἄλλης τιμῆς,  
οὐδεμιᾶς;” “ὅτι,” ἔφη, “βασιλεύσειν ποτὲ ἡγούνται,

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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

CHAP.  
XXVIII

### XXIX

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

CHAP.  
XXIX  
And of  
Hellas

### XXX

AND stooping towards Iarchas he said : “ Let him go on like a drunkard, but do you tell me why do you not invite to the same table as yourself nor hold worthy of other recognition those who accompany this man, though they are his brother and son, as you tell me ? ” “ Because,” said Iarchas, “ they reckon to be kings

CHAP  
XXX  
The number  
of the Sages  
in no way  
symbolical

CAP.  
XXX

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

one day themselves, and by being made themselves CHAP.  
XXX  
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 Hellanodicæ, who preside over the Olympic games, are ten in number; but we do not approve of the rule imposed in the case of these men; for they leave the choice of them to the lot, and the lot has no discernment, for a worse man might be as easily chosen by lot as a better one. On the other hand, would they not make a mistake, if they had made merit the qualification

Limitation  
in number  
not  
congruous  
with choice  
by merit

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

## XXXI

CAP.  
XXXI Ταῦτα σπουδάζοντας αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκκρούειν ἐπειράτο, διείργων αὐτοὺς παντὸς λόγου καὶ αἰεὶ τι ἔμπληκτον καὶ ἀμαθὲς λέγων. πάλιν οὖν ἤρετο ὑπὲρ τοῦ σπουδάζοιεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, “διαλεγόμεθα μὲν ὑπὲρ μεγάλων καὶ τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλήσιν εὐδοκιμωτάτων, σὺ δ’ ἂν μικρὰ ταῦτα ἡγοῖο, φῆς γὰρ διαβεβλήσθαι πρὸς τὰ Ἑλλήνων.” “διαβέβλημαι μὲν ἀληθῶς,” εἶπεν, “ἀκούσαι δ’ ὅμως βούλομαι, δοκεῖτε γάρ μοι λέγειν ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων, τῶν Ξέρξου δούλων.” ὁ δέ, “ὑπὲρ ἄλλων μὲν,” ἔφη, “διαλεγόμεθα, ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀτόπως τε καὶ ψευδῶς Ἀθηναίων ἐπερνήσθης, ἐκεῖνός μοι εἰπέ· εἰσί σοι, βασιλεῦ, δοῦλοι;” “δισμύριοι,” ἔφη, “καὶ οὐδὲ ἐώνημαί γε αὐτῶν οὐδένα, ἀλλ’ εἰσὶν οἰκογενεῖς πάντες.” πάλιν οὖν ἤρετο ἐρμηνεύοντος τοῦ Ἰάρχα, πότερ’ αὐτὸς ἀποδιδράσκει τοὺς αὐτοῦ δούλους ἢ οἱ δοῦλοι ἐκείνον, 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.”

CHAP.  
XXX

## 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

CHAP.  
XXXI  
Apollonius  
vindicates  
Greeks from  
the slur put  
upon them  
by the king

CAP.  
XXXI

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



him. And the king by way of insult answered him : CHAP. XXXI  
 “Your very question is worthy of a slave, nevertheless I will answer it : a man who runs away is not only a slave but a bad one to boot, and his master would never run away from him, when he can if he likes both torture and card him.” “In that case,” said Apollonius, “O king, Xerxes has been proved out of your mouth to have been a slave of the Athenians, and like a bad slave to have run away from them ; for when he was defeated by them in the naval action in the Straits, he was so anxious about his bridge of boats over the Hellespont that he fled in a single ship.” “Yes, but he anyhow burned Athens with his own hands,” said the king. And Apollonius answered : “And for that act of audacity, O king, he was punished as never yet was any other man. For he had to run away from those whom he imagined he had destroyed ; and when I contemplate the ambitions with which Xerxes set out on his campaign, I can conceive that some were justified in exalting him and saying that he was Zeus ; but when I contemplate his flight, I arrive at the conviction that he was the most illstarred of men. For if he had fallen at the hands of the Hellenes, no one would have earned a brighter fame than he. For to whom would the Hellenes have raised and dedicated a loftier tomb ? What jousts of armed men, what contests of musicians would not have been instituted in honour of him ? For if men like Melicertes and Palaemon and Pelops the Lydian immigrant, the 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 ἤρθησαν, τί οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ Ξέρξῃ ἐγένετο ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν  
ἀσπαζομένων τε ἀρετὰς φύσει καὶ ἔπαινον αὐτῶν  
ἡγουμένων τὸ ἐπαινεῖν οὐς νικῶσιν ;”

XXXII

CAP.  
XXXII Ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου λέγοντος ἐς δάκρυα  
ἀπήχθη ὁ βασιλεὺς, καί, “ὦ φίλτατε,” εἶπεν,  
“οἴους ἄνδρας ἐρμηνεύεις μοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι.”  
“πόθεν οὖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, χαλεπῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς  
εἶχες ;” “διαβάλλουσιν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ ξένε, τὸ  
Ἑλλήνων γένος οἱ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου φοιτῶντες ἐνταῦθα,  
σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἱερούς τε καὶ σοφοὺς ἀποφαίνοντες  
καὶ νομοθέτας θυσιῶν τε καὶ τελετῶν, ὅπόσας  
νομίζουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐκείνους δὲ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς  
εἶναι φάσκοντες, ἀλλ' ὑβριστάς τε καὶ ξύγκλυδας  
καὶ ἀναρχίαν πᾶσαν καὶ μυθολόγους καὶ τερατο-  
λόγους, καὶ πένητας μὲν, ἐνδεικνυμένους δὲ τοῦτο  
οὐχ ὥς σεμνόν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ξυγγνώμης τοῦ κλέπτειν,  
σοῦ δὲ ἀκούων ταῦτα καὶ ὅπως φιλότιμοί τε καὶ  
χρηστοί εἰσι, σπένδομαί τε λοιπὸν τοῖς Ἕλλησι,  
καὶ δίδωμι αὐτοῖς ἐπαινέισθαί τε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καὶ  
εὐχεσθαί με ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων ὃ τι δύναμαι καὶ τοὺς  
Αἰγυπτίους ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀπιστεῖσθαι.” ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας,  
“κἀγώ,” ἔφη, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγίγνωσκον, ὅτι σοι τὰ  
ᾧτ' διέφθορεν ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τούτων, διήειν  
δὲ ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων οὐδέν, ἔστ' ἂν ξυμβούλου<sup>1</sup> τοιού-  
του τύχης, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ βελτίων γέγονας ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς

<sup>1</sup> So Olearius : Kaiser ξυμβόλου.

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

CHAP.  
XXXI

The king  
recants,  
and blames  
Egyptian  
slanderers

CAP.  
XXXII

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

## XXXIII

CAP.  
XXXIII

Πιόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐδέξατο ἡ γῆ εὐναῖς, ἃς αὐτὴ  
 ὑπεστόρνυ. ἐπεὶ δὲ νύξ μέση ἐγένετο, πρῶτον μὲν  
 ἀναστάντες τὴν ἀκτῖνα μετέωροι ὕμνησαν, ὥσπερ  
 ἐν τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ, εἶτα τῷ βασιλεῖ ξυνεγένοντο,  
 ὅποσα ἐδεῖτο. παρατυχεῖν μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἀπολλώ-  
 νιον οἷς ἐσπούδασεν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐ φησιν ὁ Δάμις,  
 οἶεσθαι δ' αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπορρήτων  
 τὴν ξυνουσίαν πεποιῆσθαι. θύσας οὖν ἅμα ἡμέρα  
 προσῆλθε τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ ἐκάλει ἐπὶ ξένια ἐς  
 τὰ βασίλεια, ζηλωτὸν ἀποπέμψειν φάσκων ἐς  
 Ἑλληνας, ὁ δὲ ἐπῆναι μὲν ταῦτα, οὐ μὲν ἐπιδώσειν  
 γε ἑαυτὸν ἔφασκεν ἀνδρὶ μηδὲν ὁμοίῳ, καὶ ἄλλως



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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

CHAP.  
XXXII

### XXXIII

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

CHAP.  
XXXIII  
Apollonius  
refuses the  
king's offer  
of  
hospitality

CAP.  
XXXIII

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

## XXXIV

CAP.  
XXXIV

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

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## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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

CHAP.  
XXXIII

### XXXIV

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

CHAP.  
XXXIV  
The Sages  
teach that  
the cosmos  
is alive

πῦρ;” “ὁ αἰθήρ,” εἶπεν, “ὃν ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ γένεσιν θεῶν εἶναι, τὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ αἰέρος ἔλκοντα θνητὰ πάντα, τὰ δὲ τοῦ αἰθέρος ἀθάνατά τε καὶ θεῖα.” πάλιν ἤρετο, τί τῶν στοιχείων πρῶτον γένοιτο, ὃ δὲ Ἰάρχας, “ὁμοῦ,” ἔφη, “πάντα, τὸ γὰρ ζῶον κατὰ μέρος οὐ τίκτεται.” “ζῶον,” ἔφη, “ἡγῶμαι τὸν κόσμον;” “ἦν γε,” ἔφη, “ὑγιῶς γιγνώσκης, αὐτὸς γὰρ ζωογονεῖ πάντα.” “θῆλυν,” εἶπεν, “αὐτὸν καλῶμεν ἢ τῆς ἄρσενός τε καὶ ἀντικειμένης φύσεως;” “ἀμφοῖν,” ἔφη, “αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτῷ ξυγγιγνόμενος τὰ μητρός τε καὶ πατρὸς ἐς τὴν ζωογονίαν πράττει, ἔρωτά τε ἑαυτοῦ ἴσχει θερμότερον ἢ ἕτερόν τι ἐτέρου, ὃς ἀρμόττει αὐτὸν καὶ ξυνίστησιν· ἀπεικὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἑαυτῷ ξυμφέεσθαι. καὶ ὥσπερ χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν ἔργον πεποιήται ἢ τοῦ ζώου κίνησις καὶ ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ νοῦς, ὑφ’ οὗ ὀρμᾷ, οὕτως ἡγώμεθα καὶ τὰ μέρη τοῦ κόσμου διὰ τὸν ἐκείνου νοῦν ἐπιτήδεια παρέχειν αὐτὰ τοῖς τικτομένοις τε καὶ κυουμένοις πᾶσι. καὶ γὰρ τὰ πάθη τὰ ἐξ αὐχμῶν φοιτῶντα κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνου φοιτᾷ νοῦν, ἐπειδὰν ἐκπεσούσα ἢ δίκη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀτίμως πράττη, ποιμαίνεται τε χειρὶ οὐ μιᾷ τότε τὸ ζῶον, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς τε καὶ ἀρρήτοις, αἷς χρήται, ἀχαλίνωτον μὲν διὰ μέγεθος, εὐήνιον δὲ κιεῖται καὶ εὐάγωγον.



and earth and fire ? ” “ There is the ether,” replied CHAP.  
XXXIV  
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.

## XXXV

CAP.  
XXXV

“Καὶ παράδειγμα μὲν οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅ τι ἀρκέσει τῷ λόγῳ μεγίστῳ τε ὄντι καὶ πρόσω ἐννοίας, ὑποκείσθω δὲ ναῦς, οἷαν Αἰγύπτιοι ξυντιθέντες ἐς τὴν θάλατταν τὴν ἡμεδαπὴν ἀφιασιν, ἀγωγίμων Ἰνδικῶν ἀντιδιδόντες Αἰγύπτια· θεσμοῦ γὰρ παλαιοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ὄντος, ὃν βασιλεὺς Ἐρύθρας ἐνόμισεν, ὅτε τῆς θαλάττης ἐκείνης ἦρχε, μακρῷ μὲν πλοίῳ μὴ ἐσπλεῖν ἐς αὐτὴν Αἰγυπτίους, στρογγύλῃ δ’ αὖ μιᾷ νηὶ χρῆσθαι, σοφίζονται πλοῖον Αἰγύπτιοι πρὸς πολλὰ τῶν παρ’ ἐτέροις, καὶ παραπλευρώσαντες αὐτὸ ἀρμονίαις, ὅποσαι ναῦν ξυνιστᾶσι, τοίχοις τε ὑπεράραντες καὶ ἰστῷ καὶ πηξάμενοι πλείους οἰκίας, οἷας ἐπὶ τῶν σελμάτων, πολλοὶ μὲν κυβερνῆται τῆς νεῶς ταύτης ὑπὸ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τε καὶ σοφωτάτῳ πλέουσι, πολλοὶ δὲ κατὰ πρῶραν ἄρχοντες ἄριστοί τε καὶ δεξιοὶ ναῦται καὶ πρὸς ἰστία πηδῶντες, ἔστι δέ τι τῆς νεῶς ταύτης καὶ ὀπλιτεῦον, πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς κολπίτας βαρβάρους, οἳ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ἔσπλου κείνται, παρατάττεσθαι δεῖ τὴν ναῦν, ὅτε ληίζοιντο αὐτὴν ἐπιπλέοντες. τοῦτο ἡγώμεθα καὶ περὶ τόνδε τὸν κόσμον εἶναι, θεωροῦντες αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ τῆς ναυτιλίας σχῆμα, τὴν μὲν γὰρ δὴ πρώτην καὶ τελεωτάτην ἔδραν ἀποδοτέον θεῷ γενέτορι τοῦδε τοῦ ζώου,

## XXXV

“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

CHAP.  
XXXV  
Comparison  
of the  
world to  
a ship

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

XXXVI

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

XXXVII

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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

CHAP.  
XXXV

### XXXVI

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

CHAP.  
XXXVI  
Damis  
applauds  
Iarchas

### XXXVII

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

CHAP.  
XXXVII  
Relation  
of sea to  
earth

CAP.  
XXXVII

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

## XXXVIII

CAP.  
XXXVIII

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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

CHAP.  
XXXVII

### XXXVIII

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

CHAP.  
XXXVIII  
Apollonius  
heals a  
demoniac  
boy

## FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.  
XXXVIII

γυνὴ περὶ τὴν εὐνὴν ὕβρισε τριταίου κειμένου γα-  
μθεῖσα ἑτέρῳ, μισῆσαι μὲν ἐκ τούτου τὸ γυναικῶν  
ἐρᾶν, μεταρρυῆναι δὲ ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον. ὑ-  
ποσχνεῖτο δέ, εἰ μὴ διαβάλλοιμι αὐτὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς,  
δώσειν τῷ παιδὶ πολλὰ ἐσθλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ. ἐγὼ  
μὲν δὴ ἔπαθόν τι πρὸς ταῦτα, ὁ δὲ διάγει με πολὺν  
ἤδη χρόνον καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκον ἔχει μόνος, οὐδὲν  
μέτριον οὐδὲ ἀληθὲς φρονῶν.” ἤρετο οὖν ὁ σοφὸς  
πάλιν, εἰ πλησίον εἴη ὁ παῖς, ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη, πολλὰ  
μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀφικέσθαι αὐτὸν πρᾶξαι, “ὁ δ’  
ἀπειλεῖ κρημνοὺς καὶ βάραθρα καὶ ἀποκτενεῖν μοι  
τὸν υἱόν, εἰ δικαζοίμην αὐτῷ δεῦρο.” “θάρσει,”  
ἔφη ὁ σοφός, “οὐ γὰρ ἀποκτενεῖ αὐτὸν ἀναγνοὺς  
ταῦτα,” καὶ τινα ἐπιστολὴν ἀνασπάσας τοῦ κόλ-  
που ἔδωκε τῇ γυναικί, ἐπέσταλτο δὲ ἄρα ἡ ἐπι-  
στολὴ πρὸς τὸ εἶδωλον ξὺν ἀπειλῇ καὶ ἐκπλήξει.

## XXXIX

CAP.  
XXXIX

Καὶ μὲν καὶ χωλεύων τις ἀφίκετο, γεγονὼς μὲν  
ἤδη τριάκοντα ἔτη, λεόντων δὲ θηρατῆς δεινός,  
ἐμπεπτωκότος δὲ αὐτῷ λέοντος ὠλισθήκει τὸν  
γλουτὸν καὶ τοῦ σκέλους ἑτέρως εἶχεν. ἀλλ’ αἱ  
χεῖρες αὐτῷ καταψῶσαι τὸν γλουτόν, ἐς ὀρθὸν τοῦ  
βαδίσματος ὁ νεανίας ἦλθε. καὶ ὀφθαλμῷ δέ τις  
ἐρρυηκῶς ἀπῆλθε πᾶν ἔχων τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς φῶς, καὶ  
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## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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

CHAP.  
XXXVIII

### XXXIX

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.

CHAP.  
XXXIX  
A lame  
man healed

Cure of a  
blind man

CAP.  
XXXIX

ἄλλος τὴν χεῖρα ἄδρανῆς ὦν, ἐγκρατὴς ᾤχετο. γυνὴ δέ τις ἐπὶ τὰ ἤδη γαστέρας δυστοκοῦσα δεομένου ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τὰνδρὸς ὧδε ἰάθη· τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκέλευσε, ἐπειδὰν τίκτῃ ἢ γυνή, λαγὼν ὑπὸ κόλπῳ ζῶντα ἐσφέρεισθαι οὐ τίκτει, καὶ περιελθόντα αὐτὴν ἀφεῖναι ὁμοῦ τὸν λαγὼν, συνεκδοθῆναι γὰρ ἂν τῷ ἐμβρύῳ τὴν μήτραν, εἰ μὴ ὁ λαγὼς αὐτίκα ἐξενεχθεῖν θύραζε.

XL

CAP.  
XL

Πατρὸς δ' αὖ τινος εἰπόντος, ὥς γένοιτο μὲν αὐτῷ παῖδες, ἀποθάνοιεν δὲ ὁμοῦ τῷ ἄρξασθαι οἶνον πίνειν, ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν ὁ Ἰάρχας, “καὶ βελτίους ἀποθανόντες ἐγένοντο, οὐ γὰρ ἂν διέφυγον τὸ μὴ μανῆναι, θερμότερων, ὥς φαίνεται, σπερμάτων φύντες. οἶνου μὲν οὖν ἀφεκτέον τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν, ὥς δὲ μηδὲ ἐς ἐπιθυμίαν ποτὲ οἶνου κατασταῖεν, εἴ σοι πάλιν παιδίον γένοιτο, γέγονε δὲ ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν, ὥς ὁρῶ, τὴν γλαῦκα τὴν ὄρνιν χρὴ ἐπιφυλάττειν, οὐ νεοττεύει, καὶ τὰ ῥὰ σπᾶσαντα δοῦναι μασᾶσθαι τῷ βρέφει συμμέτρως ἔψοντα, εἰ γὰρ βρώσεται τι τούτων, πρὶν οἶνου γεύσεται, μῖσος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν οἶνον ἐμφύσεται, καὶ σωφρονέστατα διακείσεται, μόνου ξυγκεκραμένος τοῦ ἐν τῇ φύσει θερμοῦ.”

Τούτων οὖν ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκ-

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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

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

### XL

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

CHAP.  
XL  
Of sons  
who died  
through  
drinking  
wine

With such lore as this then they surfeited

CAP.  
XLI. πληττόμενοι, τῆς ἐς πάντα σοφίας παμπόλλους  
όσημέραι λόγους ἡρώτων, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
ἡρωτῶντο.

XLI

CAP.  
XLI. Τῆς μὲν οὖν διαλεκτικῆς ξυνουσίας ἄμφω μετ-  
εῖχον, τὰς δὲ ἰπορρήτους σπουδάς, αἷς ἰστρικὴν  
ἢ μαντείαν κατενόουν καὶ τὴν πρόγνωσιν ἐσπού-  
δαζον, θυσιῶν τε ἤπτοντο καὶ κλήσεων, αἷς θεοὶ  
χαίρουσι, μόνον φησὶν ὁ Δάμις τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον  
ξυμφιλοσοφεῖν τῷ Ἰάρχα, καὶ ξυγγράψαι μὲν  
ἐκεῖθεν περὶ μαντείας ἀστέρων βίβλους τέτταρας,  
ὧν καὶ Μοιραγένης ἐπεμνήσθη, ξυγγράψαι δὲ περὶ  
θυσιῶν καὶ ὡς ἂν τις ἐκάστω θεῷ προσφόρως τε  
καὶ κεχαρισμένως θύοι. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀστέρων  
καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην μαντικὴν πᾶσαν ὑπὲρ τὴν  
ἀνθρωπίαν ἡγοῦμαι φύσιν, καὶ οὐδ' εἰ κέκτηται  
τις οἶδα, τὸ δὲ περὶ θυσιῶν ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν ἱεροῖς  
εὖρον, ἐν πολλαῖς δὲ πόλεσι, πολλοῖς δὲ ἀνδρῶν  
σοφῶν οἴκοις, καί τοι,<sup>1</sup> ἂν τις ἐρμηνεύοι αὐτό, σεμνῶς  
ξυντεταγμένον καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡχὼ τοῦ ἀνδρός.  
φησὶ δὲ ὁ Δάμις καὶ δακτυλίους ἐπτὰ τὸν Ἰάρχαν

<sup>1</sup> Kayser reads : καὶ τί ἂν, which is unintelligible.



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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.

### XLI

BOTH Apollonius and Damis then took part in the interviews devoted to abstract discussions; not so with the conversations devoted to occult themes, in which they pondered the nature of astronomy or divination, and considered the question of foreknowledge, and handled the problems of sacrifice and of the invocations in which the gods take pleasure. In these Damis says that Apollonius alone partook of the philosophic discussion together with Iarchas, and that he embodied the results in four books concerning divination by the stars, a work which Moiragenes has mentioned. And Damis says that he composed a work on the way to offer sacrifice to the several gods in a manner suitable and pleasing to them. Not only then do I regard the work on the science of the stars and the whole subject of such divination as transcending human nature, but I do not even know if anyone has these 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<sup>1</sup> 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

CHAP.

XLI

Apollonius' work on astral divination mentioned by Moiragenes

His work on sacrifice

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

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

XLII

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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

### XLII

As to the subject of foreknowledge, they presently CHAP. had a talk about it, for Apollonius was devoted to this XLII kind of lore, and turned most of their conversations Iarchas on divination of the future 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."

## XLIII

CAP.  
XLIII

Καὶ χαριεντιζόμενος ἅμα πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν, “ σὺ δ’ οὐδέν,” ἔφη, “ προγιγνώσκεις, Ἀσσύριε, καὶ ταῦτα ξυνὼν ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ ; ” “ νῆ Δί,” εἶπε, “ τά γε ἐμαυτῷ ἀναγκαῖα· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πρώτῳ ἐνέτυχον τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τούτῳ, καὶ σοφίας μοι ἔδοξε πλέως δεινότητός τε καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ τοῦ καρτερεῖν ὀρθῶς, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ μνημοσύνην ἐν αὐτῷ εἶδον, πολυμαθέστατόν τε καὶ φιλομαθίας ἡττω, δαιμόνιον τί μοι ἐγένετο, καὶ ξυγγενόμενος αὐτῷ σοφὸς μὲν ὦρήθην δόξειν ἐξ ἰδιώτου τε καὶ ἀσόφου, πεπαιδευμένος δὲ ἐκ βαρβάρου, ἐπόμενος δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ξυσπουδάζων ὄψεσθαι μὲν Ἰνδούς, ὄψεσθαι δὲ ὑμᾶς, Ἑλλησί τε ἐπιμίξειν Ἑλλήν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος. τὰ μὲν δὴ ὑμέτερα περὶ μεγάλων ὄντα Δελφούς ἡγείσθε καὶ Δωδώνην καὶ ὅ τι βούλεσθε, τὰμὰ δέ, ἐπειδὴ Δάμις μὲν ὁ προγιγνώσκων αὐτά, προγιγνώσκει δ’ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μόνου, γραδὸς ἔστω ἀγυρτρίας μαντευομένης ὑπὲρ προβατίων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων.”

## XLIV

CAP.  
XLIV

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

### 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."

CHAP.  
XLIII  
Damis'  
premon-  
itions

### XLIV

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

CHAP.  
XLIV

CAP.  
XLIV

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

## XLV

CAP.  
XLV

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

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## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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."

CHAP.  
XLIV  
Divination  
and  
medicine

### 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

CHAP.  
XLV  
On the  
mythical  
animals of  
India

CAP.  
XLV

χώρας ;” ὁ δὲ Ἰάρχας, “καὶ τίνα,” ἔφη, “ φύσιν τοῦ ζώου τούτου ἤκουσας ; εἰκὸς γὰρ καὶ περὶ εἶδους αὐτοῦ τι λέγεσθαι.” “λέγεται,” εἶπε, “μεγάλα καὶ ἄπιστα, τετράπουν· μὲν γὰρ εἶναι αὐτό, τὴν κεφαλὴν δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ εἰκάσθαι, λέοντι δὲ ὁμοιωσθαι τὸ μέγεθος, τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν τοῦ θηρίου τούτου πηχυαίας ἐκφέρειν καὶ ἀκανθώδεις τὰς τρίχας, ἃς βάλλειν ὥσπερ τοξεύματα ἐς τοὺς θηρῶντας αὐτό.” ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὕδατος, ὃ φασιν ἐκ πηγῆς βλύζειν, καὶ περὶ τῆς ψήφου τῆς ἅπερ ἡ μαγνήτις ποιούσης, ἀνθρώπων τε ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκούντων καὶ πυγμαίων αὐ καὶ σκιαπόδων, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Ἰάρχας, “περὶ μὲν ζώων ἢ φυτῶν,” εἶπεν, “ἢ πηγῶν, ὧν αὐτὸς ἐνταῦθα ἤκων εἶδες, τί ἂν σοι λέγοιμι ; σὸν γὰρ ἤδη νῦν ἐξηγεῖσθαι αὐτὰ ἐτέροις· θηρίον δὲ τοξεῦον ἢ χρυσοῦ πηγὰς ὕδατος οὐπω ἐνταῦθα ἤκουσα.

## XLVI

CAP.  
XLVI

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

there was there an animal called the man-eater CHAP.  
XLV  
(*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.

### XLVI

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

CAP.  
XLVI

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

XLVII

CAP.  
XLVII

Καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἔδειξε τὴν λίθον αὐτὴν τε καὶ  
ὅποσα ἐργάζεται. τοὺς δὲ πυγμαίους οἰκεῖν μὲν  
ὑπογείους, κεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν Γάγγην, ζῶντας  
τρόπον ὃς πᾶσιν εἴρηται, σκιάποδας δὲ ἀνθρώ-  
πους ἢ μακροκεφάλους ἢ ὅποσα Σκύλακος ξυγ-  
γραφαὶ περὶ τούτων ἄδουσιν, οὔτε ἄλλοσέ ποι βιο-  
τεύειν τῆς γῆς οὔτε μὴν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς.

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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

CHAP.  
XLVI

### XLVII

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

CHAP.  
XLVII  
The  
Pigmies

## XLVIII

CAP.  
XLVIII

“Ὅν δ’ ὀρύττουσι χρυσὸν οἱ γρῦπες, πέτραι εἰσὶν οἷον σπινθήρσιν ἐστιγμέναι ταῖς τοῦ χρυσοῦ ρανίσιν, ἃς λιθοτομεῖ τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο τῇ τοῦ ράμφους ἰσχύϊ. τὰ γὰρ θηρία ταῦτα εἶναι τε ἐν Ἰνδοῖς καὶ ἱεροὺς νομίζεσθαι τοῦ Ἡλίου, τέθριππά τε αὐτῶν ὑποξενγύναι τοῖς ἀγάλμασι τοὺς τὸν Ἡλίον ἐν Ἰνδοῖς γράφοντας, μέγεθός τε καὶ ἀλκὴν εἰκάσθαι αὐτοὺς τοῖς λέουσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ πλεονεξίας τῶν πτερῶν αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων δὲ καὶ δρακόντων ὑπερτέρους εἶναι. πέτονται δὲ οὐπὼ μέγα, ἀλλ’ ὅσον οἱ βραχύποροι ὄρνιθες, μὴ γὰρ ἐπιτλώσθαι σφᾶς, ὥς ὄρνισι πάτριον, ἀλλ’ ὑμέσι τοὺς ταρσοὺς ὑφάνθαι πυρσοῖς, ὥς εἶναι κυκλώσαντας πέτεσθαι τε καὶ ἐκ μετεώρου μάχεσθαι, τὴν τίγριν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνάλωτον εἶναι μόνην, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τάχος αὐτὴν ἐσποιεῖ τοῖς ἀνέμοις.

## XLIX

CAP.  
XLIX

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



## XLVIII

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.

CHAP.  
XLVIII  
The  
griffins

## 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

CHAP.  
XLIX  
The  
phoenix

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

## L

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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

CHAP.  
XLIX

### L

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

CHAP.  
L  
Apollonius  
quits the  
Brahmans

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

LI

CAP. LI Ἐνταῦθα ἤκων τὰς μὲν καμήλους ἀπέπεμψε τῷ  
 Ἰάρχῃ μετ' ἐπιστολῆς·

“Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰάρχῃ καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις σοφοῖς  
 χαίρειν.

ἀφικομένῳ μοι πεζῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεδώκατε τὴν θά-  
 λατταν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφίας τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν κοινωνή-  
 σαντες δεδώκατε καὶ διὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πορεύεσθαι.  
 μεμνήσομαι τούτων καὶ πρὸς Ἑλληνας, κοινωνήσω  
 τε λόγων ὡς παροῦσιν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ μάτην ἔπιον τοῦ  
 Ταντάλου. ἔρρωσθε ἀγαθοὶ φιλόσοφοι.”

LII

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

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

### LI

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

"Apollonius to Iarchas and the other sages  
greeting.

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

### LII

HE then embarked upon the ship and was borne CHAP.  
away by a smooth and favourable breeze, and he was LII  
much struck at the formidable manner in which the  
Hyphasis discharges itself into the sea at its mouth ; The mouth of the Hyphasis  
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.

## LIII

CAP.  
LIII

Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ στόμα ἰδεῖν φασι, πόλιν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κείσθαι Πάταλα περίρρυτον τῷ Ἰνδῷ, ἐς ἣν τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔλθειν, ᾧ ναύαρχον ἐπιτετάχθαι Νέαρχον οὐκ ἀγύμναστον τῆς θαλαττίου τάξεως. ἃ δὲ Ὀρθαγόρα περὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς εἴρηται, καὶ ὅτι μήτε ἡ ἄρκτος ἐν αὐτῇ φαίνοιτο, μήτε σημαίνοντο τὴν μεσσηβρίαν οἱ πλέοντες, οἳ τε ἐπίδηλοι τῶν ἀστέρων ἐξαλλάττοιεν τῆς ἐαυτῶν τάξεως, δοκεῖ καὶ Δάμιδι, καὶ χρὴ πιστεύειν ὑγιῶς τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐκεῖ οὐρανὸν εἰρῆσθαι ταῦτα. μνημονεύουσιν καὶ νήσου μικρᾶς, ἥ ὄνομα εἶναι Βίβλον, ἐν ἣ τὸ τοῦ κογχυλίου μέγεθος καὶ οἱ μύες ὅστρεά τε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα δεκαπλάσια τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὸ μέγεθος ταῖς πέτραις προσπέφυκεν. ἀλίσκεται δὲ καὶ λίθος ἐκεῖ μαργαρίς ἐν ὀστράκῳ λευκῷ καρδίας τόπον ἔχουσα τῷ ὀστρέῳ.

## LIV

CAP.  
LIV

Κατασχεῖν δέ φασι καὶ ἐς Πηγάδας τῆς τῶν Ὀρειτῶν χώρας, οἳ δὲ Ὀρεῖται, χαλκαὶ μὲν αὐτοῖς αἱ πέτραι, χαλκῇ δὲ ἡ ψάμμος, χαλκοῦν δὲ ψῆγμα οἱ ποταμοὶ ἄγουσι. ρυσίτιν δὲ ἡγούνται τὴν χγῆν διὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν τοῦ χαλκοῦ.

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

### LIII

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.

CHAP.

LIII

The city of  
Patala

Nearchus  
and  
Orthagoras

The isle  
of Biblus

### LIV

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.

CHAP.

LIV

The bronze  
of the  
Oreitae

## LV

CAP.  
LV

Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἰχθυοφάγοις ἐντυχεῖν, οἷς πό-  
 λιν εἶναι Στόβηρα, διφθέρας δὲ τούτους ἐνήφθαι  
 μεγίστων ἰχθύων, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἐκείνη ἰχθυ-  
 ῶδη εἶναι καὶ φαγεῖν ἄτοπα, τοὺς γὰρ ποιμένας  
 βόσκειν αὐτὰ τοῖς ἰχθύσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν Καρία τοῖς  
 σύκοις. Καρμανοὶ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ γένος ἡμερον εὐίχθν  
 οὕτω νέμονται θάλατταν, ὥς μὴδ' ἀποθέτους  
 ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἰχθύς, μὴδέ, ὥσπερ ὁ Πόντος,  
 ταριχεύειν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγους μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποδίδοσθαι,  
 τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς ἀσπαίροντας ἀποδιδόναι τῇ  
 θαλάττῃ.

## LVI

CAP.  
LVI

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

### 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.

CHAP.  
LV  
The  
Ichthy-  
ophagi

### 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.

CHAP.  
LVI  
Balara and  
the Nereid

## LVII

CAP.  
LVII

Ἄξιον δὲ μὴδὲ τὸν περὶ τῆς ἐτέρας μαργαρίτιδος  
 παρελθεῖν λόγον, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ Ἀπολλωνίῳ μεираκιώ-  
 δης ἔδοξεν, ἀλλὰ πλάττεται ἡδιστος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ  
 θαλαττουργίᾳ θαυμασιώτατος. τὰ γὰρ τετραμ-  
 μένα τῆς νήσου πρὸς τὸ πέλαγός ἐστι μὲν ἄπειρος  
 πυθμὴν θαλάττης, φέρει δὲ ὄστρεον ἐν ἐλύτρῳ  
 λευκῷ μεστὸν πιμελῆς, οὐδὲ γὰρ λίθον φύει οὐδένα.  
 γαλήνην δὲ ἐπιφυλάξαντες καὶ τὴν θάλατταν  
 αὐτοὶ λεάναντες, τουτὶ δὲ ἡ τοῦ ἐλαίου ἐπιρροή  
 πράττει, καταδύεται τις ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τοῦ ὀστρέου,  
 τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατεσκευασμένος, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰς  
 σπογγιάς κείροντες, ἔστι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πλινθὶς  
 σιδηρὰ καὶ ἀλάβαστρος μύρον. παρὶζήσας οὖν ὁ  
 Ἰνδὸς τῷ ὀστρέῳ δέλεαρ αὐτοῦ τὸ μύρον ποιεῖται,  
 τὸ δὲ ἀνοίγνυται τε καὶ μεθύει ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, κέντρῳ  
 δὲ διελαθὲν ἀποπτύει τὸν ἰχῶρα, ὁ δὲ ἐκδέχεται  
 αὐτὸν τῇ πλινθίδι τύπους ὀρωρυγμένη. λιθοῦται  
 δὲ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ῥυθμίζεται, καθάπερ ἡ φύσει  
 μαργαρίς, κᾶστιν ἡ μαργαρίς αἷμα λευκὸν ἐξ  
 ἐρυθρᾶς τῆς θαλάττης. ἐπιτίθεσθαι δὲ τῇ θήρᾳ  
 ταύτῃ καὶ τοὺς Ἀραβίους φασὶν ἀντιπέρας  
 οἰκοῦντας. τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν θηριώδη μὲν τὴν  
 θάλατταν εἶναι πᾶσαν, ἀγελάζεσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ  
 τὰ κήτη, τὰς δὲ ναῦς ἔρμα τουτοῦ κωδωνοφορεῖν  
 κατὰ πρύμναν τε καὶ πρῶραν, τὴν δὲ ἡχὴν  
 ἐκπλήττειν τὰ θηρία, καὶ μὴ εἶναι ἐμπελάζειν  
 ταῖς ναυσί.

## LVII

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

CHAP.

LVII

The pearl-  
fishers

Seals

## LVIII

CAP.  
LVIII

Καταπλεύσαντες δὲ εἰς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Εὐφράτου φασὶν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα δι' αὐτοῦ ἀναπλεῦσαι παρὰ τὸν Οὐαρδάνην, καὶ τυχόντες αὐτοῦ οἴου ἐγίγνωσκον, ἐπὶ τὴν Νῆνον ἐλθεῖν αὐθις, καὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας συνήθως ὑβριζούσης καὶ μηδὲν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐσπουδακείας, ἐπὶ θάλατταν τε καταβῆναι τὴν ἐπὶ Σελεύκειαν, νεῶς τε ἐπιτυχόντες προσπλεῦσαι Κύπρῳ κατὰ τὴν Πάφον, οὐ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἔδος, ὃ ξυμβολικῶς ἰδρυμένον θαυμάσαι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς ἱερέας εἰς τὴν ὁσίαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ διδαξάμενον, εἰς Ἰωνίαν πλεῦσαι θαυμαζόμενον ἱκανῶς καὶ μεγάλων ἀξιούμενον παρὰ τοῖς τὴν σοφίαν τιμῶσιν.



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK III

### LVIII

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.

CHAP.  
LVIII  
Apollonius  
regains  
Ionia



## BOOK IV

Δ'.

I

CAP.  
I      Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ παρελθόντα  
 εἰς τὴν Ἑφεσον, οὐδὲ οἱ βάνανσοι ἔτι πρὸς ταῖς  
 ἑαυτῶν τέχναις ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ἠκολούθουν ὁ μὲν  
 σοφίας, ὁ δὲ εἰδους, ὁ δὲ διαίτης, ὁ δὲ σχήματος,  
 οἱ δὲ πάντων ὁμοῦ θαυμασταὶ ὄντες, λόγοι τε περὶ  
 αὐτοῦ ἐφοίτων, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κολοφῶνι μαντείου  
 κοινωνὸν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας καὶ ἀτεχνῶς σοφὸν  
 καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τὸν ἄνδρα ἄδοντες, οἱ δὲ ἐκ Διδύ-  
 μων, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον ἱεροῦ,  
 πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν ὑγιείας δεομένων ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσε  
 προσφοιτᾶν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, τουτὶ γὰρ αὐτός τε  
 βούλεσθαι καὶ δοκεῖν ταῖς Μοίραις. ἐφοίτων καὶ  
 πρεσβεῖαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, ξένον τε  
 αὐτὸν ἡγούμενοι καὶ βίου ξύμβουλον βωμῶν τε  
 ἰδρύσεως καὶ ἀγαλμάτων, ὁ δὲ ἕκαστα τούτων τὰ  
 μὲν ἐπιστέλλων, τὰ δὲ ἀφίξεσθαι φάσκων διωρ-  
 thoῦτο. πρεσβευσαμένης δὲ καὶ τῆς Σμύρνης καὶ  
 ὅ τι μὲν δέοιτο οὐκ εἰπούσης, ἐκλιπαρούσης δὲ  
 ἀφικέσθαι, ἤρετο τὸν πρεσβευτήν, ὅ τι αὐτοῦ  
 δέοιτο, ὁ δέ, “ ἰδεῖν,” ἔφη, “ καὶ ὀφθῆναι.” ὁ δὲ



## BOOK IV

### I

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

CHAP.  
1  
Apollonius  
regains  
Ionia and is  
welcomed  
by the  
oracles of  
Greece

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

## II

CAP. II Τὴν μὲν δὴ διάλεξιν τὴν πρώτην ἀπὸ τῆς κρη-  
πίδος τοῦ νεῶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἐφεσίους διελέχθη, οὐχ  
ὥσπερ οἱ Σωκρατικοί, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀπάγων  
τε καὶ ἀποσπουδάζων, φιλοσοφία δὲ μόνῃ ξυμβου-  
λεύων προσέχειν, καὶ σπουδῆς ἐμπιπλάναι τὴν  
Ἐφεσον μᾶλλον ἢ ῥαθυμίας τε καὶ ἀγερωχίας,  
ὁπόσῃν εὔρεν· ὀρχηστῶν γὰρ ἡττημένοι καὶ πρὸς  
πυρρίχαις αὐτοὶ ὄντες, αὐλῶν μὲν πάντα μεστὰ ἦν,  
μεστὰ δὲ ἀνδρογύνων, μεστὰ δὲ κτύπων· ὁ δὲ  
καίτοι μεταθεμένων τῶν Ἐφεσίων πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ  
ἡξίου περιορᾶν ταῦτα, ἀλλ’ ἐξήρει αὐτὰ καὶ διέ-  
βαλλε τοῖς πολλοῖς.

## III

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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

### II

THE first discourse then which he delivered was to CHAP.  
the Ephesians from the platform of their temple, and II  
its tone was not that of the Socratic school; for Reproves  
he dissuaded and discouraged them from other the Ionians  
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 CHAP.  
which grow hard by the cloisters; and in these he III  
sometimes dealt with the question of communism, The  
and taught that they ought to support and be communis-  
supported by one another. While he was doing so tic sparrow  
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

CAP.  
III

δοκῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἱ δέ, ὥς ἤκουσαν, αὐτοί τε ἀνέκραγον καὶ ἀρθέντες ἐπέτοντο ὑπὸ τῷ ἐνί. ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀπολλώνιος εἶχετο τοῦ λόγου, γιγνώσκων μὲν, ἐφ' ὃ τι οἱ στρουθοὶ πέτοιντο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐχ ἐρμηνεύων αὐτό, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέβλεψαν ἐς αὐτοὺς πάντες καὶ ἀνοήτως ἔνιοι τερατῶδες αὐτὸ ἐνόμισαν, παραλλάξας ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τοῦ λόγου, “παῖς,” εἶπεν, “ὥλισθεν ἀπάγων πυροὺς ἐν σκάφῃ, καὶ κακῶς αὐτοὺς ξυλλεξάμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπελήλυθε, πολλοὺς δ' ἐσκεδασμένους ἀπολέλοιπεν ἐν στενωπῷ τῷ δεῖνι, ὁ δὲ στρουθὸς παρατυχὼν οὗτος πρόξενος τοῖς ἄλλοις ἤκει τοῦ ἐρμαίου καὶ ποιεῖται αὐτοὺς ξυσσίτους.”

οἱ μὲν δὴ πλείστοι τῶν ἀκροωμένων δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ὄχοντο, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας διήκει τὸν λόγον, ὃν περὶ τῆς κοινωνίας προὔθετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκοντο βοῶντές τε καὶ μεστοὶ θαύματος, “οἱ μὲν στρουθοί,” εἶπεν, “ὁρᾶτε, ὥς ἐπιμελοῦνταί τε ἀλλήλων καὶ κοινωνία χαίρουσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἀξιούμεν, ἀλλὰ κἂν κοινωνοῦντα ἐτέροις ἰδωμεν, ἐκείνους μὲν ἀσωτίαν καὶ τρυφήν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡγούμεθα, τοὺς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τρεφομένους παρασίτους τε καὶ κόλακας φαμέν. καὶ τί λοιπὸν ἀλλ' ἢ ξυγκλείσαντας αὐτούς, ὥσπερ τοὺς σιτενομένους τῶν ὀρνίθων, ἐν σκότῳ γαστρίζεσθαι, μέχρις ἂν διαρραγῶμεν παχυνόμενοι;”



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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

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 ourselves up like birds that are being fed up and fattened, and gorge ourselves in the dark until we literally burst with fat?"

## IV

CAP. IV. Λοιμοῦ δὲ ὑφέρποντος τὴν Ἐφεσον καὶ οὐπω ἀνοιδούσης τῆς νόσου, ξυνῆκε μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τῆς προσβολῆς, ξυνεῖς δὲ προὔλεγε. πολλαχοῦ τε τῶν διαλέξεων “ὦ γῆ, μένε ὁμοία,” καὶ τοιαῦτα ἐπεφθέγγετο ξὺν ἀπειλῇ. “τούσδε σῶζε” καὶ “οὐ παρελεύσῃ ἐνταῦθα.” οἱ δ’ οὐ προσεῖχον καὶ τερατολογίαν τὰ τοιαῦτα ᾤοντο τοσῶδε μᾶλλον, ὅσῳ καὶ ἐς πάντα τὰ ἱερὰ φοιτῶν ἀποτρέπειν αὐτὸ ἐδόκει καὶ ἀπεύχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνοήτως εἶχον τοῦ πάθους, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐδὲν ᾤετο δεῖν ἐπαρκεῖν ἔτι, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην Ἰωνίαν περιῆει, διορθούμενος τὰ παρ’ ἐκάστοις καὶ διαλεγόμενος αἰεί τι σωτήριον τοῖς παροῦσιν.

## V

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

### IV

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

CHAP.  
IV

Predicts a  
plague in  
Ephesus

### V

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;

CHAP.  
V

His anger  
at adoption  
of Latin  
names by  
Greeks

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

VI

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

VII

CAP. VII Σπουδῇ δὲ ὁρῶν τοὺς Σμυρναίους ἀπάντων ἀπτομένους λόγων, ἐπερρῶννυε καὶ σπουδαιοτέρους ἐποίει, φρονεῖν τε ἐκέλευεν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ τῆς πόλεως εἶδει, καὶ γάρ, εἰ καὶ καλλίστη πόλεων, ὁπόσαι ὑπὸ ἡλίῳ εἰσὶ, καὶ τὸ πέλαγος οἰκιοῦται, ζεφύρου τε πηγὰς ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἀνδράσιν ἐστεφανῶσθαι αὐτὴν ἥδιον ἢ στοαῖς τε καὶ γραφαῖς καὶ χρυσῷ πλείονι τοῦ δέοντος.<sup>1</sup> τὰ μὲν γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> δέοντος should be read instead of ὄντος: "in excess of what they had."



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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

CHAP.  
V

### VI

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.

CHAP.  
VI  
Predicts earthquakes in Ionia

### 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,

CHAP.  
VII  
Advice to Smyrneans to foster manhood rather than architecture

## FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. VII. οἰκοδομήματα ἐπὶ ταύτου μένειν, οὐδαμοῦ ὀρώμενα πλὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους τῆς γῆς, ἐν ᾧ ἔστιν, ἄνδρας δὲ ἀγαθοὺς πανταχοῦ μὲν ὀράσθαι, πανταχοῦ δὲ φθέγγεσθαι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν, ἣς γεγόνασιν, ἀποφαίνειν τοσαύτην, ὅσοι περ αὐτοὶ γῆν ἐπελθεῖν δύνανται. ἔλεγε δὲ τὰς μὲν πόλεις τὰς οὕτω καλὰς εἰκέναι τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἀγάλματι, ὃς ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ τῷ Φειδίᾳ ἐκπεποιήται, καθῆσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸ—οὕτως τῷ δημιουργῷ ἔδοξε—τούς δὲ ἄνδρας ἐπὶ πάντα ἤκοντας μηδὲν ἀπεοικέναι τοῦ Ὀμηρείου Διός, ὃς ἐν πολλαῖς ἰδέαις Ὀμήρῳ πεποιήται θαυμασιώτερον ξυγκείμενος τοῦ ἐλεφαντίνου· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐν γῇ φαίνεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἐς πάντα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὑπονοεῖσθαι.

## VIII

CAP. VIII. Καὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἂν πόλεις ἀσφαλῶς οἰκοῖντο ξυνεφιλοσόφει τοῖς Σμυρναίοις, διαφερομένους ὀρῶν ἀλλήλοις καὶ μὴ ξυγκειμένους τὰς γνώμας· ἔλεγε γὰρ δὴ τὴν ὀρθῶς οἰκησομένην πόλιν ὁμονοίας στασιαζούσης δεῖσθαι, τούτου δὲ ἀπιθάνως τε καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἀκόλουθον εἰρῆσθαι δόξαντος, ξυνεῖς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὅτι μὴ ἔπονται οἱ πολλοὶ τῷ λόγῳ “λευκὸν μὲν,” ἔφη, “καὶ μέλαν οὐκ ἂν ποτε ταύτὸν γένοιτο, οὐδ’ ἂν τῷ γλυκεῖ τὸ

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

public edifices remain where they are, and are nowhere seen except in that particular part of the earth where they exist, but good men are conspicuous everywhere, and everywhere 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 everywhere in heaven.

CHAP.  
VII

### VIII

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

CHAP.  
VIII  
His ideal  
of civic  
patriotism

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

with sweet ; but concord can be so blended with party CHAP. VIII  
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 conten-  
tion 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 kindness, and another for his  
severity and unbending sternness towards male-  
factors, and another because his hands are pure  
beyond suspicion.”

## IX

CAP.  
IX

Καὶ ἅμα διῶν ταῦτα ναῦν εἶδε τῶν τριαρμένων ἐκπλέουσιν καὶ τοὺς ναύτας ἄλλον ἄλλως ἐς τὸ ἀνάγεσθαι αὐτὴν πράττοντας. ἐπιστρέφων οὖν τοὺς παρόντας, “ὁρᾶτε,” εἶπε, “τὸν τῆς νεὸς δῆμον, ὥς οἱ μὲν τὰς ἐφολκίδας ἐμβεβήκασιν ἐρετικοὶ ὄντες, οἱ δ’ ἀγκύρας ἀνιμῶσί τε καὶ ἀναρτῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπέχουσι τὰ ἰστία τῷ ἀνέμῳ, οἱ δὲ ἐκ πρύμνης τε καὶ πρῶρας προορῶσιν; εἰ δὲ ἐν τούτων εἰς ἐλλείψει τι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔργων ἢ ἀμαθῶς τῆς ναυτικῆς ἄψεται, πονήρως πλεουσύνται καὶ ὁ χειμῶν αὐτοὶ δόξουσιν· εἰ δὲ φιλοτιμήσονται πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιάσουσι μὴ κακίων ἕτερος ἑτέρου δόξαι, καλοὶ μὲν ὄρμοι τῇ νηὶ ταύτῃ, μεστὰ δὲ εὐδίας τε καὶ εὐπλοίας πάντα, Ποσειδῶν δὲ Ἀσφάλειος ἢ περὶ αὐτοῖς εὐβουλία δόξει.”

## X

CAP.  
X

Τοιούτοις μὲν δὴ λόγοις ξυνείχε τὴν Σμύρναν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ νόσος τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἐνέπεσε καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν πρὸς αὐτὴν αὐταρκες, ἐπρεσβεύοντο παρὰ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ἰατρὸν ποιούμενοι αὐτὸν τοῦ πάθους, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ᾤετο δεῖν ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν 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."

CHAP.

IX

Parable of  
the ship  
of state

### 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,

CHAP.

X

He scotches  
the plague  
demon at  
Ephesus

CAP.  
X  
 εἰπὼν “ἴωμεν,” ἦν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, τοῦ Πυθαγόρου, οἶμαι, ἐκεῖνο πράττων τὸ ἐν Θουρίοις ὁμοῦ καὶ Μεταποντίοις εἶναι. ξυναγαγὼν οὖν τοὺς Ἐφεσίους, “θαρσεῖτε,” ἔφη, “τήμερον γὰρ παύσω τὴν νόσον,” καὶ εἰπὼν ἤγειν ἡλικίαν πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον, οὗ τὸ τοῦ Ἀποτροπαίου ἴδρυται. πτωχεύειν δέ τις ἐνταῦθα ἐδόκει γέρων ἐπιμύων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τέχνη, καὶ πήραν ἔφερε καὶ ἄρτου ἐν αὐτῇ τρύφος, ῥάκεσί τε ἡμφίεστο καὶ αὐχμηρῶς εἶχε τοῦ προσώπου. περιστήσας οὖν τοὺς Ἐφεσίους αὐτῷ, “βάλλετε τὸν θεοῖς ἐχθρόν,” εἶπε, “ξυλλεξάμενοι τῶν λίθων ὡς πλείστους.” θαυμαζόντων δὲ τῶν Ἐφεσίων, ὅ τι λέγοι, καὶ δεινὸν ἡγουμένων, εἰ ξένον ἀποκτενοῦσιν ἀθλίως οὕτω πράττοντα, καὶ γὰρ ἰκέτευε καὶ πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἑλέῳ ἔλεγεν, ἐνέκειτο παρακελεύόμενος τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ἐρεῖδειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀνιέναι. ὡς δὲ ἀκροβολισμῷ τινες ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ὁ καταμύειν δοκῶν ἀνέβλεψεν ἀθρόον πυρὸς τε μέστους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔδειξε, ξυνῆκαν οἱ Ἐφεσίοι τοῦ δαίμονος καὶ κατελίθωσαν οὕτως αὐτόν, ὡς κολωνὸν λίθων περὶ αὐτόν χώσασθαι. διαλιπὼν δὲ ὀλίγον ἐκέλευσεν ἀφελεῖν τοὺς λίθους, καὶ τὸ θηρίον, ὃ ἀπεκτόνασι, γινῶναι. γυμνωθέντος οὖν τοῦ βεβλήσθαι δοκοῦντος, ὁ μὲν ἠφάνιστο, κύων δὲ τὸ μὲν εἶδος



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

but said: "Let us go." And forthwith he was in CHAP.  
X  
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

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

## XI

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

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## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

who resembled in form and look a Molossian dog, CHAP. X  
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, CHAP. XI  
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 him-  
self, 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

In Ilium he  
resolves to  
interview  
the ghost  
of Achilles

CAP. XI ἤσπάζετο, ἐπειδὴ αἶε τι αὐτῷ διήει χρηστόν, τὸν τε Φοῖνικα τροφέα καὶ ὀπαδὸν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τιμᾶν ἐνόμιζεν, ἐπειδὴ διήγεγνεν αὐτὸν ὁ Φοῖνιξ λόγοις, καὶ τὸν Πρίαμον δὲ καίτοι πολεμιώτατον αὐτῷ ὄντα πραότατα εἶδεν, ἐπειδὴ διαλεγόμενος ἤκουσε, καὶ Ὀδυσσεὶ δὲ ἐν διχοστασίᾳ ξυγγενόμενος οὕτω μέτριος ὥφθη, ὥς καλὸς τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ φοβερὸς δόξαι. τὴν μὲν δὲ ἄσπίδα καὶ τὴν κόρυν τὴν δεινὴν, ὥς φασι, νεύουσιν, ἐπὶ τοὺς Τρῶας οἶμαι αὐτῷ εἶναι μεμνημένῳ, ἃ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔπαθεν ἀπιστησάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου, ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε μετέχω τι τοῦ Ἰλίου, διαλέξομαι τε αὐτῷ χαριέστερον ἢ οἱ τότε ἐταῖροι, καὶ ἀποκτείνῃ με, ὥς φατε, μετὰ Μέμνονος δήπου καὶ Κύκνου κείσομαι καὶ ἴσως με ἐν καπέτῳ κοίλῃ, καθάπερ τὸν Ἑκτορα, ἢ Τροία θάψει." τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ἐταῖρους ἀναμῖξ παίξας τε καὶ σπουδάσας, προσέβαινε τῷ κολωνῷ μόνος, οἱ δὲ ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐσπέρας ἤδη.

## XII

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

useful to tell him ; and he used to honour Phoenix CHAP. XI. 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’ Iliad 24. 797 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. CHAP. XII  
Antisthenes sent away by order of Achilles

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

## XIII

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

“Why yes, by Zeus,” answered the other, “and CHAP. XII 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 off shore 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

CHAP. XIII  
Sets sail from the tomb of Ajax for Methymna

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

## XIV

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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."

CHAP.  
XIII

Finds and  
restores the  
statue of  
Palamedes

### XIV

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

CHAP.  
XIV

CAP.  
XIV

τὸν Ὀρφέα μαντικῇ χαίρειν, ἔστε τὸν Ἀπόλλω ἐπιμεμελησθαι αὐτόν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ μήτε ἐς Γρύνειον ἐφοίτων ἔτι ὑπὲρ χρησμῶν ἄνθρωποι μήτε ἐς Κλάρων μήτ' ἔνθα ὁ τρίπους ὁ Ἀπολλώνειος, Ὀρφεὺς δὲ ἔχρα μόνος, ἄρτι ἐκ Θράκης ἢ κεφαλὴ ἤκουσα, ἐφίσταται οἱ χρησμοῦντι ὁ θεὸς καί, “πέπαυσο,” ἔφη, “τῶν ἐμῶν, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄδοντά σε ἱκανῶς ἤνεγκα.”

## XV

CAP.  
XV

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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

CHAP.  
XIV  
Visits the  
shrine of  
Orpheus in  
Lesbos

### XV

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

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

CAP.  
XV. μέσῳ ὄντος, ὃν εἰκὸς ἦν ἐρωτᾶν μᾶλλον, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἐώλους τε καὶ ἀρχαίους ἐρωτῶμεν.” “καὶ τίς,” εἶπεν, “ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἴη ἄν, δι’ ὃν τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγῇ περιττοὺς;” “Ἀχιλλεῖ,” ἔφη, “ξυγγενόμενος, ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ πολλὰ ἴσως διακηκοὺς μήπω ἡμῖν γινγνωσκόμενα, οὐ δίδει ταῦτα, οὐδὲ τὸ εἶδος ἡμῖν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἀνατυποῖς, περιπλεῖς δὲ τὰς νήσους καὶ ναυπηγεῖς τῷ λόγῳ.” “εἰ μὴ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι,” ἔφη, “δόξω, πάντα εἰρήσεται.”

## XVI

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

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## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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

CHAP.  
XV

CHAP.  
XVI  
Apollonius  
relates his  
interview  
with  
Achilles

CAP.  
XVI

λικὸς τὴν χλαμύδα, τὸ δὲ εἶδος οὐκ ἀλαζών τις ἐφαίνετο, ὡς ἐνίοις ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς δοκεῖ, δεινὸς τε ὀρώμενος οὐκ ἐξήλλαττε τοῦ παιδρουῦ, τὸ δὲ κάλλος οὔπω μοι δοκεῖ ἐπαινέτου ἀξίου ἐπειληφθαι, καίτοι Ὀμήρου πολλὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἰπόντος, ἀλλὰ ἄρρητον εἶναι καὶ καταλύεσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑμνοῦντος ἢ παραπλησίως ἑαυτῷ ἄδεσθαι. ὀρώμενος δέ, ὅποσον εἶπον, μείζων ἐγένετο καὶ διπλάσιος καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦτο, δωδεκάπηχυς γοῦν ἐφάνη μοι, ὅτε δὴ τελεώτατος ἑαυτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸ κάλλος αἰεὶ ξυνεπεδίδου τῷ μήκει. τὴν μὲν δὴ κόμην οὐδὲ κείρασθαί ποτε ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ ἄσυλον φυλάξαι τῷ Σπερχειῷ, ποταμῶν γὰρ πρώτῳ Σπερχειῷ χρήσασθαι, τὰ γένεια δ' αὐτῷ πρώτας ἐκβολὰς εἶχε.

προσειπὼν δέ με, “ἀσμένως,” εἶπεν, “ἐντετύχηκά σοι, πάλαι δεόμενος ἀνδρὸς τοιοῦδε· Θεταλοὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐναγίσματα χρόνον ἤδη πολὺν ἐκλελοίπασί μοι, καὶ μηνίειν μὲν οὔπω ἀξιῶ, μηνίσαντος γὰρ ἀπολοῦνται μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ἐνταῦθά ποτε Ἕλληνες, ξυμβουλία δὲ ἐπιεικεῖ χρῶμαι, μὴ ὑβρίζειν σφᾶς ἐς τὰ νόμιμα, μηδὲ κακίους ἐλέγχεσθαι τουτωνὶ τῶν Τρώων, οἳ τοσοῦσδε ἄνδρας ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀφαιρεθέντες δημοσίᾳ τε θύουσί μοι καὶ ὠραίῳ ἀπάρχονται, καὶ ἱκετηρίαν τιθέμενοι σπονδὰς αἰτοῦσιν, ὥς ἐγὼ οὐ δώσω· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιорκηθέντα

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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,

CHAP.  
XVI

Thessalian  
neglect of  
his tomb

CAP.  
XVI

τούτοις ἐπ' ἐμὲ οὐκ ἑάσει τὸ Ἰλιὸν ποτε τὸ ἀρχαίου ἀναλαβεῖν εἶδος, οὐδὲ τυχεῖν ἀκμῆς, ὅπόση περὶ πολλὰς τῶν καθηρημένων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' οἰκίσουσιν αὐτὸ βελτίους οὐδὲν ἢ εἰ χθὲς ἤλωσαν. ἴν' οὖν μὴ καὶ τὰ Θετταλῶν ἀποφαίνω ὅμοια, πρέσβευε παρὰ τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ ὧν εἶπον.” “πρεσβεύσω,” ἔφην, “ὁ γὰρ νοὺς τῆς πρεσβείας ἦν μὴ ἀπολέσθαι αὐτούς. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τί σου, Ἀχιλλεῦ, δέομαι.” “ξυνίημι,” ἔφην, “δῆλος γὰρ εἰ περὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἐρωτήσεων· ἐρώτα δὲ λόγους πέντε, οὓς αὐτὸς τε βούλει καὶ Μοῖραι ξυγχωροῦσιν.” ἡρόμην οὖν πρῶτον, εἰ κατὰ τὸν τῶν ποιητῶν λόγον ἔτυχε τάφου. “κεῖμαι μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ὡς ἔμοιγε ἡδιστον καὶ Πατρόκλῳ ἐγένετο, ξυνέβημεν γὰρ δὴ κομιδῇ νέοι, ξυνέχει δὲ ἄμφω χρυσοὺς ἀμφορεὺς κειμένους, ὡς ἓνα. Μουσῶν δὲ θρῆνοι καὶ Νηρηίδων, οὓς ἐπ' ἐμοὶ γενέσθαι φασί, Μοῦσαι μὲν οὐδ' ἀφίκοντό ποτε ἐνταῦθα, Νηρηίδες δὲ ἔτι φοιτῶσι.” μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἡρόμην, εἰ ἢ Πολυξένη ἐπισφαγείη αὐτῷ, ὁ δὲ ἀληθὲς μὲν ἔφην τοῦτο εἶναι, σφαγῆναι δὲ αὐτὴν οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκούσαν ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα ἐλθοῦσαν καὶ τὸν ἑαυτῆς τε κἀκείνου ἐρώτα μεγάλων ἀξιῶσαι προσπεσοῦσαν ξίφει ὀρθῷ. τρίτον ἡρόμην· “ἢ Ἑλένη, ὦ Ἀχιλλεῦ, ἐς Ἰτροίαν ἦλθεν ἢ Ὀμήρῳ ἔδοξεν ὑποθέσθαι ταῦτα;”



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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

CHAP.  
XVI

CAP.  
XVI

“πολύν,” ἔφη, “χρόνον ἐξηπατώμεθα πρεσβευόμενοί τε παρὰ τοὺς Τρῶας, καὶ ποιούμενοι τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μάχας, ὥς ἐν τῷ Ἰλίῳ οὔσης, ἡ δ’ Αἴγυπτόν τε ᾧκει καὶ τὸν Πρωτέως οἶκον ἀρπασθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πάριδος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπιστεύθη τοῦτο, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς Τροίας λοιπὸν ἐμαχόμεθα, ὥς μὴ αἰσchrῶς ἀπέλθοιμεν.” ἠψάμην καὶ τετάρτης ἐρωτήσεως καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔφην, εἰ τοσοῦσδε ὁμοῦ καὶ τοιούσδε ἄνδρας ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἤνεγκεν, ὁπόσους Ὀμηρος ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν ξυντάττει. ὁ δὲ Ἀχιλλεύς, “οὐδὲ οἱ βάρβαροι,” ἔφη, “πολὺ ἡμῶν ἐλείποντο, οὕτως ἡ γῆ πᾶσα ἀρετῆς ἠνθησε.” πέμπτον δ’ ἠρόμην· τί παθὼν Ὀμηρος τὸν Παλαμῆδην οὐκ οἶδεν, ἢ οἶδε μὲν, ἐξαιρεῖ δὲ τοῦ περὶ ὑμῶν λόγου; “εἰ Παλαμῆδης,” εἶπεν, “ἐς Τροίαν οὐκ ἦλθεν, οὐδὲ Τροία ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνὴρ σοφώτατός τε καὶ μαχιμώτατος ἀπέθανεν, ὥς Ὀδυσσεὶ ἔδοξεν, οὐκ ἐσάγεται αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ ποιήματα Ὀμηρος, ὥς μὴ τὰ ὀνειδῆ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ἄδοι.” καὶ ἐπολοφυράμενος αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς ὥς μεγίστῳ τε καὶ καλλίστῳ, νεωτάτῳ τε καὶ πολεμικωτάτῳ, σωφροσύνῃ τε ὑπερβαλομένῳ πάντας καὶ πολλὰ ξυμβαλομένῳ ταῖς Μούσαις, “ἀλλὰ σύ,” ἔφη, “Ἀπολλώνιε, σοφοῖς γὰρ πρὸς σοφοὺς ἐπιτήδεια, τοῦ τε τάφου ἐπιμελήθητι, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Παλαμῆδους ἀνάλαβε φαύλως ἐρριμμένον· κείται δὲ ἐν τῇ Αἰολίδι κατὰ Μήθυμναν τὴν ἐν Λέσβῳ.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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 contemptuously cast aside; and it lies in Aeolis close to Methymna

CHAP.  
XVI

CAP.  
XVI τὰ περὶ τὸν νεανίαν τὸν ἐκ Πάρου, ἀπῆλθε ξὺν ἀστραπῇ μετρία, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνες ἤδη ὥδῃς ἤπτοντο.”

## XVII

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

## XVIII

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

in Lesbos.' With these words and with the closing CHAP. XVI  
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 CHAP. XVII  
having sailed into the Piraeus at the season of the  
mysteries, when the Athenians keep the most His welcome in Athens  
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 rehears-  
ing 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, CHAP. XVIII  
at which it is still customary for the Athenians to

CAP.  
XVIII

Ἀθηναίοις πάτριον ἐπὶ θυσία δευτέρα, τουτὶ δὲ ἐνόμισαν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἕνεκα, ὅτι δὴ ἐμύησαν αὐτὸν ἤκοντα Ἐπιδαυρόθεν ὀψὲ μυστηρίων. ἀμελήσαντες δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ μυεῖσθαι περὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον εἶχον, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐσπούδαζον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἀπελθεῖν τετελεσμένοι, ὁ δὲ ξυνέσεσθαι μὲν αὐτοῖς αὐθις ἔλεγεν, ἐκέλευσε δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς τότε γίνεσθαι, καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς μυεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἱεροφάντης οὐκ ἐβούλετο παρέχειν τὰ ἱερά, μὴ γὰρ ἂν ποτε μυῆσαι γόητα, μηδὲ τὴν Ἐλευσίνα ἀνοῖξαι ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ καθαρῷ τὰ δαιμόνια. ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τούτων ἥττων αὐτοῦ γενόμενος, “οὐπω,” ἔφη, “τὸ μέγιστον, ὦν ἐγὼ ἐγκληθεῖην ἂν, εἴρηκας, ὅτι περὶ τῆς τελετῆς πλείω ἢ σὺ γιγνώσκων, ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς παρὰ σοφώτερον ἑμαυτοῦ μνησόμενος ἦλθον.” ἐπαινεσάντων δὲ τῶν παρόντων, ὡς ἐρρωμένως καὶ παραπλησίως αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὁ μὲν ἱεροφάντης, ἐπειδὴ ἐξείργων αὐτὸν οὐ φίλα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐδόκει πράττειν, μετέβαλε τοῦ τόνου καί, “μυοῦ,” ἔφη, “σοφὸς γὰρ τις ἤκειν ἔοικας,” ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος “μυήσομαι,” ἔφη, “αὐθις, μυήσει δέ με ὁ δεῖνα,” προγνώσει χρώμενος ἐς τὸν μετ' ἐκείνον ἱεροφάντην, ὃς μετὰ τέτταρα ἔτη τοῦ ἱεροῦ προὔστη.

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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.

CHAP.  
XVIII

Is refused  
initiation in  
Epidaurian  
mystery

## XIX

CAP.  
XIX

Τὰς δὲ Ἀθήνησι διατριβὰς πλείστας μὲν ὁ Δά-  
μις γενέσθαι φησὶ τῷ ἀνδρί, γράφαι δὲ οὐ πάσας,  
ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀναγκαίας τε καὶ περὶ μεγάλων σπουδα-  
σθείσας. τὴν μὲν δὴ πρώτην διάλεξιν, ἐπειδὴ  
φιλοθύτας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἶδεν, ὑπὲρ ἱερῶν  
διελέξατο, καὶ ὡς ἂν τις ἐς τὸ ἐκάστω τῶν θεῶν  
οἰκεῖον καὶ πηνίκα δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἢ  
θύοι ἢ σπένδοι ἢ εὐχοίτο, καὶ βιβλίῳ Ἀπολλωνίου  
προστυχεῖν ἔστιν, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φωνῇ  
ἐκδιδάσκει. διήλθε δὲ ταῦτα Ἀθήνησι πρῶτον  
μὲν ὑπὲρ σοφίας αὐτοῦ τε καὶ κἀκείνων, εἰτ' ἐλέγχων  
τὸν ἱεροφάντην δι' ἃ βλασφήμως τε καὶ ἁμα-  
θῶς εἶπε· τίς γὰρ ἔτι ᾤθηται τὰ δαιμόνια μὴ  
καθαρὸν εἶναι τὸν φιλοσοφούντα, ὅπως οἱ θεοὶ  
θεραπευτέοι ;

## XX

CAP.  
XX

Διαλεγόμενου δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ σπένδειν, παρ-  
έτυχε μὲν τῷ λόγῳ μεираκιον τῶν ἀβρῶν οὕτως  
ἀσελγὲς νομιζόμενον, ὡς γενέσθαι ποτὲ καὶ  
ἁμαξῶν ἄσμα, πατρὶς δὲ αὐτῷ Κέρκυρα ἦν καὶ ἐς  
Ἀλκίουν ἀνέφερε τὸν ξένον τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως τὸν  
Φαίακα, καὶ διήκει μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος περὶ τοῦ



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

### XIX

MANY were the discourses which according to CHAP.  
Damis the sage delivered at Athens; though he did XIX  
not write down all of them, but only the more Lectures the  
important ones in which he handled great subjects. Athenians  
on Religion  
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 CHAP.  
libations, there chanced to be present in his audience XX  
a young dandy who bore so evil a reputation for Heals  
licentiousness, that his conduct had once been the a demoniac  
subject of coarse street-corner songs. His home was youth who  
Corcyra, and he traced his pedigree to Alcinous the mocked at  
Phaeacian who entertained Odysseus. Apollonius then him

CAP.  
XX. σπένδειν, ἐκέλευε δὲ μὴ πίνειν τοῦ ποτηρίου  
τούτου, φυλάττειν δὲ αὐτὸ τοῖς θεοῖς ἄχραντόν  
τε καὶ ἄποτον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὧτα ἐκέλευσε τῷ  
ποτηρίῳ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ σπένδειν κατὰ τὸ οὖς,  
ἀφ' οὗ μέρους ἥκιστα πίνουσιν ἄνθρωποι, τὸ  
μειράκιον κατεσκέδασε τοῦ λόγου πλατύν τε  
καὶ ἀσελγῇ γέλωτα· ὁ δὲ ἀναβλέψας ἐς αὐτό,  
“οὐ σύ,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα ὑβρίζεις, ἀλλ' ὁ δαίμων, ὃς  
ἐλαύνει σε οὐκ εἰδότα.” ἐλελήθει δὲ ἄρα δαιμονῶν  
τὸ μειράκιον· ἐγέλα τε γὰρ ἐφ' οἷς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος  
καὶ μετέβαλλεν ἐς τὸ κλάειν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχον,  
διελέγετό τε πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἦδε. καὶ οἱ μὲν  
πολλοὶ τὴν νεότητα σκιρτῶσαν ᾧοντο ἐκφέρειν  
αὐτὸ ἐς ταῦτα, ὁ δ' ὑπεκρίνετο ἄρα τῷ δαίμονι καὶ  
ἐδόκει παροινεῖν, ἃ ἐπαρῶναι τότε, ὀρώντός τε ἐς  
αὐτὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, δεδοικότως τε καὶ ὀργίλως  
φωνὰς ἠφίει τὸ εἶδωλον, ὅποσαι καομένων τε καὶ  
στρεβλουμένων εἰσίν, ἀφέξεσθαι τε τοῦ μειρακίου  
ᾧμν καὶ μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐμπεσεῖσθαι. τοῦ δὲ  
οἶον δεσπότου πρὸς ἀνδράποδον ποικίλον πανοῦρ-  
γόν τε καὶ ἀναιδὲς καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ξὺν ὀργῇ  
λέγοντος, καὶ κελεύοντος αὐτῷ ξὺν τεκμηρίῳ  
ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, “τὸν δεῖνα,” ἔφη, “καταβαλῶ  
ἀνδριάντα,” δείξας τινὰ τῶν περὶ τὴν Βασίλειον  
στοάν, πρὸς ἣ ταῦτα ἐπράττετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἀνδριάς  
ὑπεκινήθη πρῶτον, εἶτα ἔπεσε, τὸν μὲν θόρυβον

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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

CHAP.  
XX

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

XXI

CAP. XXI. Ἐπιπλήξαι δὲ λέγεται περὶ Διουνυσίων Ἀθηναίοις, ἃ ποιεῖται σφισιν ἐν ὥρᾳ τοῦ ἀνθεστηριῶνος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ μονωδίας ἀκροασομένους καὶ μελοποιίας παραβάσεών τε καὶ ῥυθμῶν, ὅποσοι κωμωδίας τε καὶ τραγωδίας εἰσίν, ἐς τὸ θέατρον ξυμφοιτᾶν ᾤετο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσεν, ὅτι αὐλοῦ ὑποσημήναντος λυγισμοὺς ὀρχοῦνται, καὶ μεταξὺ τῆς Ὀρφέως ἐποποιίας τε καὶ θεολογίας τὰ μὲν ὡς ὦραι, τὰ δὲ ὡς Νύμφαι, τὰ δὲ ὡς Βάκχαι πρίττουσιν, ἐς ἐπίπληξιν τούτου κατέστη, καί, “παύσασθε,” εἶπεν, “ἐξορχούμενοι τοὺς Σαλαμινίους καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτέρους κειμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, εἰ μὲν γὰρ Λακωνικὴ ταῦτα ὀρχησις, εὖγε οἱ στρατιῶται, γυμνάζεσθε γὰρ πολέμῳ καὶ



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

the hubbub which arose thereat and the way they <sup>CHAP.</sup> clapped their hands with wonder. But the young <sup>XX</sup> 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 <sup>CHAP.</sup> their conduct of the festival of Dionysus, which they <sup>XXI</sup> hold at the season of the month Anthesterion. For <sup>Rebukes Athenian levity at feast of Dionysus</sup> 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 bacchantes, 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 ’ ;

CAP.  
XXI

ξυνορχήσομαι, εἰ δὲ ἀπαλὴ καὶ ἐς τὸ θῆλυ σπεύ-  
 δουσα, τί φῶ περὶ τῶν τροπαίων; οὐ γὰρ κατὰ  
 Μήδων ταῦτα ἢ Περσῶν, καθ' ὑμῶν δὲ ἐστήξει,  
 τῶν ἀναθέντων αὐτὰ εἰ λίποισθε. κροκωτοὶ δὲ  
 ὑμῖν καὶ ἀλουργία καὶ κοκκοβαφία τοιαύτη πόθεν;  
 οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ Ἀχαρναί γε ὧδε ἐστέλλοντο, οὐδὲ ὁ  
 Κολωνὸς ὧδε ἵππενε. καὶ τί λέγω ταῦτα; γυνὴ  
 ναύαρχος ἐκ Καρίας ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἔπλευσε μετὰ  
 Ξέρξου, καὶ ἦν αὐτῇ γυναικείον οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς  
 στολὴ καὶ ὄπλα, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀβρότεροι τῶν Ξέρξου  
 γυναικῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς στέλλεσθε οἱ γέροντες οἱ  
 νέοι τὸ ἐφηβικόν, οἱ πάλαι μὲν ὤμνυσαν ἐς  
 Ἀγραύλου φοιτῶντες ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθα-  
 νεῖσθαι καὶ ὄπλα θήσεσθαι, νῦν δὲ ἴσως ὁμοῦνται  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος βακχεύειν καὶ θύρσον  
 λήψεσθαι, κόρυν μὲν οὐδεμίαν φέρον, γυναικομίμῳ  
 δὲ μορφώματι, κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην, αἰσχρῶς  
 διαπρέπον. ἀκούω δὲ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀνέμους γίνεσθαι,  
 καὶ λήδια ἀνασεῖιν λέγεσθε ἔπιπλα μετεώρως  
 αὐτὰ κολποῦντες. ἔδει δὲ ἀλλὰ τούτους γε αἰδεῖ-  
 σθαι, ξυμμάχους ὄντας καὶ πνεύσαντας ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν  
 μέγα, μὴδὲ τὸν Βορέαν κηδεστήν γε ὄντα καὶ  
 παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀνέμους ἄρσενα ποιεῖσθαι  
 θῆλυν, οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς Ὀρειθυίας ἐραστῆς ἂν ποτε ὁ  
 Βορέας ἐγένετο, εἰ κακείνην ὀρχουμένην εἶδε."



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

but as it is a soft dance and one of effeminate CHAP.  
tendency, what am I to say of your national XXI  
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."

Eurip.  
*Bacchae*  
980.

## XXII

CAP.  
XXII

Διωρθοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο Ἀθήνησιν· οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι  
 ξυνιόντες εἰς θέατρον τὸ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει  
 προσεΐχον σφαγαῖς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐσπονδάζετο  
 ταῦτα ἐκεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν Κορίνθῳ νῦν, χρημάτων  
 τε μεγάλων ἐωνημένοι ἤγοντο μοιχοὶ καὶ πόρνοι  
 καὶ τοιχωρύχοι καὶ βαλαντιοτόμοι καὶ ἀνδρα-  
 ποδισταὶ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔθνη, οἱ δ' ὥπλιζον  
 αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκέλευον ξυμπίπτειν. ἐλάβετο δὲ καὶ  
 τούτων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ καλούντων αὐτὸν εἰς  
 ἐκκλησίαν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἂν ἔφη παρελθεῖν εἰς  
 χωρίον ἀκάθαρτον καὶ λύθρου μεστόν. ἔλεγε δὲ  
 ταῦτα ἐν ἐπιστολῇ. καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔλεγεν “ὅπως  
 ἡ θεὸς οὐ καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἤδη ἐκλείπει τοιοῦτον  
 αἷμα ὑμῶν ἐκχεόντων αὐτῇ. δοκεῖτε γάρ μοι προ-  
 ιόντες, ἐπειδὴν τὰ Παναθήναια πέμπητε, μηδὲ  
 βούς ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐκατόμβας ἀνθρώπων καταθύσειν  
 τῇ θεῷ. σὺ δέ, Διόνυσε, μετὰ τοιοῦτον αἷμα εἰς τὸ  
 θέατρον φοιτᾷς; καὶ ἐκεῖ σοι σπένδουσιν οἱ σοφοὶ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι; μετάστηθι καὶ σύ, Διόνυσε· Κιθαιρῶν  
 καθαρώτερος.” τοιάδε εὖρον τὰ σπουδαιότατα  
 τῶν φιλοσοφηθέντων Ἀθήνησιν αὐτῷ τότε.

## XXIII

CAP.  
XXIII

Ἐπρέσβευσε δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ὑπὲρ  
 τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Πυλαίᾳ ξυλλόγους,  
 396



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

### XXII

HE also corrected the following abuse at Athens. CHAP. XXII  
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.” His criticism of gladiatorial shows in Athens

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 CHAP. XXIII

CAP.  
XXIII

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

CAP.  
XXIV

XXIV

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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

CHAP.

XXIII

He visits  
Thessaly.  
Eulogy of  
Leonidas

### XXIV

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

CHAP.

XXIV

Visits Greek  
shrines

CAP.  
XXIV μοι, λόγων τε κρατῆρες ἴσταντο καὶ ἡρύοντο αὐτῶν οἱ διψῶντες. ὄντων δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπίων καὶ καλούντων αὐτὸν Ἡλείων ἐπὶ κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἀγῶ-  
νος, “δοκεῖτέ μοι,” ἔφη, “διαβάλλειν τὴν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων δόξαν πρεσβειῶν δεόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς αὐτόθεν ἥξοντας.” γενόμεμος δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν μυκησαμένης τῆς περὶ τὸ Λέχαιον θαλάττης, “οὗτος,” εἶπεν, “ὁ αὐχὴν τῆς γῆς τετμήσεται, μᾶλ-  
λον δὲ οὐ.” εἶχε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο πρόρρησιν τῆς μικρὸν ὕστερον περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τομῆς, ἣν μετὰ ἔτη ἑπτὰ Νέρων διενοήθη· τὰ γὰρ βασίλεια ἐκλι-  
πὼν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφίκετο κηρύγμασιν ὑποθή-  
σων ἑαυτὸν Ὀλυμπικοῖς τε καὶ Πυθικοῖς, ἐνίκα δὲ καὶ Ἰσθμοῖ· αἱ δὲ νίκαι ἦσαν κιθαρωδίαί καὶ κήρυκες, ἐνίκα δὲ καὶ τραγωδοὺς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. τότε λέγεται καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καινοτομίας ἄψασθαι, περίπλουν αὐτὸν ἐργαζόμενος καὶ τὸν Αἰγαῖον τῷ Ἀδρίᾳ ξυμβάλλων, ὥς μὴ πᾶσα ναὺς ὑπὲρ Μαλέαν πλέοι, κομίζουσιν τε αἱ πολλαὶ διὰ τοῦ ῥήγματος ξυντέμνουσαι τὰς περιβολὰς τοῦ πλοῦ. πῇ δὲ ἀπέβη τὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου λόγιον; ἡ ὀρυχὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Λεχαίου λαβοῦσα στάδια προὔβη ἴσως τέτταρα ξυνεχῶς ὀρυττόντων, σχεῖν δὲ λέγεται Νέρων τὴν τομὴν οἱ μὲν Αἰγυπτίῳ



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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

CHAP.  
XXIV

Is invited to  
the Olympic  
games

Predicts  
Nero's  
Isthmian  
canal

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

XXV

CAP.  
XXV Ἐν Κορίνθῳ δὲ φιλοσοφῶν ἐτύγχανε τότε Δημή-  
τριος, ἀνὴρ ξυνειληφὼς ἅπαν τὸ ἐν Κυνικῇ κράτος,  
οὗ Φαβωρίνος ὕστερον ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λό-  
γων οὐκ ἀγεννῶς ἐπεμνήσθη, παθὼν δὲ πρὸς τὸν  
Ἀπολλώνιον, ὅπερ φασὶ τὸν Ἀντισθένην πρὸς τὴν  
τοῦ Σωκράτους σοφίαν παθεῖν, εἶπετο αὐτῷ μαθη-  
τιῶν καὶ προσκείμενος τοῖς λόγοις, καὶ τῶν αὐτῷ  
γνωρίμων τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτέρους ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον  
ἔτρεπεν, ὧν καὶ Μένιππος ἦν ὁ Λύκιος, ἔτη μὲν γε-  
γονὼς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, γνώμης δὲ ἱκανῶς ἔχων καὶ  
τὸ σῶμα εὖ κατεσκευασμένος, ἐφώκει γοῦν ἀθλητῇ  
καλῷ καὶ ἐλευθερίῳ τὸ εἶδος. ἐρᾶσθαι δὲ τὸν Μέ-  
νιππον οἱ πολλοὶ ᾤοντο ὑπὸ γυναιίου ξένου, τὸ δὲ  
γύναιον καλὴ τε ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἱκανῶς ἀβρά, καὶ  
πλουτεῖν ἔφασκεν, οὐδεν δὲ τούτων ἄρα ἀτεχνῶς  
ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἐδόκει πάντα. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ  
Κεγχροεᾶς βαδίζοντι αὐτῷ μόνῳ, φάσμα ἐντυχὸν  
γυνή τε ἐγένετο, καὶ χεῖρα ξυνήψεν ἐρᾶν αὐτοῦ  
πάλαι φάσκουσα, Φοίνισσα δὲ εἶναι καὶ οἰκεῖν ἐν

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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

CHAP.  
XXIV

### XXV

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

CHAP.  
XXV  
The story  
of Menippus  
and the  
Lamia

CAP.  
XXV προαστείω τῆς Κορίνθου, τὸ δεῖνα εἰποῦσα προάστειον, “ἐς ὃ ἐσπέρας,” ἔφη, “ἀφικομένῳ σοι ὧδὴ τε ὑπάρξει ἐμοῦ ἀδούσης καὶ οἶνος, οἶον οὐπω ἔπιες, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀντεραστῆς ἐνοχλήσει σε, βιώσομαι δὲ καλὴ ξὺν καλῷ.” τούτοις ὑπαχθεὶς ὁ νεανίας, τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλην φιλοσοφίαν ἔρρωτο, τῶν δὲ ἐρωτικῶν ἡττητο, ἐφοίτησε περὶ ἐσπέραν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐθάμιζεν, ὥσπερ παιδικοῖς, οὐπω ξυνεὶς τοῦ φάσματος.

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



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

Phoenician woman and lived in a suburb of Corinth, CHAP. XXV 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

CAP.  
XXV

“ὁ δὲ ἄργυρος καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς καὶ τὰ λοιπά, οἷς ὁ ἀνδρῶν κεκόσμηται, ποτέρου ὑμῶν;” “τῆς γυναικός,” ἔφη, “τὰμὰ γὰρ τοσαῦτα,” δείξας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τρίβωνα.

‘Ο δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, “τοὺς Ταντάλου κήπους,” ἔφη, “εἶδετε, ὡς ὄντες οὐκ εἰσί;” “παρ’ Ὀμήρω γε,” ἔφασαν, “οὐ γὰρ ἐς Αἴδου γε καταβάντες.” “τοῦτ’,” ἔφη, “καὶ τουτονὶ τὸν κόσμον ἡγείσθε, οὐ γὰρ ὕλη ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ὕλης δόξα. ὡς δὲ γιγνώσκειτε, ὃ λέγω, ἡ χρηστὴ νύμφη μία τῶν ἐμπουσῶν ἐστίν, ἧς λαμίας τε καὶ μορμολυκίας οἱ πολλοὶ ἡγοῦνται. ἐρῶσι δ’ αὖται, καὶ ἀφροδισίων μέν, σαρκῶν δὲ μάλιστα ἀνθρωπείων ἐρῶσι καὶ παλεύουσι τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις, οὓς ἂν ἐθέλωσι δαίσασθαι.” ἡ δέ, “εὐφήμει,” ἔλεγε, “καὶ ἄπαγε,” καὶ μυσάττεσθαι ἐδόκει, ἃ ἤκουε, καὶ πού καὶ ἀπέσκωπτε τοὺς φιλοσόφους, ὡς αἰὲ ληροῦντας. ἐπεὶ μέντοι τὰ ἐκπώματα τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ ὁ δοκῶν ἄργυρος ἀνεμιαῖα ἠλέγχθη, καὶ διέπτη τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἅπαντα, οἰνοχόοι τε καὶ ὀψοποιοὶ καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη θεραπεία πᾶσα ἠφανίσθησαν ἐλεγχόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, δακρύοντι ἐώκει τὸ φᾶσμα, καὶ ἐδεῖτο μὴ βασανίζειν αὐτό, μηδὲ ἀναγκάζειν ὁμολογεῖν, ὃ τι εἶη, ἐπικειμένου δὲ καὶ μὴ ἀνιέντος ἐμπουσά τε εἶναι ἔφη καὶ πιαίνειν ἡδοναῖς τὸν

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

rose slightly from his seat, blushing. "And to which of you belong the silver and gold and all the rest of the decorations of the banqueting hall?" CHAP. XXV  
"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

## FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

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

## XXVI

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

## XXVII

CAP.  
XXVII Τὰ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοιαῦτα· ἀνιόντι τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐνέτυχον Λακεδαιμο-  
408



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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

CHAP.  
XXV

### XXVI

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

CHAP.  
XXVI

His quarrel  
with the  
parricide  
Bassus

### XXVII

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

CHAP.  
XXVII

CAP.  
XXVII

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

“ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐφόροις χαίρειν.

Ἄνδρῶν μὲν τὸ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν, γενναίων δὲ τὸ καὶ  
ἁμαρτάνοντας αἰσθέσθαι.”

XXVIII

CAP.  
XXVIII

Ἰδὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἔδος τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, “ χαῖρε,”  
εἶπεν, “ ἀγαθὲ Ζεῦ, σὺ γὰρ οὕτω τι ἀγαθός, ὥς καὶ  
σαυτοῦ κοινωνῆσαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.” ἐξηγήσατο

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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,<sup>1</sup> and drove out of the city the women who professed to rejuvenate dandies,<sup>2</sup> and they restored the ancient régime in every respect. The consequence was that the wrestling grounds were filled once more with the youth, and the jousts and the common meals were restored, and Lacedaemon became once more like herself. And when he learned that they had set their house in order, he sent them an epistle from Olympia, briefer than any cipher despatch of ancient Sparta; and it ran as follows:—

CHAP.  
XXVII  
Rebukes the  
laxity of the  
Spartans

“Apollonius to the Ephors sends salutation.

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

### XXVIII

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

CHAP.  
XXVIII  
He explains  
the statue  
of Milo

<sup>1</sup> Adhesive plasters were used to remove superfluous hair from the body.

<sup>2</sup> Literally “hair-pluckers.”

CAP.  
XXVIII

δὲ καὶ τὸν χαλκοῦν Μίλωνα καὶ τὸν λόγον τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν σχήματος. ὁ γὰρ Μίλων ἐστάναι μὲν ἐπὶ δίσκου δοκεῖ τῷ πόδε ἄμφω συμβεβηκώς, ῥόαν δὲ ξυνέχει τῇ ἀριστερᾷ, ἡ δεξιὰ δέ, ὀρθοὶ τῆς χειρὸς ἐκείνης οἱ δάκτυλοι καὶ οἶον διείροντες. οἱ μὲν δὲ κατ' Ὀλυμπίαν τε καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν λόγοι τὸν ἀθλητὴν ἱστοροῦσι τοῦτον ἄτρεπτον γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐκβιβασθῆναί ποτε τοῦ χώρου, ἐν ᾧ ἔστη, δηλοῦσθαι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀπρὶξ τῶν δακτύλων ἐν τῇ ξυνοχῇ τῆς ῥόας, τὸ δὲ μηδ' ἂν σχισθῆναί ποτ' ἀπ' ἀλλήλων αὐτούς, εἴ τις πρὸς ἓνα αὐτῶν ἀμιλλῶτο, τῷ τὰς διαφυὰς ἐν ὀρθοῖς τοῖς δακτύλοις εἶ ξυνηρμόσθαι, τὴν ταινίαν δέ, ἣν ἀναδεῖται, σωφροσύνης ἡγοῦνται ξύμβολον. ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος σοφῶς μὲν εἶπεν ἐπιμενοῆσθαι ταῦτα, σοφώτερα δὲ εἶναι τὰ ἀληθέστερα. “ὥς δὲ γιγνώσκοιτε τὸν νοῦν τοῦ Μίλωνος, Κροτωνιάται τὸν ἀθλητὴν τοῦτον ἱερέα ἐστήσαντο τῆς Ἥρας. τὴν μὲν δὲ μίτραν ὅτι χρή νοεῖν, τί ἂν ἐξηγοίμην ἔτι, μνημονεύσας ἱερέως ἀνδρός; ἡ ῥόα δὲ μόνη φυτῶν τῇ Ἥρᾳ φύεται, ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσὶ δίσκος, ἐπὶ ἀσπιδίου βεβηκώς ὁ ἱερεὺς τῇ Ἥρᾳ εὐχεται, τουτὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ δεξιὰ σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ ἔργον τῶν δακτύλων καὶ τὸ μήπω διεστῶς τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ ἀγαλματοποιίᾳ προσκείσθω.”



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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."

CHAP.  
XXVIII

## XXIX

CAP.  
XXIX

Παρατυγχάνων δὲ τοῖς δρωμένοις ἀπεδέχετο τῶν Ἡλείων, ὥς ἐπεμελοῦντό τε αὐτῶν καὶ ξὺν κόσμῳ ἔδρων, μεῖόν τε οὐδὲν ἢ οἱ ἀγωνιούμενοι τῶν ἀθλητῶν κρίνεσθαι ᾤοντο, καὶ μήθ' ἐκόντες τι μῆτ' ἄκοντες ἀμαρτάνειν προῦνοοῦντο. ἐρομένων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἐταίρων, τίνας Ἡλείους περὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἡγοῖτο, “ εἰ μὲν σοφούς,” ἔφη, “ οὐκ οἶδα, σοφιστὰς μέντοι.”

## XXX

CAP.  
XXX

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

## 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."

CHAP.  
XXIX  
He  
commends  
Elis

## 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?"

CHAP.  
XXX  
Rebukes a  
literary  
puppy

CAP.  
XXX

τοῦτο μέν,” ἔφη, “πολλὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτου καὶ ἐπὶ  
τούτῳ ἕτερα, καὶ γὰρ αἱ ὥραι καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ  
τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἀνέμους εἶναι καὶ ἄστρα Διὸς  
πάντα.” ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, “δοκεῖς μοι,” εἶπεν,  
“ἐγκωμιστικὸς τις εἶναι σφόδρα.” “διὰ τοῦτο,”  
ἔφη, “καὶ ποδάγρας ἐγκώμιόν τί μοι ξυντέτακται  
καὶ τοῦ τυφλὸν τινα ἢ κωφὸν εἶναι.” “ἀλλὰ  
μηδὲ τοὺς ὑδέρους,” εἶπε, “μηδὲ τοὺς κατάρρους  
ἀποκήρυττε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας, εἰ βούλοιο ἐπαινεῖν  
τὰ τοιαῦτα, βελτίων δὲ ἔσῃ καὶ τοῖς ἀποθνή-  
σκουσιν ἐπόμενος καὶ διῶν ἐπαίνους τῶν νοση-  
μάτων, ὑφ’ ὧν ἀπέθανον, ἦττον γὰρ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς  
ἀνιάσονται πατέρες τε καὶ παῖδες καὶ οἱ ἀγχοῦ τῶν  
ἀποθανόντων.” κεχαλινωμένον δὲ ἰδὼν τὸ μεράκιον  
ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου, “ὁ ἐγκωμιάζων,” εἶπεν, “ὦ ξυγ-  
γραφεύ, πότερον ἂ οἶδεν ἐπαινέσεται ἄμεινον ἢ  
ἂ οὐκ οἶδεν;” “ἂ οἶδεν,” ἔφη, “πῶς γὰρ ἂν τις  
ἐπαινοῖ, ἂ οὐκ οἶδε;” “τὸν πατέρα οὖν ἤδη ποτὲ  
τὸν σαυτοῦ ἐπήνεσας;” “ἐβουλήθην,” εἶπεν  
“ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ μέγας τι μοι δοκεῖ καὶ γενναῖος  
ἀνθρώπων τε ὧν οἶδα κάλλιστος, οἰκόν τε ἱκανὸς  
οἰκῆσαι καὶ σοφία ἐς πάντα χρῆσθαι, παρήκα τὸν  
ἐς αὐτὸν ἔπαινον, ὥς μὴ αἰσχύνοιμι τὸν πατέρα  
λόγῳ ἦττον.” δυσχεράνας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος,  
τουτὶ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φορτικούς τῶν ἀνθρώπων



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

“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,

CHAP.  
XXX

CAP.  
XXX

ἔπασχεν, “εἶτα,” ἔφη, “ὦ κάθαρμα, τὸν μὲν πατέρα τὸν σεαυτοῦ, ὃν ἴσα καὶ σεαυτὸν γιγνώσκεις, οὐκ ἄρ’ οἶει πότ’ ἂν ἱκανῶς ἐπαινέσαι, τὸν δ’ ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν πατέρα καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων, ὅσα περὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἐστίν, εὐκόλως οὕτως ἐγκωμιάζων οὔθ’, ὃν ἐπαινεῖς, δέδιας, οὔτε ξυνίης ἐς λόγον καθιστάμενος μείζονα ἀνθρώπου ;”

## XXXI

CAP.  
XXXI

Αἱ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ διαλέξεις τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ περὶ τῶν χρησιμωτάτων ἐγίγνοντο, περὶ σοφίας τε καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ καθάπαξ, ὅπόσαι ἀρεταὶ εἰσι, περὶ τούτων ἀπὸ τῆς κρηπίδος τοῦ νεὸ διελέγετο, πάντας ἐκπλήττων οὐ ταῖς διανοαῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἰδέαις τοῦ λόγου. περιστάντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ξένον τε παρὰ τῷ Διὶ ἐποιοῦντο καὶ τῶν οἴκοι νέων πατέρα βίου τε νόμοθέτην καὶ γερόντων γέρας. ἐρομένου δὲ Κορινθίου τινὸς κατὰ ἀχθηδόνα, εἰ καὶ θεοφάνια αὐτῷ ἄξουσιν, “ναὶ τὸ Σιώ,” ἔφη, “ἔτοιμά γε.” ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἀπήγαγεν αὐτοὺς τῶν τοιούτων, ὥς μὴ φθονοῖτο, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερβὰς τὸ Ταύγετον εἶδεν ἐνεργὸν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ τὰ τοῦ Λυκούργου πάτρια εὖ πράττοντα, οὐκ ἀηδὲς ἐνόμισε τὸ καὶ

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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

CHAP.  
XXX

### XXXI

THE conversations which Apollonius held in Olympia turned upon the most profitable topics, such as wisdom and courage and temperance, and in a word upon all the virtues. He discussed these from the platform of the temple, and he astonished everyone not only by the insight he showed but by his forms of expression. And the Lacedaemonians flocked round him and invited him to share 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

CHAP.  
XXXI  
He is  
invited to  
Sparta

CAP.  
XXXI τοῖς τέλεσι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ξυγγενέσθαι περὶ  
ὧν ἐρωτᾶν ἐβούλοντο· ἤροντο οὖν ἀφικόμενον, πῶς  
θεοὶ θεραπευτέοι, ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, “ὥς δεσπόται.”  
πάλιν ἤροντο, πῶς ἤρωες· “ὥς πατέρες.” τρίτον  
δὲ ἐρομένων, πῶς δὲ ἄνθρωποι, “οὐ Λακωνικόν,”  
ἔφη, “τὸ ἐρώτημα.” ἤροντο καὶ ὅ τι ἡγοῖτο τοὺς  
παρ’ αὐτοῖς νόμους, ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, “ἀρίστους διδα-  
σκάλους, οἱ διδάσκαλοι δὲ εὐδοκιμήσουσιν, ἣν οἱ  
μαθηταὶ μὴ ῥαθυμῶσιν.” ἐρομένων δ’ αὐτῶν, τί  
περὶ ἀνδρείας ξυμβουλεύοι, “καὶ τί;” ἔφη, “τῇ  
ἀνδρείᾳ χρήσεσθαι.”

## XXXII

CAP.  
XXXII Ἐτύγχανε δὲ περὶ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον νεανίας  
Λακεδαιμόνιος αἰτίαν ἔχων παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ὥς ἀδικῶν  
περὶ τὰ ἥθη· Καλλικρατίδα μὲν γὰρ τοῦ περὶ Ἀρ-  
γινούσας ναυαρχήσαντος ἦν ἕκγονος, ναυκληρίας  
δὲ ἦρα καὶ οὐ προσεῖχε τοῖς κοινοῖς, ἀλλ’ ἐς  
Καρχηδόνα ἐξέπλει καὶ Σικελίαν ναῦς πεποιη-  
μένος. ἀκούσας οὖν κρίνεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ,  
δεινὸν ὥηθη περιδεῖν τὸν νεανίαν ὑπαχθέντα ἐς  
δίκην, καί, “ὦ λῶστε,” ἔφη, “τί πεφροντικῶς περίει  
καί, μεστὸς ἐννοίας;” “ἀγών,” εἶπεν, “ἐπήγγελται



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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

CHAP.  
XXXI

### XXXII

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

CHAP.  
XXXII  
Converts a  
youthful  
Spartan  
from his  
seafaring  
life

μοι δημόσιος, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς ναυκληρίαις εἰμὶ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ οὐ πράττω.” “πατὴρ δέ σοι ναύκληρος ἐγένετο ἢ πάππος;” “ἅπαγε,” εἶπε, “γυμνασί-  
 αρχοι τε καὶ ἔφοροι καὶ πατρονόμοι πάντες, Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ὁ πρόγονος καὶ τῶν ναυαρχη-  
 σάντων ἐγένετο.” “μῶν,” ἔφη, “τὸν ἐν Ἀργινού-  
 σαις λέγεις;” “ἐκείνον,” εἶπε, “τὸν ἐν τῇ ναυαρχίᾳ ἀποθανόντα.” “εἴτ’ οὐ διέβαλέ σοι,” εἶπε, “τὴν θάλατταν ἢ τελευτὴ τοῦ προγόνου;” “μὰ Δί’,” εἶπεν, “οὐ γὰρ ναυμαχίῃσιν γε πλέω.” “ἀλλ’ ἐμπό-  
 ρων τε καὶ ναυκλήρων κακοδαιμονέστερόν τι ἐρεῖς ἔθνος; πρῶτον μὲν περινοστοῦσι, ζητοῦσιν ἀγορὰν κακῶς πράττουσαν, εἴτα προξένοις καὶ καπήλοις ἀναμιχθέντες πωλοῦσί τε καὶ πωλοῦνται, καὶ τόκοις ἀνοσίοις τὰς αὐτῶν κεφαλὰς ὑποτιθέντες ἐς τὸ ἀρ-  
 χαῖον σπεύδουσι, καὶ μὲν εὖ πράττωσιν, εὐπλοεῖ ἢ ναῦς, καὶ πολλὸν ποιοῦνται λόγον τοῦ μήτε ἐκόντες ἀνατρέψαι μήτε ἄκοντες, εἰ δὲ ἢ ἐμπορία πρὸς τὰ χρέα μὴ ἀναφέροιτο, μεταβάντες ἐς τὰ ἐφόλκια προσαράττουσι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τὸν ἐτέρων ναῦται βίου θεοῦ ἀνάγκην εἰπόντες ἀθεώτατα καὶ οὐδὲ ἄκοντες αὐτοὶ ἀφείλονται. εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ τοιοῦτον ἦν τὸ θαλαττουργόν τε καὶ ναυτικὸν ἔθνος, ἀλλὰ τό γε Σπαρτιάτην ὄντα καὶ πατέρων γεγενότα, οἷ μέσην ποτὲ τὴν Σπάρτην ὥκησαν, ἐν κοίλῃ νηὶ κεῖσθαι λήθην μὲν ἴσχοντα Λυκούργου τε καὶ Ἰφίτου, φόρτον δὲ μνήμονα καὶ ναυτικῆς ἀκριβο-

been instituted against me, because I go in for sea-  
 faring and take no part in public affairs." "And was  
 your father or your grandfather a mariner?" "Of  
 course not," said the other; "they were all of them  
 chiefs of the gymnasium and Ephors and public  
 guardians; Callicratidas, however, my ancestor, was a  
 captain of the fleet." "I suppose," said Apollonius,  
 "you mean him of Arginusæ 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-  
 faring 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

CAP.  
XXXII

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

## XXXIII

CAP.  
XXXIII

Κακείνο τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐπιστολὴ ἐκ βασιλέως Λακεδαιμονίοις ἦκεν ἐπίπληξιν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν φέρουσα, ὥς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὑβριζόντων, ἐκ διαβολῶν δὲ τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχοντος ἐπέσταλτο αὐτοῖς ταῦτα. οἱ μὲν δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀπορία εἶχοντο, καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἤριζεν, εἴτε χρὴ παραιτουμένους τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εἴτε ὑπερφρονούντας ἐπιστέλλειν πρὸς ταῦτα ξύμβουλον ἐποιοῦντο τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἡθους, ὁ δέ, ὥς εἶδε διεστηκύτας, παρήλθέ τε ἐς τὸ κοινὸν αὐτῶν καὶ ὧδε ἐβραχυ-



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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

CHAP.  
XXXII

### XXXIII

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

CHAP.  
XXXIII  
Advice to  
Sparta how  
to answer  
an Emperor

CAP.  
XXXIII

λόγησε· “Παλαμήδης εὔρε γράμματα οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ γράφειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ γιγνώσκειν ἃ δεῖ μὴ γράφειν.” οὕτω μὲν δὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπῆγε τοῦ μήτε θρασεῖς μήτε δειλοὺς ὀφθῆναι.

XXXIV

CAP.  
XXXIV

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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

CHAP.  
XXXIII

### 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,

CHAP.  
XXXIV  
Is warned  
in a dream to  
visit Crete

CAP.  
XXXIV

ἔφη θεατῆς γενέσθαι τῆς ἀδικίας τοῦ Μίνω. προῆει δὲ ἐπὶ Γόρτυναν πόθω τῆς Ἰδης. ἀνελθὼν οὖν καὶ τοῖς θεολογουμένοις ἐντυχὼν, ἐπορεύθη καὶ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Λεβηναῖον· ἔστι δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, καὶ ὥσπερ ἡ Ἀσία ἐς τὸ Πέργαμον, οὕτως ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο ξυνεφοίτα ἡ Κρήτη, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ Λιβύων ἐς αὐτὸ περαιοῦνται· καὶ γὰρ τέτραπται πρὸς τὸ Λιβυκὸν πέλαγος κατὰ γοῦν τὴν Φαιστόν, ἔνθα τὴν πολλὴν ἀνείργει θάλατταν ὁ μικρὸς λίθος. Λεβηναῖον δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν ὠνομάσθαι φασίν, ἐπειδὴ ἀκρωτήριον ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατατείνει λέοντι εἰκασμένον, οἷα πολλὰ αἱ ξυντυχίαι τῶν πετρῶν ἀποφαίνουσι, μῦθόν τε ἐπὶ τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ ἄδουσιν, ὥς λέων εἰς οὗτος γένοιτο τῶν ὑποζυγίων ποτὲ τῇ Ῥέᾳ. ἐνταῦθα διαλεγόμενον ποτὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου περὶ μεσημβρίαν, διελέγετο δὲ πολλοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὑφ' ὧν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐθεραπεύετο, σεισμὸς ἀθρόως τῇ Κρήτῃ προσέβαλε, βροντὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐκ νεφῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὑπήχησεν, ἡ θάλαττα δὲ ὑπενόστησε στάδια ἵσως ἑπτὰ. καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἔδεισαν, μὴ τὸ πέλαγος ὑποχωρήσαν ἐπισπάσῃται τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἀπενεχθῶσιν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, “θαρσεῖτε,” ἔφη, “ἡ γὰρ θάλαττα γῆν ἔτεκε.” καὶ οἱ μὲν ᾤοντο αὐτὸν τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῶν στοιχείων λέγειν, καὶ ὅτι μηδὲν ἂν ἡ θάλαττα νεώτερον ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐργάσαιοτο, μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἀφικόμενοί τινες ἐκ τῆς Κυδωνιάτιδος ἡγγειλαν, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τε καὶ μεσημβρίαν, ἣν ἐγένετο ἡ διοσημία, νῆσος ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνεδόθη περὶ τὸν πορθμὸν τὸν



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

CHAP.  
XXXIVEarthquake  
at the  
shrine of  
Leben

CAP.  
XXXIV

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

XXXV

CAP.  
XXXV

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

XXXVI

CAP.  
XXXVI

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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

CHAP.  
XXXIV

### 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.

CHAP.  
XXXV  
Nero  
imprisons  
Musonius

### 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

CHAP.  
XXXVI  
Philolaus  
warns him  
against  
entering  
Rome

CAP.  
XXXVI

φιλοσοφείν, καὶ διηγείτο τὰ ἐκεῖ πραττόμενα θαμὰ ἐπιστρεφόμενος, μὴ ἐπακροῶτό τις αὐτοῦ κατόπιν. “σὺ δὲ καὶ χορὸν φιλοσόφων ἀναψάμενος,” εἶπε, “βαδίζεις φθόνου μεστός, οὐκ εἰδὼς τοὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους ταῖς πύλαις ὑπὸ Νέρωνος, οἱ ξυλλήφονται σέ τε καὶ τούτους, πρὶν ἔσω γενέσθαι.” “τί δ’,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Φιλόλαε, τὸν αὐτοκράτορα σπονδάζειν φασίν;” “ἡνιοχεῖ,” ἔφη, “δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἄδει παριὼν ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων θέατρα καὶ μετὰ τῶν μονομαχοῦντων ζῇ, μονομαχεῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἀποσφάττει.” ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “εἶτα,” ἔφη, “ὦ βέλτιστε, μεῖζόν τι ἡγῇ θέαμα ἀνδράσι πεπαιδευμένοις ἢ βασιλέα ἰδεῖν ἀσχημονοῦντα; θεοῦ μὲν γὰρ παίγνιον ἄνθρωπος” εἶπε “κατὰ τὴν Πλάτωνος δόξαν, βασιλεὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπου παίγνιον γιγνόμενος καὶ χαριζόμενος τοῖς ὄχλοις τὴν ἑαυτοῦ αἰσχύνην, τίνας οὐκ ἂν παράσχοι λόγους τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσι;” “νὴ Δί’,” εἶπεν ὁ Φιλόλαος, “εἴγε μετὰ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου γίγνοιτο, εἰ δὲ ἀπόλοιο ἀναχθεὶς καὶ Νέρων σε ὠμὸν φάγοι μηδὲν ἰδόντα ὦν πράττει, ἐπὶ πολλῷ ἔσται σοι τὸ ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ πλείονι ἢ τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ ἐγένετο, ὅποτε παρὰ τὸν Κύκλωπα ἦλθεν, ἀπώλεσε γὰρ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐταίρων ποθήσας ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἀτόπου καὶ ὤμου θεάματος.” ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, “οἶε γάρ,” ἔφη, “τοῦτον ἡττον



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. CHAP.  
XXXVI

“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

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

XXXVII

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

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

commits such crimes?" And Philolaus answered: CHAP.  
XXXVI  
 "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.

CHAP.  
XXXVII  
 Most of his  
 followers  
 forsake  
 Apollonius  
 in fear

## XXXVIII

CAP.  
XXXVIII

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



## 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,

CHAP.  
XXXVIII  
He  
addresses  
exhorta-  
tions to the  
eight who  
remain

He  
character-  
ises Nero

CAP.  
XXXVIII

οὔτε ὁπόσαι κεφαλαὶ αὐτῷ, οἶδα, οὔτε εἰ γαμφώ-  
 νυχόν τε καὶ καρχαρόδουν ἐστί. καίτοι πολιτικὸν  
 μὲν εἶναι τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο λέγεται καὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν  
 πόλεων οἰκεῖν, τοσοῦτῳ δὲ ἀγριώτερον διάκειται  
 τῶν ὀρεινῶν τε καὶ ὑλαίων, ὅσῳ λέοντες μὲν καὶ  
 παρδάλεις ἐνίοτε κολακευόμενοι ἡμεροῦνται καὶ  
 μεταβάλλουσι τοῦ ἥθους, τουτὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν  
 καταψηχόντων ἐπαιρόμενον ἀγριώτερον αὐτοῦ  
 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 ταῦτα γέγονεν ἐπ' Ὀρέστη καὶ  
 Ἀλκμαίῳ, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις σχῆμα τοῦ ἔργου πατέ-  
 ρες ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν ἀποθανὼν ὑπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικός,  
 ὁ δὲ ὄρμου πραθείς, οὐτοσὶ δὲ καὶ ἐσποιηθεὶς ὑπὸ  
 τῆς μητρὸς γέροντι βασιλεῖ καὶ κληρονομήσας τὸ  
 ἄρχειν, ναυαγίῳ τὴν μητέρα ἀπέκτεινε, πλοῖον ἐπ'  
 αὐτῇ ξυνθείς, ὑφ' οὗ ἀπώλετο πρὸς τῇ γῇ. εἰ δὲ  
 ἐκ τούτων φοβερόν τις ἡγείται Νέρωνα, καὶ διὰ  
 τοῦτο ἀποπηδᾷ φιλοσοφίας, οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς αὐτῷ  
 νομίζων τὸ ἀπὸ θυμοῦ τι αὐτῷ πράττειν, ἴστω τὸ  
 μὲν φοβερόν ἐκείνοις ὑπάρχον, ὅσοι περ ἂν  
 σωφροσύνης τε καὶ σοφίας ἄπτωνται, τούτοις γὰρ  
 καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὖ ἔχει, τὰ δὲ τῶν ὑβρι-  
 ζόντων ὕθλον ἡγείσθω, καθὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν μεμεθυ-  
 σμένων, καὶ γὰρ δὴ κακείνους γε ἡλιθίους μὲν  
 ἡγοῦμεθα, φοβεροὺς δὲ οὔ. ἴωμεν οὖν ἐς τὴν  
 Ῥώμην, εἴγε ἐρρώμεθα, πρὸς γὰρ τὰ Νέρωνος

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

CAP.  
XXXVIII

κηρύγματα, δι' ὧν ἐξείργει φιλοσοφίαν, ἔστιν ἡμῖν τὸ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους λέγειν·

οὐ γάρ τί μοι Ζεὺς ἦν ὁ κηρύξας τάδε,

οὐδὲ Μοῦσαι καὶ Ἀπόλλων λόγιος. εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν Νέρωνα γινώσκειν τὰ ἱαμβεῖα ταῦτα, τραγωδία, ὥς φασι, χαίροντα.”

ἐνταῦθά τις τὸ Ὀμήρου ἐνθυμηθεῖς, ὥς, ἐπειδὰν ὁ λόγος ἀρμόσῃ πολεμικοὺς ἄνδρας, μία μὲν κόρυς γίνονται, μία δὲ ἀσπίς, εὐρεῖν ἂν μοι δοκεῖ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ τούσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας γενόμενον· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου λόγων ξυγκροτηθέντες, ἀποθνήσκουν τε ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας ἔρρωντο καὶ βελτίους τῶν ἀποδράντων φαίνεσθαι.

## XXXIX

CAP.  
XXXIX

Προσῆεσαν μὲν οὖν ταῖς πύλαις, οἱ δὲ ἐφεστῶτες οὐδὲν ἡρώτων, ἀλλὰ περιήθρουν τὸ σχῆμα καὶ ἐθαύμαζον· ὁ γὰρ τρόπος ἱερὸς ἐδόκει καὶ οὐδὲν ἐοικὼς τοῖς ἀγείρουσι· καταλύουσι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν πανδοχείῳ περὶ τὰς πύλας καὶ δεῖπνον αἵρουμένοις, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἐσπέρας ἤδη ἐτύγχανεν, ὥς ἐπὶ κῶμον ἔρχεται μεθύων ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἀγλευκῶς τῆς φωνῆς ἔχων, περιήει δὲ ἄρα κύκλῳ τὴν Ῥώμην ἄδων τὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος μέλη καὶ μεμισθωμένος τοῦτο, τὸν δὲ ἀμελῶς ὑκούσαντα ἢ μὴ καταβαλόντα μισθὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως ξυνεκεχώρητο



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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

“ ‘ For in no wise was it Zeus who made this proclamation unto me,’ Antigone  
450

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

This occasion reminds one of the saying of Homer, 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 CHAP.  
XXXIX  
They enter  
Rome  
Nero's  
harpists

CAP.  
XXXIX

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

XL

CAP.  
XL

Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπαρωνήθη. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Τελεσίνοσ ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ὑπάτων καλέσας τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, “ τί,” ἔφη, “ τὸ σχῆμα; ” ὁ

442.

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

majesty. And he carried a harp and all the outfit proper for a harpist, and he also had put away in a casket a second-hand string which others had fastened on their instruments and tuned up before him, and this he said he had purchased off Nero's own lyre for two minas, and that he would sell it to no one who was not a first-rate harpist and fit to contend for the prize at Delphi. He then struck up a prelude, according to his custom, and after performing a short hymn composed by Nero, he added various lays, some out of the story of Orestes, and some from the Antigone, and others from one or another of the tragedies composed by Nero, and he proceeded to drawl out the 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." CHAP.  
XXXIX

### XL

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

CAP. XL δέ, “καθαρόν,” εἶπε, “καὶ ἀπ’ οὐδενὸς θνητοῦ.”  
 “τίς δὲ ἡ σοφία;” “θειασμός,” ἔφη, “καὶ ὡς ἄν  
 τις θεοῖς εὐχοίτο καὶ θύοι.” “ἔστι δέ τις, ὃ  
 φιλόσοφε, ὃς ἀγνοεῖ ταῦτα;” “πολλοί,” εἶπεν,  
 “εἰ δὲ καὶ ὀρθῶς τις ἐπίσταται ταῦτα, πολλῶ  
 γένοιτ’ ἂν αὐτοῦ βελτίων ἀκούσας σοφωτέρου  
 ἀνδρός, ὅτι, ἃ οἶδεν, εἴ οἶδεν.” ταῦτα ἀκούοντα  
 τὸν Τελεσίνον, καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν ὑποθεραπεύων  
 τὸ θεῖον, ἐσῆλθεν ὁ ἀνὴρ δι’ ἃ πάλαι περὶ αὐτοῦ  
 ἤκουε, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα οὐκ ᾔετο δεῖν ἐς τὸ φανερόν  
 ἐρωτᾶν, μή τιν’ ἔτι λανθάνειν βούλοιτο, ἐπανήγε  
 δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐς τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ τοῦ θείου,  
 καὶ γὰρ πρὸς διάλεξιν ἐπιτηδείως εἶχε, καὶ ὡς  
 σοφῶ γε εἶπε, “τί εὐχῇ προσιῶν τοῖς βωμοῖς;”  
 “ἐγώ γε,” ἔφη, “δικαιοσύνην εἶναι, νόμους μὴ  
 καταλύεσθαι, πένεσθαι τοὺς σοφούς, τοὺς δὲ  
 ἄλλους πλουτεῖν μὲν, ἀδόλως δέ.” “εἶτα,” εἶπε,  
 “τοσαῦτα αἰτῶν οἶε τεύξεσθαι;” “νὴ Δί’,” εἶπε,  
 “ξυνείρω γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐς εὐχὴν μίαν καὶ προσιῶν  
 τοῖς βωμοῖς ὧδε εὐχομαι· ὦ θεοί, δοίητέ μοι τὰ  
 ὀφειλόμενα· εἰ μὲν δὴ τῶν χρηστῶν εἰμι ἀνθρώπων,  
 τεύξομαι πλειόνων ἢ εἶπον, εἰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς φαύλοις  
 με οἱ θεοὶ τάττουσι, τὰναντία μοι παρ’ αὐτῶν ἥξει  
 καὶ οὐ μέμψομαι τοὺς θεούς, εἰ κακῶν ἀξιούμαι  
 μὴ χρηστὸς ὢν.” ἐξεπέπληκτο μὲν δὴ ὁ Τελεσίνος



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

garment made from no dead matter." "And what CHAP.  
is your wisdom?" "An inspiration," answered Apol- XL  
lonius, "which teaches men how to pray and sacrifice  
to the gods." "And is there anyone, my philoso-  
pher, 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

CAP. XL. ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων τούτων, βουλόμενος δὲ αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι, “φοίτα,” ἔφη, “ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα, καὶ γεγράψεται παρ’ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἱερωμένους δέχεσθαί σε καὶ διορθουμένῳ εἴκειν.” “ἦν δὲ μὴ γράψης,” ἔφη, “οὐ δέξονταιί με;” “μὰ Δι’,” εἶπεν, “ἐμὴ γάρ,” ἔφη, “αὕτη ἀρχή.” “χαίρω,” ἔφη, “ὅτι γεναῖος ὢν μεγάλου ἄρχεις, βουλοίμην δ’ ἂν σε κύκεινο περὶ ἐμοῦ εἰδέναι· ἐγὼ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ μὴ βεβαίως κλειστὰ χαίρω οἰκῶν, καὶ παραιτεῖταί με οὐδεὶς τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ ποιοῦνται κοινωνὸν στέγης· ἀνείσθω δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ξυνεχώρουν αὐτό.” καὶ ὁ Τελεσίνοσ, “μέγα,” ἔφη, “Ῥωμαίων ἐγκώμιον οἱ βάρβαροι προὔλαβον, τουτὶ γὰρ ἐβουλόμην ἂν καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν λέγεσθαι.” ὥκει μὲν δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἐναλλάττων αὐτὰ καὶ μεθιστάμενος ἐξ ἄλλου ἐς ἄλλο, αἰτίαν δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔχων, “οὐδὲ οἱ θεοί,” ἔφη, “πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ οἰκοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ πορεύονται μὲν ἐς Αἰθιοπίαν, πορεύονται δὲ ἐς Ὀλυμπόν τε καὶ Ἀθῶν, καὶ οἶμαι ἄτοπον τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔθνη περινοστεῖν πάντα, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους μὴ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιφοιτᾶν πᾶσι. καίτοι δεσπόται μὲν ὑπερορῶντες δούλων οὕτω αἰτίαν ἔξουσιν, ἴσως γὰρ ἂν καταφρονοῖεν αὐτῶν, ὥς μὴ σπουδαίων, δοῦλοι δὲ μὴ πάντως τοὺς αὐτῶν δεσπότας θεραπεύοντες, ἀπόλουντο ἂν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ὥς κατάρατοί τε καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὰ ἀνδράποδα.”

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

struck by these words, and wishing to show him a CHAP.  
XL favour, he said : " You may visit all the temples, and written instructions shall be sent by me to the priests who minister in them to admit you and adopt your reforms." " And supposing you did not write," said Apollonius, " would they not admit me?" " No, by Zeus," said he, " for that is my own office and prerogative." " I am glad," said Apollonius, " that so generous a man as yourself holds such a high office, but I would like you to know this much too about me : I like to live in such temples as are not too closely shut up, and none of the gods object to my presence, for they invite me to share their habitation. So let this liberty too be accorded to me, inasmuch as even the barbarians always permitted it." And Telesinus said : " The barbarians have more to be proud of in this matter than the Romans, for I would that as much could be said of ourselves." Apollonius accordingly lived in the temples, though he changed them and passed from one to another ; and when he was blamed for doing so, he said : " Neither do the gods live all their time in heaven, but they take journeys to Ethiopia, as also to Olympus and to Athos, and I think it a pity that the gods should go roaming around all the nations of men, and yet that men should not be allowed to visit all the gods alike. What is more, though masters would incur no reproach for neglecting slaves, for whom they probably may feel a contempt because they are not good, yet the slaves who did not devote themselves wholly to their masters, would be destroyed by them as cursed wretches and chattels hateful to the gods."

•  
XLI

CAP.  
XLI Διαλεγόμενου δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ οἱ θεοὶ  
ἐθεραπεύοντο μᾶλλον, καὶ ξυνήεσαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐς  
ταῦτα, ὥς τὰ ἀγαθὰ πλείω παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἔξοντες,  
καὶ οὐπῶ διεβάλλοντο αἱ ξυνουσίαι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς  
διὰ τὸ σπουδάζεσθαι τε δημοσίᾳ λέγεσθαι τε ἐς  
πάντας, οὐδὲ γὰρ θύραις ἐπεπόλαζεν, οὐδὲ ἐτρίβετο  
περὶ τοὺς δυνατοὺς, ἀλλ' ἡσπάζετο μὲν ἐπιφιοι-  
τῶντας, διελέγετο δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅποσα καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

•  
XLII

CAP.  
XLII Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος διατεθεὶς πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥς  
ἐν τοῖς Κορινθιακοῖς λόγοις εἴρηκα, παραγενόμενος  
ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὕστερον ἐθεράπευε μὲν τὸν Ἀπολ-  
λώνιον, ἐπηφίει δ' αὐτὸν τῷ Νέρωνι, τέχνη ταῦτα  
ὑπωπτεύθη τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον αὐτὸς  
ἐδόκει καθεικέναι ἐς αὐτά, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον,  
ὅποτε γυμνάσιον μὲν ἐξεποιήθη τῷ Νέρωνι θαυμα-  
σιώτατον τῶν ἐκεῖ, λευκὴν δ' ἔθυσεν ἐν αὐτῷ  
ἡμέραν Νέρων τε αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ βουλὴ ἡ μεγάλη καὶ  
τὸ ἱππεῦον τῆς Ῥώμης, παρελθὼν δὲ ὁ Δημήτριος  
ἐς αὐτὸ τὸ γυμνάσιον διεξῆλθε λόγον κατὰ τῶν  
λουμένων, ὥς ἐκλελυμένων τε καὶ αὐτοὺς χραινόν-  
των, καὶ ἐδείκνυεν, ὅτι περιττὸν ἰνάλωμα εἶη τὰ



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

### XLI

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.

CHAP.  
XLI  
Religious  
revival  
in Rome

### XLII

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

CHAP.  
XLII  
Demetrius  
assails the  
public baths

CAP. XLII τοιαῦτα, ἐφ' οἷς ξυνήρατο μὲν αὐτῷ τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτίκα τὸ τὸν Νέρωνα εὐφρονότατα ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἄδειν—ἥδε δὲ ἐν καπηλείῳ πεποιημένῳ ἐς τὸ γυμνάσιον διάζωμα ἔχων γυμνός, ὥσπερ τῶν καπήλων οἱ ἀσελγέστατοι—οὐ μὴν διέφυγεν ὁ Δημήτριος τὸ ἐφ' οἷς εἶπε κινδυνεῦσαι, Τίγελλῖνος γάρ, ὑφ' ᾧ τὸ ξίφος ἦν τοῦ Νέρωνος, ἀπήλαυνεν αὐτὸν τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς τὸ βαλανεῖον κατασκάψαντα οἷς εἶπε, τὸν δ' Ἀπολλώνιον ἀφανῶς ἀνίχνευεν, ὁπότε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιλήψιμόν τι καὶ παραβεβλημένον εἴποι.

## XLIII

CAP. XLIII Ὁ δ' οὔτε καταγελῶν φανερός ἦν οὔτ' αὖ πεφροντικῶς, ὥσπερ οἱ φυλαττόμενοί τινα κίνδυνον, ἀλλ' ἀποχρώντως περὶ τῶν προκειμένων διελέγετο, ξυμφιλοσοφούντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Τελεσίνου καὶ ἐτέρων ἀνδρῶν, οἱ καίτοι φιλοσοφίας ἐπικινδύνως πραπτούσης οὐκ ἂν ᾧοντο κινδυνεῦσαι ξὺν ἐκείνῳ σπουδάζοντες. ὑπωπτεύετο δέ, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐφ' οἷς καὶ περὶ τῆς διοσημίας εἶπε· γενομένης γάρ ποτε ἐκλείψεως ἡλίου καὶ βροντῆς ἐκδοθείσης, ὅπερ ἤκιστα ἐν ἐκλείψει δοκεῖ ξυμβαίνειν, ἀναβλέψας ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν,

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## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

was only saved from immediate death as the penalty of such language by the fact that Nero was in extra good voice when he sang on that day, and he sang in the tavern which adjoined the gymnasium, naked except for a girdle round his waist, like any low tapster. Demetrius, however, did not wholly escape the risk which he courted by his language; for Tigellinus, to whom Nero had committed the power of life and death, proceeded to banish him from Rome, on the plea that he had ruined and overthrown the bath by the words he used; and he began to dog the steps of Apollonius secretly, in the hope that he would catch him out too in some compromising utterance.

CHAP.  
XLII

### XLIII

THE latter, however, showed no disposition to ridicule the government, nor on the other hand did he display any of the anxiety usually felt by those who are on their guard against some danger. He merely continued to discuss in simple and adequate terms the topics laid before him; and Telesinus and other persons continued to study philosophy in his company, for although philosophy was just then in a parlous condition, they did not dream that they would imperil themselves by associating themselves with his studies. Yet he was suspected as I have said, and the suspicion was intensified by words he uttered in connection with a prodigy. For presently when there was an eclipse of the sun and a clap of thunder was heard, a thing which very rarely occurs at the moment of an eclipse, he glanced up to heaven

CHAP.  
XLIII  
Tigellinus  
dogs  
Apollonius

CAP. XLIII “ἔσται τι,” ἔφη, “μέγα καὶ οὐκ ἔσται.” ξυμβαλεῖν μὲν δὴ τὸ εἰρημένον οὐπω εἶχον οἱ παρατυχόντες τῷ λόγῳ, τρίτῃ δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκλείψεως ἡμέρᾳ ξυνῆκαν τοῦ λόγου πάντες· σιτουμένου γὰρ τοῦ Νέρωνος, ἐμπεσὼν τῇ τραπέζῃ σκηπτὸς διήλασε τῆς κύλικος ἐν χεροῖν οὔσης καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀπεχούσης τοῦ στόματος· τὸ δὴ παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐλθεῖν τοῦ βληθῆναι αὐτὸν πεπράξεσθαί τι εἶπε καὶ μὴ πεπράξεσθαι. ἀκούσας δὲ Τιγελλῖνος τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἐς δέος ἀφίκετο τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς σοφοῦ τὰ δαιμόνια, καὶ ἐς ἐγκλήματα μὲν φανερὰ καθίστασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ᾔετο δεῖν, ὡς μὴ κακόν τι ἀφανὲς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ λάβοι, διαλεγόμενον δὲ καὶ σιωπῶντα καὶ καθήμενον καὶ βαδίζοντα καὶ ὅ τι φάγοι καὶ παρ’ ὅτῳ καὶ εἰ ἔθυσεν ἢ μὴ ἔθυσε, περιήθρει πᾶσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς, ὁπόσοις ἢ ἀρχὴ βλέπει.

## XLIV

CAP. XLIV Ἐμπεσόντος δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ νοσήματος, ὃ κατάρρουν οἱ ἱατροὶ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀνίστανται δὲ ἅρα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ βῆχες καὶ ἡ φωνὴ τοῖς λαλοῦσι πονήρως ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ πλέα ἦν ἱκετεύνοντων τοὺς θεούς, ἐπεὶ διωδῆκει τὴν φάρυγγα Νέρων καὶ μελαίνῃ τῇ φωνῇ ἐχρήτο· ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐρρήγνυτο μὲν πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἄνοιαν, ἐπέπληττε δὲ οὐδενί, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Μένιππον παροξυνόμενον



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

and said: "There shall be some great event and there shall not be." Now at the time those who heard these words were unable to comprehend their meaning; but on the third day after the eclipse, everyone understood what was meant; for while Nero sat at meat a thunderbolt fell on the table, and clove asunder the cup which was in his hands and was close to his lips. And the fact that he so narrowly escaped being struck was intended by the words that a great event should happen and yet should not happen. Tigellinus when he heard this story began to dread Apollonius as one who was wise in supernatural matters; and though he felt that he had better not prefer any open charges against him, lest he should incur at his hands some mysterious disaster, nevertheless he used all the eyes with which the government sees, to watch Apollonius, whether he was talking or holding his tongue, or sitting down or walking about, and to mark what he ate, and in whose houses, and whether he offered sacrifice or not.

CHAP.  
XLIII

### XLIV

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

CHAP.  
XLIV  
Tigellinus  
arrests him

CAP. XLIV ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐσωφρόνιζέ τε καὶ κατεῖχε, ξυγγιγνώσκειν κελεύων τοῖς θεοῖς, εἰ μίμοις γελοίων χαίρουσιν. ἀπαγγελθέντος δὲ τῷ Τιγελλίνῳ τοῦ λόγου τούτου, πέμπει τοὺς ἄξοντας αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον, ὡς ἀπολογήσαιο μὴ ἄσεβεῖν ἐς Νέρωνα, παρεσκευάστο δὲ καὶ κατηγορος ἐπ' αὐτὸν πολλοὺς ἀπολωλεκῶς ἤδη καὶ τοιούτων Ὀλυμπιάδων μεστός, καί τι καὶ γραμματεῖον εἶχεν ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν γεγραμμένον τὸ ἔγκλημα, καὶ τοῦτο ὥσπερ ξίφος ἀνασείων ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἠκονῆσθαί τε αὐτὸ ἔλεγε καὶ ἀπολεῖν αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνελίττων Τιγελλῖνος τὸ γραμματεῖον γραμμῆς μὲν ἵχνος ἐν αὐτῷ οὐχ εὔρεν, ἀσήμῳ δέ τινι βιβλίῳ ἐνέτυχεν, ἐς ἔννοϊαν ἀπηνέχθη δαίμονος. τουτὶ δὲ καὶ Δομετιανὸς ὕστερον πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγεται παθεῖν. ἀπολαβὼν οὖν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἤνεγκεν ἐς τὸ ἀπόρρητον δικαστήριον, ἐν ᾧ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἢ ἀρχῇ αὕτη ἀφανῶς δικάζει, καὶ μεταστησάμενος πάντας ἐνέκειτο ἐρωτῶν, ὅστις εἴη, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος πατρός τε ἐμέμνητο καὶ πατρίδος καὶ ἐφ' ὃ τι τῇ σοφίᾳ χρῶτο, ἔφασκέ τε αὐτῇ χρῆσθαι ἐπὶ τε τὸ θεοὺς γινγνώσκειν ἐπὶ τε τὸ ἀνθρώπων ξυνιέναι, τοῦ γὰρ ἑαυτὸν γνῶναι χαλεπώτερον εἶναι τὸ ἄλλον γνῶναι. “τοὺς δαίμονας,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, καὶ τὰς τῶν εἰδώλων φαντασίας πῶς ἐλέγχεις;” “ὥς γε,” ἔφη, “τοὺς μαιφόνους τε καὶ ἄσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους.” ταυτὶ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Τιγελλῖνον ἀποσκόπτων ἔλεγεν, ἐπειδὴ

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

on, and persuaded him to moderate his indignation, urging him to pardon the gods if they did show pleasure in the mimes of buffoons. This utterance was reported to Tigellinus, who immediately sent police to take him to prison, and summoned him to defend himself from the charge of impiety against Nero. And an accuser was retained against him who had already undone a great many people, and won a number of such Olympic victories. This accuser too held in his hands a scroll of paper on which the charge was written out, and he brandished it like a sword against the sage, and declared that it was so sharp that it would slay and ruin him. But when Tigellinus unrolled the scroll, and did not find upon it the trace of a single word or letter, and his eyes fell on a perfectly blank book, he came to the conclusion that he had to do with a demon; and this is said also subsequently to have been the feeling which Domitian entertained towards Apollonius. Tigellinus then took his victim apart into a secret tribunal, in which this class of magistrate tries in private the most important charges; and having ordered all to leave the court he plied him with questions, asking who he was. Apollonius gave his father's name and that of his country, and explained his motive in practising wisdom, declaring that the sole use he made of it was to gain a knowledge of the gods and an understanding of human affairs, for that the difficulty of knowing another man exceeded that of knowing oneself. "And about the demons," said Tigellinus, "and the apparitions of spectres, how, O Apollonius, do you exorcise them?" "In the same way," he answered, "as I should murderers and impious men." This was a sarcastic allusion to Tigellinus himself,

CHAP.  
XLIV

Interview  
with  
Tigellinus

CAP.  
XLIV

πάσης ὁμότητος τε καὶ ἀσελγείας διδάσκαλος ἦν τῷ Νέρωνι. “μαντεύσαιο δ’ ἄν,” ἔφη, “δεηθέντι μοι;” “πῶς,” εἶπεν, “ὅ γε μὴ μάντις ὢν;” “καὶ μὴν σέ,” ἔφη, “φασὶν εἶναι τὸν εἰπόντα ἔσσεσθαι τι μέγα καὶ οὐκ ἔσσεσθαι.” “ἀληθῶς,” εἶπεν, “ἤκουσας, τοῦτο δὲ μὴ μαντικῇ προστίθει, σοφία δὲ μᾶλλον, ἣν θεὸς φαίνει σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν.” “Νέρωνα δέ,” ἔφη, “διὰ τί οὐ δέδοικας;” “ὅτι,” εἶπεν, “ὁ θεὸς ὁ παρέχων ἐκείνῳ φοβερῷ δοκεῖν κάμοι δέδωκεν ἀφόβῳ εἶναι.” “φρονεῖς δὲ πῶς,” εἶπε, “περὶ Νέρωνος;” ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, “βέλτιον,” εἶπεν, “ἢ ὑμεῖς· ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἡγείσθε αὐτὸν ἄξιον τοῦ ἄδειν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄξιον τοῦ σιωπᾶν.” ἐκπλαγεῖς οὖν ὁ Τιγελλῖνος, “ἄπιθι,” ἔφη, “καταστήσας ἐγγυητὰς τοῦ σώματος.” ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, “καὶ τίς,” εἶπεν, “ἐγγυήσεται σῶμα, ὃ μηδεὶς δήσει;” ἔδοξε τῷ Τιγελλῖνῳ ταῦτα δαιμόνιά τε εἶναι καὶ πρόσω ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ὥσπερ θεομαχεῖν φυλαττόμενος, “χώρει,” ἔφη, “οἱ βούλει, σὺ γὰρ κρείττων ἢ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἄρχεσθαι.”

XLV

CAP.  
XLV

Κακέينو Ἀπολλωνίου θαῦμα· κόρη ἐν ᾧρα γάμου τεθνάναι ἐδόκει, καὶ ὁ νυμφίος ἠκολούθει τῇ κλίνῃ βοῶν ὅποσα ἐπ’ ἀτελεῖ γάμῳ, ξυνωλοφύρετο



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

for he taught and encouraged in Nero every excess of cruelty and wanton violence. "And," said the other, "could you prophesy, if I asked you to?" "How," said Apollonius, "can I, being no prophet?" "And yet," replied the other, "they say that it is you who predicted that some great event would come to pass and yet not come to pass." "Quite true," said Apollonius, "is what you heard; but you must not put this down to any prophetic gift, but rather to the wisdom which God reveals to wise men." "And," said the other, "why are you not afraid of Nero?" "Because," said Apollonius, "the same God who allows him to seem formidable, has also granted to me to feel no fear." "And what do you think," said the other, "about Nero?" And Apollonius answered: "Much better than you do; for you think it dignified for him to sing, but I think it dignified in him to keep silent." Tigellinus was astonished at this and said: "You may go, but you must give sureties for your person." And Apollonius answered: "And who can go surety for a body that no one can bind?" This answer struck Tigellinus as inspired and above the wit of man; and as he was careful not to fight with a god, he said: "You may go wherever you choose, for you are too powerful to be controlled by me."

CHAP.  
XLIV

### XLV

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

CHAP.  
XLV  
He raises  
a girl from  
the dead

CAP.  
XLV

δὲ καὶ ἡ Ῥώμη, καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν οἰκίας ἡ κόρη  
τελούσης ἐς ὑπάτους. παρατυχῶν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολ-  
λώνιος τῷ πάθει, “κατάθεσθε,” ἔφη, “τὴν κλίνην,  
ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ κόρῃ δακρύων παύσω.”  
καὶ ἅμα ἤρετο, ὅ τι ὄνομα αὐτῇ εἴη. οἱ μὲν δὴ πολ-  
λοὶ ᾤοντο λόγον ἀγορεύσειν αὐτόν, οἱοὶ τῶν λόγων  
οἱ ἐπικήδειοί τε καὶ τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις ἐγείροντες, ὁ δὲ  
οὐδὲν ἄλλ’ ἢ προσαψόμενος αὐτῆς καὶ τι ἀφανῶς  
ἐπειπών, ἀφύπνισε τὴν κόρην τοῦ δοκοῦντος θανά-  
του, καὶ φωνήν τε ἡ παῖς ἀφῆκεν, ἐπανῆλθέ τε ἐς  
τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ πατρός, ὥσπερ ἡ Ἀλκηστις ὑπὸ  
τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀναβιωθεῖσα. δωρουμένων δὲ  
αὐτῷ τῶν ξυγγενῶν τῆς κόρης μυριάδας δεκαπέντε  
φερνὴν ἔφη ἐπιδιδόναι αὐτὰς τῇ παιδί. καὶ εἵτε  
σπινθῆρα τῆς ψυχῆς εὗρεν ἐν αὐτῇ, ὃς ἐλελήθει  
τοὺς θεραπεύοντας—λέγεται γάρ, ὡς ψεκάζοι μὲν  
ὁ Ζεὺς, ἡ δὲ ἀτμίζοι ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου—εἴτ’  
ἀπεσβηκυῖαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνέθαλψέ τε καὶ ἀνέλα-  
βεν, ἄρρητος ἡ κατάληψις τούτου γέγονεν οὐκ  
ἐμοὶ μόνῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παρατυχοῦσιν.

XLVI

CAP.  
XLVI

Ἐτύγχανε δὲ περὶ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον καὶ Μου-  
σώνιος κατειλημμένος ἐν τοῖς δεσμωτηρίοις τοῦ  
Νέρωνος, ὃν φασι τελεώτατα ἀνθρώπων φιλοσοφῆ-  
σαι, καὶ φανερώς μὲν οὐ διελέγοντο ἀλλήλοις,  
παραιτησαμένου τοῦ Μουσωνίου τοῦτο, ὡς μὴ  
ἄμφω κινδυνεύσειαν, ἐπιστολιμαίους δὲ τὰς ξυνου-

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

whole of Rome was mourning with him, for the maiden belonged to a consular family. Apollonius then witnessing their grief, said: "Put down the bier, for I will stay the tears that you are shedding for this maiden." And withal he asked what was her name. The crowd accordingly thought that he was about to deliver such an oration as is commonly delivered as much to grace the funeral as to stir up lamentation; but he did nothing of the kind, but merely touching her and whispering in secret some spell over her, at once woke up the maiden from her seeming death; and the girl spoke out loud, and returned to her father's house, just as Alcestis did when she was brought back to life by Hercules. And the relations of the maiden wanted to present him with the sum of 150,000 sesterces, but he said that he would freely present the money to the young lady by way of a dowry. Now whether he detected some spark of life in her, which those who were nursing her had not noticed,—for it is said that although it was raining at the time, a vapour went up from her face—or whether life was really extinct, and he restored it by the warmth of his touch, is a mysterious problem which neither I myself nor those who were present could decide.

CHAP.  
XLV

### XLVI

ABOUT this time Musonius lay confined in the dungeons of Nero, a man who they say was unsurpassed in philosophic ability by anyone. Now they did not openly converse with one another, because Musonius declined to do so, in order that both their lives might not be endangered; but they carried on

CHAP.  
XLVI  
Corres-  
pondence  
with  
Musonius

CAP. XLVI σίας ἐποιοῦντο, φοιτῶντος ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον τοῦ Μενίππου καὶ τοῦ Δάμιδος. τὰς δὲ οὐχ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων ἐπιστολὰς ἐάσαντες, τὰς ἀναγκαίας παραθησόμεθα κάξ ὧν ὑπάρχει κατιδεῖν τι μέγα·

Ἄπολλώνιος Μουσωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

Βούλομαι παρὰ σὲ ἀφικόμενος κοινωνῆσαί σοι λόγου καὶ στέγης, ὥς τι ὀνῆσαιμί σε· εἴ γε μὴ ἀπισταίς, ὥς Ἡρακλῆς ποτε Θησέα ἐξ Ἰλίου ἔλυσεν, γράφε, τί βούλει. ἔρρωσο.

Μουσώνιος Ἄπολλωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

Ὡν μὲν ἐνεννοήθης, ἀποκείσεται σοι ἔπαινος, ἀνὴρ δὲ ὁ ὑπομείνας ἀπολογία καὶ ὥς οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖ δείξας ἑαυτόν. ἔρρωσο.

Ἄπολλώνιος Μουσωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὑπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων λυθῆναι μὴ βουλευθεὶς, παρῆλθε μὲν ἐς δικαστήριον, ἀπέθανε δέ. ἔρρωσο.

Μουσώνιος Ἄπολλωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν.

Σωκράτης ἀπέθανεν, ἐπεὶ μὴ παρεσκεύασεν ἐς ἀπολογία ἑαυτόν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογίσομαι. ἔρρωσο.



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

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 : CHAP.  
XLVI

“Apollonius to Musonius the philosopher, greeting.

“I would fain come unto you, to share your conversation and your lodgings, in the hope of being some use to you ; unless indeed you are disinclined to believe that Hercules once released Theseus from hell ; write what you would like me to do. Farewell.”

“Musonius to Apollonius the philosopher sends greeting.

“For your solicitude 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.”

## XLVII

CAP.  
XLVII

Ἐξελαύνοντος δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῦ Νέρωνος, καὶ προκηρύξαντος δημοσίᾳ μηδένα ἐμφιλοσοφεῖν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τρέπεται ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐπὶ τὰ ἐσπέρια τῆς γῆς, ἃ φασιν ὀρίζεσθαι ταῖς Στήλαις, τὰς ἀμπώτεις τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ ἐποψόμενος καὶ τὰ Γάδεια. καὶ γάρ τι καὶ περὶ φιλοσοφίας τῶν ἐκείνη ἀνθρώπων ἤκουεν, ὥς ἐς πολὺ τοῦ θείου προηκόντων, ἠκολούθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ γνώριμοι πάντες ἐπαινοῦντες καὶ τὴν ἀποδημίαν καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα.

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK IV

### XLVII

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.

CHAP.  
XLVII  
Departs for  
Spain





## BOOK V

## Ε'

## I

CAP.  
I. Περὶ δὲ τῶν Στηλῶν, ἃς ὅρια τῆς γῆς τὸν Ἡρα-  
κλέα φασὶ πῆξασθαι, τὰ μὲν μυθώδη ἐῷ, τὰ δ'  
ἀκοῆς τε καὶ λόγου ἄξια δηλώσω μᾶλλον· Εὐρώ-  
πης καὶ Λιβύης ἄκραι σταδίων ἐξήκοντα πορθμὸν  
ἐπέχουσαι τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἐς τὰ ἔσω πελάγη φέρουσι,  
καὶ τὴν μὲν τῆς Λιβύης ἄκραν, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ  
Ἀβιννα, λέοντες ὑπερνέμονται περὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς τῶν  
ὀρώων, ἃ ἔσω ὑπερφαίνεται, ξυνάπτουσαν πρὸς  
Γαιτούλους καὶ Τίγγας ἄμφω θηριώδη καὶ Λιβυκὰ  
ἔθνη, παρατείνει δὲ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ὠκεανὸν μέχρι  
μὲν τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Σάληκος ἐννακόσια στάδια,  
τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν οὐκ ἂν ξυμβάλοι τις ὀπόσα, μετὰ  
γὰρ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον ἄβιος ἡ Λιβύη καὶ οὐκέτι  
ἄνθρωποι. τὸ δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀκρωτήριον, ὃ  
καλεῖται Κάλπιδις, δεξιὰ μὲν ἐπέχει τοῦ ἔσπλου,  
σταδίων ἑξακοσίων μῆκος, λήγει δὲ ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα  
Γάδειρα.

## BOOK V

### I

Now in regard to the Pillars which they say CHAP. I  
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. Account of the Pillars of Hercules

## II

CAP. II Τὰς δὲ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ τροπὰς καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν περὶ Κελτοὺς εἶδον, ὁποῖαι λέγονται, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἐπὶ πολλὰ εἰκάζων, δι' ἣν ἄπειρον οὕτω πέλαγος ἐπιχωρεῖ τε καὶ ἀνασπᾶται, δοκῶ μοι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐπεσκέφθαι τὸ ὄν. ἐν μιᾷ γὰρ τῶν πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς ἐπιστολῶν τὸν Ὀκεανὸν φησιν ὑφύδροις ἐλαυνόμενον πνεύμασιν ἐκ πολλῶν χασμάτων, ἃ ὑπ' αὐτῷ τε καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἡ γῆ παρέχεται, χωρεῖν ἐς τὸ ἔξω καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν πάλιν, ἐπειδὰν ὥσπερ ἄσθμα ὑπονοστήσῃ τὸ πνεῦμα. πιστοῦται δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν νοσοῦντων περὶ Γάδαιρα· τὸν γὰρ χρόνον, ὃν πλημμυρεῖ τὸ ὕδωρ, οὐκ ἀπολείπουσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν ξυμβαίνειν, εἰ μὴ καὶ πνεῦμα τῇ γῇ ἐπεχώρει. ἃ δὲ περὶ τὴν σελήνην φασὶ φαίνεσθαι τικτομένην τε καὶ πληρουμένην καὶ φθίνουσαν, ταῦτα περὶ τὸν Ὀκεανὸν οἶδα, τὰ γὰρ ἐκείνης ἀνισοῖ μέτρα, ξυμμινύθων αὐτῇ καὶ ξυμπληρούμενος.

## III

CAP. III Ἡμέρα δ' ἐκδέχεται νύκτα καὶ νύξ τὴν ἡμέραν περὶ Κελτοὺς μὲν κατ' ὀλίγον ὑπαπιόντος τοῦ σκότους ἢ τοῦ φωτός, ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα, περὶ Γάδαιρα δὲ καὶ Στήλας ἀθρόως λέγονται τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς

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## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

### 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.

CHAP.  
II  
Remarks  
the Tides

### 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

CHAP.  
III  
Suddenness  
of sunset  
and dawn  
in Gadeira

## FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP. III. ἐμπίπτειν, ὥσπερ αἱ ἀστραπαί. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς Μακάρων νήσους ὀρίζεσθαι τῷ Λιβυκῷ τέρματι πρὸς τὸ ἀοίκητον ἀνεχούσας ἀκρωτήριον.

### IV

CAP. IV. Τὰ δὲ Γάδαιρα κείται μὲν κατὰ τὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης τέρμα, περιττοὶ δὲ εἰσὶ τὰ θεῖα· γήρως οὖν βωμόν ἵδρυνται καὶ τὸν θάνατον μόνοι ἀνθρώπων παιωνίζονται, βωμοὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ καὶ πενίας καὶ τέχνης καὶ Ἡρακλέους Αἰγυπτίου καὶ ἕτεροι τοῦ Θηβαίου· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐγγυὲς Ἐρύθειαν ἐλάσαι φασίν, ὅτε δὴ τὸν Γηρυόνην τε καὶ τὰς βοῦς ἐλεῖν, τὸν δὲ σοφίᾳ δόντα γῆν ἀναμετρήσασθαι πᾶσαν ἐς τέρμα. καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἑλληνικοὺς εἶναί φασι τὰ Γάδαιρα καὶ παιδεύεσθαι τὸν ἡμεδαπὸν τρόπον· ἀσπάζεσθαι γοῦν Ἀθηναίους Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα, καὶ Μενεσθεῖ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ θύειν, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ τὸν ναύμαχον σοφίας τε καὶ ἀνδρείας ἀγασθέντες χαλκοῦν ἵδρυνται ἔννου καὶ ὥσπερ χρησμῷ ἐφιστάντα.

### V

CAP. V. Ἴδεῖν καὶ δένδρα φασὶν ἐνταῦθα, οἷα οὐχ ἐτέρωθι τῆς γῆς, καὶ Γηρυόνεια μὲν καλεῖσθαι αὐτά, δύο

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

once, like a flash of lightning. And they also say CHAP. III 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 CHAP. IV 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 Its Hellenism 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 CHAP. V not found elsewhere upon the earth; and that these

CAP.  
V. δὲ εἶναι, φύεσθαι δὲ τοῦ σήματος, ὃ ἐπὶ τῷ Γηρύονῃ ἔστηκε, παραλλάττοντα ἐκ πίτυός τε καὶ πεύκης ἐς εἶδος ἕτερον, λείβεσθαι δὲ αἵματι, καθάπερ τῷ χρυσῷ τὴν Ἡλιάδα αἵγειρον. ἡ δὲ νῆσος, ἐν ἣ τὸ ἱερόν, ἔστι μὲν ὀπόση ὁ νεώς, πετρῶδες δὲ αὐτῆς οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ βαλβίδι ξεστῇ εἴκασται. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τιμᾶσθαι μὲν ἄμφω τὸ Ἡρακλέε φασίν, ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτοῖν οὐκ εἶναι, βωμοὺς δὲ τοῦ μὲν Αἰγυπτίου δύο χαλκοὺς καὶ ἰσήμους, ἓνα δὲ τοῦ Θηβαίου—τὰς δὲ ὕδρας τε καὶ τὰς Διομήδους ἵππους καὶ τὰ δώδεκα Ἡρακλέους ἔργα ἐκτετυπῶσθαί φασι κἀνταῦθα—λίθου ὄντα. ἡ Πυγμαλίωνος δὲ ἐλαία ἡ χρυσῇ, ἀνάκειται δὲ κἀκείνη ἐς τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ἀξία μὲν, ὥς φασι, καὶ τοῦ θαλλοῦ θαυμάζειν, ᾧ εἴκασται, θαυμάζεσθαι δ' ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ μᾶλλον, βρύνει γὰρ αὐτὸν σμαράγδου λίθου. καὶ Τεύκρου τοῦ Τελαμωνίου ζωστήρα χρυσοῦν φασι δείκνυσθαι, πῶς δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὀκεανὸν πλεύσαντος ἢ ἐφ' ὃ τι, οὔτε αὐτὸς ὁ Δάμις ξυνιδεῖν φησιν οὔτε ἐκείνων ἀκοῦσαι. τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ στήλας χρυσοῦ μὲν πεποιῆσθαι καὶ ἀργύρου ξυντετηκότοιιν ἐς ἓν χρώμα, εἶναι δὲ αὐτὰς ὑπὲρ πῆχυν τετραγώνου τέχνης, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄκμονες, ἐπιγεγράφθαι δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίοις οὔτε Ἰνδικοῖς γράμμασιν, οὔτε οἷοις ξυμβαλεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὡς οὐδὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἔφραζον, “οὐ ξυγχωρεῖ μοι,” ἔφη, “ὁ



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

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 Diomedes and the twelve labours of Hercules. And as to the golden olive of Pygmalion, it too is preserved in the temple of Hercules, and it excited their admiration by the clever way in which the branch work was imitated; and they were still more astonished at its fruit, for this teemed with emeralds. And they say that the girdle of Teucer of Telamon was also exhibited there of gold, but how he ever sailed as far as the ocean, or why he did so, neither Damis by his own admission could understand nor ascertain from the people of the place. But he says that the pillars in the temple were made of gold and silver smelted together so as to be of one colour, and they were over a cubit high, of square form, resembling anvils; and their capitals were inscribed with letters which were neither Egyptian nor Indian nor of any kind which he could decipher. But Apollonius, since the priests would tell him nothing, remarked: "Hercules

CHAP.

V

The trees  
of Geryon

Altars of  
Hercules

Girdle of  
Teucer

CAP.  
V Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος μὴ οὐ λέγειν, ὅποσα οἶδα·  
Γῆς καὶ Ὀκεανοῦ ξύνδεσμοι αἶδε αἱ στήλαί εἰσιν,  
ἐπεγράψατο δὲ αὐτὰς ἐκεῖνος ἐν Μοιρῶν οἴκῳ, ὡς  
μήτε νεῖκος τοῖς στοιχείοις ἐγγένοιτο μήτε ἀτιμά-  
σειαν τὴν φιλότητα, ἣν ἀλλήλων ἴσχουσιν.”

VI

CAP.  
VI Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναπλῶσαι τὸν Βαῖ-  
τιν, ὃς δηλοῖ μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ φύσιν·  
ἐπειδὰν γὰρ πλημμύρῃ τὸ πέλαγος, ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς  
ὁ ποταμὸς παλίρρους ἵεται, πνεύματος δῆπου ἀπω-  
θουμένου αὐτὸν τῆς θαλάττης. τὴν δὲ ἡπειρου  
τὴν Βαιτικήν, ἥς ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος ὁμώνυμος,  
ἀρίστην ἡπείρων φασί, πόλεών τε γὰρ εὖ ἔχειν  
καὶ νομῶν, καὶ διῆχθαι τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἄστη  
πάντα, γεωργίας τε ξυμπάσης μεστήν εἶναι καὶ  
ώρῶν, οἶαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς αἱ μετοπώριναί τε καὶ  
μυστηριώτιδες.

VII

CAP.  
VII Διαλέξεις δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ παρα-  
πεσόντων ὁ Δάμις πλείους μὲν γενέσθαι φησίν,  
ἀξίας δὲ τοῦ ἀναγράψαι τάσδε· καθημένων ποτὲ  
αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἀναγελάσας ὁ Μένιππος,  
ἀναμέμνητο δὲ ἄρα τοῦ Νέρωνος, “τί,” ἔφη, “τὸν  
γενναῖον ἡγώμεθα; τίνας,” ἔφη, “ἐστεφανῶσθαι τῶν

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

of Egypt does not permit me not to tell all I know. CHAP. V  
Unknown Inscriptions  
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 CHAP. VI  
Description of Baetica  
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 CHAP. VII  
Discussion of Nero and the Olympic games  
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; τοὺς δὲ βελτίστους Ἑλληνας οὐ ξὺν ὄλῳ γέλῳτι φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰς πανηγύρεις;” ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ὥς μὲν ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “Τελεσίνου ἤκουον, δέδιδεν ὁ χρηστὸς Νέρων τὰς Ἡλείων μάστιγας· παρακελευομένων γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν κολάκων νικᾶν τὰ Ὀλύμπια καὶ ἀνακηρύττειν τὴν Ῥώμην, “ἦν γε,” ἔφη, “μὴ βασκῆνῳσιν Ἡλείοι, λέγονται γὰρ μαστιγοῦν καὶ φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐμέ,” πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνοητότερα τούτων προανεφώνησεν. ἐγὼ δὲ νικήσειν μὲν Νέρωνα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ φημί, τίς γὰρ οὕτω θρασύς, ὥς ἐναντίαν θέσθαι; Ὀλύμπια δὲ οὐ νικήσειν, ἅτε μὴδὲ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἄγουσι· πατρίου μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις τοῦ πέρυσιν ἐνιαυτοῦ ὄντος, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Ἡλείους Νέρων ἀναβαλέσθαι αὐτὰ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιδημίαν, ὥς ἐκείνῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ Διὶ θύσοντας· τραγωδίαν δ’ ἐπαγγεῖλαι καὶ κιθαρῳδίαν ἀνδράσιν, οἷς μήτε θέατρον ἐστι μήτε σκηνὴ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα, στάδιον δὲ αὐτοφυὲς καὶ γυμνὰ πάντα, τὸν δὲ νικᾶν, ἃ χρὴ ἐγκαλύπτεσθαι, καὶ τὴν Αὐγούστου τε καὶ Ἰουλίου σκευὴν ῥίψαντα μεταμφιέννυσθαι νῦν τὴν Ἀμοιβέως καὶ Τερπνοῦ, τί φήσεις; καὶ τὰ μὲν Κρέοντός τε καὶ Οἰδίποδος οὕτως ἐξακριβοῦν, ὥς δεδιέναι, μή πη λάθῃ ἁμαρτῶν θύρας ἢ στολῆς ἢ σκῆπτρου, ἑαυτοῦ



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

CAP. VII. δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων οὕτως ἐκπίπτειν, ὥς ἀντὶ τοῦ νομοθετεῖν νόμους ἄδειν καὶ ἀγείρειν ἔξω θυρῶν, ὧν ἔσω χρή καθῆσθαι τὸν βασιλέα χρηματίζοντα ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης; εἰσὶν, ὦ Μένιππε, τραγωδοὶ πλείους, ἐς οὓς Νέρων ἑαυτὸν γράφει· τί οὖν; εἴ τις αὐτῶν μετὰ τὸν Οἰνόμαον ἢ τὸν Κρεσφόντην ἀπελθὼν τοῦ θεάτρου, μεστὸς οὕτω τοῦ προσωπείου γένοιτο, ὥς ἄρχειν μὲν ἐτέρων βούλεσθαι, τύραννον δὲ αὐτὸν ἡγείσθαι, τί καὶ φήσεις τοῦτον; ἄρ' οὐκ ἐλλεβόρου δεῖσθαι καὶ φαρμακοποσίας, ὁπόση τοὺς νοῦς ἐκκαθαίρει; εἰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ τυραίννεύων ἐς τραγωδοὺς καὶ τεχνίτας τὰ πράγματα ἑαυτοῦ ἄγοι, λεαίνων τὴν φωνὴν καὶ δεδιῶς τὸν Ἡλείον ἢ τὸν Δελφόν, ἢ μὴ δεδιῶς μὲν, κακῶς δὲ οὕτως ὑποκρινόμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τέχνην, ὥς μὴ μαστιγώσεσθαι νομίζειν πρὸς τούτων, ὧν αὐτὸς ἄρχειν τέτακται, τί τοὺς κακοδαίμονας ἀνθρώπους ἐρεῖς ὑπὸ τοιούτῳ καθάρματι ζῶντας; τοῖς δὲ Ἑλλησι τίνα ἡγή, ὦ Μένιππε; πότερα Ξέρξην καταπιμπράντα ἢ Νέρωνα ἄδοντα; εἰ γὰρ ἐνθυμηθείης τὴν ἀγοράν, ἣν ἐς τὰς ἐκείνου ὥδᾶς ξυμφέρουσι, καὶ ὥς ἐξωθοῦνται τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ ὥς οὐκ ἔξεστι σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν ἢ σκεῦος ἢ ἀνδράποδον αὐτοῖς πεπᾶσθαι, περὶ γυναῖοις τε καὶ παισὶν ὥς δεινὰ πείσονται τὰς ἐπιρρήτους ἡδονὰς ἐξ ἀπάσης οἰκίας ἐκλέγοντος τοῦ Νέρωνος, δίκαι τε ὥς πολλὰ ἀναφύσσονται, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἔα, τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς θεάτροις καὶ ταῖς ὥδαῖς· οὐκ ἦλθες ἀκροασόμενος Νέρωνος, ἢ παρήσθα μὲν, ῥαθύμως

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

CAP. VII. δὲ ἠκροῶ, ἐγέλας, οὐκ ἐκρότησας, οὐκ ἔθυσας ὑπὲρ τῆς φωνῆς, ἵνα Πυθῶδε λαμπροτέρα ἔλθοι· πολλαί σοι δόξουσι θεατῶν Ἰλιάδες περὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας εἶναι. τὸ γὰρ τετμήσεσθαι τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἢ οὐ τετμήσεσθαι, τέμνεται δέ, ὥς φασι, νῦν, πάλαι προὔμαθον θεοῦ φήναντος.” ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Δάμις, “ἀλλ’ ἐμοιγε,” ἔφη, “ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, τὸ περὶ τὴν τομὴν ἔργον ὑπερφωνεῖν δοκεῖ τὰ Νέρωνος πάντα, ἢ γὰρ διάνοια ὀρᾷς, ὥς μεγάλη.” “δοκεῖ μέν,” ἔφη, “κἀμοί, ὦ Δάμι, τὸ δὲ ἀτελὲς αὐτῆς διαβάλλει αὐτόν, ὥς ἀτελῇ μὲν ᾄδοντα, ἀτελῇ δὲ ὀρύττοντα. τά τοι Ξέρξου ἀναλεγόμενος ἐπαινῶ τὸν ἄνδρα, οὐχ ὅτι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔξευξεν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι διέβη αὐτόν, Νέρωνα δὲ οὔτε πλευσούμενον διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ ὀρῶ οὔτε ἐς τέρμα τῆς ὀρυχῆς ἤξοντα, δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ φόβου μεστὸς ἀναχωρῆσαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, εἰ μὴ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἀπόλωλεν.”

## VIII

CAP. VIII. Ἀφικομένου δέ τινος ἐς Γάδειρα μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν τοὺς ταχεῖς διαθεόντων δρόμους, καὶ κελεύοντος εὐαγγέλια θύειν τρισολυμπιονίκην Νέρωνα ᾄδοντας, τὰ μὲν Γάδειρα ξυνίει τῆς νίκης καὶ ὅτι ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

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

CHAP. VIII  
Spanish impressions of Nero's Olympic victories

CAP.  
VIII

τις εἴη ἀγὼν εὐδόκιμος, ἐπειδὴ, ὡς εἶπον, ἐς τὰ Ἑλλήνων σπεύδουσιν, αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἱ πρόσσοικοι τοῖς Γαδείροις οὔτε ἐγίγνωσκον ὅ τι εἴη τὰ Ὀλύμπια, οὐδ' ὅ τι ἀγωνία ἢ ἀγών, οὐδὲ ἐφ' ὅτῳ θύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπήγοντο ἐς γελοίους, δόξας πολέμου νίκην ἡγούμενοι ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι ὁ Νέρων ἡρήκοι τινὰς ἀνθρώπους Ὀλυμπίους· οὐδὲ γὰρ τραγωδίας ποτὲ ἢ κιθαρῳδίας θεαταὶ ἐγεγόνεσαν.

IX

CAP.  
IX

Τοὺς γοῦν οἰκοῦντας τὰ Ἴπολα, πόλεις δὲ καὶ κείνη Βαιτική, φησὶν ὁ Δάμις παθεῖν τι πρὸς τραγωδίας ὑποκριτὴν, οὗ καμὲ ἄξιον ἐπιμνησθῆναι· θυουσῶν γὰρ τῶν πόλεων θαμὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αἱ Πυθικαὶ ἤδη ἀπηγγέλλοντο, τραγωδίας ὑποκριτῆς τῶν οὐκ ἀξιουμένων ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι τῷ Νέρωνι ἐπῆει τὰς ἐσπερίους πόλεις ἀγείρων, καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ χρώμενος ἡὐδοκίμει παρὰ τοῖς ἡττον βαρβάροις, πρῶτον μὲν δι' αὐτὸ τὸ ἦκειν παρ' ἀνθρώπους, οἳ μήπω τραγωδίας ἤκουσαν, εἰτ' ἐπειδὴ τὰς Νέρωνος μελωδίας ἀκριβοῦν ἔφασκε. παρελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὰ Ἴπολα φοβερὸς μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο καὶ ὃν ἐσιώπα χρόνον ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς, καὶ ὁρῶντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι βαδίζοντα μὲν αὐτὸν μέγα, κεχηγνότε δὲ τοσοῦτον, ἐφεστῶτα δὲ ὀκρί-

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

Arcadia ; for, as I said before, the people of Gadeira CHAP. VIII 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 CHAP. IX 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

Effect of a tragic actor on the people of Ipola

CAP. IX. βασιν οὕτως ὑψηλοῖς τερατώδη τε τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐσθήματα, οὐκ ἄφοβοι ἦσαν τοῦ σχήματος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξάρας τὴν φωνὴν γεγωνὸν ἐφθέγγετο, φυγῇ οἱ πλείστοι ὥχοντο, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ δαίμονος ἐμβοηθέντες. τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ ἦθη τῶν ταύτης βαρβάρων καὶ οὕτως ἀρχαῖα.

X

CAP. X. Σπουδὴν δὲ ποιουμένου τοῦ τὴν Βαιτικὴν ἐπιτροπεύοντος ἐς ξυνουσίαν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐλθεῖν, ὁ μὲν ἀηδεῖς ἔφη τὰς ξυνουσίας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ φαίνεσθαι τοῖς μὴ φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ προσέκειτο αἰτῶν τοῦτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ χρηστός τε εἶναι ἐλέγετο καὶ διαβεβλημένος πρὸς τοὺς Νέρωνος μίμους, γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἕν' ἐς τὰ Γάδειρα ἔλθοι, ὁ δὲ ἀφελὼν τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄγκον ξὺν ὀλίγοις καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτηδειοτάτοις ἦλθεν. ἀσπασάμενοι δὲ ἀλλήλους καὶ μεταστησάμενοι τοὺς παρόντας, ὅ τι μὲν διελέχθησαν, οὐδεὶς οἶδε, τεκμαίρεται δὲ ὁ Δάμις ἐπὶ Νέρωνα ξυμβῆναι σφᾶς. τριῶν γὰρ ἡμερῶν ἰδίᾳ σπουδάσαντες, ὁ μὲν ἀπῆει περιβαλὼν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὁ δέ, “ἔρρωσο,” ἔφη, “καὶ μέμνησο τοῦ Βίνδικος.” τί δὲ τοῦτο ἦν; ἐπὶ Νέρωνα ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ ἄδοντα τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐσπέρια λέγεται κινῆσαι Βίνδιξ, ἀνὴρ οἶος ἐκτεμεῖν τὰς νευράς, ἃς Νέρων ἀμαθῶς ἔψαλλε, πρὸς γὰρ τὰ στρατόπεδα, οἷς ἐπετέτακτο, λόγον κατ’ αὐτοῦ διῆλθεν, ὃν ἐκ πάνυ γενναίας φιλοσοφίας ἐπὶ τύραννον ἂν τις πνεύσειεν· ἔφη γὰρ



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

saw him striding across the stage, with his mouth all agape, mounted on buskins extra high, and clad in the most wonderful garments ; but when he lifted up his voice and bellowed out loud, most of them took to their heels, as if they had a demon yelling at them. Such and so old-fashioned are the manners of the barbarians of that country.

CHAP.  
IX

### X

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

CHAP.  
X  
Interview  
with the  
Governor of  
Baetica at  
Gadeira

CAP. X. Νέρωνα εἶναι πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ κιθαρωδὸν καὶ κιθαρωδὸν μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλέα. προφέρειν δὲ αὐτῷ μανίαν μὲν καὶ φιλοχρηματίαν καὶ ὁμότητα καὶ ἀσέλγειαν πᾶσαν, τὸ δὲ ὁμότατον τῶν ἐκείνου μὴ προφέρειν αὐτῷ· τὴν γὰρ μητέρα ἐν δίκη ἀπεκτο-  
νέναι, ἐπειδὴ τοιοῦτον ἔτεκε. ταῦτ' οὖν ὥς ἔσται προγιγνώσκων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ξυνέταττε τῷ Βίνδικι ὁμορον ἄρχοντα, μονονουχὶ ὅπλα ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥώμης τιθέμενος.

XI

CAP. XI. Φλεγμαινόντων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν, τρέπονται τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Λιβύην καὶ Τυρρηνούς, καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ βαδίζοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ πλοίων πορευόμενοι κατίσχουσιν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, οὗ τὸ Λιλύβαιον. παραπλεύσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην τε καὶ πορθμόν, ἔνθα ὁ Τυρρηνὸς Ἀδρία ξυμβάλλων χαλεπὴν ἐργάζονται τὴν Χάρυβδιν, ἀκοῦσαί φασιν, ὡς Νέρων μὲν πεφεύγοι, τεθνήκοι δὲ Βίνδιξ, ἄπτοινο δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς οἱ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Ῥώμης, οἱ δὲ ὀπόθεν τύχοι τῶν ἐθνῶν. ἐρομένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν ἐταίρων, οἱ προβήσοιτο ταῦτα καὶ ὅτου λοιπὸν ἡ ἀρχὴ ἔσοιτο, “πολλῶν,” εἶπε, “Θηβαίων.” τὴν γὰρ ἰσχύν, ἣ πρὸς ὀλίγον Βιτέλιος τε καὶ Γάλβας καὶ Οἰωνοὶ ἐχρήσαντο, Θηβαίοις εἵκασεν, οὐ χρόνον κομιδῇ βραχὺν ἥχθησαν ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα.

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

commanded, and he declared in it that Nero was anything rather than a harpist, and a harpist rather than a sovereign. And he taxed him with madness and avarice and cruelty and wantonness of every kind, though he omitted to tax him with the cruellest of his crimes; for he said that he had quite rightly put to death his mother, because she had 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.

### 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.

CHAP.

XI

Predicts the short reigns of Vitellius, Galba, and Otho

## XII

CAP.  
XII

Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα δαιμονία κινήσει προ-  
εγίνωσκε, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς γόητα τὸν ἄνδρα ἡγου-  
μένοις οὐχ ὑγιαίνει ὁ λόγος, δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ τὰ  
εἰρημένα, σκεψώμεθα δὲ καὶ κεῖνα· οἱ γόητες,  
ἡγοῦμαι δ' αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ κακοδαιμονεστάτους ἀνθ-  
ρώπων, οἱ μὲν ἐς βασάνους εἰδώλων χωροῦντες, οἱ  
δ' ἐς θυσίας βαρβάρους, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐπαῖσαι τι ἢ  
ἀλεῖψαι, μεταποιεῖν φασι τὰ εἰμαρμένα, καὶ  
πολλοὶ τούτων κατηγορίαις ὑπαχθέντες τὰ  
τοιαῦτα ὠμολόγησαν σοφοὶ εἶναι. ὁ δὲ εἶπετο  
μὲν τοῖς ἐκ Μοιρῶν, προὔλεγε δέ, ὡς ἀνάγκη  
γενέσθαι αὐτά, προεγίνωσκε δὲ οὐ γοητεύων,  
ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν οἱ θεοὶ ἔφαινον. ἰδὼν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς  
Ἰνδοῖς τοὺς τρίποδας καὶ τοὺς οἰνοχόους καὶ ὅσα  
αὐτόματα ἐσφοιτᾶν εἶπον, οὐθ' ὅπως σοφίζονται  
αὐτά, ἤρετο, οὐτ' ἐδεήθη μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπήνει μὲν,  
ζηλοῦν δ' οὐκ ἡξίου.

## XIII

CAP.  
XIII

Ἀφικομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὰς Συρακούσας γυνή  
τῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶν τέρας ἀπεκύησεν, οἶον οὐπω ἐμαι-  
εύθη· τρεῖς γὰρ τῷ βρέφει κεφαλαὶ ἦσαν ἐξ οἰκείας  
ἐκάστη δέρης, τὰ δὲ ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἐνὸς πάντα. οἱ  
μὲν δὴ παχέως ἐξηγούμενοι τὴν Σικελίαν ἔφασαν,  
τρινακρία γάρ, ἀπολείσθαι, εἰ μὴ ὁμονοήσειέ τε



## 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.

CHAP.  
XIIApollonius  
no wizard  
because he  
foresaw  
the future

## 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

CHAP  
XIIIA three-  
headed  
child born  
in Syracuse  
portends  
the three  
Roman  
Pretenders

CAP.  
XIII

καὶ ξυμπνεύσειεν—ἐστασίαζον δὲ ἄρα πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων πρὸς ἑαυτάς τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ τὸ ἐν κόσμῳ ζῆν ἀπὴν τῆς νήσου—οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν τὸν Τυφῶ, πολυκέφαλον δὲ εἶναι, νεώτερα ἀπειλεῖν τῇ Σικελίᾳ, ὃ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἴθι,” ἔφη, “ὦ Δάμι, καὶ κάτιδε αὐτό, εἰ οὕτω ξύγκεται.” ἐξέκειτο γὰρ δημοσία τοῖς τερατολογεῖν εἰδόσιν, ἀπαγγεῖλαντος δὲ τοῦ Δάμιδος, ὡς τρικέφαλον εἶη καὶ ἄρρεν, ξυναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐταίρους, “τρεῖς,” ἔφη, “Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορες, οὓς ἐγὼ πρῶην Θηβαίους” ἔφην, τελειώσει δὲ οὐδεὶς τὸ ἄρχειν, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς Ῥώμης, ὃ δὲ περὶ τὰ ὅμορα τῇ Ῥώμῃ δυνηθέντες ἀπολοῦνται, θᾶπτον ἀποβαλόντες τὸ προσωπεῖον ἢ οἱ τῶν τραγωδῶν τύραννοι.” καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτίκα ἐς φῶς ἦλθε· Γάλβας μὲν γὰρ ἐπ’ αὐτῆς Ῥώμης ἀπέθανεν ἀψάμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ Βιτέλιος ὄνειροπλήσας τὸ ἄρχειν, Ὀθων δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἐσπερίους Γαλάτας ἀποθανὼν οὐδὲ τάφου λαμπροῦ ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ιδιώτης κεῖται· διέπτῃ δὲ ἡ τύχη ταῦτα ἐνὶ ἔτει.

## XIV

CAP.  
XIV

Πορευθέντες δὲ ἐπὶ Κατάνης, οὐ τὸ ὄρος ἢ Αἴτνη, Καταναίων μὲν ἀκούσαί φασιν ἡγουμένων

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

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.

CHAP  
XIII

### XIV

NEXT they came to Catana, where is Mount Etna; and they say that they heard from the inhabitants of

CHAP.  
XIV

CAP.  
XIV

τὸν Τυφῶ δεδέσθαι ἐκεῖ καὶ πῦρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀνίστασθαι, ὃ τύφει τὴν Αἴτνην, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐς πιθανωτέρους ἀφικέσθαι λόγους καὶ προσήκοντας τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσιν. ἄρξαι δ' αὐτῶν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ὧδε ἐρόμενον τοὺς ἐταίρους, “ἔστι τι μυθολογία;” “νὴ Δῖ,” εἶπεν ὁ Μένιππος, “ἦν γε οἱ ποιηταὶ ἐπαινοῦσι.” “τὸν δὲ δὴ Αἴσωπον τί ἡγῇ;” “μυθολόγον,” εἶπε, “καὶ λογοποιὸν πάντα.” “πότεροι δὲ σοφοὶ τῶν μύθων;” “οἱ τῶν ποιητῶν,” εἶπεν, “ἐπειδὴ ὡς γεγονότες ἄδονται.” “οἱ δὲ δὴ Αἰσώπου τί;” “βάτραχοι,” ἔφη, “καὶ ὄνοι καὶ λῆροι γραυσὶν οἷοι μασᾶσθαι καὶ παιδίοις.” “καὶ μήν,” ἔφη, “ἐμοί,” ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ἐπιτηδειότεροι πρὸς σοφίαν οἱ τοῦ Αἰσώπου φαίνονται· οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοὺς ἥρωας, ὧν ποιητικὴ πᾶσα ἔχεται, καὶ διαφθείρουσι τοὺς ἀκρωμένους, ἐπειδὴ ἔρωτάς τε ἀτόπους οἱ ποιηταὶ ἐρμηνεύουσι καὶ ἀδελφῶν γάμους καὶ διαβολὰς ἐς θεοὺς καὶ βρώσεις παίδων καὶ πανουργίας ἀνελευθέρους καὶ δίκας, καὶ τὸ ὡς γεγονὸς αὐτῶν ἄγει καὶ τὸν ἐρῶντα καὶ τὸν ζηλοτυποῦντα καὶ τὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα πλουτεῖν ἢ τυραννεύειν ἐφ' ἅπερ οἱ μῦθοι, Αἴσωπος δὲ ὑπὸ σοφίας πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ταῦτα ἀδόντων ἑαυτὸν κατέστησεν,



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

the city a story about Typho being bound on the spot and about fire rising from him, and this fire sends up the smoke<sup>1</sup> 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

CHAP.  
XIV  
A discussion  
of Aesop

<sup>1</sup> There is a pun in the Greek between Typhô = Typhon and typho = to smoke.

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XIV

ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῦ τινα ὁδὸν ἐτράπετο, εἶτα, ὥσπερ οἱ τοῖς εὐτελεστέροις βρώμασι καλῶς ἐστιῶντες, ἀπὸ σμικρῶν πραγμάτων διδάσκει μεγάλα, καὶ προθέμενος τὸν λόγον ἐπάγει αὐτῷ τὸ πρᾶττε ἢ μὴ πρᾶττε, εἶτα τοῦ φιλαλήθους μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ποιηταὶ ἤψατο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ βιάζονται πιθανοὺς φαίνεσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν λόγους, ὁ δ' ἐπαγγέλλων λόγον, ὅς ἐστι ψευδής, πᾶς οἶδεν ὅτι, αὐτὸ τὸ μὴ περὶ ἀληθινῶν ἐρεῖν ἀληθεύει. καὶ ὁ μὲν ποιητὴς εἰπὼν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον καταλείπει τῷ ὑγιαίνοντι ἀκροατῇ βασανίζειν αὐτόν, εἰ ἐγένετο, ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν μὲν ψευδῆ λόγον, ἐπαγαγὼν δὲ νουθεσίαν, ὥσπερ ὁ Αἴσωπος, δείκνυσιν ὡς ἐς τὸ χρήσιμον τῆς ἀκροάσεως τῷ ψεύδει κέχρηται. χαρίεν δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ καὶ τὰ ἄλογα ἡδίῳ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξια τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἐκ παίδων γὰρ τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις ξυγγενόμενοι καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκνηπιωθέντες, δόξας ἀναλαμβάνομεν περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ζώων, τὰ μὲν ὡς βασιλικά εἶη, τὰ δὲ ὡς εὐήθη, τὰ δὲ ὡς κομψά, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἀκέραια, καὶ ὁ μὲν ποιητὴς εἰπὼν

πολλὰ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων<sup>1</sup>

ἢ τοιοῦτό τι ἐπιχορεύσας ἀπῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ Αἴσωπος ἐπιχρησμοδῆσας τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον καταλύει τὴν ξυνουσίαν ἐς ὃ προὔθετο.

<sup>1</sup> Eurip. *Alcestis*, last line.

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

of his own; and in the second, like those who can CHAP  
XIV  
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.

## XV

CAP.  
XV

“Ἐμὲ δέ, ὦ Μένιππε, καὶ μῦθον περὶ τῆς Αἰσώπου σοφίας ἐδιδάξατο ἢ μήτηρ κομιδῇ νήπιον, ὥς εἴη μὲν ποτε ποιμὴν ὁ Αἴσωπος, νέμοι δὲ πρὸς ἱερῷ Ἑρμοῦ, σοφίας δὲ ἐρώη καὶ εὐχοίτο αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τούτου, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι ταῦτόν αἰτοῦντες ἐπιφοιτῶν τῷ Ἑρμῇ, ὁ μὲν χρυσόν, ὁ δ’ ἄργυρον, ὁ δὲ κηρύκειον ἐλεφάντινον, ὁ δὲ τῶν οὔτω τι λαμπρῶν ἀνάπτων, ὁ δ’ Αἴσωπος ἔχει μὲν οὕτως, ὥς μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἔχειν, φείδοιτο δὲ καὶ ὧν εἶχε, γάλακτος δὲ αὐτῷ σπένδοι, ὅσον ὅις ἀμελχθεῖσα ἐδίδου καὶ κηρίον ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν φέροι, ὅσον τὴν χεῖρα ἐμπλῆσαι, ἐστιᾶν δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ μύρτοις ὥετο καὶ παραθεὶς ἂν τῶν ῥόδων ἢ τῶν ἴων κομιδῇ ὀλίγα. “τί γὰρ δεῖ, ὦ Ἑρμῇ,” ἔλεγε, “στεφάνους πλέκειν καὶ ἀμελεῖν τῶν προβάτων;” ὥς δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς ῥητὴν ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς σοφίας διανομὴν, ὁ μὲν Ἑρμῆς ἄτε λόγιος καὶ κερδῶς, “σὺ μὲν,” ἔφη, “φιλοσοφίαν ἔχει,” τῷ πλείστα δήπουθεν ἀναθέντι, “σὺ δὲ εἰς ῥητόρων ἦθη χώρει,” τῷ δευτέρᾳ που χαρισαμένῳ, “σοὶ δὲ ἀστρονομεῖν χώρα, σοὶ δὲ εἶναι μουσικῷ, σοὶ δὲ ἡρώου ποιητῇ μέτρον, σοὶ δὲ ἰαμβείου.” ἐπεὶ δὲ



## XV

“AND as for myself, O Menippus, my mother CHAP. XV 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

A legend of  
Aesop and  
Hermes

CAP.  
XV

καίτοι λογιώτατος ὢν, κατανάλωσεν ἅκων ἅπαντα τὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας μέρη, καὶ ἔλαθεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκπεσὼν τοῦ Αἰσώπου, ἐιθυμείται τὰς Ὠρας, ὑφ' ὧν αὐτὸς ἐν κορυφαῖς τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ἐτράφη, ὡς ἐν σπαργάνοις ποτὲ αὐτῷ ὄντι μῦθον διελθούσαι περὶ τῆς βοός, ὃν διελέχθη τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἢ βοῦς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῆς τε καὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐς ἔρωτα αὐτὸν τῶν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος βοῶν κατέστησαν, καὶ δίδωσιν ἐντεῦθεν τὴν μυθολογίαν τῷ Αἰσώπῳ, λοιπὴν ἐν σοφίας οἴκῳ οὔσαν, “ἔχε,” εἰπὼν, “ἂ πρῶτα ἔμαθον.” αἱ μὲν δὴ πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῆς τέχνης ἐνθένδε ἀφίκοντο τῷ Αἰσώπῳ, καὶ τοιόνδε ἀπέβη τὸ τῆς μυθολογίας πρᾶγμα.

XVI

CAP.  
XVI

“Ἴσως δ' ἀνόητον ἔπαθον· ἐπιστρέψαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς διανοηθεῖς ἐς λόγους φυσικωτέρους τε καὶ ἀληθεστέρους ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ τῆς Αἵτνης ἄδουσιν, αὐτὸς ἐς ἔπαινον μύθων ἀπηνέχθην, οὐ μὴν ἄχαρις ἢ ἐκβολὴ τοῦ λόγου γέγονεν· ὁ γὰρ μῦθος, ὃν παραιτούμεθα, οὐ τῶν Αἰσώπου λόγων ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τῶν δραματικωτέρων καὶ ὧν οἱ ποιηταὶ θρυλοῦσιν· ἐκείνοι μὲν γὰρ Τυφῷ τινα ἢ Ἐγκέλαδον δεδέσθαι φασὶν ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει καὶ δυσθανατοῦντα ἀσθμαίνειν τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο, ἐγὼ δὲ γίγαντας

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

be a writer of iambics.' Now although he was a most wise and accomplished god he exhausted, not meaning to do so, all the various departments of wisdom, and then found that he had quite forgotten Aesop. Thereupon he remembered the Hours, by whom he himself had been nurtured on the peaks of Olympus, and bethought him of how once, when he was still in swaddling clothes, they had told him a story about the cow, which had a conversation with the man about herself and about the earth, and so set him aflame after the cows of Apollo. Accordingly he forthwith bestowed upon Aesop the art of fable called mythology, for that was all that was left in the house of wisdom, and said: 'Do you keep what was the first thing I learnt myself.' Aesop then acquired the various forms of his art from that source, and the issue was such as we see in the matter of mythology.

CHAP.  
XV

### XVI

"PERHAPS I have done a foolish thing," went on Apollonius, "for it was my intention to recall you to more scientific and truer explanations than the poetical myths given by the vulgar of Etna; and I have let myself be drawn into a eulogy of myths. However, the digression has not been without a charm of its own, for the myth which we repudiate is not one of Aesop's stories, but belongs to the class of dramatic stories which fill the mouths of our poets. For they say that a certain Typho or Enceladus lies bound under the mountain, and in his death agony breathes out this fire that we see. Now I admit that

CHAP.  
XVI  
The myth  
of Etna

CAP. XVI. μὲν γεγονέναι φημί, καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς γῆς ἀνα-  
 δείκνυσθαι τοιαυτὰ σώματα ῥαγέντων τῶν τάφων,  
 οὐ μὴν ἐς ἀγῶνα ἐλθεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλ' ὑβρίσαι  
 μὲν τάχα ἐς τοὺς νεῶς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἔδη, οὐρανῶ  
 δὲ ἐπιπηδῆσαι καὶ μὴ ξυγχωρεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπ'  
 αὐτοῦ εἶναι, μανία μὲν λέγειν, μανία δὲ οἶεσθαι.  
 καὶ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνος ὁ λόγος καίτοι δοκῶν εὐφημότερος  
 εἶναι τιμάσθω, ὥς Ἡφαίστῳ μέλει τοῦ χαλκεύειν  
 ἐν τῇ Αἴτνῃ, καὶ κτυπεῖται τις ἐνταῦθα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
 ἄκμων, πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα ὄρη πολλαχοῦ τῆς  
 γῆς ἔμπυρα καὶ οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμεν ἐπιφημίζοντες  
 αὐτοῖς γίγαντας καὶ Ἡφαίστους.

## XVII

CAP. XVII. “Τίς οὖν ἡ τῶν τοιῶνδε ὁρῶν αἰτία ; γῇ κρᾶσιν  
 ἀσφάλτου καὶ θείου παρεχομένη τύφεται μὲν καὶ  
 παρ' ἑαυτῆς φύσει, πῦρ δ' οὐπω ἐκδίδωσιν, εἰ δὲ  
 σηραγωγῶδης τύχοι καὶ ὑποδράμοι αὐτὴν πνεῦμα,  
 φρυκτὸν ἤδη αἶρει. πλεονεκτήσασα δὲ ἡ φλόξ,  
 ὥσπερ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀπορρεῖ τῶν ὁρῶν καὶ ἐς τὰ πεδία  
 ἐκχεῖται, χωρεῖ τε ἐπὶ θάλατταν πῦρ ἀθρόον  
 ἐκβολὰς ποιούμενον, οἶαι τῶν ποταμῶν εἰσι. χῶρος  
 δ' Εὐσεβῶν, περὶ οὓς τὸ πῦρ ἐρρύη, λεγέσθω μὲν  
 κἀνταῦθά τις, ἡγώμεθα δὲ τοῖς ὅσια πράττουσι



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

giants have existed, and that gigantic bodies are revealed all over earth when tombs are broken open ; nevertheless I deny that they ever came into conflict with the gods ; at the most they violated their temples and statues, and to suppose that they scaled the heaven and chased away the gods therefrom,—this it is madness to relate and madness to believe. Nor can I any more respect that other story, though it is more reverent in its tone, to the effect that Hephaestus attends to his forge in Etna, and that there is there an anvil on which he smites with his hammer ; for there are many other mountains all over the earth that are on fire, and yet we should never be so rash as to assign to them giants and gods like Hephaestus.

CHAP.  
XVI

### XVII

“ WHAT then is the explanation of such mountains? It is this : the earth by affording a mixture of asphalt and 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

CHAP.  
XVII

Explanation  
of volcanoes

## FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS

CAP.  
XVII

γῆν μὲν πᾶσαν ἀσφαλῇ χώρον εἶναι, θάλατταν δ' εὖπορον οὐ πλέουσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεῖν πειρωμένοις." αἰεὶ γὰρ τοὺς λόγους ἀνέπαυεν ἐς τὰ χρηστὰ τῶν παραγγελμάτων.

## XVIII

CAP.  
XVIII

Ἐμφιλοσοφήσας δὲ τῇ Σικελίᾳ χρόνον, ὃς ἀποχρῶσαν αὐτῷ σπουδὴν εἶχεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκομίζετο περὶ ἀρκτούρου ἐπιτολάς. ἀλύπου δὲ τοῦ πλοῦ γενομένου κατασχὼν ἐς Λευκάδα, "ἀποβῶμεν," ἔφη, "τῆς νεῶς ταύτης, οὐ γὰρ λῶον αὐτῇ ἐς Ἀχαίαν πλεύσαι." προσέχοντος δὲ οὐδενὸς τῷ λόγῳ πλὴν τῶν γιγνωσκόντων τὸν ἄνδρα, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ Λευκαδίας νεῶς ὁμοῦ τοῖς βουλομένοις ξυμπλεῖν ἐς Λέχαιον κατέσχευεν, ἡ δὲ ναὺς ἡ Συρακουσία κατέδυν ἐσπλεύουσα τὸν Κρισαῖον κόλπον.

## XIX

CAP.  
XIX

Μυθηεὶς δ' Ἀθήνησιν, ἐμύει δ' αὐτὸν ἱεροφάντης, ὃν αὐτὸς τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπεμαντεύσατο, ἐνέτυχεν καὶ Δημητρίῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, μετὰ γὰρ τὸ Νέρωνος βαλανεῖον καὶ ἃ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶπε, διητᾶτο Ἀθήνησιν ὁ Δημήτριος οὕτω γενναίως, ὥς μηδὲ τὸν χρόνον, ὃν Νέρων περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ὕβριζεν, ἐξελθεῖν τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἐκεῖνος καὶ Μουσωνίῳ ἔφασκεν ἐντετυχκέναι περὶ τὸν Ἴσθμον δεδεμένῳ τε καὶ κεκε-

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

for the doers of holiness, and that the sea is safely traversed not only by people in ships but even by people attempting to swim." For in this way he continually ended up his discourses with useful and pious exhortations.

CHAP.  
XVII

### XVIII

He stayed in Sicily and taught philosophy there as long as he had sufficient interest in doing so, and then repaired to Greece about the rising of Arcturus. After a pleasant sail he arrived at Leucas, where he said: "Let us get out of this ship, for it is better not to continue in it our voyage to Achaea." No one took any notice of the utterance except those who knew the sage well, but he himself together with those who desired to make the voyage with him embarked on a Leucadian ship, and reached the port of Lechaëum; meanwhile the Syracusan ship sank as it entered the Crisaean Gulf.

CHAP.  
XVIII  
A presentiment of  
shipwreck

### XIX

At Athens he was initiated and by the same hierophant of whom he had delivered a prophecy to his predecessor; here he met Demetrius the philosopher, for after the episode of Nero's bath and of his speech about it, Demetrius continued to live at Athens, with such noble courage that he did not quit Greece even during the period when Nero was outraging Greece over the games. Demetrius said that he had fallen in with Musonius at the Isthmus,

CHAP.  
XIX

CAP.  
XIX. λευσμένῳ ὀρύττειν, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπευφημῆσαι τὰ εἰκότα, τὸν δὲ ἔχεσθαι τῆς σμινύης καὶ ἔρρωμένως τῇ γῇ ἐμβάλλειν, ἀνακύνφαντα δέ, “λυπῶ σε,” φάναι, “ὦ Δημήτριε, τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ὀρύττων τῇ Ἑλλάδι; εἰ δὲ καὶ κιθαρωδοῦντά με εἶδες, ὥσπερ Νέρωνα, τί ἂν ἔπαθες;” καὶ ἐάσθω τὰ Μουσωνίου πλείω ὄντα καὶ θαυμασιώτερα, ὡς μὴ δοκοίην θρασύνεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἀμέλῳς αὐτὰ εἰπόντα.

XX

CAP.  
XX. Χειμάσας δ' ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἱεροῖς πᾶσιν εἶχετο τῆς ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ὁδοῦ περὶ ἕαρ, πολλὰ μὲν ἐπιπλήξας, πολλὰ δὲ συμβουλεύσας ταῖς πόλεσι, πολλῶν δὲ ἐς ἔπαινον καταστάς, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπαίνου ἀπείχετο, ὅποτε τι ὑγιῶς πράσσοιτο, καταβὰς δὲ ἐς Πειραιᾶ ναῦς μὲν τις ὥρμει πρὸς ἰστίοις οὔσα καὶ ἐς Ἰωνίαν ἀφήσουσα, ὁ δ' ἔμπορος οὐ ξυνεχώρει ἐμβαίνειν, ἰδιόστολον γὰρ αὐτὴν ἄγειν. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, “τίς ὁ φόρτος;” “θεῶν,” ἔφη, “ἀγάλματα ἀπάγω ἐς Ἰωνίαν, τὰ μὲν χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου, τὰ δὲ ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ.” “ἰδρυσόμενος ἦ τί;” “ἀποδωσόμενος,” ἔφη, “τοῖς βουλομένοις ἰδρύεσθαι.” “δέδιας οὖν, ὦ λῶστέ, μὴ συλήσωμεν τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ νηί;” “οὐ τοῦτο,” ἔφη, “δέδια, τὸ



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

where he was fettered and under orders to dig ; he CHAP.  
XIX 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 CHAP.  
XX temples, and towards spring he embarked on the road for Egypt, after administering many rebukes Rebukes  
the export  
of gods 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

CAP.  
XX

δὲ πλείοσι ξυμπλεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ ὁμιλίας ἀναπίμπλασθαι φαύλου διαίτης τε, ὁπόση ναυτική, δεινὸν ἡγοῦμαι.” “καὶ μὴν, ὦ βέλτιστε,” εἶπε, “δόκεῖς γάρ μοί τις Ἀθηναῖος εἶναι, τὰς ναῦς, αἷς ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐχρήσασθε, καίτοι ναυτικῆς ἀταξίας ἐμπεπλησμένας, ἐνέβαινον οἱ θεοὶ ξὺν ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ᾤοντο ὑφ’ ὑμῶν χραίνεσθαι, σὺ δὲ ἀμαθῶς οὕτως ἀπωθῇ τῆς νεῶς φιλοσόφους ἄνδρας, οἷς μάλιστα οἱ θεοὶ χαίρουσι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐμπορίαν τοὺς θεοὺς πεποιημένος; ἡ δὲ ἀγαλματοποιία ἡ ἀρχαία οὐ τοῦτο ἔπραττεν, οὐδὲ περιήεσαν τὰς πόλεις ἀποδιδόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς, ἀλλ’ ἀπάγοντες μόνον τὰς αὐτῶν χεῖρας καὶ ὄργανα λιθουργὰ καὶ ἐλεφαντουργὰ, ὕλην τε παρατιθέμενοι ἀργόν, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἱεροῖς τὰς δημιουργίας ἐποιοῦντο, σὺ δ’ ὥσπερ τὰ Ὑρκανικά τε καὶ Σκυθικά, ἀπείη δὲ εἰπεῖν τίνα, οὕτω τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τοὺς λιμένας τε καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς ἄγων οὐδὲν οἶει ἀσεβὲς πράττειν; καὶ μὴν καὶ σπερμολογοῦσιν ἔνιοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐξαψάμενοί τι Δήμητρος ἢ Διονύσου ἄγαλμα, καὶ τρέφεσθαί φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν οὓς φέρουσι, τὸ δ’ αὐτοὺς σιτεῖσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ μηδ’ ἐμπίπλασθαι τούτου, δεινῆς ἐμπορίας, εἴποιμι δ’ ἂν καὶ ἀνοίας, εἰ μηδὲν ἐκ τούτου δέδοικας.” τοιαῦτα ἐπιπλήξας ἐπὶ νεῶς ἐτέρας ἔπλει.

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

it proper that they should have to share the voyage CHAP.  
XX 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<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>1</sup> Probably temple slaves or prostitutes.

## XXI

CAP.  
XXI

Καταπλεύσας δὲ εἰς τὴν Χίον, καὶ μηδὲ τὸν πόδα  
 εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐρείσας μετεπήδησεν εἰς τὴν ναῦν τὴν  
 πλησίον—ἐκήρυττε δ' ἡ ναὺς εἰς Ῥόδον—καὶ οἱ  
 ἐταῖροι δὲ μετεπήδων οὐδὲν εἰπόντες, ἐφιλοσοφεῖτο  
 γὰρ αὐτοῖς μάλιστα τὸ ἔπεσθαι λέγοντί τε καὶ  
 πράττοντι. εὐφώρῳ δὲ περαιωθεὶς πνεύματι τάδε  
 ἐσπούδασεν ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ· προσιόντα αὐτὸν τῷ τοῦ  
 Κολοσσοῦ ἀγάλματι ἤρετο ὁ Δάμις, τί ἡγοῖτο  
 ἐκείνου μεῖζον; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· “ἄνδρα φιλοσοφούντα  
 ὑγιῶς τε καὶ ἀδόλως.” ἐπεχωρίαζε τότε τῇ Ῥόδῳ  
 Κάνος αὐλητῆς, ὃς ἄριστα δὴ ἀνθρώπων ἐδόκει  
 αὐλεῖν. καλέσας οὖν αὐτόν, “τί,” ἔφη, “ὁ αὐλητῆς  
 ἐργάζεται;” “πᾶν,” εἶπεν, “ὅπερ ἂν ὁ ἀκροατὴς  
 βούληται.” “καὶ μὴν πολλοί,” ἔφη, “τῶν ἀκροω-  
 μένων πλουτεῖν βούλονται μᾶλλον ἢ αὐλοῦ ἀκού-  
 ειν· πλουσίους οὖν ἀποφαίνεις, οὓς ἂν ἐπιθυ-  
 μοῦντας τούτου αἴσθῃ;” “οὐδαμῶς,” εἶπεν, “ὥς  
 ἐβουλόμην ἄν.” “τί δ’; εὐειδεῖς ἐργάζῃ τοὺς νεοὺς  
 τῶν ἀκροατῶν; ἐπειδὴ καλοὶ βούλονται δοκεῖν  
 πάντες, περὶ οὓς νεότης ἐστίν.” “οὐδὲ τοῦτο,”  
 ἔφη, “καίτοι πλεῖστον ἀφροδίτης ἔχων ἐν τῷ  
 αὐλῷ.” “τί οὖν ἐστίν,” εἶπεν, “ὃ τὸν ἀκροατὴν  
 ἡγῇ βούλεσθαι;” “τί δὲ ἄλλο γε,” ἦ δ' ὁ Κάνος,  
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## 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

CHAP.  
XXI  
Reaches  
Rhodes.  
Discussion  
of flute-  
playing

CAP.  
XXI

“ ἢ τὸν λυπούμενον μὲν κοιμίζεσθαι αὐτῷ τὴν λύπην ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐλοῦ, τὸν δὲ χαίροντα ἱλαρώτερον ἑαυτοῦ γίγνεσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἔρωντα θερμότερον, τὸν δὲ φιλοθύτην ἐνθεώτερόν τε καὶ ὑμνώδη;” “ τοῦτο οὖν,” ἔφη, “ ὦ Κάνε, πότερον αὐτὸς ἐργάζεται ὁ αὐλὸς διὰ τὸ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ὀρειχάλκου καὶ ἐλάφων κνήμης ξυγκεῖσθαι, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὄνων, ἢ ἕτερόν ἐστιν, ὃ ταῦτα δύναται;” “ ἕτερον,” ἔφη, “ ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε· ἢ γὰρ μουσικὴ καὶ οἱ τρόποι καὶ τὸ ἀναμῖξ καὶ τὸ εὐμετάβολον τῆς αὐλήσεως καὶ τὰ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἦθι, ταῦτα τοὺς ἀκροωμένους ἁρμόττει καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐργάζεται σφῶν, ὁποίας βούλονται.” “ ξυνῆκα,” ἔφη, “ ὦ Κάνε, ὅ τι σοι ἢ τέχνη πράττει· τὸ γὰρ ποικίλον αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἐς πάντας τρόπους, τοῦτο ἐξασκεῖς τε καὶ παρέχεις τοῖς παρὰ σὲ φοιτῶσιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ εἰρημένοις καὶ ἐτέρων δοκεῖ ὁ αὐλὸς δεῖσθαι· τῆς τε εὐπνοίας καὶ τῆς εὐστομίας καὶ τοῦ εὐχειρα εἶναι τὸν αὐλοῦντα, ἔστι δὲ εὐπνοια μὲν, ἣν τορὸν καὶ λευκὸν ἢ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ μὴ ἐπικτυπῇ ἢ φάρυγξ, τουτὶ γὰρ ἔοικε φθόγγῳ ἀμούσῳ, εὐστομία δέ, ἣν τὰ χεῖλη ἐνθέμενα τὴν τοῦ αὐλοῦ γλῶτταν μὴ πιμπραμένου τοῦ προσώπου αὐλῇ, τὸν δὲ εὐχειρα αὐλητὴν πολλοῦ ἡγοῦμαι ἄξιον, ἣν μήτε ὁ καρπὸς ἀπαγορεύῃ ἀνακλώμενος μήτε οἱ δάκτυλοι βραδεῖς ὥσιν ἐπιπέτεσθαι τοῖς φθόγγοις, καὶ γὰρ τὸ ταχέως μεταβάλλειν ἐκ τρόπου ἐς τρόπον περὶ τοὺς εὐχειράς ἐστι μᾶλλον. εἰ δὴ ταῦτα πάντα

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

CHAP.  
XXI

CAP. XXXI παρέχεις, θαρρῶν αὐλῇ, ὦ Κάνε, μετὰ σοῦ γὰρ ἡ Εὐτέρπη ἔσται.”

XXII

CAP. XXXII Ἐτύγχανέ τι καὶ μειράκιον νεόπλουτόν τε καὶ ἀπαιδευτον οἰκοδομούμενον οἰκίαν τινὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ, καὶ ξυμφέρων ἐς αὐτὴν γραφάς τε ποικίλας καὶ λίθους ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐθνῶν. ἤρετο οὖν αὐτό, ὅποσα χρήματα εἴη ἐς διδασκάλους τε καὶ παιδείαν ἀνηλωκός· ὁ δέ, “οὐδὲ δραχμὴν,” εἶπεν. “ἐς δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν πόσα;” “δώδεκα,” ἔφη, “τάλαντα, προσαναλώσαιμι δ’ ἂν καὶ ἕτερα τοσαῦτα.” “τί δ’,” εἶπεν, “ἡ οἰκία βούλεται σοι;” “δαίαιτα,” ἔφη, “λαμπρὰ ἔσται τῷ σώματι, καὶ γὰρ δρόμοι ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἄλση καὶ ὀλίγα ἐς ἀγορὰν βαδιοῦμαι, καὶ προσερούσί με οἱ ἐσιόντες ἥδιον, ὥσπερ ἐς ἱερὸν φοιτῶντες.” “ζηλωτότεροι δέ,” εἶπεν, “οἱ ἄνθρωποι πότερον δι’ αὐτοὺς εἰσιν ἢ διὰ τὰ περὶ αὐτοὺς ὄντα;” “διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον,” εἶπε, “τὰ γὰρ χρήματα πλείστον ἰσχύει.” “χρημάτων δ’,” ἔφη, “ὦ μειράκιον, ἀμείνων φύλαξ πότερον ὁ πεπαιδευμένος ἔσται ἢ ὁ ἀπαιδευτος;” ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐσιώπησε, “δοκεῖς μοι,” εἶπε, “μειράκιον, οὐ σὺ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀλλὰ σὲ ἡ οἰκία κεκτήσθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐς ἱερὸν παρελθὼν πολλῶ ἂν ἥδιον ἐν αὐτῷ μικρῷ ὄντι ἄγαλμα ἐλέφαντός τε καὶ χρυσοῦ ἴδοιμι ἢ ἐν μεγάλῳ κεραμεοῦν τε καὶ φαῦλον.”



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

all these facilities, you may play with confidence, CHAP.  
XXI  
O Canus, for the Muse Euterpe will be with you."

### XXII

IT happened also that a young man was building CHAP.  
XXII  
a house in Rhodes who was a *nouveau riche* without Rebukes  
rich upstart  
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

CAP.  
XXIII

Νεανίαν δὲ ἰδὼν πίονα καὶ φρονούντα ἐπὶ τῷ  
 πλείστα μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἐσθίειν, πλείστον δὲ οἶνον  
 πίνειν, “ἀλλ’ ἦ σύ,” ἔφη, “τυγχάνεις ὦν ὁ  
 γαστριζόμενος;” “καὶ θύω γε,” εἶπεν, “ὑπὲρ  
 τούτου.” “τί οὖν,” ἔφη, “ἀπολέλουκας τῆς βορᾶς  
 ταύτης;” “τὸ θαυμάζεσθαί με καὶ ἀποβλέπε-  
 σθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἴσως ἀκούεις, ὥς καὶ  
 τὰ σιτία αὐτοῦ παραπλησίως τοῖς ἄθλοις ἦδετο.”  
 “Ἡρακλέους,” ἔφη, “ὄντος· σοῦ δὲ τίς, ὦ  
 κάθαρμα, ἀρετή; τὸ γὰρ περίβλεπτον ἐν μόνῳ  
 λείπεται σοι τῷ ῥαγῆναι.”

## XXIV

CAP.  
XXIV

Τοιάδε μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ, τα δὲ ἐν τῇ  
 Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ἐσέπλευσεν· ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια  
 καὶ ἀπόντος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἦρα, καὶ ἐπόθουν τὸν  
 Ἀπολλώνιον, ὥς εἰς ἓνα, καὶ ἡ Αἴγυπτος δὲ ἡ ἄνω  
 μεστοὶ θεολογίας ὄντες καὶ φοιτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ  
 ἦθη τὰ αὐτῶν ἠΰχοντο, ἅτε γὰρ πολλῶν ἀφικνου-  
 μένων μὲν ἐνθένδε ἐς Αἴγυπτον, πολλῶν δὲ ἐπιμιγ-  
 νύντων δεῦρο ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ἦδετό τε παρ’ αὐτοῖς  
 Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ τὰ ὦτα ἐς αὐτὸν Αἰγυπτίοις  
 ὀρθὰ ἦν· προϊόντα γέ τοι ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς ἐς τὸ ἄστν  
 θεῷ ἴσα ἀπέβλεπον καὶ διεχώρουν τῶν στενωπῶν,

## 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."

CHAP.

XXIII

Rebukes a  
glutton

## 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

CHAP.

XXIV

His  
reception in  
Alexandria

CAP.  
XXIV

ὥσπερ τοῖς φέρουσι τὰ ἱερά. παραπεμπομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμόνες, ἄνδρες ἤγοντο τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ δώδεκα λησταὶ τὴν αἰτίαν, ὁ δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἰδὼν, “οὐ πάντες,” εἶπεν, “ὁ δεῖνα γὰρ καταψευθεὶς ἅπεισι.” καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δημίους, ὑφ’ ὧν ἤγοντο, “ὑφεῖναι,” ἔφη, “κελεύω τοῦ δρόμου καὶ σχολαιότερον ἤκειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, ὕστατόν τε ἀποκτείνειν τοῦτον, μετέχει γὰρ οὐδὲν τῆς αἰτιάσεως, ἀλλ’ ὑμεῖς γε ὅσ’ ἂν πρᾶττοιτε φειδόμενοι τούτων βραχὺ μέρος ἡμέρας, οὓς λῶον ἦν μὴδ’ ἀποκτείνειν” καὶ ἅμα ἐνδιέτριβεν οἷς ἔλεγεν, οὐκ εἰωθὸς ἑαυτῷ ἀποτείνων μῆκος. τί δ’ αὐτῷ ἐνόει τοῦτο, αὐτίκα ἐδείχθη· ὀκτῶ γὰρ ἤδη ἀποτετμημένων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἵππεὺς ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα, “Φαρίωνος,” ἐβόα, “φείσασθε,” μὴ γὰρ εἶναι ληστὴν αὐτόν, ἀλλ’ ἑαυτοῦ μὲν κατεψεύσθαι δέει τοῦ στρεβλώσεσθαι, βασανισθέντων δὲ ἑτέρων χρηστὸν ὠμολογῆσθαι ἄνδρα. ἐὼ τὸ πῆδημα τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ ὅσον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκρότησαν καὶ ἄλλως θαυμαστικοὶ ὄντες.

## XXV

CAP.  
XXV

Ἀνελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ὁ μὲν κόσμος ὁ περὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ λόγος θεῖός τε ἐφαί-



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

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.

CHAP.  
XXIV

Predicts the  
acquittal of  
a bandit

### XXV

AND when he had gone up into the temple, he was struck by the orderliness of its arrangements, and

CHAP.  
XXV

CAP.  
XXV

νετο καὶ κατὰ σοφίαν ξυντεθείς, τὸ δὲ τῶν ταύρων αἷμα καὶ οἱ χῆνες καὶ ὅποσα ἐθύετο, οὐκ ἐπήνει τὰ τοιάδε, οὐδὲ ἐς δαίτας θεῶν ἦγεν· ἐρομένου δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ ἱερέως, τί μαθὼν οὐχ οὕτω θύοι, “σὺ μὲν οὖν,” εἶπεν, “ἀπόκριναί μοι μᾶλλον, τί μαθὼν οὕτω θύεις;” εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ ἱερέως, “καὶ τίς οὕτω δεινός, ὥς διορθοῦσθαι τὰ Αἰγυπτίων;” “πᾶς,” ἔφη, “σοφός, ἦν ἀπ’ Ἰνδῶν ἦκη. καὶ βοῦν,” ἔφη, “ἀπανθρακιῶ τήμερον καὶ κοινώνει τοῦ καπνοῦ ἡμῖν, οὐ γὰρ ἀχθέσῃ περὶ τῆς μοίρας, εἰ κἀκείνην οἱ θεοὶ daίσονται.” τηκομένου δὲ τοῦ πλάσματος, “ὄρα,” ἔφη, “τὰ ἱερά.” “ποῖα;” εἶπεν ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, “ὁρῶ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐνθάδε.” ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, “οἱ δὲ Ἰαμίδαι,” εἶπε, “καὶ οἱ Τελλιᾶδαι καὶ οἱ Κλυτιᾶδαι καὶ τὸ τῶν Μελαμποδιδῶν μαντεῖον ἐλήρησαν, ὧ λῶστε, τοσαῦτα μὲν περὶ πυρὸς εἰπόντες, τοσαύτας δὲ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ξυλλεξάμενοι φήμας; ἢ τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πεύκης πῦρ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς κέδρου μαντικὸν ἡγῇ καὶ ἱκανὸν δηλῶσαί τι, τὸ δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ πιοτάτου τε καὶ καθαρωτάτου δακρύου καόμενον οὐ πολλῶ αἰρετώτερον; εἰ δ’ ἐμπύρου σοφίας ἦσθα εὐξύνετος, εἶδες ἂν καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλῳ πολλὰ δηλούμενα, ὅποτε ἀνίσχει.”

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<sup>1</sup> 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 Iamidæ and the Telliadæ and the Clytiadæ 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."

CHAP.  
XXV  
Condemns  
blood  
offerings

<sup>1</sup> A frankincense model of a bull.

CAP.  
XXVI

Τούτοις ἐπέκοπτε τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ὡς ἀμαθῇ τῶν  
 θείων. προσκειμένης δὲ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἵπποις  
 καὶ ξυμφοιτώσης μὲν ἐς τὸν ἵππόδρομον ἐπὶ τῇ  
 θέᾳ ταύτῃ, μαιφονούντων δὲ ἀλλήλους, ἐπίπληξιν  
 ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν,  
 “ποῖ,” ἔφη, “παρατενεῖτε ἀποθνήσκοντες οὐχ  
 ὑπὲρ τέκνων οὐδὲ ἱερῶν, ἀλλ’ ὡς χαίνοιτε μὲν τὰ  
 ἱερὰ λύθρου μεστοὶ ἐς ταῦτα ἤκοντες, φθείροισθε  
 δὲ ἔσω τείχους; καὶ Τροίαν μὲν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἵππος  
 εἰς διεπόρθησεν, ὃν ἐσοφίσαντο οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τότε,  
 ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς δὲ ἄρματα ἔζευκται καὶ ἵπποι, δι’ οὓς οὐκ  
 ἔστιν ὑμῖν εὐηνίως ζῆν. ἀπόλλυσθε γοῦν οὐχ ὑπὸ  
 Ἀτρειδῶν, οὐδ’ ὑπὸ Αἰακιδῶν, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων,  
 ὃ μῆδ’ οἱ Τρῶες ἐν τῇ μέθῃ. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν  
 Ὀλυμπίαν, οὗ πάλης καὶ πυγμῆς καὶ τοῦ  
 παγκρατιάζειν ἄθλα, οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ ἀθλητῶν ἀπέ-  
 θανεν, ἴσως καὶ ξυγγνώμης ὑπαρχούσης, εἴ τις ὑπερ-  
 σπουδάζοι περὶ τὸ ὁμόφυλον, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἵππων  
 ἐνταῦθα γυμνὰ μὲν ὑμῖν ἐπ’ ἀλλήλους ξίφη, βολαὶ  
 δὲ ἔτοιμοι λίθων. πῦρ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τοιαύτην πόλιν,  
 ἔνθα οἰμωγὴ τε καὶ ὕβρις

ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων, ῥέει δ’ αἵματι γαῖα.

αἰδέσθητε τὸν κοινὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου κρατῆρα



## 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

CHAP.

XXVI

Condemns  
horse-racing  
factions

Iliad 4, 451

CAP.  
XXVII

Νεῖλον. ἀλλὰ τί Νείλου μνημονεύω πρὸς ἀνθρώπους αἵματος ἀναβάσεις διαμετροῦντας μᾶλλον ἢ ὕδατος;” καὶ πλείω ἐς τὴν ἐπί- πληξιν ταύτην διελέχθη ἕτερα, ὡς διδάσκει ὁ Δάμις.

XXVII

CAP.  
XXVII

Οὐεσπασιανοῦ δὲ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν περι- νοοῦντος περὶ τὰ ὅμορα τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἔθνη, καὶ προ- χωροῦντος ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, Δίῳνες μὲν καὶ Εὐ- φράται, περὶ ὧν μικρὸν ὕστερον εἰρήσεται, χαίρειν παρεκελεύοντο· μετὰ γὰρ τὸν πρῶτον αὐτοκράτορα, ὑφ’ οὗ τὰ Ῥωμαίων διεκοσμήθη, τυραννίδες οὕτω χαλεπαὶ ἰσχυσαν ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτη, ὡς μὴδὲ Κλαύδιον τὰ μέσα τούτων τρισκαίδεκα ἄρξαντα χρηστὸν δόξαι· καίτοι πεντηκοντούτης μὲν ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν παρήλθεν, ὅτε νοῦς μάλιστα ὑγιαίνει ἀνθρώπων, παιδείας δὲ ξυμπάσης ἐδόκει ἐρᾶν· ἀλλὰ κακείνος τηλικόσδε ὧν πολλὰ μειρακιώδη ἔπαθε καὶ μηλόβοτον γυναίοις τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνῆκεν, ὑφ’ ὧν οὕτω ῥαθύμως ἀπέθανεν, ὡς καίτοι προγιγνώσκων, ἂ ἔμελλε πείσεσθαι, μὴδ’ ἂ προῆδει, φυλάξασθαι. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ παραπλησίως μὲν Εὐφράτῃ καὶ Δίῳνι περὶ τούτων ἔχαιρε, μελέτην δ’ αὐτὰ οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο ἐς πάντα, ῥητορικωτέραν ἡγούμενος τὴν

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

feel reverence for the Nile, the common mixing bowl of Egypt? But why mention the Nile to men whose gauges measure a rising tide of blood rather than of water?" And many other rebukes of the same kind he addressed to them, as Damis informs us.

CHAP.  
XXVI

### XXVII

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,

CHAP.  
XXVII

Vespasian's  
arrival at  
Alexandria

CAP.  
XXVII

τοιάνδε ιδέαν τοῦ λόγου, προσιόντι δὲ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ πρὸ πυλῶν ἀπήντα καὶ τὰ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τέλη καὶ οἱ νομοί, καθ' οὓς Αἴγυπτος τέτμηται, φιλόσοφοί τε ὡσαύτως καὶ σοφία πᾶσα, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος οὐδὲν ἐπολυπραγμόνει τούτων, ἀλλὰ ἐσπούδαζεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. διαλεχθεῖς δὲ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ γενναῖά τε καὶ ἡμερα, καὶ διελθὼν λόγον οὐ μακρόν, “ἐπιδημεῖ,” ἔφη, “ὁ Τυανεύς;” “ναί,” ἔφασαν, “βελτίους γε ἡμᾶς ἐργασάμενος.” “πῶς ἂν οὖν ξυγγένοιτο ἡμῖν;” ἔφη, “σφόδρα γὰρ δέομαι τοῦ ἀνδρός.” “ἐντεύξεταί σοι περὶ τὸ ἱερόν,” ὁ Δίων εἶπε, “πρὸς ἐμὲ γὰρ δεῦρο ἦκοντα ὠμολόγει ταῦτα.” “ἴωμεν,” ἔφη ὁ βασιλεύς, “προσευξόμενοι μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς, ξυνεσόμενοι δὲ ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ.” ἐντεῦθεν ἀνέφυσεν λόγος, ὡς ἐνθύμιος μὲν αὐτῷ ἡ ἀρχὴ γένοιτο πολιορκοῦντι τὰ Σόλυμα, μεταπέμποιτο δὲ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ὑπὲρ βουλῆς τούτων, ὁ δὲ παραιτοῖτο ἡκεῖν εἰς γῆν, ἣν ἐμίαναν οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοῦντες οἷς τε ἔδρασαν οἷς τε ἔπαθον· ὅθεν αὐτὸς ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν κεκτημένος, διαλεξόμενος δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ὅποσα δηλώσω.

## XXVIII

CAP.  
XXVIII

Θύσας γὰρ καὶ οὕτω χρηματίσας κατ' ἀξίαν ταῖς πόλεσι προσεῖπε τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ ὥσπερ



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

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 inhabitants polluted both by what they did and by what they suffered, which was the reason why Vespasian came in person to Egypt, as well because he now had possession of the throne, as in order to hold with our sage the conversations which I shall relate.

CHAP.  
XXVII

### XXVIII

FOR after he had sacrificed, and before he gave official audiences to the cities, he addressed himself

CHAP.  
XXVIII

CAP.  
XXVIII

εὐχόμενος αὐτῷ, “ποίησόν με,” ἔφη, “βασιλέα.” ὁ δέ, “ἐποίησα,” εἶπεν, “ἤδη γὰρ εὐξάμενος βασιλέα δίκαιόν τε καὶ γενναῖον καὶ σώφρονα καὶ πολιᾷ κεκοσμημένον καὶ πατέρα παίδων γνησίῳ, σὲ δήπου παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἦτουν ἐγώ.” ὑπερησθεὶς δὲ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ γὰρ ἐβόησε τὸ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πλῆθος ξυντιθέμενοι τῷ λόγῳ, “τί σοι,” ἔφη, “Νέρωνος ἀρχὴ ἐφαίνετο;” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “Νέρων,” εἶπε, “κιθάραν μὲν ἴσως ἦδει ἀρμόττεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἥσυχυνεν ἀνέσει καὶ ἐπιτάσει.” “ξύμμετρον οὖν,” ἔφη, “κελεύεις εἶναι τὸν ἄρχοντα;” “οὐκ ἐγώ,” εἶπε, “θεὸς δὲ τὴν ἰσότητα μεσότητα ὀρισάμενος. ἀγαθοὶ δὲ τούτων ξύμβουλοι καὶ οἷδε οἱ ἄνδρες,” τὸν Δίωνα δείξας καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην μήπω αὐτῷ ἐς διαφορὰν ἦκοντα. τότε δὴ ἀνασχὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς χεῖρας, “ὦ Ζεῦ,” ἔφη, “σοφῶν μὲν ἐγὼ ἄρχοιμι, σοφοὶ δὲ ἐμοῦ.” καὶ ἐπιστρέψας ἑαυτὸν ἐς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, “ἀρύσασθε,” εἶπεν, “ὡς Νείλου καὶ ἐμοῦ.”

## XXIX

CAP.  
XXIX

Ἡ μὲν δὴ Αἴγυπτος ὧδε ἀνέσχευ, ἀπειρηκότες ἤδη δι' ἃ ἐπιέζοντο. κατιῶν δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ξυνῆψε τῷ

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

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."

CHAP.  
XXVIII

He  
converses  
with  
Apollonius  
about  
kingship

### XXIX

THE result then was that the Egyptians regained their prosperity, for they were already exhausted by the oppressions they suffered; but as he went down

CHAP.  
XXIX

Ἀπολλωνίῳ τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ παραγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, “ἴσως,” ἔφη, “μειρακιώδης ἐνίοις δοκῶ βασιλείας ἀπτόμενος περὶ ἔτος ἐξηκοστὸν τοῦ βίου· δώσω οὖν ἀπολογίαν, ὥς ἀπολογοῖο ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις· ἐγὼ γὰρ πλούτου μὲν ἡττηθεὶς οὐδὲ ἐν μειρακίῳ ποτὲ οἶδα, τὰς δὲ ἀρχάς τε καὶ λαμπρότητας, ὁπόσαι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ προσήκουσιν, οὕτω σωφρόνως καὶ μετρίως διεθέμην, ὥς μήτε ὑπέρφρων μήτ’ αὖ κατεπτηχὼς δόξαι, νεώτερα δὲ οὐδ’ ἐπὶ Νέρωνα ἐνεθυμήθην, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ νόμους, παρ’ ἀνδρὸς γοῦν αὐτοκράτορος παραλαβὼν εἶχεν, ὑφίεμην αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν Κλαύδιον, ὃς ὑπατόν τε ἀπέδειξέ με καὶ ξύμβουλον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ νῆ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ὁπότε Νέρωνα ἴδοιμι ἀσχημονοῦντα, δάκρυά μοι ἐξέπιπτεν ἐνθυμουμένῳ τὸν Κλαύδιον, ὑφ’ οἷου καθάρματος τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκκληρονομήθη. ὁρῶν δὲ μηδ’ ὁπότε Νέρων ἐκποδὼν γέγονεν ἐπὶ τὸ λῶον μεθιστάμενα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ’ οὕτως ἀτίμως τὴν ἀρχὴν πράττουσαν, ὥς ἐπὶ Βιτελίῳ κείσθαι, θαρρῶν ἤδη ἐπ’ αὐτὴν εἶμι, πρῶτον μὲν, ἐπειδὴ βούλομαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρασχεῖν ἑμαυτὸν πολλοῦ ἄξιον, εἴτα, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται κραιπαλῶντα· Βιτέλιος γὰρ μύρῳ μὲν λούται πλείον’ ἢ ἐγὼ ὕδατι, δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ ξίφει πληγεὶς μύρον ἐκδώσειν μᾶλλον ἢ αἷμα, οἶνω δὲ οἶνον ξυνάπτων μαίνεται, καὶ κυβεύει μὲν δεδιὼς μή τι αὐτὸν οἱ πεττοῖ



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

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

CHAP.  
XXIX  
And reviews  
the reigns  
of his  
predecessors

CAP. σφήλωσιν, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἀρχῆς ἀναρριπτεῖ παίζων,  
XXIX  
ἐταίραις δὲ ὑποκείμενος ἐπιθόρνυται ταῖς γεγα-  
μημέναις, ἡδὶώ φάσκων τὰ μετὰ κινδύνων ἐρωτικά.  
ἐὼ τὰ ἀσελγέστερα, ὥς μὴ τοιαῦτα ἐπὶ σοῦ  
λέγοιμι· μὴ δὴ περιίδοιμι Ῥωμαίους ὑπὸ τοιούτου  
ἀρχθέντας, ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνας ποιούμενος τοὺς θεοὺς  
ἀνὴρ γιγνοίμην ἐμαυτῷ ὅμοιος· ὅθεν ἐκ σοῦ,  
Ἀπολλώνιε, πείσμα ἐγὼ βάλλομαι, φασὶ γὰρ  
πλείστά σε τῶν θεῶν αἰσθάνεσθαι, καὶ ξύμ-  
βουλον ποιουμαί σε φροντίδων, ἐφ' αἷς ἐστι γῆ  
καὶ θάλαττα, ἵν' εἰ μὲν εὐμενῇ τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν  
φαίνοιτο, πράττοιμι ταῦτα, εἰ δὲ ἐναντία καὶ μὴ  
πρὸς ἐμοῦ μηδὲ Ῥωμαίων, μὴ ἐνοχλοῖην τοὺς θεοὺς  
ἄκοντας.”

XXX

CAP. Ἐπιθειάσας δ' ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ λόγῳ, “Ζεῦ,”  
XXX  
ἔφη, “Καπιτώλιε, σὲ γὰρ τῶν παρόντων πραγ-  
μάτων βραβευτὴν οἶδα, φύλαττε σεαυτὸν μὲν  
τούτῳ, σεαυτῷ δὲ τοῦτον· τὸν γὰρ νεῶν, ὃν χθὲς  
ἄδικοι χεῖρες ἐνέπρησαν, τόνδε σοὶ τὸν ἄνδρα  
ἀναστῆσαι πέπρωται.” θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ  
βασιλέως τὸν λόγον, “αὐτά,” εἶπεν, “αὐτὰ δηλώσει

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

diceing would be full of apprehension lest the pieces should play him false, is yet hazarding the empire in play; and though he is the slave of mistresses, he nevertheless insults married women, and says that he likes to spice his amours with a little danger. His worst excesses I will not mention for I would rather not allude to such matters in your presence. May I then never submit tamely, while the Romans are ruled by such a man as he; let me rather ask the gods to guide me so that I may be true to myself. And this, Apollonius, is why I, as it were, make fast my cable to yourself, for they say that you have the amplest insight into the will of the gods, and why I ask you to share with me in my anxieties and aid me in plans on which rests the safety of sea and land; to the end that, supposing the good-will of heaven show itself on my side, I may fulfill my task; but if heaven opposes and favours neither myself nor the Romans, that I may not trouble the gods against their wills."

CHAP.  
XXIX

### XXX

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

CHAP.  
XXX  
An example  
of  
Apollonius'  
gift of  
second sight

CAP.  
XXX καὶ μηδὲν ἐμοῦ δέου, πέραινε δέ, ἃ ὀρθῶς ἐβουλεύσω.” ξυμβεβήκει δὲ ἄρα κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην Δομετιανὸν μὲν τὸν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ παῖδα παρατετάχθαι πρὸς τὸν Βιτέλιον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ πατρός, πολιορκίας δ’ αὐτὸν περισχούσης ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, τὸν μὲν διαπεφευγέναι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας, τὸν νεῶν δ’ ἐμπεπρήσθαι, καὶ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ φαίνεσθαι πολλῷ θάττον ἢ εἰ κατ’ Αἴγυπτον ἐπράττετο. τοσαῦτα σπουδάσαντες ὁ μὲν ἀπῆλθε τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰπὼν μὴ ξυγχωρεῖν αὐτῷ τὰ Ἰνδῶν πάτρια κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἄλλο τι παρ’ ἃ ἐκεῖνοι πράττουσι πράττειν, ὁ δὲ ἀνέλαμπέ τε ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ οὐ ξυνεχώρει τοῖς πράγμασι διαφεύγειν ἑαυτόν, ἀλλ’ ὥς βεβαίων τε καὶ αὐτῷ καθωμολογημένων εἶχετο δι’ ἃ ἤκουσεν.

## XXXI

CAP.  
XXXI Τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ περὶ ὄρθρον ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἦκων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἤρετο τοὺς δορυφόρους, ὅ τι βασιλεὺς πράττοι, οἱ δὲ ἐγρηγορέναι τε αὐτὸν πάλαι ἔφασαν καὶ πρὸς ἐπιστολαῖς εἶναι. καὶ ἀκούσας τοῦτο ἀπῆλθεν εἰπὼν πρὸς τὸν Δάμιν “ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἄρξει.” ἐπανελθὼν δὲ περὶ ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα Δίωνα μὲν καὶ Εὐφράτην ἐπὶ θύραις εὔρε, καὶ περὶ τῆς ξυνουσίας φιλοτίμως ἐρωτῶσι διῆλθε τὴν ἀπολογία, ἣν τοῦ βασιλέως ἤκουσε, τὰς δὲ αὐτοῦ δόξας ἀπεσιώπησεν. ἐσκληθεῖς δὲ



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

complete that which thou hast so rightly purposed.” CHAP. XXX  
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

CHAP. XXXI  
Apollonius wins an audience for Dion and Euphrates

CAP.  
XXXI

πρῶτος, “ὦ βασιλεῦ,” εἶπεν, “Εὐφράτης καὶ Δίῳ πάλαι σοι γνώριμοι ὄντες πρὸς θύραις εἰσὶν οὐκ ἀφρόντιδες τῶν σῶν· κάλει δὴ κακείνους ἐς κοινὸν λόγον, σοφὸν γὰρ τὸ ἄνδρε.” “ἀκλείστους,” ἔφη, “θύρας παρέχω σοφοῖς ἀνδράσι, σοὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ στέρνα ἀνεῶχθαι δοκεῖ τὰμά.”

## XXXII

CAP.  
XXXII

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐσεκλήθησαν, “ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ διανοίας,” εἶπεν, “ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀπολελόγημαι, χθὲς Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ γενναίῳ.” “ἤκούσαμεν,” ἦ δ' ὁ Δίῳ, “τῆς ἀπολογίας, καὶ νοῦν εἶχε.” “τήμερον δέ,” εἶπεν, “ὦ φίλε Δίῳ, ξυμφιλοσοφήσωμεν ὑπὲρ τῶν βεβουλευμένων, ἵν' ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ κατὰ σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πάντα πράττοιμι· ἐννοῶν γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Τιβέριον, ὡς ἐς τὸ ἀπάνθρωπόν τε καὶ ὠμὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν μετέστησεν, εἶτα τὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ Γάιον, ὡς διονυσομανῶν καὶ λυδίζων τὴν στολὴν καὶ πολέμους νικῶν οὐκ ὄντας ἐς πάντα τὰ Ῥωμαίων αἰσχροῦς ἐβάκχευσεν, εἶτα τὸν χρηστὸν Κλαύδιον, ὡς ὑπὸ γυναικῶν ἡττηθεὶς ἐπελάθετο τοῦ ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ζῆν, ἀπέθανε γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὡς φασι, Νέρωνος δὲ τί ἂν καταπτοίμην, εἰπόντος Ἀπολλωνίου βραχὺν καὶ ἀθρόον λόγον περὶ ἀνέσεώς τε καὶ ἐπιτάσεως, αἷς Νέρων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἥσχυνε; τί δ' ἂν περὶ ὧν Γάλβας ξυνέταπτεν, εἴποιμι, ὃς ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς μέσης ἀπέθανεν

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

said : “ O King, Euphrates and Dion, long your acquaintances, are at your door, being highly anxious for your welfare. I pray you, call them in also to join in our conversation, for they are both of them wise men.” “ I throw my doors open,” he replied, “ to wise men ; but to you I purpose to open my breast as well.”

CHAP.  
XXXI

### XXXII

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

CHAP.  
XXXII

Vespa-  
sian's  
retrospect

CAP.  
XXXII

ἡταιρημένους ἐσποίων ἑαυτῷ παῖδας τὸν Ὀθωνα καὶ τὸν Πείσωνα ; εἰ δὲ καὶ Βιτελίῳ τῷ πάντων ἀσελγεστάτῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραδοίημεν, ἀναβιώῃ Νέρων· ὁρῶν οὖν, ὧ ἄνδρες, ὑφ' ὧν εἶπον τυραννίδων διαβεβλημένον τὸ ἄρχειν, ξυμβούλους ὑμᾶς ποιούμεαι, πῶς ἂν διαθείμην αὐτὸ προσκεκρουκὸς ἤδη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.” πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ αὐλητής,” ἔφη, “ τῶν πάνυ σοφῶν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητὰς παρὰ τοὺς φαυλοτέρους τῶν αὐλητῶν ἔπεμπε μαθησομένους, πῶς δεῖ μὴ αὐλεῖν· τὸ μὲν δὴ, πῶς δεῖ μὴ ἄρχειν, μεμάθηκας, ὧ βασιλεῦ, παρὰ τούτων, οἳ πονηρῶς ἥρξαν, τὸ δ', ὅπως δεῖ ἄρχειν, σπουδάσωμεν.”

XXXIII

CAP.  
XXXIII

Ὁ δ' Εὐφράτης ἀφανῶς μὲν ἤδη ἐβάσκαине τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, προσκείμενον αὐτῷ τὸν βασιλέα ὁρῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς χρηστηρίοις τοὺς ἐς αὐτὰ ἤκοντας, ἀνοιδήσας δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον τότε καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἐπάρας παρ' ὃ εἰώθει, “ οὐ χρή,” ἔφη, “ κολακεύειν τὰς ὁρμάς, οὐδὲ ἀνοήτως συνεκφέρεσθαι τοῖς παρὰ τὴν ἡνίαν τι πράττουσι, καταρρυθμίζειν δὲ αὐτούς, εἴπερ φιλοσοφοῦμεν· ἃ γὰρ εἰ προσήκει πράττειν, ἔδει βουλευομένους φαίνεσθαι, ταῦθ' ὃν πεπράζεται τρόπον κελεύεις λέγειν οὕπω μαθὼν, εἰ ὑπὲρ πρα-



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

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."

CHAP.  
XXXII

### 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

CHAP.  
XXXIII  
Speech of  
Euphrates,  
in favour of  
restoring a  
Roman  
republic

CAP.  
XXXII

κτέων οἱ λόγοι. ἐγὼ δὲ Βιτέλιον μὲν καταλυθῆναι κελεύω, μιὰρὸν γὰρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οἶδα καὶ μεθύοντα ἀσελγείᾳ πάσῃ, σὲ δ' ἄνδρα εἰδὼς ἀγαθὸν καὶ γενναιότητι προὔχοντα, οὗ φημι χρῆναι τὰ μὲν Βιτελίου διορθοῦσθαι, τὰ σεαυτοῦ δὲ μήπω εἰδέναι. ὅσα μὲν δὴ αἱ μοναρχίαι ὑβρίζουσιν, οὐκ ἐμοῦ χρὴ μανθάνειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς εἴρηκας, γιγνώσκεις δ' ἄν, ὥς νεότης μὲν ἐπὶ τυραννίδα πηδῶσα προσήκοντα ἑαυτῇ που πράττει, τὸ γὰρ τυραννεύειν οὕτως ἔοικε νέοις, ὥς τὸ μεθύειν, ὥς τὸ ἐρᾶν, καὶ νέος μὲν τυραννεύσας οὐπω κακός, ἦν μὴ<sup>1</sup> μισαιφόνος παρὰ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ ὠμὸς καὶ ἀσελγὴς δόξῃ, γέροντος δὲ ἐπὶ τυραννίδα ἦκοντος, πρώτη αἰτία τὸ τοιαῦτα βούλεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἦν φιλάνθρωπος φαίνεται καὶ κεκοσμημένος, οὐκ ἐκείνου ταῦτα νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ τοῦ κατηρτυκέναι, δόξει δὲ καὶ πάλαι τούτου καὶ νέος ἔτι ἐπιθυμήσας ἀμαρτεῖν, αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται ἀμαρτίαι πρόσκεινται μὲν δυστυχίᾳ, πρόσκεινται δὲ δειλίᾳ· δοκεῖ γάρ τις ἢ καταγνοὺς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τύχης τὸ ἐν νῶ τυραννεῦσαι παρεῖναι, ἢ τυραννησεῖοντι ἐκστῆναι ἐτέρῳ δείσας δήπου αὐτὸν ὥς ἄνδρα. τὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς δυστυχίας εἰσθῶ, τὸ δὲ τῆς δειλίας πῶς παραιτήσῃ, καὶ ταῦτα Νέρωνα δοκῶν δεῖσαι τὸν δειλότατόν τε καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Kayser omits μή, which the sense requires.

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

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

CHAP.  
XXXIII

ῥαθυμότατον ; ἃ γὰρ ἐνεθυμήθη Βίνδιξ ἐπ' αὐτόν,  
 σέ, νῆ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, ἐκάλει πρῶτον. καὶ γὰρ  
 στρατιὰν εἶχες, καὶ ἡ δύναμις, ἣν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους  
 ἦγες, ἐπιτηδειότερα ἦν τιμωρεῖσθαι Νέρωνα.  
 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ πάλαι ἀφεστᾶσιν οὐ μόνον  
 Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων· οἱ γὰρ  
 βίον ἄμικτον εὐρόντες καὶ οἷς μήτε κοινὴ πρὸς  
 ἀνθρώπους τράπεζα μήτε σπονδαὶ μήτε εὐχαὶ  
 μήτε θυσίαι, πλέον ἀφεστᾶσιν ἡμῶν ἢ Σοῦσα καὶ  
 Βάκτρα καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ ταῦτα Ἰνδοί· οὐκοῦν οὐδ'  
 εἰκὸς ἦν τιμωρεῖσθαι τούτους ἀφισταμένους, οὓς  
 βέλτιον ἦν μηδὲ κτᾶσθαι. Νέρωνα δὲ τίς οὐκ  
 ἂν ἠϋξάτο τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ ἀποκτεῖναι, μονονοῦ  
 πίνοντα τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἷμα καὶ ἐν μέσοις τοῖς  
 φόνοις ἄδοντα ; καίτοι ἐμοῦ τὰ ὦτα ὀρθὰ ἦν πρὸς  
 τοὺς ὑπὲρ σοῦ λόγους, καὶ ὅποτε τις ἐκείθεν  
 ἀφίκοιτο τρισμυρίους Ἰουδαίων ἀπολωλέναι φάσ-  
 κων ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ πεντακισμυρίους κατὰ τὴν  
 ἐφεξῆς μάχην, ἀπολαμβάνων τὸν ἥκοντα ξυμμέ-  
 τρως ἡρώτων, τί δ' ὁ ἀνὴρ ; μὴ μεῖζόν τι τούτων ;  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Βιτέλιον εἰδῶλον πεποιημένος τοῦ  
 Νέρωνος ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατεύεις, ἃ μὲν βεβούλευσαι,  
 πρᾶττε, καλὰ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις  
 ὧδε ἐχέτω· Ῥωμαίοις τὸ δημοκρατεῖσθαι πολλοῦ  
 ἄξιον, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ὄντων αὐτοῖς ἐπ' ἐκείνης  
 τῆς πολιτείας ἐκτῆθι· παῦε μοναρχίαν, περὶ ἧς



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

CAP.  
XXXIII τοιαῦτα εἶρηκας, καὶ δίδου Ῥωμαίοις μὲν τὸ τοῦ  
δήμου κράτος, σπαντῶ δὲ τὸ ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῖς  
ἄρξαι.”

## XXXIV

CAP.  
XXXIV Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Εὐφράτου εἰπόντος ὁρῶν ὁ Ἀπολ-  
λώνιος τὸν Δίωνα προστιθέμενον τῇ γνώμῃ, τουτὶ  
γὰρ καὶ τῷ νεύματι ἐπεδήλου καὶ οἷς ἐπήνει  
λέγοντα, “ μὴ τι,” ἔφη, “ Δίω, τοῖς εἰρημένοις  
προστίθης;” “ νὴ Δί’,” εἶπε, “ πῇ μὲν ὅμοια, πῇ δὲ  
ἀνόμοια· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὡς πολλῶ βελτίων ἂν ἦν  
Νέρωνα καταλύων μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων  
διορθούμενος, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ μοι πρὸς σὲ εἰρῆσθαι, σὺ  
δὲ ἐφ’ οὓς ἀγῶνα ποιουμένῳ μὴ καταλυθῆναί ποτε  
αὐτόν· ὁ γὰρ τὴν ταραχὴν τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων  
εὖ τιθέμενος, ἐρρώννυε πού τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ  
πάντας, οὓς κακῶς ἔρρωτο. τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Βιτέλιον  
ὀρμὴν ἐπαινῶ· τοῦ γὰρ τυραννίδα καθεστηκυῖαν  
παῦσαι μεῖζον ἡγοῦμαι τὸ μηδὲ ἐᾶσαι φῦναι.  
δημοκρατίαν δὲ ἀσπάζομαι μὲν—καὶ γὰρ εἰ τῆς  
ἀριστοκρατίας ἤττων ἦδε ἡ πολιτεία, ἀλλὰ  
τυραννίδων τε καὶ ὀλιγαρχιῶν αἰρετωτέρα τοῖς  
σώφροσι—δέδια δέ, μὴ χειροθήεις ἤδη Ῥωμαίους  
αὐταὶ αἱ τυραννίδες πεποιηκυῖαι χαλεπὴν ἐργά-  
σονται τὴν μεταβολήν, καὶ μὴ δύνωνται μήτε

upon Romans a popular government, and on yourself the glory of inaugurating for them a reign of liberty."<sup>1</sup>

CHAP.  
XXXIII

## 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

CHAP.  
XXXIV

Dion doubts  
the  
practicabil-  
ity of such a  
restoration

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Tacitus, Hist. i. 16: dignus eram a quo respublica inciperet.

CAP.  
XXXIV

ἐλευθεριάζειν μήτε πρὸς δημοκρατίαν ἀναβλέπειν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐκ σκότους ἐς ἀθρόον φῶς βλέψαντες· ὅθεν φημὶ δεῖν τὸν μὲν Βιτέλιον ἐξωθεῖν τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ ὡς τάχιστα γε καὶ ἄριστα τοῦτο ἔσται, γιγνέσθω, δοκεῖ δέ μοι παρασκευάζεσθαι μὲν ὡς πολεμήσοντα, πόλεμον δὲ αὐτῷ μὴ προκηρύττειν, ἀλλὰ τιμωρίαν, εἰ μὴ μεθεῖτο τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἔλῃς αὐτόν, τουτὶ δ' ὑπάρξειν ἡγοῦμαί σοι μὴδὲ πονήσαντι, δίδου Ῥωμαίοις αἵρεσιν τῆς αὐτῶν πολιτείας, καὶ μὲν αἰρῶνται δημοκρατίαν, ξυγχώρει· τουτὶ γάρ σοι πολλῶν μὲν τυραννίδων, πολλῶν δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδων μεῖζον, καὶ πανταχοῦ μὲν γεγραψῇ τῆς πόλεως, πανταχοῦ δὲ ἐστήξεις χαλκοῦς, ἡμῖν δ' ἀφορμὰς παραδώσεις λόγων, αἷς οὔτε Ἀρμόδιος οὔτε Ἀριστογείτων παραβεβλήσεται τις. εἰ δὲ μοναρχίαν προσδέχονται, τίτι λοιπὸν ἄλλ' ἢ σοὶ ψηφίσασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν πάντας; ἃ γὰρ ἔχων ἤδη τῷ κοινῷ παρήσεις, σοὶ δῆπου μᾶλλον ἢ ἐτέρῳ δώσουσιν.”

## XXXV

CAP.  
XXXV

Σιωπὴ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγῶνα ἐπεδήλου τῆς γνώμης, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ' ὥσπερ αὐτοκράτωρ χρηματίζων τε καὶ πράττων ἀπάγεσθαι ἐδόκει τῆς βουλῆς ταύτης, καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “δοκεῖτέ μοι,” εἶπεν, “ἀμαρ-



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

eyes to a democracy, any more than people who have been kept in the dark are able to look on a sudden blaze of light. I conclude that Vitellius ought to be driven from power, and would fain see this effected as quickly and as well as can be; I think however that though you should be prepared for war, yet you yourself instead of declaring war against him, ought rather to threaten him with condign punishment, in case he refuses to abdicate; and in case you capture him, as I believe you will easily do, then I would fain see you give the people of Rome the right to choose their own polity, and, if they choose a democracy, allow it them. For this will bring you greater glory than many tyrannies and many victories at Olympia. Your name will be inscribed all over the city, and brazen statues of you be erected everywhere; and you will furnish us with a theme for harangues in which neither Harmodius nor Aristogeiton will bear comparison with you. If however they accept monarchy, to whom can they all possibly decree the throne except yourself? For what you already possess, and are about to resign into the hands of the public, they will surely rather confer on yourself than on another."

CHAP.  
XXXIV

### XXXV

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:

CHAP.  
XXXV  
Apollonius encourages  
Vespasian to make  
himself emperor

CAP.  
XXXV

τάνειν ἀναλύοντες βασιλέα περὶ πραγμάτων ἤδη  
 βεβουλευμένων, ἐς ἀδολεσχίαν καθιστάμενοι μει-  
 ρακιώδη καὶ ἀργοτέραν τοῦ καιροῦ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἔμοι κεκτημένῳ δύναμιν, ὁπόσῃν οὗτος, καὶ βου-  
 λευομένῳ, τί δρώην ἂν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀγαθόν,  
 ξύμβουλοι τῶν τοιούτων ἐγίγνεσθε, προὔβαινε  
 ἂν ὁ λόγος ὑμῖν—αἱ γὰρ φιλόσοφοι γινώμαι τοὺς  
 φιλοσόφους τῶν ἀκροατῶν διορθοῦνται—ἀνδρὶ δὲ  
 ξυμβουλεύοντας ὑπάτῳ καὶ ἄρχειν εἰθισμένῳ, καὶ  
 ᾧ ἔτοιμον, ἐπειδὰν ἐκπέσῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀπολωλέναι,  
 τί δεῖ ἐπιπλήττειν, εἰ μὴ διωθείται τὰ παρὰ τῆς  
 τύχης, ἀλλὰ δέχεται μὲν αὐτὰ ἤκοντα, βουλεύεται  
 δέ, ὅπως χρήσεται σωφρόνως οἷς ἔχει; ὥσπερ οὖν,  
 εἰ ἀθλητὴν ὀρώντες εὐψυχία τε κατεσκευασμένον  
 καὶ μήκει καὶ τὴν ἁρμονίαν τοῦ σώματος ἐπιτή-  
 δειον, ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν βαδίζοντα δι' Ἀρκαδίας, ἤδη  
 προσελθόντες ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἐρρώννυμεν,  
 ἐκελεύομεν δὲ αὐτόν, ἐπειδὰν νικήσῃ τὰ Ὀλύμπια,  
 μὴ κηρύττεσθαι τῆς νίκης, μηδὲ ὑπέχειν τὴν κεφ-  
 αλήν τῷ κοτίνῳ, ληρεῖν ἂν ἐδόξαμεν ἢ παίζειν ἐς  
 τοὺς ἐτέρων πόρους, οὕτως ἐνθυμούμενοι τὸν  
 ἄνδρα, καὶ ὁπόσῃ μὲν αἰχμὴ περὶ αὐτόν, ὁπόσος  
 δὲ χαλκὸς ἀστράπτει, πλῆθος δὲ ἵππων ὅσον,  
 αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς γενναῖός τε καὶ σώφρων καὶ πρέπων  
 κατασχεῖν ἃ διανοεῖται, πέμπωμεν ἐφ' ἃ ὥρμηκεν  
 αἴσια μὲν φθεγγόμενοι πρὸς αὐτόν, εὐφημότερα δὲ

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

“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

CHAP.  
XXXV

CAP.  
XXXV

τούτων παρεγγυῶντες. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο ἐνεθυμήθητε, ὅτι δυοῖν παῖδوين πατήρ οὗτος, οἱ στρατοπέδων ἤδη ἄρχουσιν, οἷς εἰ μὴ παραδώσει τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐχθίστοις χρήσεται, καὶ τί λοιπόν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκπεπολεμῆσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον; τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ὑποδεξάμενος θεραπεύσεται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παίδων, στηρίξεται δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ παῖδες, δορυφόροις δὲ αὐτοῦ χρήσεται, μὰ Δί', οὐ μεμισθωμένοις, οὐδ' ἡναγκασμένοις, οὐδὲ πλαττομένοις εὖνουν πρόσωπον, ἀλλ' ἐπιτηδαιοτάτοις τε καὶ φιλτάτοις.

Ἐμοὶ πολιτείας μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς μέλει, ζῶ γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῖς θεοῖς, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγέλην οὐκ ἀξιῶ φθείρεσθαι χήτει βουκόλου δικαίου τε καὶ σώφρονος. ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰς ἀρετῇ προὔχων μεθίστησι τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐς τὸ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀρχὴν φαίνεσθαι, οὕτως ἢ ἐνὸς ἀρχὴ πάντα ἐς τὸ ξυμφέρον τοῦ κοινοῦ προορώσα δῆμός ἐστιν. οὐ κατέλυσας, φησί, Νέρωνα. σὺ δέ, Εὐφρᾶτα; Δίων δέ; ἐγὼ δέ; ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν ἐπιπλήττει τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἡγεῖται δειλούς, εἰ φιλοσόφων ἀνδρῶν μυρίας ἤδη καθελόντων τυραννίδας, ἀπελείφθημεν ἡμεῖς τοῦ δόξαι ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας τι πράττειν. καίτοι τό γε ἐπ' ἐμοὶ καὶ παρεταττόμην πρὸς Νέρωνα, πολλὰ μὲν κακοήθως διελεγχθεὶς<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὸν ὠμότατον Τιγελλῖνον ἐπικόψας ἀκούοντα, ἃ δὲ περὶ τὰ ἐσπέρια τῶν χωρίων ὠφέλουν Βῖνδικα, Νέρωνι

<sup>1</sup> Kayser reads διαλεχθεὶς against the sense.



pledges for his future than these you have recorded? CHAP  
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 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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δήπου ἐπετείχιζον. ἀλλ' οὔτε ἑμαυτὸν διὰ ταῦτα  
 φήσω καθηρηκέναι τὸν τύραννον, οὔτε ὑμᾶς, ἐπεὶ  
 μὴ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετε, μαλακωτέρους ἡγήσομαι τοῦ  
 φιλοσοφία προσήκοντος. ἀνδρὶ μὲν οὖν φιλοσόφῳ  
 τὸ ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔλθον εἰρήσεται, ποιήσεται δέ, οἶμαι,  
 λόγον τοῦ μή τι ἀνοήτως ἢ μανικῶς εἰπεῖν· ὑπάτωρ  
 δ' ἐνθυμουμένῳ καταλῦσαι τύραννον πρῶτον μὲν  
 δεῖ βουλῆς πλείονος, ἵν' ἐξ ἀφανοῦς προσβαίῃ τοῖς  
 πράγμασιν, εἴτ' ἐπιτηδείου σχήματος ἐς τὸ μὴ  
 παρορκεῖν δοκεῖν. εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὃς ἀπέφηνεν  
 αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ ᾧ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλευσείν  
 τε καὶ πράξειν ὥμοσε, μέλλοι χρήσεσθαι τοῖς  
 ὅπλοις, ἀπολογεῖσθαι δὴπου τοῖς θεοῖς δεῖ πρότε-  
 ρον, ὡς ξὺν ὁσίᾳ ἐπιорκοῦντα, φίλων τε δεῖ πλειό-  
 νων, οὐ γὰρ ἀχαρακώτους γε, οὐδὲ ἀφράκτους χρή  
 τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, καὶ χρημάτων ὡς πλείστων,  
 ἵν' ὑποποιήσαιο τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιτιθέ-  
 μενος ἀνθρώπῳ τὰ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ κεκτημένῳ.  
 τριβὴ δὲ ὅση περὶ ταῦτα, ὅσοι δὲ χρόνοι. καὶ  
 ταῦτα μὲν ἐκδέχεσθε, ὅπη βούλεσθε, μὴ γὰρ ἐς  
 ἔλεγχον ἴωμεν ὧν ἐνεθυμήθη μὲν, ὡς εἰκός, οὗτος,  
 ἡ τύχη δὲ οὐδὲ ἀγωνισαμένῳ ξυνέλαβε· πρὸς δὲ  
 ἐκεῖνο τί ἐρεῖτε; τὸν γὰρ χθὲς ἄρχοντα καὶ στεφ-  
 ανούμενον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἐν τοῖς δεῦρο  
 ἱεροῖς, χρηματίζοντα δὲ λαμπρῶς καὶ ἀφθόνως,

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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XXXV τούτον κελεύετε δημοσίᾳ κηρύττειν τήμερον, ὡς ἰδιώτης μὲν εἶη λοιπόν, παρανοῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἦλθεν; ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπιτελῶν τὰ δεδογμένα προθύμους δορυφόρους, οἷς πιστεύων ταῦτ' ἐνεθυμήθη, παραστήσεται, οὕτως ἐς τὸ μεθίστασθαι τῶν δοξάντων ἥκων πολεμίῳ τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπιστουμένῳ χρήσεται.”

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XXXVI “*Ἀσμενος* τούτων ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεύς, “εἰ τὴν ψυχὴν,” ἔφη, “τὴν ἐμὴν ὄκεις, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω σαφῶς, ἢ ἐνεθυμήθην, ἀπήγγειλας· ἔπομαι δὴ σοι, θεῖον γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τὸ ἐκ σοῦ πᾶν, καὶ ὅποσα χρὴ τὸν ἀγαθὸν βασιλέα πράττειν δίδασκε.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “οὐ διδακτά με,” ἔφη, “ἐρωτᾷς· βασιλεία γὰρ μέγιστον μὲν τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπους, ἀδίδακτον δέ. ὅποσα δ' οὖν μοι δοκεῖς πράττων ὑγιῶς ἂν πράξαι, καὶ δὴ φράσω· πλοῦτον ἡγοῦ μὴ τὸν ἀπόθετον—τί γὰρ βελτίων οὗτος τῆς ὀποθενδῆ ξυνενεχθείσης ψάμμου;—μηδὲ τὸν φοιτῶντα παρ' ἀνθρώπων, οἱ τὰς ἐσφορὰς ὀλοφύρονται, κίβδηλον γὰρ ὁ χρυσὸς καὶ μέλαν, ἣν ἐκ δακρύων ἤκη· πλούτῳ δ' ἂν ἄριστα βασιλέων χρῶτο τοῖς μὲν δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, τοῖς δὲ πολλὰ κεκτημένοις παρέχων ἀσφαλῆ τὸν πλοῦτον. τὸ ἐξεῖναί σοι πᾶν, ὃ τι βούλει, δέδιθι, σωφρονέστερον γὰρ αὐτῷ



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issue a proclamation to-day to the effect that for the future he retires into private life, and only assumed the reigns of government in an access of madness? As, if he carries through the policy on which he is resolved, he will confirm the loyalty of the guards relying on whom he first entertained it; so, if he falters and departs from it, he will find an enemy in everyone whom from that moment he must mistrust."

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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. Now

CHAP.  
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Vespasian is  
pleased  
with the  
discourse.

The Sage's  
view of  
kingship.

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χρήση. μὴ τέμνε τῶν ἀσταχύων τοὺς ὑψηλοὺς τε καὶ ὑπεραίροντας, ἄδικος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους λόγος, ἀλλὰ τὸ δύσνουν ἐξαίρει μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ τὰς ἀκάνθας τῶν λήϊων, καὶ φοβερὸς δόκει τοῖς νεώτερα πράττουσι μὴ ἐν τῷ τιμωρεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ τιμωρήσεσθαι. νόμος, ὃ βασιλεῦ, καὶ σοῦ ἀρχέτω· σωφρονέστερον γὰρ νομοθετήσεις, ἢν μὴ ὑπερορᾶς τῶν νόμων. θεοὺς θεράπευε μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον· μεγάλα μὲν γὰρ παρ' αὐτῶν εἴληφας, ὑπὲρ μεγάλων δὲ εὐχῇ. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῇ ἀρχῇ προσήκοντα, ὡς βασιλεὺς πράττε, τὰ δὲ τῷ σώματι, ὡς ιδιώτης. περὶ δὲ κύβων καὶ μέθης καὶ ἐρώτων καὶ τοῦ διαβεβλήσθαι πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα τί ἂν σοι παραινοίην, ὃν φασι μὴδὲ ἐφ' ἡλικίας ταῦτα ἐπαινέσαι; παῖδές εἰσί σοι, βασιλεῦ, δύο καὶ γενναῖοι, ὡς φασιν. ἄρχε τούτων μάλιστα, τὰ γὰρ ἐκείνοις ἀμαρτηθέντα σὲ δήπου διαβαλεῖ. ἔστω δέ σοι καὶ ἀπειλὴ πρὸς αὐτούς, ὡς οὐ παραδώσεις τὴν ἀρχὴν σφισιν, εἰ μὴ πού καλοί τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ μείνωσιν, ἵνα μὴ κληρονομίαν ἡγῶνται τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς ἅθλα. τὰς δὲ ἐμπολιτευομένας ἡδονὰς τῇ Ῥώμῃ, πολλαὶ δὲ αὗται, δοκεῖ μοι, ὃ βασιλεῦ, ξυμμέτρως παύειν, χαλεπὸν γὰρ μεταβαλεῖν δῆμον εἰς τὸ ἀθρόως σῶφρον, ἀλλὰ δεῖ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐμποιεῖν ῥυθμὸν ταῖς γνώμαις, τὰ μὲν φανερώς, τὰ δὲ ἀφανῶς διορθούμενον. ἀπελευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων, οὓς ἡ ἀρχὴ σοι δίδωσιν, ἀνέλωμεν τρυφὴν

not down the loftier stalks which overtop the rest, CHAP.  
XXXVI  
 for this maxim of Aristotle's is unjust; but try rather to pluck disaffection out of men's hearts, as you would tares out of your cornfields; and inspire awe of yourself in revolutionists less by actual punishment than by shewing them that they will not go 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 αὐτοὺς ἐθίσαντες φρονεῖν, ὅσῳ μείζονος δεσπότου εἰσίν. τί λοιπὸν ἄλλ' ἢ περὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἰπεῖν, οἳ ἐς τὰ ἔθνη φοιτῶσιν, οὐ περὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ἐκπέμψεις, ἀριστίνδην γάρ που τὰς ἀρχὰς δώσεις, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν κληροσομένων τὸ ἄρχειν· τούτων γὰρ τοὺς μὲν προσφόρους τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἃ διέλαχον, φημὶ δεῖν πέμπειν, ὥς ὁ κλῆρος, ἐλληνίζοντας μὲν Ἑλληνικῶν ἄρχειν, ῥωμαΐζοντας δὲ ὁμογλώττων καὶ ξυμφώνων. ὅθεν δὲ τοῦτ' ἐνεθυμήθην, λέξω· κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ διητώμην, ἡγείτο τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄνθρωπος οὐκ εἰδὼς τὰ Ἑλλήνων, καὶ οὐδ' οἱ Ἕλληνές τι ἐκείνου ξυνίεσαν. ἔσφηλεν οὖν καὶ ἐσφάλη τὰ πλείστα, οἳ γὰρ ξύνεδροί τε καὶ κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις γνώμης ἐκαπήλευον τὰς δίκας διαλαβόντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα, ὥσπερ ἀνδράποδον. ταῦτά μοι, βασιλεῦ, παρέστη τήμερον, εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἕτερον ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔλθοι, πάλιν ξυνελευσόμεθα. νυνὶ δὲ τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ πρᾶττε, μὴ ἀργότερος τοῖς ὑπηκόοις δόξης.”

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Ὁ δὲ Εὐφράτης, “ τοῖς μὲν δεδογμένοις συγχωρῶ,” ἔφη, “ τί γὰρ ἂν πλεον μεταδιδάσκων πρᾶτ-



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your high position assigns to you, by accustoming them to think all the more humbly of themselves, because their master is so powerful. There remains only one topic to address you on; it concerns the governors sent out to rule the provinces. Of those you will yourself select, I need say nothing, for I am sure you will assign commands by merit; I only refer to those who will acquire them by lot. In their case too, I maintain, those only should be sent out to the various provinces so obtained who are in sympathy, so far as the system of appointing by lot allows of it, with the populations they will rule. I mean, that over Hellenes should be set men who can speak Greek, and Romans over those who speak that language or dialects allied to it. I will tell you what made me think of this. During the period in which I lived in the Peloponnese Hellas was governed by a man who knew as little of the Hellenes and their affairs as they understood of his. What was the result? He was in his mistakes as much sinned against as sinner, for his assessors and those who shared with him judicial authority trafficked in justice, and abused his authority as if he had been not their governor but their slave. This, my sovereign, is all that occurs to me to-day; but if anything else should come into my mind, we can hold another interview. So now apply yourself to the duties of your throne, lest your subjects accuse you of indolence.”

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EUPHRATES declared his assent to all these conclusions, “For,” said he, “what can I gain by

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τοιμι ; φιλοσοφίαν δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τουτὶ γὰρ λοιπὸν προσειρήσει, τὴν μὲν κατὰ φύσιν ἐπαίνει καὶ ἀσπάζου, τὴν δὲ θεοκλυτεῖν φάσκουσαν παραιτοῦ, καταψευδόμενοι γὰρ τοῦ θείου πολλὰ καὶ ἀνόητα ἡμᾶς ἐπαίρουσιν.” ταυτὶ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον αὐτῷ ἐλέγετο, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἀπήει μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γνωρίμων, διανύσας τὴν σπουδὴν· βουλομένου δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου θρασύτερόν τι περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν, ξυνήκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ διακρουόμενος αὐτόν, “ἐσκαλεῖτε,” ἔφη, “τοὺς δεομένους τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀπολαβέτω ἡ βουλὴ τὸ ἑαυτῆς σχῆμα.”

Οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ Εὐφράτης ἔλαθε διαβαλὼν ἑαυτόν, καὶ γὰρ βάσκανός τε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὑβριστὴς ἔδοξε, καὶ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας οὐχ ὥς ἐγίγνωσκεν εἰρηκῶς, ἀλλ’ ἐς ἀντιλογίαν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου δι’ ἃ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνῳ ἐδόκει· οὐ μὴν ἀπερρίπτει αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ἐπεδήλου τι ὀργῆς πρὸς ταῦτα. καὶ τὸν Δίωνα οὐκ ἐπήνει μὲν ξυναράμενον αὐτῷ τῆς γνώμης, οὐ μὴν ἐπαύσατο ἀγαπῶν· ἐπίχαρίς τε γὰρ τὰς διαλέξεις ἐδόκει καὶ τὰς ἔριδας παρητεῖτο, ὥραν τε ἐπέφαινε τοῖς λόγοις, οἷα τοῦ πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀτμοῦ ἐκπνεῖ, προσῆν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἀποσχεδιάζειν ἄριστα ἀνθρώπων. τὸν δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἠγάπα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπέκειτο αὐτῷ διόντι μὲν τὰ ἀρχαῖα, διηγουμένῳ

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continuing to oppose such teaching? But, O my sovereign, I have only one thing left to say, and that is that while you approve and countenance that philosophy which accords with nature, you should have nothing to do with that which affects a secret intercourse with the gods, for we are easily puffed up by the many absurdities this lying philosophy falsely ascribes to providence." The above remark was aimed at Apollonius, who, however, without paying any attention to it, departed with his companions as soon as he had ended his discourse. And Euphrates would have taken further liberties with his character, only the emperor noticed it and put him aside by saying, "Call in those who have business with the government, and let my council resume its usual form."

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Euphrates  
seeks to  
prejudice  
Vespasian  
against  
Apollonius

Thus Euphrates failed to see that he only prejudiced himself, and gained with the emperor the reputation of being a jealous and insolent fellow, who aired these sentiments in favour of democracy, not because he really entertained them, but only by way of contradicting the opinions Apollonius held in regard to the empire. Notwithstanding, the emperor did not cast him off or shew any resentment at his opinions. As for Dion, he did not cease to be fond of him, though he regretted his seconding the opinions of Euphrates. For Dion was a delightful conversationalist and always declined to quarrel. He moreover imparted to his discourses that sort of charm which exhales from the perfumes at a sacrifice; and he had also, better than any living man, the talent of extempore oratory. Apollonius the emperor not merely loved for his own sake, but was ever ready to listen to his accounts of antiquity,

Description  
of Dion

The  
emperor's  
love of  
Apollonius

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δὲ τὸν Ἰνδὸν Φραώτην, ποταμούς τε ἀναγράφοντι καὶ θηρία, ὑφ' ὧν ἡ Ἰνδικὴ οἰκεῖται, προλέγοντι δὲ καὶ ὅποσα οἱ θεοὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔφαινον. ἐξελαύνων δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ξυνωκισμένης τε καὶ νεαζούσης, κοινωνὸν μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐποιεῖτο, τῷ δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκει ταῦτα· Αἴγυπτόν τε γάρ, ὅποση ἐστίν, οὐπω ἑωρακέναι, τοῖς τε Γυμνοῖς, οὐπω ἀφίχθαι ἐς λόγον, μάλα ἐσπουδακῶς σοφία Ἰνδικῇ ἀντικρῖναι Αἰγυπτίαν. “οὐδὲ Νείλου,” ἔφη, “ἐπιον, ὅθεν ἄρχεται.” ξυνεῖς οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτι ἐπ’ Αἰθιοπίαν στέλλεται, “ἡμῶν δέ,” ἔφη, “οὐ μεμνήσῃ;” “νὴ Δί’,” εἶπεν, “ἦν βασιλεὺς ἀγαθὸς μένης καὶ σεαυτοῦ μνημονεύῃς.”

## XXXVIII

CAP.  
XXXVIII

Μετὰ ταῦτα θύσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ δωρεὰς ἐπήγγειλεν αὐτῷ δημοσίᾳ. ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ αἰτήσων, “τίνας δέ,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, δωρεὰς δώσεις;” “δέκα,” ἔφη, “νῦν, ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην τὰμὰ πάντα.” καὶ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “οὐκοῦν,” ἔφη, “φείδεσθαί με χρή τῶν σῶν ὡς ἐμῶν καὶ μὴ σπαθᾶν αὐτὰ νῦν ἀποκεισόμενά μοι ἀθρόα· ἀλλ’ ἐπιμελήθητι τούτων, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μάλλον, εἰκόασι γὰρ δεομένοις.” ἐδείκνυε δὲ ἅρα τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην. ὁ μὲν δὴ βασιλεὺς



to his descriptions of the Indian Phraotes, and to his graphic stories of the rivers of India, and of the animals that inhabit it; above all to the forecasts and revelations imparted to him by the gods concerning the future of the empire. On quitting Egypt, after settling and rejuvenating the country, he invited Apollonius to share his voyage; but the latter declined, on the ground that he had not yet seen the whole extent of Egypt, and had not yet visited or conversed with the naked sages of that land, whose wisdom he was very anxious to compare with that of India. "Nor," he added, "have I drunk of the sources of the Nile." The emperor understood that he was about to set out for Ethiopia and said: "Will you not bear me in mind?" "I will indeed," replied the sage, "if you continue to be a good sovereign and mindful of yourself."

CHAP.  
XXXVIII

## XXXVIII

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

CHAP.  
XXXVIII  
The Em-  
peror's gifts  
to  
Euphrates  
and Dion.

CAP.  
XXXVIII

ἐκέλευσεν αἰτεῖν θαρροῦντας, ἐρυθριάσας δὲ ὁ Δίων, “διάλλαξόν με, βασιλεῦ,” εἶπε, “πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν διδάσκαλον ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀντιλέγειν αὐτῷ ἔδοξα, μήπω πρότερον ἀντειπὼν τῷ ἀνδρί.” ἐπαινέσας οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς, “χθές,” ἔφη, “τοῦτο ἐγὼ ἤτησα καὶ ὑπάρχει· ἀλλ’ αἶτει ὑπὲρ δωρεᾶς.” καὶ ὁ Δίων, “Λασθένης,” ἔφη, “ἐστὶ μὲν ἐξ Ἀπαμείας τῆς ἐν τῷ Βιθυνῶν ἔθνει, ξυμφιλοσοφῶν δέ μοι χλαμύδος ἡράσθη καὶ στρατιώτου βίου· τοῦτον, ἐπειδὴ τρίβωνος πάλιν ἐρᾶν φησιν, ἄνες τῆς στρατείας, δεῖται δὲ αὐτὸς ταῦτα. χαριεῖ δὲ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀποφῆναι αὐτὸν ἄνδρα ἀγαθόν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ζῆν, ὡς βούλεται.” “ἀνείσθω,” ἔφη, “δίδωμι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐστρατευμένων, ἐπειδὴ σοφίας ἐρᾷ καὶ σοῦ.” καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐπεστράφη, τῷ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ ξυνετέτακτο περὶ ὧν ἦται. τὴν μὲν δὴ ἐπιστολὴν ὥρεγεν, ὡς ἀναγνωσομένῳ καθ’ ἑαυτόν, βουλευθεὶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς παραδοῦναί τινα κατ’ αὐτοῦ λόγον ἀνέγνω δημοσίᾳ πᾶσιν· αἰτῶν δὲ ἐφαίνετο τὰ μὲν ἑαυτῷ, τὰ δὲ ἐτέροις, καὶ τῶν δωρεῶν αἱ μὲν χρήματα ἦσαν, αἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ χρημάτων. γελάσας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “εἶτα ὑπὲρ δημοκρατίας,” ἔφη, “ξυνεβούλευες τοσαῦτα μέλλων αἰτήσειν βασιλέα ;”

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."

## XXXIX

CAP.  
XXXIX

Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς διαφορᾶς, ἥ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τε καὶ Εὐφράτῃ ἐγένετο, τοιάδε εὖρον, ἐξελάσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καθήπτοντο ἀλλήλων ἐς τὸ φανερόν, ὁ μὲν Εὐφράτης ἔξυν ὀργῇ τε καὶ λοιδορίαις, ὁ δ' αὖ φιλοσόφως καὶ ξὺν ἐλέγχῳ μᾶλλον. ὅποσα μὲν δὴ Εὐφράτου κατηγόρηκεν, ὡς παρὰ τὸ πρέπον φιλοσοφία πράττοντος, ἔξεστιν Ἀπολλωνίου μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολῶν, πλείους γάρ· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀφεκτέα τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ διαβαλεῖν προὔθέμην, ἀλλὰ παραδοῦναι τὸν Ἀπολλωνίου βίον τοῖς μήπω εἰδόσι. τὸ μέντοι περὶ τοῦ ξύλου λεγόμενον, λέγεται δὲ ἐπανατείνασθαι μὲν αὐτὸ διαλεγόμενῳ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ, μὴ καθικέσθαι δέ, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ δεινότητι τοῦ πεπληξομένου προσγράφουσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ λογισμῷ τοῦ πλήξοντος, δι' ὃν ἐγένετο κρείττων ὀργῆς νενικηκυίας ἤδη.

## XL

CAP.  
XL

Ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δίωνος φιλοσοφία ῥητορικωτέρα τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἐς τὸ εὐφραῖνον κατεσκευασμένη μᾶλλον, ὅθεν διορθούμενος αὐτὸν φησιν, “αὐλῷ καὶ λύρα μᾶλλον ἢ λόγῳ θέλγε,” καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῶν πρὸς Δίωνα ἐπιστολῶν ἐπιπλήττει τῇ δημαγωγίᾳ ταύτῃ.



## XXXIX

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.

CHAP.

XXXIX

Quarrel between Apollonius and Euphrates.

## XL

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.

CHAP.

XL

The Sage corrects Dion.

## XLI

CAP.  
XLI Τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀφικέσθαι αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα  
ἔτι, μηδὲ ξυγγενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καίτοι  
καλοῦντι καὶ πλείστα ὑπὲρ τούτου γράφοντι,  
ὁπόθεν ξυνέβη, δηλῶσαι βούλομαι· Νέρων ἐλευ-  
θέραν ἀφῆκε τὴν Ἑλλάδα σωφρονέστερόν τι  
ἑαυτοῦ γνούς, καὶ ἐπανῆλθον αἱ πόλεις ἐς ἥθη  
Δωρικὰ καὶ Ἀττικὰ, πάντα τε ἀνήβησε ξὺν  
ὁμονοίᾳ τῶν πόλεων, ὃ μηδὲ πάλοι ἡ Ἑλλὰς εἶχεν,  
Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἀφείλετο αὐτὴν  
τοῦτο, στίσεις προβαλλόμενος καὶ ἄλλα οὕτω τῆς  
ἐπὶ τοσόνδε ὀργῆς· ταῦτ' οὖν οὐ μόνον τοῖς  
παθοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ πικρότερα  
τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἡθους ἔδοξεν, ὅθεν ἐπέστειλε  
τῷ βασιλεῖ ὧδε·

Ἀπολλώνιος Οὐεσπασιανῷ βασιλεῖ χαίρειν.

Ἐδουλώσω τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὥς φασί, καὶ πλέον  
μὲν οἶει τι ἔχειν Ξέρξου, λέληθας δὲ ἔλαττον ἔχων  
Νέρωνος· Νέρων γὰρ ἔχων αὐτὸ παρητήσατο.  
ἔρρωσο.

Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Διαβεβλημένος οὕτω πρὸς Ἕλληνας, ὥς δουλοῦ-  
σθαι αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρους ὄντας, τί ἐμοῦ ξυνόντος  
δέη; ἔρρωσο.

## XLI

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:

CHAP.  
XLI  
Vespasian's  
treatment of  
Hellas.

“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.”

CAP.  
XLI

Τῷ αὐτῷ.

Νέρων τοὺς Ἑλληνας παίζων ἡλευθέρωσε, σὺ δὲ αὐτοὺς σπουδάζων ἐδουλώσω. ἔρρωσο.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ διαβάλλοντα Οὐεσπασιανὸν Ἀπολλωνίῳ τοιάδε ἐγένετο, ἀκούων δ' αὐτὸν εἰ διατιθέμενον τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀρχὴν πᾶσαν, οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἦν χαίρων καὶ ἡγούμενος ἑαυτῷ ἀγαθὸν πρᾶττεσθαι.

## XLII

CAP.  
XLII

Θαυμάσιον Ἀπολλωνίου κακεῖνο ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἔδοξε· λέοντα ἡμερον ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος ἦγέ τις, ὥσπερ κύνα, ὃ δὲ οὐ μόνον τὸν ἄγοντα ἤκαλλεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις προσέλθοι, καὶ ἤγειρε μὲν πολλαχοῦ τῶν πόλεων, παρήει δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ καθαρὸς εἶναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ τῶν θυομένων αἷμα ἀνελιχμάτο, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὰ δερόμενά τε καὶ ῥαχιζόμενα τῶν ἱερείων ἦπτεν, ἀλλὰ μελιττούταις διήγετο καὶ ἄρτοις καὶ τραγήμασι καὶ κρεῶν τοῖς ἐφθοῖς, ἐντυχεῖν δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ οἶνον πίνουντι μὴ μεθιστάμενῳ τοῦ ἡθους. προσελθὼν δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ καθημένῳ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῖς τε γόνασιν αὐτοῦ προσεκνυζᾶτο καὶ ἐλιπάρει παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ ᾤοντο, μισθοῦ ἕνεκα, ὃ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος, “δεῖταί μου,” ἔφη, “ὃ λέων ἀναδιδάξαι ὑμᾶς, ὅτου ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴν ἔχει· ἔστι τοίνυν Ἀμασις οὗτος, ὃ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου περὶ τὸν Σαίτην νομὸν.” ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκουσεν ὃ λέων ταῦτα, ἀνεβρυχήσατο ἐλεεινὸν καὶ θρηνῶδες καὶ ὠλοφύρατο



## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

“To the same.

CHAP.  
XLI

“Nero freed the Hellenes in play, but you have enslaved them in all seriousness. Farewell.”

Such were the grounds of Apollonius' taking a dislike to Vespasian. However, when he heard of the excellence of his subsequent acts of government he made no attempt to conceal his satisfaction, but looked at it in the light of a benefaction conferred on himself.

### XLII

THE following incident also of Apollonius' stay in Egypt was thought remarkable. There was a man

CHAP.  
XLII

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

The soul of  
Amasis in-  
habits a  
lion.

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

CAP.  
XLIII

ξυνοκλάσας, δάκρυα ἰεῖς αὐτά. καταψῶν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “δοκεῖ,” ἔφη, “πέμπειν τὸν λέοντα ἐς Λεοντόπολιν ἀνακεισόμενον τῷ ἱερῷ, βασιλέα γὰρ ἐς τὸ βασιλικώτατον τῶν θηρίων μεταβαλόντα οὐκ ἀξιῶ ἀγείρειν, καθάπερ τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.” ἐντεῦθεν οἱ ἱερεῖς ξυνελθόντες ἔθυσαν τῷ Ἀμάσιδι, καὶ κοσμήσαντες τὸ θηρίον στρεπτῷ καὶ ταινίαις παρέπεμπον ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον αὐλοῦντες καὶ ὕμνουντες καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἄδοντες.

## XLIII

CAP.  
XLIII

Ἰκανῶς δὲ ἔχων τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐστέλλετο ἐς Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ ἐς Αἰθιοπίαν ἐς ξυνουσίαν τῶν Γυμνῶν. τὸν μὲν δὴ Μένιππον, ἐπειδὴ τῶν διαλεγόμενων ἤδη ἐτύγχανε καὶ παρρησία χρῆσθαι δεινὸς ἦν, κατέλιπεν αὐτόθι ἔφεδρον τῷ Εὐφράτῃ, καὶ τὸν Διοσκουρίδην ἰδὼν οὐκ ἐρρωμένως πρὸς τὴν ἀποδημίαν διακείμενον παρητήσατο τῆς ὁδοῦ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ξυναγαγών, μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς ἀπολιπόντας αὐτὸν περὶ τὴν Ἀρικήν προσεγένοντο πλείους ἕτεροι, διῆει πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐνθένδε ἀρξάμενος. “Ὀλυμπικῆς προρρησεως,” ἔφη, “δέομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες. Ὀλυμπικὴ δὲ πρόρρησις ἢ τοιαύδε εἴη ἂν. Ἡλεῖοι τοὺς ἀθλητάς, ἐπειδὰν ἦκη Ὀλύμπια, γυμνάζουσιν ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἥλιδι, καὶ ξυναγαγόντες αὐτοὺς ὁ μὲν Δελφός, ὅτε Πύθια, ὁ δὲ Κορίνθιος, ὅτε Ἰσθμια, “ἴτε,” φασίν, “ἐς τὸ στάδιον, καὶ γίγνεσθε ἄνδρες οἶοι νικᾶν,” Ἡλεῖοι

## LIFE OF APOLLONIUS, BOOK V

to lament, shedding tears. Thereupon Apollonius CHAP. XLII 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 CHAP. XLIII out for Egypt and Ethiopia to visit the naked sages. Menippus then, as he was by now a qualified disputant The Sage leaves Alexandria. 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

CAP.  
XLIII

δέ, ἐπειδὴν ἴωσιν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, διαλέγονται πρὸς τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ὧδε· “ εἰ πεπόνηται ὑμῖν ἐπαξίως τοῦ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ῥάθυμον μηδὲ ἀγεννὲς εἵργασται, ἴτε θαρροῦντες, οἷς δὲ μὴ ὧδε ἥσκηται, χωρεῖτε οἱ βούλεσθε.”

Ξυνήκαν οἱ ὁμιληταὶ τοῦ λόγου καὶ κατέμειναν ἀμφὶ τοὺς εἴκοσι παρὰ τῷ Μενίππῳ, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δέκα, οἶμαι, ὄντες, εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ οἶον ἐμβατήρια πλοῦ θύσαντες, ἐχώρουν εὐθὺς πυραμίδων ἐπὶ καμήλων ὀχούμενοι, δεξιὸν θέμενοι τὸν Νεῖλον. πολλαχού δὲ διεπλεῖτο αὐτοῖς ὁ ποταμὸς ὑπὲρ ἱστορίας τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντων, οὔτε γὰρ πόλιν οὔτε ἱερὸν οὔθ’ ὅποσα τεμένη κατ’ Αἴγυπτον, οὐδὲν τούτων ἄφωνοι παρῆλθον, ἀλλ’ ἱερούς τινας αἰεὶ λόγους διδασκόμενοί τε καὶ διδάσκοντες, καὶ ἡ ναῦς, ἣν ἐμβαίη Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐώκει 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.’ ”

CHAP.  
XLIII

The companions of the sage understood his meaning, and about twenty of them remained with Menippus ; but the rest, ten in number, I believe, offered prayer to the gods, and having sacrificed such an offering as men offer when they embark for a voyage, they departed straight for the pyramids, mounted on camels and keeping the Nile on their right hand. In several places they took boats across the river in order to visit every sight on it ; for there was not a city, fane or sacred site in Egypt, that they passed by without discussion. For at each they either learned or taught some holy story, so that any ship on which Apollonius embarked resembled the sacred galley of a religious legation.



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