

# Philostratus and Eunapius

Philostratus (the  
Athenian),  
Eunapius

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LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY

PHILOSTRATUS

AND

EUNAPIUS

THE LIVES OF THE SOPHISTS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
WILMER CAVE WRIGHT, PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF GREEK, BRYN MAWR COLLEGE



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## ERRATA

*Page xxxiii. line 26. For of Nazianzen read Gregory Nazianzen*

*Page 7 line 24. For with a view . . . art read according to the rules of art*

*Page 7 lines 25, 26. For with . . . case. read as they pleased.*



# PHILOSTRATUS



## INTRODUCTION

THE island Lemnos was the ancestral home of the Philostrati, a family in which the profession of sophist was hereditary in the second and third Christian centuries. Of the works that make up the Philostratean corpus the greater part belong to the author of these *Lives*. But he almost certainly did not write the *Nero*, a dialogue attributed by Suidas the lexicographer to an earlier Philostratus; the first series of the *Imagines* and the *Heroicus* are generally assigned to a younger Philostratus<sup>1</sup> whose premature death is implied by our author who survived him and was probably his father-in-law; and the second series of the *Imagines* was by a Philostratus who flourished in the third century, the last of this literary family.

There are extant, by our Philostratus, the *Gymnasticus*, the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, the *Lives of the Sophists*, the *Erotic Epistles*, and a brief discourse (*διάλεξις*) *On Nature and Law*, a favourite commonplace of sophistic. In the *Lives* he quotes the *Life of Apollonius* as his own work, so that his authorship of the two most important works in the corpus is undisputed.

Flavius Philostratus was born about 170, perhaps

<sup>1</sup> For Philostratus "the Lemnian" see marginal pp. 627-628.

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in Lemnos, and studied at Athens with Proclus, Hippodromus, and Antipater, and at Ephesus with the aged Damianus from whom he learned much of the gossip that he retails about the second-century sophists. Philostratus wrote the *Lives* of his teachers. Some time after 202, perhaps through the influence of the Syrian sophist Antipater, who was a court favourite, he entered the circle of the philosophic Syrian Empress, Julia Domna. Julia spent much of her time in travelling about the Empire, and Philostratus may have gone with her and the Emperor Septimius Severus to Britain<sup>1</sup> in 208, and to Gaul in 212; and we may picture him at Pergamon, Nicomedia, and especially at Antioch,<sup>2</sup> where Julia preferred to reside. All three towns were centres of sophistic activity. The husband of Julia, the Emperor Septimius Severus, was himself a generous patron of letters, and, as Philostratus says, loved to gather about him the talented from all parts. But it was Julia who, first as his consort, and later as virtual regent in the reign of her son Caracalla, gave the court that intellectual or pseudo-intellectual tone which has reminded all the commentators of the princely Italian courts of the Renaissance. I say pseudo-intellectual, because, when Philostratus speaks of her circle of mathematicians and philosophers, it must be remembered that the former were certainly astrologers—the Syrian Empress was deeply dyed

<sup>1</sup> This is Münscher's conclusion from a remark in the *Life of Apollonius* v. 2, where Philostratus says that he has himself observed the ebb and flow of the Atlantic tides in "the country of the Celts." But this may have been Gaul, not Britain.

<sup>2</sup> In the dedication to Gordian Philostratus refers to their intercourse at Antioch.

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with Oriental superstition—and that the latter were nearly all sophists. However, to converse with sophists on equal terms, as Julia did, she must have been well read in the Greek classics, and so we find Philostratus, in his extant letter<sup>1</sup> to her, reminding her of a discussion they had had on Aeschines, and defending Gorgias of Leontini from his detractors. We do not meet with such another court of literary men until, in the fourth century, the Emperor Julian hastily collected about him the sophists and philosophers who were so soon to be dispersed on his death. Cassius Dio<sup>2</sup> tells us that Julia was driven by the brutality of her husband to seek the society of sophists. However that may be, it was during her son's reign that she showed especial favour to Philostratus. After her downfall and death he left Antioch and went to Tyre, where he published the work called generally the *Life of Apollonius*, though the more precise translation of its title would be *In Honour of Apollonius*. His wife, as we learn from an inscription<sup>3</sup> from Erythrae, was named Aurelia Melitine. From the same source we may conclude that the family had senatorial rank, which was no doubt bestowed on Philostratus during his connexion with the court. We have no detailed knowledge of the latter part of his life, but he evidently settled at Athens, where he wrote the *Lives of the Sophists*. He survived as late as the reign of Philip the Arab.<sup>4</sup> Like other Lemnians he had the privilege of Athenian citizenship, and he is

<sup>1</sup> Letter 63.

<sup>2</sup> lxxv. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Dittenberger, *Syloges* i. 413.

<sup>4</sup> A.D. 244-249; the Emperor Philip was elected by the army after the murder of Gordian III.

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variously called in antiquity "Tyrian," from his stay in Tyre, "Lemnian," and "Athenian." That he himself preferred the last of these epithets may be gathered from the fact that he calls the younger Philostratus "the Lemnian," evidently to avoid confusion with himself.

Philostratus dedicates the *Lives* to Gordian, and on this we depend for the approximate date of their composition. Gordian was consul for the second time in 229-230, and, since Philostratus suddenly changes his form of address, first calling him consul and then proconsul, he seems to have written the dedication when Gordian was proconsul of Africa, immediately after his consulship. Gordian at the age of eighty assumed the purple in 238, and shortly after committed suicide. The *Lives* were therefore ready to publish between the years 230 and 238, but there is no certain evidence for a more precise date.

Philostratus in writing the *Lives* evidently avoided the conventional style and alphabetical sequence used by grammarians for biographies; for he had no desire to be classed with grammarians. He wrote like a well-bred sophist who wished to preserve for all time a picture of the triumphs of his tribe, when sophists were at the height of their glory. His *Lives*, therefore, are not in the strict sense biographies. They are not continuous or orderly in any respect, but rather a collection of anecdotes and personal characteristics. He seldom gives a list of the works of a sophist, and when he does, it is incomplete, so far as we are able to check it, as we can for Dio or Aristeides. He was, like all his class, deeply interested in questions of style and the

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various types in vogue, but he must not be supposed to be writing a handbook, and hence his discussions of style are capricious and superficial. He had collected a mass of information as to the personal appearance, manners and dress, temperament and fortune of the more successful sophists, and the great occasions when they triumphantly met some public test, and he shows us only the *splendeurs*, not the *misères* of the profession. He has no pity for the failures, or for those who lost their power to hold an audience, like Hermogenes, who "moulded" too early, and from a youthful prodigy fell into such insignificance that his boyish successes were forgotten. But to those who attained a ripe old age and made great fortunes Philostratus applies every possible superlative. They are the darlings of the gods, they have the power of Orpheus to charm, they make the reputation of their native towns, or of those in which they condescend to dwell. In fact, he did not observe that he made out nearly every one of these gifted beings to be the greatest and most eloquent of them all. Polemo and Herodes are his favourites, and for them he gives most details, while for Favorinus he is unusually consecutive. But no two *Lives* show the same method of treatment, a variety that may have been designed. He succeeded in founding a type of sophistic biography, and in the fourth century, in Eunapius, we have a direct imitation of the exasperating manner and method of Philostratus. To pronounce a moral judgement was alien to this type of biography. Philostratus does so occasionally and notably in the *Life* of Critias, whom he weighs in the balance. This is, perhaps, because, as a tyrant,

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Critias was often the theme of historical declamations, and Philostratus takes the occasion to use some of the commonplaces of the accusation and defence.

After his hurried and perfunctory review of the philosophers who were so eloquent that they were entitled to a place among the sophists, of whom the most important are Dio Chrysostom and Favorinus, he treats of the genuine sophists; first, the older type from Gorgias to Isocrates; then, with Aeschines, he makes the transition to the New Sophistic. Next comes a gap of four centuries, and he dismisses this period with the bare mention of three insignificant names which have no interest for him or for us, and passes on to Nicetes of Smyrna in the first century A.D. This break in the continuity of the *Lives* is variously explained. Kayser thinks that there is a lacuna in the mss., and that Philostratus could not have omitted all mention of Demetrius of Phaleron, Charisius, Hegesias, who is regarded as having founded Asianism, not long after the death of Alexander the Great; or of Fronto, the "archaist," that is to say Atticist, the friend and correspondent of Herodes Atticus, not to speak of others. In ignoring the sophistic works of Lucian in the second century, Philostratus observes the sophistic convention of silence as to one who so excelled and satirized them all. He was a renegade not to be named. In accounting for the other omissions, a theory at least as likely as Kayser's is that there lay before Philostratus other biographies of these men, and that he had nothing picturesque to add to them. Hesychius evidently used some such source, and Philostratus seems to refer to it when he remarks with complete vagueness that on this or that question, usually the

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place of birth or the death of a sophist, "some say" this and "others" that. In the *Life of Herodes* he says that he has given some details that were unknown "to others"; these were probably other biographers. Thus he arrives at what is his real aim, to celebrate the apotheosis of the New Sophistic in the persons of such men as Polemo, Scopelian, and, above all, Herodes Atticus, with whom he begins his Second Book.

Without Philostratus we should have a very incomplete idea of the predominant influence of Sophistic in the educational, social, and political life of the Empire in the second and third Christian centuries. For the only time in history professors were generally acknowledged as social leaders, went on important embassies, made large fortunes, had their marriages arranged and their quarrels settled by Emperors, held Imperial Secretaryships, were Food Controllers,<sup>1</sup> and high priests; and swayed the fate of whole cities by gaining for them immunities and grants of money and visits from the Emperor, by expending their own wealth in restoring Greek cities that were falling into decay, and not least, by attracting thither crowds of students from the remotest parts of the Empire. No other type of intellectual could compete with them in popularity, no creative artists existed to challenge their prestige at the courts of phil-Hellenic Emperors, and though the sophists often show jealousy of the philosophers, philosophy without eloquence was nowhere. But besides all this, they kept alive an interest in the

<sup>1</sup> Lollianus in the second, and Prohaeresius in the fourth century, were appointed to the office of *στρατοπεδάρχης*, for which Food Controller is the nearest equivalent.

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Greek classics, the ἀρχαῖοι or standard authors; and a thorough knowledge of the Greek poets, orators, and historians such as we should hardly find equalled among professors of Greek to-day was taken for granted in Syrian, Egyptian, Arab, and Bithynian humanists, who must be able to illustrate their lectures with echoes of Homer, Plato, Thucydides, and Demosthenes. In their declamations historical allusions drawn from the classics played much the same part and were as essential as the heroic myths had been to the *Odes* of Pindar or Bacchylides. Not only were they well read, but their technical training in rhetoric was severe, and they would have thought any claim of ours to understand the art of rhetoric, or to teach it, superficial and amateurish. We do not even know the rules of the game. Moreover, they had audiences who did know those rules, and could appreciate every artistic device. But to be thus equipped was not enough. A successful sophist must have the nerve and equipment of a great actor, since he must act character parts, and the terminology of the actor's as well as the singer's art is frequently used for the sophistic profession; he must have unusual charm of appearance, manner, and voice, and a ready wit to retort on his rivals. All his training leads up to that highest achievement of the sophist, improvisation on some theme which was an echo of the past, stereotyped, but to be handled with some pretence to novelty. The theme was voted by the audience or propounded by some distinguished visitor, often because it was known to be in the declaimer's *répertoire*. He must have a good memory, since he must never repeat himself except by special request, and then he must do so with  
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perfect accuracy, and, if called on, must reverse all his arguments and take the other side. These themes were often not only fictitiously but falsely conceived, as when Demosthenes is represented pleading for Aeschines in exile, a heart-breaking waste of ingenuity and learning; or paradoxical, such as an encomium on the house-fly. Lucian from his point of view ridiculed the sophists, as Plato had satirized their intellectual and moral weakness in his day, but the former could not undermine their popularity, and the latter might well have despaired if he could have foreseen the recurring triumphs of the most sensational and theatrical forms of rhetoric in the second, third, and fourth Christian centuries. For now not only the middle-class parent, like Strepsiades in the *Clouds*, encourages his son to enter the sophistic profession; noble families are proud to claim kinship with a celebrated sophist; sophists preside at the Games and religious festivals, and, when a brilliant sophist dies, cities compete for the honour of burying him in the finest of their temples.

The official salaries were a small part of their earnings. Vespasian founded a chair of rhetoric at Rome,<sup>1</sup> and Hadrian and Antoninus endowed Regius Professorships of rhetoric and philosophy in several provincial cities. At Athens and, later, Constantinople, there were salaried imperial chairs for which the normal pay was equivalent to about £350, and professors enjoyed certain immunities and exemptions that were later to be reserved for the clergy. The profession was definitely organized by Marcus Aurelius, who assigned an official chair to rhetoric

<sup>1</sup> A. D. 67-79.

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and another to political oratory, and as a rule himself made the appointment from a list of candidates. Many municipalities maintained salaried professors. But, once appointed, a professor must rely on his powers of attraction; there was complete liberty in education; anyone who wished could open a school of rhetoric; and sometimes a free lance would empty the lecture theatre of the Regius Professor, as Libanius did in the fourth century. Nor did the Christian Emperors before Julian interfere with the freedom of speech of famous sophists, though these were usually pagans without disguise who ignored Christianity. In order to reserve for pagan sophists the teaching of the classics Julian tampered with this freedom and, as is described in the *Lives* of Eunapius, extended the powers of the crown over such appointments.

Political oratory, which was a relatively severe type and must avoid emotional effects and poetical allusions, was reduced to school exercises and the arguing of historical or pseudo-historical themes, and was not so fashionable or so sought after by sophists as the chair of pure rhetoric. Though officially distinct in the second century, the "political" chair was gradually absorbed by its more brilliant rival, and in the third and fourth centuries no talented sophist would have been content to be merely a professor of political oratory, a πολιτικός. The study of law and forensic oratory was on a still lower plane and is referred to with some contempt by Philostratus. The writing of history was an inferior branch of literature. In short every form of literary composition was subservient to rhetoric, and the sophists whom Plato perhaps hoped to discountenance with a xviii

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definition were now the representatives of Hellenic culture. "Hellene" had become a technical term for a student of rhetoric in the schools.

Philostratus had no foreboding that this supremacy was doomed. For him, as for Herodes, Sophistic was a national movement. The sophist was to revive the antique purer form of religion and to encourage the cults of the heroes and Homeric gods. This was their theoretical aim, but in fact they followed after newer cults—Aristeides for instance is devoted to the cult of Asclepius whose priest he was, and there were probably few like Herodes Atticus, that ideal sophist, who was an apostle of a more genuinely Hellenic culture and religion. By the time of Eunapius the futility of Philostratus' dream of a revival of Greek religion and culture is apparent, Sophistic is giving way to the study of Roman law at such famous schools as that of Berytus, and the best a sophist can hope for is, like the sober Libanius, to make a living from his pupils and not to become obnoxious to the all-powerful prefects and pro-consuls of the Christian Emperors who now bestow their favours on bishops.

There are two rival tendencies in the oratory of the second and third centuries, Asianism and Atticism. The Asiatic style is flowery, bombastic, full of startling metaphors, too metrical, too dependent on the tricks of rhetoric, too emotional. In short, the Asiatic declaimer aims at but never achieves the grand style. The Atticist usually imitates some classical author, aims at simplicity of style, and is a purist, carefully avoiding any allusion or word that does not occur in a writer of the classical period. In Aristeides, we have the works of an

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Atticist, and we know that he had not the knack of "improvisation" and was unpopular as a teacher. He was thought to be arid, that is, not enough of an Asianist to please an audience that was ready to go into ecstasies over a display of "bombast and importunate epigram." Philostratus never uses the word Asianism, but he criticizes the "Ionian" and "Ephesian" type of rhetoric, and it was this type which then represented the "theatrical shamelessness" that in the first century Dionysius of Halicarnassus deplored.

Philostratus was one of those who desired to achieve simplicity of style, ἀφέλεια, but when a sophist attempts this the result is always a spurious naïveté such as is seen at its worst in the *Imagines*, the work of his kinsman. Above all the classical writers he admires for his style Critias, who was the ideal of Herodes Atticus also, and the fluent eloquence of Aeschines. He was an Atticist, but not of the stricter type, for he held that it was tasteless and barbarous to overdo one's Atticism. He writes the reminiscence Greek of the cultured sophist, full of echoes of the poets, Herodotus, Plato, and Xenophon. His sentences are short and co-ordinated, his allusions are often so brief that he is obscure, and in general he displays the carelessness of the gentlemanly sophist, condescending to write narrative. If we may judge from his scornful dismissal of Varus as one who abused rhythmical effects in déclamation, he himself avoided such excess in his sophistic exercises, μελέται, which are no longer extant. He was a devoted admirer of Gorgias, and in one passage<sup>1</sup> at least he

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Adrian*, p. 589, where he carefully distinguishes between δωρεαί and δῶρα.

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imitates the careful distinction of synonyms that was characteristic of Prodicus. In fact he regarded the Atticizing sophists of his day as the true descendants of the Platonic sophists, and scolds Plutarch<sup>1</sup> for having attacked, in a work that has perished, the stylistic mannerisms of Gorgias. Like all his Greek contemporaries he lacked a sense of proportion, so that his literary criticisms are for the most part worthless, and the quotations that he asks us to admire are puerile. He longed for a revival of the glories of Hellenism, but it was to be a literary, not a political revival, and he shows no bitterness at the political insignificance of Greece. The Hellenes must impress their Roman masters with a sense of the inferiority of Roman culture and he will then have nothing to complain of. In the opinion of the public, improvisation was the highest achievement of Sophistic, and so thought Philostratus. He believed that the scorn of Aristeides for this fashionable form of display, ἐπίδειξις, masked chagrin at his failure, and dismisses with contempt<sup>2</sup> the later career of Hermogenes the technical writer; whereas Norden<sup>3</sup> praises Hermogenes for giving up declamation and devoting himself to more sober and scientific studies. Philostratus has preserved the renown of a number of these improvisators who, but for him, would have perished as completely as have the actors and dancers of those centuries. More than half the sophists described by him are ignored even by Suidas. Yet they were names to conjure with in the schools of rhetoric all through the Roman world, until the Christian Fathers and the rhetoric of the pulpit took

<sup>1</sup> Letter 63.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 577 for Hermogenes.

<sup>3</sup> *Antike Kunst-Prosa* i. 382.

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the place of the declaimers. Christianity was fatal to Sophistic, which seems to wither, like a Garden of Adonis, never deeply rooted in the lives of the common people. But sophists for centuries had educated Christians and pagans alike, and it was from their hands, unintelligent and sterile as they often were in their devotion to Hellenic culture, that the Church received, though without acknowledgement, the learning of which she boasted, and which she in her turn preserved for us.

The following notices of the sophists of whom we know more than is to be found in Philostratus are intended to supplement him with dates and facts that he ignored, or to correct his errors. They are in the order of the *Lives*.

EUDOXUS of Cnidus (408-352 B.C.), famous for his researches in geometry, astronomy, and physics, was for a short time a pupil of Plato. He went to Magna Graecia to study with Archytas the Pythagorean, and to Egypt in the reign of Nectanebus. Strabo<sup>1</sup> describes his observatories at Heliopolis and Cnidus. He opened a school at Cyzicus and made laws for Cnidus.<sup>2</sup> Plutarch<sup>3</sup> praises the elegance of his style.

LEON of Byzantium was a rhetorician and historian about whom we have confused and contradictory accounts in Suidas and Hesychius, especially as to the precise part that he played when Philip of Macedon tried to take Byzantium in 340 B.C. The story is partly told by Plutarch, *Phocion* 14, where

<sup>1</sup> xvii. 806.

<sup>2</sup> Diogenes Laertius viii. 88.

<sup>3</sup> *Marcellus* 4.



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Leon probably played the part there assigned to one Cleon.

DIAS may be, as Natorp suggests, a mistake for Delios. Others read Bias. Delios of Ephesus is mentioned by Plutarch as a contemporary of Alexander the Great. In any case we know nothing more of this philosopher than is related here.

CARNEADES (213-129 B.C.) is reckoned as an Athenian, though he was born at Cyrene. He founded the New Academy at Athens, and in 155 was sent to Rome on an embassy for the Athenians. He is so celebrated as a philosopher that Philostratus, whose interest is in the genuine sophists, can dismiss him in a sentence, but no doubt Cato, who disapproved of his influence at Rome, would have called him a sophist.

PHILOSTRATUS the Egyptian was not connected with the Lemnian family. But for the facts of his life something may be added to the scant notice by his biographer. In his *Life of Antony* 80 Plutarch relates that after the defeat of Antony by Octavian, the latter pardoned the members of Cleopatra's circle, among them Areius<sup>1</sup> the Stoic, who was then in Alexandria. "Areius craved pardon for himself and many others, and especially for Philostratus the most eloquent man of all the sophists and of orators of his time for present and sudden speech; howbeit he falsely named himself an Academic philosopher. Therefore Caesar, who hated his nature and conditions, would not hear his suit. Thereupon Philostratus let his grey beard grow long, and followed Areius step by step in a long mourning gown, still buzzing in his ears this Greek verse :

<sup>1</sup> See Julian, *The Caesars* 326 B; Cassius Dio lvi. 43.

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A wise man if that he be wise indeed  
May by a wise man have the better speed.

Caesar understanding this, not for the desire he had to deliver Philostratus of his fear, as to rid Areius of malice and envy that might have fallen out against him, pardoned him." We have also an epigram by Crinagoras of Mytilene, a contemporary, a lament over the downfall of this favourite of princes:—"O Philostratus, unhappy for all thy wealth, where are those sceptres and constant intercourse with princes? . . . Foreigners have shared among them the fruit of thy toils, and thy corpse shall lie in sandy Ostrakine."<sup>1</sup>

DIO CHRYSOSTOM, the "golden-mouthed," was born in Bithynia about A.D. 40. Exiled for fourteen years by his fear of Domitian, he acquired the peculiar knowledge of the coast towns of the Black Sea and of the savage Getae that is shown in his writings. We have eighty of his speeches, or rather essays; they are partly moral lectures or sermons delivered both during and after his exile, which ended in 96 with the accession of his friend Nerva. He denounces the "god-forsaken" sophists, but for part at least of his life he was a professed sophist, and many of his essays are purely sophistic. Dio labelled himself a philosopher, and he was one of Plutarch's type, borrowing the best from all the schools. He wrote the "plain" style and Xenophon and Plato were his favourite models. Next to Lucian he is the most successful and the most agreeable to

<sup>1</sup> *Palatine Anthology* vii. 645. The "foreigners" are Romans, and Ostrakine is a desert village between Egypt and Palestine.

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read of all the Atticizing writers with sophistic tendencies.

FAVORINUS (A.D. 80-150) was a Gaul who came to Rome to study Greek and Latin letters in the second Christian century; he spent much of his professional life in Asia Minor. He became the intimate friend of Plutarch, Fronto, and other distinguished men, and had a powerful patron in the Emperor Hadrian. He wrote Greek treatises on history, philosophy, and geography. A statue of him was set up in the public library of Corinth to encourage the youth of Corinth to imitate his eloquence. He was regarded as a sort of encyclopaedia, and his learning is praised by Cassius Dio, Galen, and Aulus Gellius. He belonged to the Academic school of philosophy, but composed numerous sophistic speeches including paradoxical panegyrics, e.g. an *Encomium of Quartan Fever*. Lucian<sup>1</sup> speaks of him disparagingly as "a certain eunuch of the school of the Academy who came from Gaul and became famous in Greece a little before my time." He was an Asianist in his use of broken and excessive rhythms. We can judge of his style from his *Corinthian Oration*, which survives among the *Orations* of Dio Chrysostom. It is the longest extant piece of Asianic prose of the early second century.<sup>2</sup> The *Universal History* of Favorinus was probably the chief source used by Athenaeus for his *Deipnosophists*, and was freely borrowed from by Diogenes Laertius.

GORGAS of Leontini in Sicily came to Athens in 427 B.C., at the age of about fifty-five, on an embassy from Leontini, and that date marks a turning-point

<sup>1</sup> *Eunuch* 7; cf. *Demonax* 12.

<sup>2</sup> Norden, *Kunst-Prosa*, p. 422.

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in the history of prose-writing. The love of parallelism and antithesis was innate in the Greeks, and the so-called "Gorgianic" figures, antithesis, similar endings (homoioteleuta), and symmetrical, carefully balanced clauses were in use long before the time of Gorgias. They are to be found in Heracleitus and Empedocles, and in the plays of Euripides that appeared before 427. But by his exaggerated use of these figures and his deliberate adoption for prose of effects that had been held to be the property of poetry, Gorgias set a fashion that was never quite discarded in Greek prose, though it was often condemned as frigid and precious. He is the founder of epideictic oratory, and his influence lasted to the end. But the surer taste of Athenian prose writers rejected the worst of his exaggerations, and later, when Aristotle or Cicero or Longinus points out the dangers of making one's prose "metrical" by abuse of rhythms, or condemns short and jerky clauses, *minuta et versicolorum similia* (Cicero, *Orator* 39), they cite the mannerisms of Gorgias. A fragment of his *Funeral Oration* survives, and, though scholars are not agreed as to the genuineness of the *Helen* and the *Palamedes* which have come down under his name, these are useful as showing the characteristic features of his style. We have the inscription that was composed for the statue of Gorgias dedicated at Olympia by his grand-nephew Eumolpus; in it he defends Gorgias from the charge of ostentation in having in his lifetime dedicated a gold statue of himself at Delphi.

PROTAGORAS of Abdera in Thrace was born about 480 B.C. and came to Athens about 450. His agnostic utterances about the gods led to his prosecution for

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impiety by the Athenians who would not tolerate a professed sceptic. He may be called the founder of grammar, since he is said to have been the first to distinguish the three genders by name, and he divided the form of the verb into categories which were the foundation of our moods. In speech he was a purist. His philosophy was Heracleitean, and to him is ascribed the famous phrase "Man is the measure of all things." His aim was to train statesmen in civic virtue, by which he meant an expert knowledge how to get the better of an opponent in any sort of debate. We have no writings that are certainly his, but can judge of his style by Plato's imitation in the *Protagoras*. A treatise on medicine called *On the Art*, which has come down to us among the works of Hippocrates, has been assigned by some to Protagoras. For his *Life* Philostratus used Diogenes Laertius.

Hippias of Elis was the most many-sided of the early sophists, the polymath or encyclopaedist. He professed to have made all that he wore, taught astronomy and geography, and was a politician rather than a professed teacher of rhetoric. In the two Platonic dialogues that bear his name he appears as a vain and theatrical improvisator. In the *Protagoras* his preference for teaching scientific subjects is ridiculed, in passing, by Protagoras. Philostratus derives his account of Hippias from Plato, *Hippias Maior* 282-286, where Socrates draws out Hippias and encourages him to boast of his versatility and success in making money.

Prodicus of Ceos was a slightly younger contemporary of Protagoras. He was famous for his study of synonyms and their precise use, and may

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be regarded as the father of the art of using the inevitable word, *le mot juste*. Plato speaks of him with a mixture of scorn and respect, but perhaps Prodicus showed him the way to his own nice distinction of terms. "Cleverer than Prodicus" became a proverbial phrase.

POLUS of Sicily, "colt by name and colt by nature," is the respondent to Socrates in the second part of Plato's *Gorgias*, and on that dialogue and the *Phaedrus* we rely mainly for our knowledge of this young and ardent disciple of Gorgias. He had composed an *Art of Rhetoric* which Socrates had just read, and he provokes Socrates to attack rhetoric as the counterfeit of an art, like cookery. In the *Phaedrus* 267 B, he is ridiculed as a Euphuist who had invented a number of technical rhetorical terms and cared chiefly for fine writing; but he is far inferior, we are told, to his teacher Gorgias, and exaggerates his faults.

THRASYMACHUS of Chalcedon is said to have been the first to develop periodic prose, and hence he may be said to have founded rhythmic prose. In the *Phaedrus* 267 C, D Plato parodies his excessive use of rhythm and poetical words. In the First Book of the *Republic* Plato makes him play the part of a violent and sophistic interlocutor whom Socrates easily disconcerts with his dialectic. He wrote handbooks of rhetoric, and according to the *Phaedrus* he was a master of the art of composing psethetic commonplaces (τόποι), *miserationes*, "piteous whinings," as Plato calls them. Like Polus, his name, "hot-headed fighter," indicates the temperament of the man.

ANTIPHON of the Attic deme Rhamnus was born  
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soon after 480 B.C., and was a celebrated teacher of rhetoric at Athens. He was deeply influenced by Sicilian rhetoric. Thucydides says that no man of his time was superior to Antiphon in conceiving and expressing an argument and in training a man to speak in the courts or the assembly. He was an extreme oligarch, and was deeply implicated in the plot that placed the Four Hundred in power in 411. When they fell he was condemned to death and drank hemlock, his fortune was confiscated, and his house pulled down. We have his *Tetralogies*, fifteen speeches all dealing with murder cases; twelve of these are in groups of four, hence the name, and give two speeches each for the plaintiff and the defendant in fictitious cases. He uses the commonplaces of the sophists, but his style is severe and archaic. The only other authority for the generally discredited statement of Philostratus that he increased the Athenian navy is pseudo-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators*. Recently there have been found in Egypt four fragments of his *Apology*, that defence which Thucydides<sup>1</sup> called "the most beautiful apologetic discourse ever given." Antiphon tries to prove that his motives in bringing the oligarchs into power were unselfish. He reminds the judges of his family, whom he did not want to abandon, and without whom he could easily have made his escape. I assume that Antiphon was both orator and sophist, though some maintain that throughout the *Life* Philostratus has confused two separate Antiphons.

CRITIAS, "the handsome," son of Callaeschus, is remembered chiefly for his political career as a

<sup>1</sup> viii. 68.

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leader of the oligarchy, a pro-Spartan, and one of the Thirty Tyrants. He was exiled from Athens in 407 B.C., and returned in 405. It was Xenophon who said<sup>1</sup> that he degenerated during his stay in Thessaly. He was killed fighting against Thrasybulus and the democrats a year later. Critias was a pupil of Socrates and also of the sophists. He wrote tragedies, elegies, and prose works, of which not enough has survived for any sure estimate to be made of his talent. He was greatly admired by the later sophists, especially by Herodes Atticus.

ISOCRATES (436-338) was trained by the sophists, by Prodicus certainly, and perhaps Protagoras, for a public career, but a weak voice and an incurable diffidence barred him from this, and after studying in Thessaly with Gorgias he became a professional rhetorician at Athens, where he opened his school about 393. In that school, which Cicero calls an "oratorical laboratory," were trained the most distinguished men of the fourth century at Athens. It was his fixed idea that the Greeks must forget their quarrels and unite against Persia, and towards the end of his life he believed that Philip of Macedon might reconcile the Greek states and lead them to this great enterprise. The tradition that, when Philip triumphed over Greece at Chaeronea, Isocrates, disillusioned, refused to survive, has been made popular by Milton's sonnet, *To the Lady Margaret Ley*. Isocrates did in fact die in 338, but he was ninety-eight, and it is not certain that he would have despaired at the success of Philip. He was a master of epideictic prose, and brought the period to perfection in long and lucid sentences. Since Cicero's

<sup>1</sup> *Memorabilia* i. 3. 24.



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style is based on Isocrates, the latter may be said to have influenced, through Cicero, the prose of modern Europe.

AESCHINES was born in 389 B.C. of an obscure family, and after being an actor and then a minor clerk, raised himself to the position of leading politician, ambassador, and rival of Demosthenes. He supported Philip of Macedon, and in 343 defended himself successfully in his speech *On the False Embassy*, from an attack by Demosthenes, whom he attacked in turn without success in the speech *Against Ctesiphon* in 330; to this Demosthenes retorted with his speech *On the Crown*. After this failure, Aeschines withdrew to Rhodes, where he spent the rest of his life in teaching, and it is because he taught rhetoric that Philostratus includes him here and calls him a sophist.

NICETES flourished in the latter half of the first Christian century under the Emperors Vespasian, Domitian, and Nerva. After the *Life* of Aeschines Philostratus skips four centuries and passes to a very different type of orator. He is the first important representative of Asiatic oratory in the *Lives*. Philostratus calls this the Ionian type, and it was especially associated with the coast towns of Asia Minor, and above all Smyrna and Ephesus. Nicetes is mentioned in passing by Tacitus,<sup>1</sup> as having travelled far from the style of Aeschines and Demosthenes; Pliny the Younger says<sup>2</sup> that he heard him lecture. Nothing of his is extant. There was another sophist of the same name whom Seneca quotes, but he lived earlier and flourished under Tiberius.

<sup>1</sup> *Dialogus* 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Epistles* vi. 6.

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ISAEUS will always be remembered, but he does not owe his immortality to Philostratus, but rather to the fact that Pliny<sup>1</sup> praised his eloquence in a letter to Trajan, and Juvenal,<sup>2</sup> in his scathing description of the hungry Greekling at Rome, said that not even Isaeus could pour forth such a torrent of words. He came to Rome about A.D. 97 and made a great sensation there.

SCOPELIAN of Clazomenae lived under Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan. His eloquence was of the Asianic type, as was natural in a pupil of Nicetes. In the letter addressed to him by Apollonius of Tyana,<sup>3</sup> Scopelian is apparently warned not to imitate even the best, but to develop a style of his own; this was shockingly heterodox advice. For Philostratus, his popularity with the crowd was the measure of his ability.

DIONYSIUS of Miletus is mentioned in passing by Cassius Dio lxi. 789, who says that he offended the Emperor Hadrian. Nothing of his survives, for he almost certainly did not write the treatise *On the Sublime* which has been attributed to him, as to other writers of the same name, though on the very slightest grounds. He was inclined to Asianism, if we may trust the anecdote of his rebuke by Isaeus; see p. 513.

LOLLIANUS of Ephesus, who lived under Hadrian and Antoninus, is ridiculed by Lucian, *Epigram* 26, for his volubility, and his diction is often criticized by Phrynichus. He wrote handbooks on rhetoric which have perished. From the quotations of Philostratus it is evident that he was an Asianist. He made the New Sophistic popular in

<sup>1</sup> *Epistles* ii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Satire* iii. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Letter* 19.

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Athens. He was *curator annonae*, an office which in Greek is represented by *στρατοπεδάρχης* or *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν*; the title had lost its military significance.<sup>1</sup> We have the inscription<sup>2</sup> composed for the statue of Lollianus in the agora at Athens; it celebrates his ability in the lawcourts and as a declaimer, but in a brief phrase, while the rest of the inscription aims at securing the immortal renown of the "well-born pupils" who dedicated the statue.

POLEMO of Laodicea was born about A.D. 85 and lived under Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus. There have survived two of his declamations in which two fathers of Marathon heroes dispute the honour of pronouncing the funeral oration on those who fell at Marathon. We can judge from them of the Asiatic manner of the time, with its exaggerated tropes, tasteless similes, short and antithetic clauses, and, in general, its obvious straining after effect and lack of coherent development of ideas. Polemo makes an attempt at Attic diction, but is full of solecisms and late constructions. These compositions seem to us to lack charm and force, but his improvisations may have been very different. Even as late as the fourth century he was admired and imitated, e.g. by Gregory of Nazianzen.

✓ HERODES ATTICUS, the most celebrated sophist of the second century, was born about A.D. 100 at Marathon, and died about 179; he was consul in 143. With him begins an important development of Sophistic, for he and his followers at least strove to

<sup>1</sup> See for this office the *Lives* of Eusebius, especially the *Life* of Prohaeresius.

<sup>2</sup> Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* 877.

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be thorough Atticists and were diligent students of the writers of the classical period. They set up a standard of education that makes them respectable, and we may say of them, as of some of the sophists of the fourth Christian century, that never has there been shown a more ardent appreciation of the glorious past of Greece, never a more devoted study of the classical authors, to whatever sterile ends. But it is evident that Herodes, who threw all his great influence on the side of a less theatrical and more scholarly rhetoric than Scopelian's, failed to win any such popularity as his. For the main facts of his life we rely on Philostratus. Of all his many-sided literary activities only one declamation remains, in which a young Theban oligarch urges his fellow-citizens to make war on Archelaus of Macedonia. But its authenticity is disputed, and it shows us only one side of his rhetoric. Its rather frigid correctness is certainly not typical of the New Sophistic, nor has it the pathos for which he was famed. There are many admiring references to Herodes in Lucian, Aulus Gellius, and Plutarch. In the *Lives* that follow his it will be seen how deeply he influenced his numerous pupils, and, through them, the trend of the New Sophistic.<sup>1</sup> The notice of Herodes in Suidas is independent of Philostratus. If we accept the theory of Rudolph, Athenaeus in his *Deipnosophists* (*Banquet of the Learned*), has given us a characterization of Herodes as the host, disguised under the name Larensius.

There are extant two long Greek inscriptions<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Schmid, *Atticismus* 201.

<sup>2</sup> Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* 1046, gives a useful commentary on the dates in the life of Herodes.

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found at Rome, composed for Regilla, the wife of Herodes, one for her heroum or shrine on the Appian Way, the other for her statue in the temple of Minerva and Nemesis. Her brother Braduas was consul in 160. The inscription for the Appian Way must have been composed before 171, the date of the encounter at Sirmium of Herodes and Marcus Aurelius related by Philostratus, since in it Elpinice his daughter is named as still alive; it was partly grief for her death that made Herodes indifferent to his fate at Sirmium.

ARISTOCLES, the pupil of Herodes, wrote philosophical treatises and rhetorical handbooks which have all perished. He was evidently a thorough Atticist. His conversion from philosophy to sophistic and his personal habits are described by Synesius, *Dio 35 D*. Synesius says that, whereas Dio was converted from sophistic to philosophy, Aristocles in his old age became a dissipated sophist and competed with his declamations in the theatres of Italy and Asia.

ALEXANDER the Cilician probably derived his love of philosophy from his teacher Favorinus, but his nickname "Clay Plato" implies that his pretensions were not taken seriously. However sound may have been the studies of these more scholarly sophists or the type of Herodes, they evidently resorted to the trivial devices and excessive rhythms that the crowd had been taught by the Asianists to expect from a declaimer. If Alexander really declaimed more soberly than Scopelian, as Herodes said, the quotations from him in Philostratus do not show any real difference of style. Alexander was, however, something more than a mere expert in the etiquette of Sophistic.

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HERMOGENES of Tarsus is the most famous technical writer on rhetoric in the second century, though one would not infer this from Philostratus. His career as a declaimer was brief, but it is improbable that, as Suidas says, his mind became deranged at twenty-four. He was a youthful prodigy, a boy orator, who turned to the composition of treatises when his knack of declamation forsook him in early manhood. We have his *Preparatory Exercises*, Προγυμνάσματα, his treatise, *On the Constitution of Cases*, Περὶ τῶν στάσεων, *On Invention*, Περὶ εὑρέσεως, and, best known of all, *On the Types of Style*, Περὶ ἰδεῶν. For him Demosthenes is the perfect orator who displays all the seventeen qualities of good oratory, such as clearness, beauty, the grand manner, and the rest. Hermogenes defines and classifies them, together with the formal elements of a speech. His categories are quoted by all the technical rhetoricians who succeed him. All his work was intended to lead to the scientific imitation of the classical writers, though he admired also a few later authors, especially the Atticist Aristeides, the strictest of the archaists. Philostratus, who can admire only the declaimer, says nothing of his success as a technical writer.

AELIUS ARISTEIDES, surnamed Theodorus, was born in Mysia, in 117. According to Suidas, he studied under Polemo, but no doubt he owed more to the teaching of Herodes. He is the chief representative of the religious and literary activity of the sophists and their revival of Atticism in the second century, and we must judge of that revival mainly from his works which are in great part extant. We have fifty-five *Orations* of various kinds, and two treatises on rhetoric in which he shows himself inferior in

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method and thoroughness to Hermogenes. He was proverbially unpopular as a teacher of rhetoric, and though the epigram on *the seven pupils of Aristeides, four walls and three benches*, which is quoted in the anonymous argument to his *Panathenaic Oration*, is there said to have been composed for a later rhetorician of the same name, it somehow clung to his memory, and a denial was felt to be necessary. His six *Sacred Discourses*, in which he discusses the treatment by Asclepius of a long illness of thirteen years with which he was afflicted, are one of the curiosities of literature. They mark the close association of Sophistic and religion in the second century, and it is to be observed that Polemo, Antiochus, and Hermocrates also frequented the temple of Asclepius. The sophists constantly opposed the irreligion of the contemporary philosophers, but it is hard to believe that an educated man of that time could seriously describe his interviews with Asclepius and the god's fulsome praises of his oratory. It is less surprising when Eunapius, in the fourth century, reports, apparently in good faith, the conversations of his contemporaries with Asclepius at Pergamon, for superstition, fanned by the theurgists, had by that time made great headway.

For the later sophists described by Eunapius, Aristeides ranks with Demosthenes as a model of Greek prose, and he was even more diligently read; it was the highest praise to say that one of them resembled "the divine Aristeides." For them he was the ideal sophist, and he did indeed defend Sophistic with all his energy against the philosophers, whom he despised. He even carried on a polemic against Plato, and made a formal defence of Gorgias whom

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Plato had attacked in the *Gorgias*. In spite of his lack of success as a declaimer, he was an epideictic orator. He rebuked his fellow sophists for their theatrical methods, and his *Oration Against the Dancing Sophists* is the bitterest invective against Asianic emotional eloquence that we possess. But he was no less emotional than they, when there was a chance for pathos. When Smyrna was destroyed by an earthquake in 178 he wrote a *Monody on Smyrna* which has all the faults of Asianism. There is little real feeling in this speech over which Marcus Aurelius shed conventional tears. Yet he was in the main an Atticist, who dreamed of reproducing the many-sided eloquence of Demosthenes and pursued this ideal at the cost of popularity with the crowd. He had his reward in being for centuries rated higher than Demosthenes by the critics and writers on rhetoric. Libanius, in the fourth century, was his devout imitator, though he himself practised a more flexible style of oratory. Aristeides died in the reign of Commodus, about A.D. 187.

ADRIAN, the Phoenician pupil of Herodes, is hardly known except through Philostratus. He can scarcely have been as old as eighty when he died, for, as Commodus himself died in 190, that is the latest year in which he can have sent an appointment to the dying Adrian, as Philostratus relates. Now Herodes had died about 180 at the age of seventy, and Philostratus makes it clear that Adrian was a much younger man. This is of small importance in itself, but it illustrates the carelessness of Philostratus as a chronicler.

JULIUS POLLUX of Naucratis came to Rome in the reign of Antoninus or Marcus Aurelius, and taught  
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rhetoric to the young Commodus to whom he dedicated his *Onomasticon*. His speeches, which even Philostratus found it impossible to praise, are lost, but we have the *Onomasticon*, a valuable thesaurus of Greek words and synonyms, and especially of technical terms of rhetoric. It was designed as a guide to rhetoric for Commodus, but Pollux was to be more useful than he knew. He is bitterly satirized by Lucian in his *Rhetorician's Guide*, where he is made to describe with the most shameless effrontery the ease with which a declaimer may gull his audience and win a reputation. How far this satire was justified we cannot tell, but we may assume that Pollux had made pretensions to shine as a declaimer, and Lucian, always hostile to that type, chose to satirize one who illustrated the weaknesses rather than the brilliance of that profession. Nevertheless the passage quoted from a declamation of Pollux by Philostratus is not inferior to other such extracts in the *Lives*.

PAUSANIAS the sophist is assumed by some scholars to be the famous archaeologist and traveller. But the latter was not a native of Lycia, and though he speaks of Herodes, he nowhere says that he had studied with him. Nor does Suidas in his list of the sophist's works mention the famous *Description of Greece*. The Pausanias of Philostratus is perhaps the author of the *Attic Lexicon* praised by Photius. We have some fragments of this work.

ANTIPATER the Syrian was one of the teachers of Philostratus. At the court of Septimius Severus he had great influence, perhaps due in part to his Syrian birth, for the compatriots of the Empress Julia were under her special patronage. At Athens he had

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been the pupil of Adrian, Pollux, and a certain Zeno, a writer on rhetoric whom Philostratus does not include in the *Lives*. He educated the Emperor's sons, Caracalla and Geta, received the consulship, and was for a short time Governor of Bithynia. Galen, the court physician, praises Severus for the favour shown to Antipater. He starved himself to death after Caracalla's favour was withdrawn. This was about 212. We may therefore place his birth about 144. Philostratus studied with him before he became an official. Antipater's marriage with the plain daughter of Hermocrates took place when the court was in the East, but whether Philostratus in his account of this event means the first or the second Eastern expedition of Severus he does not say, so that we cannot precisely date Antipater's appointment as Imperial Secretary; it occurred about 194 or 197; Kayser prefers the later date. We learn from Suidas that Antipater was attacked by Philostratus the First in an essay, *On the Name*, or *On the Noun*. This statement is useful as fixing the date of the father of our Philostratus. The Antipater of the *Lives* must not be confused with an earlier sophist of the same name mentioned by Dio Chrysostom.

CLAUDIUS AELIAN, the "honey-tongued," as Suidas tells us he was called, is the most important of the learned sophists of the third century. He was born at Praeneste towards the close of the second century, and was a Hellenized Roman who, like Marcus Aurelius, preferred to write Greek. He was an industrious collector of curious facts and strange tales, but, in spite of the statement of Philostratus as to the purity of his dialect, he hardly deserves to rank as a writer of Greek prose. Though he claims

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to write for "educated ears," his language is a strange mixture of Homeric, tragic, and Ionic Greek, with the "common" dialect as a basis. He is erudite in order to interest his readers and with no purpose of preserving a literary tradition; and in his extant works he observes none of the rules of rhetorical composition as they were handed down by the sophists. He aims at simplicity, ἀφέλεια, but is intolerably artificial. We have his treatise in seventeen books, *On Animals*, a curious medley of facts and anecdotes designed to prove that animals display the virtues and vices of human beings; and the less well preserved *Varied History*, a collection of anecdotes about famous persons set down without any attempt at orderly sequence or connexion. Two religious treatises survive in fragments. In choosing to be a mere writer rather than an epideictic orator he really forfeited the high privilege of being called a sophist.

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# ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

## ΒΙΟΙ ΣΟΦΙΣΤΩΝ

479 ΤΩΙ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΩΙ ΤΗΑΤΩΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΩΙ ΓΟΡΑΙΑΝΩΙ  
ΦΛΑΤΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

Τοὺς φιλοσοφήσαντας ἐν δόξῃ τοῦ σοφιστεῦσαι  
καὶ τοὺς οὕτω κυρίως προσηθέντας σοφιστὰς ἐς  
δύο βιβλία ἀνέγραψά σοι, γινώσκων μὲν, ὅτι καὶ  
γένος ἐστὶ σοι πρὸς τὴν τέχνην ἐς Ἡρώδη τὸν  
480 σοφιστὴν ἀναφέροντι, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τῶν  
κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν σπουδασθέντων ποτὲ ἡμῶν  
ὑπὲρ σοφιστῶν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Δαφναίου ἱερῷ. πατέρας  
δὲ οὐ προσέγραψα, μὰ Δί' οὐ, πᾶσιν,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ τοῖς  
ἀπ' εὐδοκίμων· οἶδα γὰρ δὴ καὶ Κριτίαν τὸν  
σοφιστὴν οὐκ ἐκ πατέρων ἀρξάμενον,<sup>2</sup> ἀλλὰ Ὀμή-  
ρου δὴ μόνου σὺν τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιμνησθέντα, ἐπειδὴ  
θαῦμα δηλώσειεν ἔμελλε πατέρα Ὀμήρω ποταμὸν  
εἶναι. καὶ ἄλλως οὐκ εὐτυχὲς τῷ βουλομένῳ

<sup>1</sup> μὰ Δία, οὐ πᾶσιν Kayser; μὰ Δί' οὐ, πᾶσιν Richards.

<sup>2</sup> ἀρξάμενον add. Richards.

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, p. xii.

<sup>2</sup> On the famous temple of Apollo in the suburb of Daphne  
cf. Julian, *Misopogon* 346; Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius*  
*of Tyana* i. 16.

# PHILOSTRATUS

## LIVES OF THE SOPHISTS

DEDICATED BY FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS TO THE MOST  
ILLUSTRIOUS ANTONIUS GORDIANUS, CONSUL.<sup>1</sup>

### PREFACE

I HAVE written for you in two Books an account of certain men who, though they pursued philosophy, ranked as sophists, and also of the sophists properly so called; partly because I know that your own family is connected with that profession, since Herodes the sophist was your ancestor; but I remembered, too, the discussions we once held about the sophists at Antioch, in the temple of Daphnean Apollo.<sup>2</sup> Their fathers' names I have not added in all cases, God forbid! but only for those who were the sons of illustrious men. For one thing I am aware that the sophist Critias also did not begin with the father's name as a rule, but only in the case of Homer mentioned his father, because the thing he had to relate was a marvel, namely, that Homer's father was a river.<sup>3</sup> And further it would be no great piece of luck for one who desired to be really

<sup>3</sup> There was a tradition that Homer's father was the river Meles, near Smyrna.

πολλὰ εἶδέναι πατέρα μὲν τοῦ δεινὸς ἐξεπίστασθαι καὶ μητέρα, τὰς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετὰς τε καὶ κακίας οὐ γινώσκει, μηδ' ὅ τι κατώρθωσέ τε οὗτος καὶ ἐσφάλῃ ἢ τύχῃ ἢ γνώμῃ. τὸ δὲ φρόντισμα τοῦτο, ἀριστερὸν ἀνθυπάτων, καὶ τὰ ἄχθη σοὶ κουφιεῖ τῆς γνώμης, ὡσπερ ὁ κρατὴρ τῆς Ἑλένης τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις φαρμάκοις. ἔρρωσο Μουσηγέτα.

## Α'

Τὴν ἀρχαίαν σοφιστικὴν ῥητορικὴν ἠγεῖσθαι χρῆ φιλοσοφοῦσαν· διαλέγεται μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες, ἀ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι τὰς ἐρωτήσεις ὑποκαθήμενοι καὶ τὰ σμικρὰ τῶν ζητουμένων προβιβάζοντες οὐπω φασὶ γινώσκειν, ταῦτα ὁ παλαιὸς σοφιστὴς ὡς εἰδὼς λέγει. προοίμια γούν ποιεῖται τῶν λόγων τὸ "οἶδα" καὶ τὸ "γινώσκω" καὶ "πάσαι διέσκεμμαι" καὶ "βέβαιον ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδέν." ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη ἰδέα τῶν προομιῶν εὐγένειάν τε προηγεῖ τῶν λόγων καὶ φρόνημα καὶ κατάληψιν σαφῆ τοῦ ὄντος. ἤρμοσται  
 481 δὲ ἡ μὲν τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ μαντικῇ, ἣν Αἰγυπτιοὶ τε καὶ Χαλδαῖοι καὶ πρό τούτων Ἰνδοὶ ξυνέθεσαν, μυρίοις ἀστέρων στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ ὄντος, ἡ δὲ τῇ θεοπιδῶ τε καὶ χρηστηριῶδει· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦ Πυθίου ἐστὶν ἀκούειν

<sup>1</sup> A sophistic commonplace from *Odyssey* iv. 220; cf. *Life of Apollonius* vii. 22, and note on Julian, *Oration* viii. 240 c, vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> For Plato's criticism of sophistic assurance cf. *Meno* 70, *Symposium* 208 c, *Theaetetus* 180 a.



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well informed, to know precisely who was So-and-so's father and mother, yet fail to learn what were the man's own virtues and vices, and in what he succeeded or failed, whether by luck or judgement. This essay of mine, best of proconsuls, will help to lighten the weight of cares on your mind, like Helen's cup with its Egyptian drugs.<sup>1</sup> Farewell, leader of the Muses!

### BOOK I

We must regard the ancient sophistic art as philosophic rhetoric. For it discusses the themes that philosophers treat of, but whereas they, by their method of questioning, set snares for knowledge, and advance step by step as they confirm the minor points of their investigations, but assert that they have still no sure knowledge, the sophist of the old school assumes a knowledge of that whereof he speaks. At any rate, he introduces his speeches with such phrases as "I know," or "I am aware," or "I have long observed," or "For mankind there is nothing fixed and sure." This kind of introduction gives a tone of nobility and self-confidence to a speech and implies a clear grasp of the truth.<sup>2</sup> The method of the philosophers resembles the prophetic art which is controlled by man and was organized by the Egyptians and Chaldeans and, before them, by the Indians, who used to conjecture the truth by the aid of countless stars; the sophistic method resembles the prophetic art of soothsayers and oracles. For indeed one may hear the Pythian oracle say:

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οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμον τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης  
καὶ

τείχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς  
καὶ

Νέρων Ὀρέστης Ἀλκμαίων μητροκτόνοι  
καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα, ὥσπερ σοφιστοῦ, λέγοντος.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ ἀρχαία σοφιστικὴ καὶ τὰ φιλοσοφούμενα ὑποτιθεμένη διήκει αὐτὰ ἀποτάδην καὶ ἐς μῆκος, διελέγετο μὲν γὰρ περὶ ἀνδρείας, διελέγετο δὲ περὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἡρώων τε πέρι καὶ θεῶν καὶ ὅπη ἀπεσχημάτισται ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ κόσμου. ἡ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνην, ἦν οὐχὶ νέαν, ἀρχαία γάρ, δευτέραν δὲ μᾶλλον προσρητέον, τοὺς πένητας ὑπετυπώσατο καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ τοὺς ἀριστέας καὶ τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τὰς ἐς ὄνομα ὑποθέσεις, ἐφ' ἧς ἡ ἱστορία ἄγει. ἤρξε δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀρχαιοτέρας Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντῖνος ἐν Θετταλοῖς, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας Αἰσχίνης ὁ Ἀτρομήτου τῶν μὲν Ἀθήνησι πολιτικῶν ἐκπεσῶν, Καρία δὲ ἐνομιλῆσας καὶ Ῥόδῳ, καὶ μετεχειρίζοντο τὰς ὑποθέσεις οἱ μὲν κατὰ τέχνην, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Γοργίου κατὰ τὸ δόξαν.

482 Σχεδίων δὲ πηγὰς λόγων οἱ μὲν ἐκ Περικλέους ῥηῆναι πρώτου φασίν, ὅθεν καὶ μέγας ὁ Περικλῆς ἐνομίσθη τὴν γλῶτταν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου Πύθωνος, ὃν Δημοσθένης μόνος Ἀθηναίων

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus i. 147; *Life of Apollonius* vi. 11.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Athene, whose city Athens is protected by the wooden wall of her navy.

<sup>3</sup> Suetonius, *Nero* 39; *Life of Apollonius* iv. 38; the enigmatic or bombastic phraseology of the oracles reminds Philostratus of the oracular manner and obscurity of certain sophists.

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I know the number of the sands of the sea and the measure thereof,<sup>1</sup>

and

Far-seeing Zeus gives a wooden wall to the Triton-Born,<sup>2</sup>

and

Nero, Orestes, Alcmaeon, matricides,<sup>3</sup>

and many other things of this sort, just like a sophist.

Now ancient sophistic, even when it propounded philosophical themes, used to discuss them diffusely and at length;<sup>4</sup> for it discoursed on courage, it discoursed on justice, on the heroes and gods, and how the universe has been fashioned into its present shape. But the sophistic that followed it, which we must not call "new," for it is old, but rather "second," sketched the types of the poor man and the rich, of princes and tyrants, and handled arguments that are concerned with definite and special themes for which history shows the way. Gorgias of Leontini founded the older type in Thessaly,<sup>5</sup> and Aeschines, son of Atrometus, founded the second, after he had been exiled from political life at Athens and had taken up his abode in Caria and Rhodes; and the followers of Aeschines handled their themes with a view to elaborating the methods of their art, while the followers of Gorgias handled theirs with a view to proving their case.

The fountains of extempore eloquence flowed, some say, from Pericles their source, and hence Pericles has won his great reputation as an orator; but others say that it arose with Python of Byzantium, of whom Demosthenes says<sup>6</sup> that he

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Sophist* 217 c.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, *Meno* 70 B.

<sup>3</sup> Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 136; the same account is given by Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* vii. 37. Python came to Athens as the agent of Philip of Macedon.

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ἀνασχεῖν φησι θρασυνόμενον καὶ πολλὸν ρέοντα, οἱ δὲ Αἰσχίνου φασὶ τὸ σχεδιάζειν εὖρημα, τοῦτον γὰρ πλεύσαντα ἐκ Ῥόδου παρὰ τὸν Κᾶρα Μαύσωλον σχεδίῳ αὐτὸν λόγῳ ἦσαι. ἐμοὶ δὲ πλείστα μὲν ἀνθρώπων Αἰσχίνης δοκεῖ σχεδιάσαι πρεσβεύων τε καὶ ἀποπρεσβεύων συνηγορῶν τε καὶ δημηγορῶν, καταλιπεῖν δὲ μόνους τοὺς συγγεγραμμένους τῶν λόγων, ἵνα τῶν Δημοσθένους φροντισμάτων μὴ πολλῶ λείποιτο, σχεδίου δὲ λόγου Γοργίας ἄρξαι — παρελθὼν γὰρ οὗτος ἐς τὸ Ἀθήνησι<sup>1</sup> θέατρον ἐθάρρησεν εἰπεῖν “προβάλλετε” καὶ τὸ κινδύνευμα τοῦτο πρῶτος ἀνεφθέγγατο, ἐνδεικνύμενος δήπου πάντα μὲν εἰδέναι, περὶ παντὸς δ’ ἂν εἰπεῖν ἐφιεῖς τῷ καιρῷ — τοῦτο δ’ ἐπελθεῖν τῷ Γοργίᾳ διὰ τόδε. Προδίκῳ τῷ Κεῖῳ συνεγέγραπτό τις οὐκ ἀηδῆς λόγος· ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ κακία φοιτῶσαι παρὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐν εἶδει γυναικῶν, ἐσταλμένοι ἡ μὲν ἀπατηλῶ τε καὶ ποικίλῳ, ἡ δὲ ὡς ἔτυχεν, καὶ προτείνουσαι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ νέῳ ἔτι ἡ μὲν ἀργίαν καὶ τρυφήν, ἡ δὲ αὐχμὸν καὶ πόνους· καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσι διὰ πλειόνων συντεθέντος, τοῦ λόγου ἔμμιστον ἐπί-  
 483 δειξὼν ἐποιεῖτο Πρόδικος περιφοιτῶν τὰ ἄστη καὶ θέλων αὐτὰ τὸν Ὀρφέως τε καὶ Θαμύρου τρό-

<sup>1</sup> Ἀθηναίων Kayser; Ἀθήνησι Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> For an account of Prodicus and his famous fable see below, p. 496.

<sup>2</sup> An echo of Plato, *Protagoras* 315 A, where it is said of Protagoras.

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alone of the Athenians was able to check Python's insolent and overpowering flow of words; while yet others say that extempore speaking was an invention of Aeschines; for after he sailed from Rhodes to the court of Mausolus of Caria, he delighted the king by an improvised speech. But my opinion is that Aeschines did indeed improvise more often than any other speaker, when he went on embassies and gave reports of these missions, and when he defended clients in the courts and delivered political harangues; but I think that he left behind him only such speeches as he had composed with care, for fear that he might fall far short of the elaborate speeches of Demosthenes, and that it was Gorgias who founded the art of extempore oratory. For when he appeared in the theatre at Athens he had the courage to say, "Do you propose a theme"; and he was the first to risk this bold announcement, whereby he as good as advertised that he was omniscient and would speak on any subject whatever, trusting to the inspiration of the moment; and I think that this idea occurred to Gorgias for the following reason. Prodicus of Ceos<sup>1</sup> had composed a certain pleasant fable in which Virtue and Vice came to Heracles in the shape of women, one of them dressed in seductive and many-coloured attire, the other with no care for effect; and to Heracles, who was still young, Vice offered idleness and sensuous pleasures, while Virtue offered squalor and toil on toil. For this story Prodicus wrote a rather long epilogue, and then he toured the cities and gave recitations of the story in public, for hire, and charmed them after the manner of Orpheus<sup>2</sup> and Thamyris. For these recitations he won a great

πον, ἐφ' οἷς μεγάλων μὲν ἤξιούτο παρὰ Θηβαίοις, πλειόνων δὲ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὡς ἐς τὸ συμφέρον τῶν νέων ἀναδιδάσκων ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ Ἐπιγονίας ἐπισκώπτων τὸν Πρόδικον, ὡς ἔωλά τε καὶ πολλάκις εἰρημένα ἀγορεύοντα, ἐπαφῆκεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ καιρῷ. οὐ μὴν φθόνου γε ἤμαρτεν· ἦν γὰρ τις Χαιρεφῶν Ἀθήνησιν, οὐχ ὄν ἡ κωμωδία πύξινον ἐκάλει, ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ φροντισμάτων ἐνόσει τὸ αἷμα, ὄν δὲ νυνὶ λέγω, ὕβριν ἤσκει καὶ ἀναιδῶς ἐτώθαζεν. οὗτος ὁ Χαιρεφῶν τὴν σπουδὴν τοῦ Γοργίου διαμασῶμενος “διὰ τί” ἔφη “ὦ Γοργία, οἱ κύαμοι τὴν μὲν γαστέρα φυσῶσι, τὸ δὲ πῦρ οὐ φυσῶσιν;” ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν παραχθεις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐρωτήματος “τουτὶ μὲν” ἔφη “σοὶ καταλείπω σκοπεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκεῖνο πάλαι οἶδα, ὅτι ἡ γῆ τοὺς νάρθηκας ἐπὶ τοὺς τοιούτους φύει.”

Δεινότητά δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τοὺς σοφιστὰς ὀρώντες ἐξεῖργον αὐτοὺς τῶν δικαστηρίων, ὡς ἀδίκῳ λόγῳ τοῦ δικαίου κρατοῦντας καὶ ἰσχύοντας παρὰ τὸ εὐθύ, ὅθεν Αἰσχίνης καὶ Δημοσοθένης προὔφερον μὲν αὐτὸ ἀλλήλοις, οὐχ ὡς ὄνειδος δέ, ἀλλὰ ὡς διαβεβλημένον τοῖς δικάζουσιν, ἰδίᾳ

<sup>1</sup> Chaerephon was a favourite butt of Comedy and was thus nicknamed on account of his sallow complexion, as one should say “tallow-faced”; cf. Eupolis, *Kolakes*, fr. 165 Kock; scholiast on *Wasps* 1408 and on *Clouds* 496; Athenaeus iv. 164. He was also called the “bat.”

<sup>2</sup> There is a play on the verb, which means both “inflate” and “blow the bellows.” The same question is asked in Athenaeus 408; in both passages “fire” seems to mean “the intelligence” as opposed to material appetite. The comic poets satirized the sophists for investigating such questions.

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reputation at Thebes and a still greater at Sparta, as one who benefited the young by making this fable widely known. Thereupon Gorgias ridiculed Prodicus for handling a theme that was stale and hackneyed, and he abandoned himself to the inspiration of the moment. Yet he did not fail to arouse envy. There was at Athens a certain Chaerephon, not the one who used to be nicknamed "Boxwood" in Comedy,<sup>1</sup> because he suffered from anaemia due to hard study, but the one I now speak of had insolent manners and made scurrilous jokes; he rallied Gorgias for his ambitious efforts, and said: "Gorgias, why is it that beans blow out my stomach, but do not blow up the fire?"<sup>2</sup> But he was not at all disconcerted by the question and replied: "This I leave for you to investigate; but here is a fact which I have long known, that the earth grows canes<sup>3</sup> for such as you."

The Athenians when they observed the too great cleverness of the sophists, shut them out of the law-courts on the ground that they could defeat a just argument by an unjust, and that they used their power to warp men's judgement. That is the reason why Aeschines<sup>4</sup> and Demosthenes<sup>5</sup> branded each other with the title of sophist, not because it was a disgrace, but because the very word was suspect in the eyes of the jury; for in their career outside the courts they claimed consideration and applause on

<sup>1</sup> The jest lies in the ambiguity of the meaning and also the application here of this word, which is originally "hollow reed," such as that used by Prometheus to steal fire from heaven, but was also the regular word for a rod for chastisement; it has the latter meaning in the *Life of Apollonius* viii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. *Against Timarchus* 170.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. *On the Crown* 276.

γὰρ ἤξιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ θαυμάζεσθαι. καὶ Δημο-  
σθένης μὲν, εἰ πιστέα Αἰσχίνη, πρὸς τοὺς γνωρί-  
μους ἐκόμποζεν, ὡς τὴν τῶν δικαστῶν ψῆφον  
484 πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν ἑαυτῷ μεταγαγών, Αἰσχίνης δὲ  
οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ πρεσβεῦσαι παρὰ Ῥοδίοις, ἃ  
μήπω ἐγίγνωσκον, εἰ μὴ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν αὐτὰ  
ἔσπουδάκει.

Σοφιστὰς δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐπωνόμαζον οὐ μόνον  
τῶν ῥητόρων τοὺς ὑπερφωνοῦντάς τε καὶ λαμ-  
προύς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς ξὺν εἰροῖα  
ἐρμηνεύοντας, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀνάγκη προτέρων λέγειν,  
ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὄντες σοφισταί, δοκοῦντες δὲ παρ-  
ῆλθον ἐς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην.

α'. Εὐδοξος μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κνίδιος τοὺς ἐν Ἀκα-  
δημίᾳ λόγους ἰκανῶς ἐκφροντίσας ὁμῶς ἐνεγράφη  
τοῖς σοφισταῖς ἐπὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας καὶ  
τῷ σχεδιάζειν εὖ, καὶ ἤξιοῦτο τῆς τῶν σοφιστῶν  
ἐπωνυμίας καθ' Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ Προποντίδα  
κατὰ τε Μέμφω καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ Μέμφω Αἴγυπτον,  
ἣν Αἰθιοπία τε ὀρίζει καὶ τῶν ἐκείνη σοφῶν οἱ  
Γυμνοί.

485 β'. Λέων δὲ ὁ Βυζάντιος νέος μὲν ὧν ἐφοῖτα  
Πλάτωνι, ἐς δὲ ἄνδρας ἤκων σοφιστῆς προσερ-  
ρήθη πολυειδῶς ἔχων τοῦ λόγου καὶ πιθανῶς  
τῶν ἀποκρίσεων. Φιλίππῳ μὲν γὰρ στροτεύοντι  
ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου προαπαντήσας "εἶπέ μοι, ὦ  
Φίλιππε," ἔφη "τί παθῶν πολέμου ἄρχεις;"

<sup>1</sup> *Against Timarchus* 170.

<sup>2</sup> Aeschines founded a school of rhetoric at Rhodes.

<sup>3</sup> A full account of the Gymnosophists is given by Philo-  
stratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* vi. 5.



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the very ground that they were sophists. In fact, Demosthenes, if we may believe Aeschines,<sup>1</sup> used to boast to his friends that he had won over the votes of the jury to his own views; while Aeschines at Rhodes<sup>2</sup> would not, I think, have given the first place to a study of which the Rhodians knew nothing before his coming, unless he had already devoted serious attention to it at Athens.

The men of former days applied the name "sophist," not only to orators whose surpassing eloquence won them a brilliant reputation, but also to philosophers who expounded their theories with ease and fluency. Of these latter, then, I must speak first, because, though they were not actually sophists, they seemed to be so, and hence came to be so called.

1. EUDOXUS OF CNIDUS, though he devoted considerable study to the teachings of the Academy, was nevertheless placed on the list of sophists because his style was ornate and he improvised with success. He was honoured with the title of sophist in the Hellespont and the Propontis, at Memphis, and in Egypt beyond Memphis where it borders on Ethiopia and the region inhabited by those wise men who are called Naked Philosophers.<sup>3</sup>

2. LEON OF BYZANTIUM was in his youth a pupil of Plato, but when he reached man's estate he was called a sophist because he employed so many different styles of oratory, and also because his repartees were so convincing. For example, when Philip brought an army against Byzantium, Leon went out to meet him and said: "Tell me, Philip, what moved you to begin war on us?" And when

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τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος “ ἡ πατρίς ἢ σὴ καλλίστη πόλεων οὔσα ὑπηγάγετό με ἔραν αὐτῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ θύρας τῶν ἐμαντοῦ παιδικῶν ἦκω,” ὑπολαβῶν ὁ Λέων “ οὐ φοιτῶσιw ” ἔφη “ μετὰ ξιφῶν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν παιδικῶν θύρας οἱ ἄξιοι τοῦ ἀντεράσθαι, οὐ γὰρ πολεμικῶν ὀργάνων, ἀλλὰ μουσικῶν οἱ ἐρῶντες δέονται.” καὶ ἠλευθεροῦτο <sup>1</sup> Βυζάντιον Δημοσθένους μὲν πολλὰ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους εἰπόντος, Λέοντος δὲ ὀλίγα πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν <sup>2</sup> Φίλιππον. καὶ πρεσβεύων δὲ παρ’ Ἀθηναίους οὗτος ὁ Λέων, ἐστασίαζε μὲν πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ἢ πόλις καὶ παρὰ τὰ ἦθη ἐπολιτεύετο, παρελθὼν δ’ ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προσέβαλεν αὐτοῖς ἀθρόον γέλωτα ἐπὶ τῷ εἶδει, ἐπειδὴ πίων ἐφαίνετο καὶ περιττὸς τὴν γαστέρα, παραχθεῖς δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ γέλωτος “ τί,” ἔφη “ ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, γελᾶτε; ἢ ὅτι παχὺς ἐγὼ καὶ τοσοῦτος; ἔστι μοι καὶ γυνὴ πολλῶ παχυτέρα, καὶ ὁμονοοῦντας μὲν ἡμᾶς χωρεῖ ἢ κλίη, διαφορομένους δὲ οὐδὲ ἡ οἰκία,” καὶ ἐς εἶν ἦλθεν ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος ἀρμυοθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Λέοντος σοφῶς ἐπισχεδιάσαντος τῷ καιρῷ.

γ’. Δίας δὲ ὁ Ἐφέσιος τὸ μὲν πείσμα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίας ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας ἐβέβλητο, σοφιστῆς δὲ ἐνομίσθη διὰ τὸδε· τὸν Φίλιππον ὀρῶν χαλεπὸν ὄντα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν στρα-  
486 τεύειw ἔπεισε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας διεξῆλθε λέγων, ὡς δέον ἀκολουθεῖν στρατεύοντι, καλὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἠλευθέρου τὸ Kayser; ἠλευθεροῦτο Valckenaer.

<sup>2</sup> τὸν add. Kayser.

<sup>1</sup> cf. *Life of Apollonius* vii. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Diogenes Laertius iv. 37 tells the same story about Arcesilaus the head of the Academy. Athenaeus 550

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he replied: "Your birthplace, the fairest of cities, lured me on to love her, and that is why I have come to my charmer's door," Leon retorted: "They come not with swords to the beloved's door who are worthy of requited love. For lovers need not the instruments of war but of music."<sup>1</sup> And Byzantium was freed, after Demosthenes had delivered many speeches to the Athenians on her behalf, while Leon had said but these few words to Philip himself. When this Leon came on an embassy to Athens, the city had long been disturbed by factions and was being governed in defiance of established customs. When he came before the assembly he excited universal laughter, since he was fat and had a prominent paunch, but he was not at all embarrassed by the laughter. "Why," said he, "do ye laugh, Athenians? Is it because I am so stout and so big? I have a wife at home who is much stouter than I, and when we agree the bed is large enough for us both, but when we quarrel not even the house is large enough." Thereupon the citizens of Athens came to a friendly agreement, thus reconciled by Leon, who had so cleverly improvised to meet the occasion.<sup>2</sup>

3. DIAS OF EPHESUS made fast the cable<sup>3</sup> of his philosophy to the Academy, but he was held to be a sophist for the following reason. When he saw that Philip was treating the Greeks harshly, he persuaded him to lead an expedition against Asia, and went to and fro telling the Greeks that they ought to accompany Philip on his expedition, since it was no

says that Leon told this anecdote not about himself but Python.

<sup>3</sup> For this figure cf. *Life of Apollonius* vi. 12.

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γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἕξω δουλεύειν ἐπὶ τῷ οἴκῳ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι.

δ'. Καὶ Καρνεάδης δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν σοφισταῖς ἐγράφετο, φιλοσόφως μὲν γὰρ κατεσκευάστο τὴν γνώμην, τὴν δὲ ἰσχὺν τῶν λόγων ἐς τὴν ἄγαν ἤλαυνε δεινότητα.

ε'. Οἶδα καὶ Φιλόστρατον τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Κλεοπάτρα μὲν συμφιλοσοφούντα τῇ βασιλίδι, σοφιστὴν δὲ προσηθέντα, ἐπειδὴ λόγου ἰδέαν πανηγυρικὴν ἤρμοστο καὶ ποικίλην, γυναικί ξυνών, ἣ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ φιλολογεῖν τρυφὴν εἶχεν, ὅθεν καὶ παρῶδουν τινὲς ἐπ' αὐτῷ τόδε τὸ ἐλεγείον·

πανσόφου ὄργην ἴσχε Φιλοστράτου, ὃς Κλεοπάτρα  
νῦν προσομιλήσας τοίος ἰδεῖν ἐφάνη.<sup>1</sup>

ς'. Καὶ Θεόμνηστον δὲ τὸν Ναυκρατίτην ἐπιδήλως φιλοσοφήσαντα ἢ περιβολὴ τῶν λόγων ἐς τοὺς σοφιστὰς ἀπήνεγκεν.

ζ'. Δίωνα δὲ τὸν Προυσαῖον οὐκ οἶδ' ὃ τι χρὴ προσειπεῖν διὰ τὴν ἐς πάντα ἀρετὴν, Ἀμαλθείας 487 γὰρ κέρας ἦν, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, ξυγκείμενος μὲν τῶν ἄριστα εἰρημένων τοῦ ἀρίστου, βλέπων δὲ πρὸς τὴν Δημοσθένους ἡχῶ καὶ Πλάτωνος, ἣ, καθάπερ αἱ μαγάδες τοῖς ὄργανοις, προσηχεῖ ὁ Δίων τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἴδιον ξὺν ἀφελείᾳ ἐπεστραμμένη. ἀρί-

<sup>1</sup> πέφαται Kayser; ἐφάνη Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> The original of this parody is Theognis 215 where he advises men to be as adaptable as the polypus which takes on the colour of its rock. It became a proverb: Athenaeus 317; Julian, *Misopogon* 349 n.

<sup>2</sup> We know nothing of Theomnestus, unless he be the Academician mentioned by Plutarch, *Brutus* 24, as a teacher at Athens.

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dishonour to endure slavery abroad in order to secure freedom at home.

4. CARNEADES OF ATHENS was also enrolled among the sophists, for though his mind had been equipped for the pursuit of philosophy, yet in virtue of the force and vigour of his orations he attained to an extraordinarily high level of eloquence.

5. I am aware that PHILOSTRATUS THE EGYPTIAN also, though he studied philosophy with Queen Cleopatra, was called a sophist. This was because he adopted the panegyric and highly-coloured type of eloquence; which came of associating with a woman who regarded even the love of letters as a sensuous pleasure. Hence the following elegiac couplet was composed as a parody aimed at him:

Acquire the temperament of that very wise man, Philostratus, who, fresh from his intimacy with Cleopatra, has taken on colours like hers.<sup>1</sup>

6. THEOMNESTUS<sup>2</sup> OF NAOCRATIS was by profession a philosopher, but the elaborate and rhetorical style of his speeches caused him to be classed with the sophists.

7. As for DIO OF PRUSA, I do not know what one ought to call him, such was his excellence in all departments; for, as the proverb says, he was a "horn of Amalthea,"<sup>3</sup> since in him is compounded the noblest of all that has been most nobly expressed. His style has the ring of Demosthenes and Plato, but Dio has besides a peculiar resonance of his own, which enhances theirs as the bridge enhances the tone of musical instruments; and it was combined with a serious and direct simplicity of expression.

<sup>3</sup> The horn of plenty, or cornucopia, was said to have belonged to a goat named Amalthea which suckled the infant Zeus.

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στη δὲ ἐν τοῖς Δίωνος λόγοις καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἦθους κρᾶσις· ὑβρίζουσαι τε γὰρ πόλεσι πλείστα ἐπιπλήξας οὐ φιλολοῖδορος οὐδὲ ἀηδῆς ἔδοξεν, ἀλλ' οἷον ἵππων ὑβριν χαλινῶ καταρτύων μᾶλλον ἢ μάστιγι, πόλεων τε εὐνομουμένων ἐς ἐπαίνους καταστάς οὐκ ἐπαίρειν αὐτὰς ἔδοξεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιστρέφειν μᾶλλον ὡς ἀπολουμένας, εἰ μεταβαλοῖντο.<sup>1</sup> ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἄλλης φιλοσοφίας ἦθος οὐ κοινὸν οὐδὲ εἰρωνικόν, ἀλλὰ ἐμβριθῶς μὲν ἐγκείμενον, κεχρωσμένον δέ, οἷον ἠδύσματι, τῇ πραότητι. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἱστορίαν ἱκανὸς ἦν ξυγγράφειν, δηλοῖ τὰ Γετικά, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐς Γέτας ἦλθεν, ὁπότε ἠλάτο. τὸν δὲ Εὐβοέα καὶ τὸν τοῦ ψιττακοῦ ἔπαινον καὶ ὅποσα οὐχ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων ἐσπούδασται τῷ Δίῳ, μὴ μικρὰ ἠγάμεθα, ἀλλὰ σοφιστικά, σοφιστοῦ γὰρ τὸ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοιούτων σπουδάζειν.

488 Γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς Ἀπολλώνιος τε ὁ Τυανεὺς καὶ Εὐφράτης ὁ Τύριος ἐφιλοσόφουν, ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιτηδείως εἶχε καίτοι διαφερομένοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔξω τοῦ φιλοσοφίας ἦθους. τὴν δὲ ἐς τὰ Γετικά ἔθνη πάροδον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φυγὴν μὲν οὐκ ἀξιῶ ὀνομάζειν, ἐπεὶ μὴ προσετάχθη αὐτῷ φυγεῖν, οὐδὲ ἀποδημίαν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἐξέστη κλέπτων ἑαυτὸν ὀφθαλμῶν

<sup>1</sup> μεταβάλουντο Kayser; μεταβαλοῖντο Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> This work is lost.

<sup>2</sup> This charming idyl of pastoral life in Euboea as witnessed by a shipwrecked traveller is included with the *Orations* of Dio Chrysostom, the "Golden-mouthed" as he is usually called.

<sup>3</sup> See *Life of Apollonius* v. 33 and 37. The quarrel was

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Again, in Dio's orations the elements of his own noble character were admirably displayed. For though he very often rebuked licentious cities, he did not show himself acrimonious or ungracious, but like one who restrains an unruly horse with the bridle rather than the whip; and when he set out to praise cities that were well governed, he did not seem to extol them, but rather to guide their attention to the fact that they would be ruined if they should change their ways. In other connexions also the temper of his philosophy was never vulgar or ironical; and though his attacks were made with a heavy hand, they were tempered and as it were seasoned with benevolence. That he had also a talent for writing history is proved by his treatise *On the Getae*<sup>1</sup>; he did in fact travel as far as the Getae during his wandering as an exile. As for his *Tale of Euboea*,<sup>2</sup> the *Encomium of a Parrot*, and all those writings in which he handled themes of no great importance, we must not regard them as mere trifles, but rather as sophistic compositions; for it is characteristic of a sophist to devote serious study to themes even so slight as these.

He lived at a time when Apollonius of Tyana and Euphrates<sup>3</sup> of Tyre were teaching their philosophy, and he was intimate with both men, though in their quarrel with one another they went to extremes that are alien to the philosophic temper. His visit to the Getic tribes I cannot rightly call exile, since he had not been ordered to go into exile, yet it was not merely a traveller's tour, for he vanished from men's sight, hiding himself from their eyes and ears, and

kept up in the *Letters of Apollonius*. Euphrates is praised by Pliny, *Epistles* i. 10.

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τε καὶ ὤτων καὶ ἄλλα ἐν ἄλλῃ γῆ πράττων δέει τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τυραννίδων, ὑφ' ὧν ἠλαίνετο φιλοσοφία πᾶσα. φυτεύων δὲ καὶ σκάπτων καὶ ἐπαντλῶν βαλανείοις τε καὶ κήποις καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ τροφῆς ἐργαζόμενος οὐδὲ τοῦ σπουδάζειν ἡμέλει, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ<sup>1</sup> δυοῖν βιβλίου ἑαυτὸν ξυνεῖχεν· ταυτὶ δὲ ἦν ὁ τε Φαίδων ὁ τοῦ Πλάτωνος καὶ Δημοσθένους ὁ κατὰ τῆς πρεσβείας. θαμίζων δὲ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα, ἐν οἷσπερ εἰώθει τρῦχεσι,<sup>2</sup> καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁρῶν ἐς νεώτερα ὀρμώντας ἐπὶ Δομετιανῷ ἀπεσφαγμένῳ οὐκ ἐφέισατο ἀταξίαν ἰδὼν ἐκραγεῖσαν, ἀλλὰ γυμνὸς ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ βωμὸν ὑψηλὸν ἤρξατο τοῦ λόγου ὧδε· “ αὐτὰρ ὁ γυμνώθη ρακέων πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς,” καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα καὶ δηλώσας ἑαυτὸν, ὅτι μὴ πτωχός, μηδὲ ὄν ψοντο, Δίῳ δὲ εἶη ὁ σοφός, ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν κατηγορίαν τοῦ τυράννου πολὺς ἔπνευσεν, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἐδίδαξεν ἄμεινον.<sup>3</sup> φρονεῖν τὰ δοκοῦντα Ῥωμαίοις πράττοντας. καὶ γὰρ ἡ πειθὴ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οἷα καταθέλξει καὶ τοὺς μὴ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἀκριβοῦντας· Τραιανὸς γοῦν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἀναθέμενος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐς τὴν χρυσὴν ἄμαξαν, ἐφ' ἧς οἱ βασιλεῖς τὰς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων πομπὰς πομπεύουσιν, ἔλεγε θαμὰ ἐπιστρεφόμενος ἐς τὸν Δίωνα “ τί μὲν λέγεις, οὐκ οἶδα, φιλῶ δέ σε ὡς ἑμαυτόν.”

<sup>1</sup> Cobet would read ἐπι.

<sup>2</sup> τρῦχεσθαι Kayser; τρῦχεσι Cobet.

<sup>3</sup> ἀμείνω Kayser; ἀμεινον Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> Rome.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Apollonius* vii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Suetonius, *Domitian* 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Odyssey* xxii. 1.

<sup>5</sup> This incident is improbable and is not elsewhere



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occupying himself in various ways in various lands, through fear of the tyrants in the capital<sup>1</sup> at whose hands all philosophy was suffering persecution.<sup>2</sup> But while he planted and dug, drew water for baths and gardens, and performed many such menial tasks for a living, he did not neglect the study of letters, but sustained himself with two books; these were the *Phaedo* of Plato, and Demosthenes *On the False Embassy*. He often visited the military camps in the rags he was wont to wear, and after the assassination of Domitian, when he saw that the troops were beginning to mutiny,<sup>3</sup> he could not contain himself at the sight of the disorder that had broken out, but stripped off his rags, leaped on to a high altar, and began his harangue with the verse :

Then Odysseus of many counsels stripped him of his rags,<sup>4</sup> and having said this and thus revealed that he was no beggar, nor what they believed him to be, but Dio the sage, he delivered a spirited and energetic indictment of the tyrant; and he convinced the soldiers that they would be wiser if they acted in accordance with the will of the Roman people. And indeed the persuasive charm of the man was such as to captivate even men who were not versed in Greek letters. An instance of this is that the Emperor Trajan in Rome set him by his side on the golden chariot in which the Emperors ride in procession when they celebrate their triumphs in war, and often he would turn to Dio and say: "I do not understand what you are saying, but I love you as I love myself."<sup>5</sup> recorded. That Trajan understood Greek is probable from Cassius Dio lxxiii. 8, where Nerva in a letter exhorts him with a quotation from Homer; cf. also Cassius Dio lxxiii. 7, and Pliny's *Panegyric* xlvii. 1.

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Σοφιστικώταται δὲ τοῦ Δίωνος αἱ τῶν λόγων εἰκόνες, ἐν αἷς εἰ καὶ πολὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναργῆς καὶ τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ὁμοῖος.

489 ἡ'. Ὁμοίως καὶ Φαβωρίνον τὸν φιλόσοφον ἢ εὐγλωττία ἐν σοφισταῖς ἐκήρυττεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐσπερίων Γαλατῶν οὗτος, Ἀρελάτου πόλεως, ἢ ἐπὶ Ῥοδανῶ<sup>1</sup> ποταμῶ ᾧκισται, διφυῆς δὲ ἐτέχθη καὶ ἀνδρόθηλος, καὶ τοῦτο ἐδηλοῦτο μὲν καὶ παρὰ τοῦ εἴδους, ἀγενεῖως γὰρ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ γηράσκων εἶχεν, ἐδηλοῦτο δὲ καὶ τῷ φθέγματι, ὄξυηχὲς γὰρ ἤκούετο καὶ λεπτὸν καὶ ἐπίτονον, ὡσπερ ἢ φύσις τοὺς εὐνούχους ἤρμοκεν. θερμὸς δὲ οὕτω τις ἦν τὰ ἐρωτικά, ὡς καὶ μοιχοῦ λαβεῖν αἰτίαν ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ὑπάτου. διαφορᾶς δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀδριανὸν βασιλέα γενομένης οὐδὲν ἔπαθεν. ὅθεν ὡς παράδοξα ἐπεχρησμάδει τῷ ἑαυτοῦ βίῳ τρία ταῦτα· Γαλάτης ὢν ἐλληνίζειν, εὐνούχος ὢν μοιχείας κρίνεσθαι, βασιλεῖ διαφέρεσθαι καὶ ζῆν. τουτὶ δὲ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔπαινος εἶη ἂν μᾶλλον, εἰ βασιλεὺς ὢν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου διεφέρετο πρὸς ὃν ἐξῆν ἀποκτεῖναι. βασιλεὺς δὲ κρείττων,

“ ὅτε χώσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρην,”

ἦν ὀργῆς κρατῆ, καὶ

“ θυμὸς δὲ μέγας ἐστὶ διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων,”

ἦν λογισμῶ κολάζηται. βέλτιον δὲ ταῦτα ταῖς

<sup>1</sup> Ἡριδανῶ Kayser ; Ῥοδανῶ Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> Arles.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* i. 80. Philostratus interprets κρείσσων as “morally superior” whereas in the original it simply means “stronger.”

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The images employed by Dio in his orations are entirely in the sophistic manner, but though he abounds in them his style is nevertheless clear and in keeping with the matter in hand.

8. FAVORINUS the philosopher, no less than Dio, was proclaimed a sophist by the charm and beauty of his eloquence. He came from Western Gaul, from the city of Arelatum<sup>1</sup> which is situated on the river Rhone. He was born double-sexed, a hermaphrodite, and this was plainly shown in his appearance; for even when he grew old he had no beard; it was evident too from his voice which sounded thin, shrill, and high-pitched, with the modulations that nature bestows on eunuchs also. Yet he was so ardent in love that he was actually charged with adultery by a man of consular rank. Though he quarrelled with the Emperor Hadrian, he suffered no ill consequences. Hence he used to say in the ambiguous style of an oracle, that there were in the story of his life these three paradoxes: Though he was a Gaul he led the life of a Hellene; a eunuch, he had been tried for adultery; he had quarrelled with an Emperor and was still alive. But this must rather he set down to the credit of Hadrian, seeing that, though he was Emperor, he disagreed on terms of equality with one whom it was in his power to put to death. For a prince is really superior if he controls his anger

When he is wrath with a lesser man,<sup>2</sup>

and

Mighty is the anger of Zeus-nurtured kings,

if only it he kept in check by reason. Those who

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τῶν ποιητῶν δόξαις προσγράφειν τοὺς εὖ τιθε-  
 μένους τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἦθη.

490 Ἄρχιερεὺς δὲ ἀναρρηθεὶς ἐς τὰ οἴκοι πάτρια  
 ἐφῆκε μὲν κατὰ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων νόμους,  
 ὡς ἀφειμένος τοῦ λειτουργεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ἐφιλοσόφει,  
 τὸν δὲ αὐτοκράτορα ὄρων ἐναντίαν ἑαυτῷ θέσθαι  
 διανοούμενον, ὡς μὴ φιλοσοφοῦντι, ὑπετέμετο  
 αὐτὸν ὧδε· “ἐνύπνιόν μοι,” ἔφη “ὦ βασιλεῦ,  
 γέγονεν, ὃ καὶ πρὸς σέ χρὴ εἰρησθαι· ἐπιστὰς  
 γάρ μοι Δίων ὁ διδάσκαλος ἐνουθέτει με ὑπὲρ  
 τῆς δίκης λέγων, ὅτι μὴ ἑαυτοῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 ταῖς πατρίσι γεγόναμεν· ὑποδέχομαι δῆ, ὦ βασι-  
 λεῦ, τὴν λειτουργίαν καὶ τῷ διδασκάλῳ πείθομαι.”  
 ταῦτα ὁ μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ διατριβὴν ἐπεποίητο,  
 καὶ διῆγε τὰς βασιλείους φροντίδας ἀπονεύων ἐς  
 σοφιστὰς τε καὶ φιλοσόφους, Ἀθηναίους δὲ δεινὰ  
 ἐφαίνετο καὶ συνδραμόντες αὐτοὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἐν  
 τέλει Ἀθηναῖοι χαλκῆν εἰκόνα κατέβαλον τοῦ  
 ἀνδρὸς ὡς πολεμιωτάτου τῷ αὐτοκράτορι· ὁ δέ,  
 ὡς ἤκουσεν, οὐδὲν σχετλιάσας οὐδὲ ἀγρίαναις  
 ὑπὲρ ὧν ὕβριστο “ὦνητ’ ἄν” ἔφη “καὶ Σωκρά-  
 τῆς εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων ἀφαιρεθεὶς  
 μᾶλλον ἢ πίων κώνειον.”

Ἐπιτηδειότατος μὲν οὖν Ἡρώδη τῷ σοφιστῇ  
 ἐγένετο διδάσκαλόν τε ἡγουμένῳ καὶ πατέρα καὶ  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν γράφοντι “πότε σε ἴδω καὶ πότε σου  
 περιλείξω τὸ στόμα;” ὅθεν καὶ τελευτῶν κληρο-

<sup>1</sup> The high priest was president of the public games in the cities of his district and provided them at his own expense as a “liturgy.”

<sup>2</sup> An echo of Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 205, and perhaps also of Plato, *Crito* 50.

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endeavour to guide and amend the morals of princes would do well to add this saying to the sentiments expressed by the poets.

He was appointed high priest,<sup>1</sup> whereupon he appealed to the established usage of his birthplace, pleading that, according to the laws on such matters, he was exempt from public services because he was a philosopher. But when he saw that the Emperor intended to vote against him on the ground that he was not a philosopher, he forestalled him in the following way. "O Emperor," he cried, "I have had a dream of which you ought to be informed. My teacher Dio appeared to me, and with respect to this suit admonished and reminded me that we come into the world not for ourselves alone, but also for the country of our birth.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, O Emperor, I obey my teacher, and I undertake this public service." Now the Emperor had acted thus merely for his own diversion, for by turning his mind to philosophers and sophists he used to lighten the responsibilities of Empire. The Athenians however took the affair seriously, and, especially the Athenian magistrates themselves, hastened in a body to throw down the bronze statue of Favorinus as though he were the Emperor's bitterest enemy. Yet on hearing of it Favorinus showed no resentment or anger at the insult, but observed: "Socrates himself would have been the gainer, if the Athenians had merely deprived him of a bronze statue, instead of making him drink hemlock."

He was very intimate with Herodes the sophist who regarded him as his teacher and father, and wrote to him: "When shall I see you, and when shall I lick the honey from your lips?"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An echo of Aristophanes *frag.* 231 preserved in Dio Chrysostom, *Oration 52* Arnim.

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νόμον Ἡρώδην ἀπέφηνε τῶν τε βιβλίων, ὅποσα ἐκέκτητο, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ οἰκίας καὶ τοῦ Αὐτοληκύθου. ἦν δὲ οὗτος Ἰνδὸς μὲν καὶ ἰκανῶς μέλας, ἄθυρμα δὲ Ἡρώδου τε καὶ Φαβωρίνου, ξυμπίνοντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς διῆγεν ἐγκαταμιγνὺς Ἰνδικοῖς Ἀττικὰ καὶ πεπλανημένη τῇ γλώττῃ βαρβαρίζων.

Ἡ δὲ γενομένη πρὸς τὸν Πολέμωνα τῷ Φαβωρίνῳ διαφορὰ ἤρξατο μὲν ἐν Ἰωνία προσθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν Ἐφεσίων, ἐπεὶ τὸν Πολέμωνα ἢ Σμύρνα ἐθαύμαζεν, ἐπέδωκε δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ὑπατοὶ γὰρ καὶ παῖδες ὑπάτων οἱ μὲν τὸν ἐπαινοῦντες, οἱ δὲ τόν, ἤρξαν αὐτοῖς φιλοτιμίας, ἢ πολὺν ἐκκαλεῖ φθόνον καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν. συγγνωστοὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς φιλοτιμίας, τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύ-  
 491 σεως τὸ φιλότιμον ἀγήρων ἡγουμένης,<sup>1</sup> μεμπτέοι δὲ τῶν λόγων, οὓς ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ξυνέθεσαν, ἀσελγῆς γὰρ λαιδορία, κἂν ἀληθῆς τύχη, οὐκ ἀφήσιν αἰσχύνῃς οὐδὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ τοιούτων εἰπόντα. τοῖς μὲν οὖν σοφιστῆν τὸν Φαβωρίνον καλοῦσιν ἀπέχρη ἐς ἀπόδειξιν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ διενεχθῆναι αὐτὸν σοφιστῆν, τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον, οὐ ἐμνήσθη, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιτέχνους φοιτᾷ.

Ἡρμοσται δὲ τὴν γλώτταν ἀνειμένως μὲν, σοφῶς δὲ καὶ ποτίμως. ἐλέγετο δὲ σὺν εὐροία σχεδιάσαι. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς Πρόξενον μῆτ' ἂν ἐνθυ-

<sup>1</sup> Cobet suggests *κεκτημένης* to improve the sense.

<sup>1</sup> The name means "he who carries his own oil-flask" which was the mark of a slave. It was a mannerism of the Atticists to use words compounded with "auto," cf. Lucian, *Lexiphanes* ii. 9; in the latter passage the word occurs which is here used as a proper name. In the *Life of*  
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ingly at his death he bequeathed to Herodes all the books that he had collected, his house in Rome, and Autolecythus.<sup>1</sup> This was an Indian, entirely black, a pet of Herodes and Favorinus, for as they drank their wine together he used to divert them by sprinkling his Indian dialect with Attic words and by speaking barbarous Greek with a tongue that stammered and faltered.

The quarrel that arose between Polemo and Favorinus began in Ionia, where the Ephesians favoured Favorinus, while Smyrna admired Polemo; and it became more bitter in Rome; for there consuls and sons of consuls by applauding either one or the other started between them a rivalry such as kindles the keenest envy and malice even in the hearts of wise men. However they may be forgiven for that rivalry, since human nature holds that the love of glory never grows old;<sup>2</sup> but they are to be blamed for the speeches that they composed assailing one another; for personal abuse is brutal, and even if it be true, that does not acquit of disgrace even the man who speaks about such things. And so when people called Favorinus a sophist, the mere fact that he had quarrelled with a sophist was evidence enough; for that spirit of rivalry of which I spoke is always directed against one's competitors in the same craft.<sup>3</sup>

His style of eloquence was careless in construction, but it was both learned and pleasing. It is said that he improvised with ease and fluency. As for the speeches against Proxenus, we must conclude that

*Apollonius* iii. 11 this slave is referred to as Meno and is called an Ethiopian.

<sup>2</sup> An echo of Thuc. ii. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod, *Works and Days* 25.

μηθῆναι τὸν Φαβωρίνον ἠγάμεθα μήτ' ἂν ξυνθεῖναι, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτὰ μειρακίου φρόντισμα μεθύοντος, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐμοῦντος, τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄνωρῳ καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν μονομάχων καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν βαλανείων γνησίους τε ἀποφαινόμεθα καὶ εὖ ξυγκειμένους, καὶ πολλῶ μᾶλλον τοὺς φιλοσοφουμένους αὐτῷ τῶν λόγων, ὧν ἄριστοι οἱ Πυρρώνειοι· τοὺς γὰρ Πυρρωνείους ἐφεκτικούς ὄντας οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ τὸ δικάζειν δύνασθαι.

Διαλεγόμενου δὲ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην μεστὰ ἦν σπουδῆς πάντα, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὅσοι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς φωνῆς ἀξύνετοι ἦσαν, οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀφ' ἡδονῆς ἢ ἀκρόασις ἦν, ἀλλὰ κακείνους ἔθελγε τῇ τε ἡχῇ τοῦ φθέγματος καὶ τῷ σημαίνοντι τοῦ βλέμματος καὶ τῷ  
 492 ῥυθμῷ τῆς γλώττης· ἔθελγε δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, ὃ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὠδὴν ἐκάλοιν, ἐγὼ δὲ φιλοτιμίαν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἀποδεδειγμένοις ἐφυμνεῖται. Δίωνος μὲν οὖν ἀκούσαι λέγεται, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀφέστηκεν, ὅσον οἱ μὴ ἀκούσαντες.

Τοσαῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων ἐν δόξῃ τοῦ σοφιστεῦσαι. οἱ δὲ κυρίως προσρηθέντες σοφισταὶ ἐγένοντο οἷδε·

θ'. Σικελία Γοργίαν ἐν Λεοντίνοις ἤνεγκεν, ἐς ὃν ἀναφέρειν ἠγάμεθα τὴν τῶν σοφιστῶν τέχνην, ὡσπερ ἐς πατέρα· εἰ γὰρ τὸν Αἰσχύλον ἐνθυμηθείημεν, ὡς πολλὰ τῇ τραγωδίᾳ ξυμβάλετο ἐσθῆτί τε αὐτὴν κατασκευάσας καὶ ὀκρίβαντι ὑψηλῶ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> cf. the saying of Aristeides below, p. 583.

<sup>2</sup> This work was called *On the Tropes of Pyrrho*.

<sup>3</sup> On this sophistic mannerism see below, p. 513. Dio, *Oratation* xxxii. 68, ridicules this habit of singing instead of speaking, which, he says, has invaded even the law courts; cf. Cicero, *Orator* 18.



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Favorinus would neither have conceived nor composed them, but that they are the work of an immature youth who was intoxicated at the time, or rather he vomited them.<sup>1</sup> But the speeches *On One Untimely Dead*, and *For the Gladiators*, and *For the Baths*, I judge to be genuine and well written; and this is far more true of his dissertations on philosophy, of which the best are those on the doctrines of Pyrrho<sup>2</sup>; for he concedes to the followers of Pyrrho the ability to make a legal decision, though in other matters they suspend their judgement.

When he delivered discourses in Rome, the interest in them was universal, so much so that even those in his audience who did not understand the Greek language shared in the pleasure that he gave; for he fascinated even them by the tones of his voice, by his expressive glance and the rhythm of his speech. They were also enchanted by the epilogue of his orations, which they called "The Ode,"<sup>3</sup> though I call it mere affectation, since it is arbitrarily added at the close of an argument that has been logically proved. He is said to have been a pupil of Dio, but he is as different from Dio as any who never were his pupils. This is all I have to say about the men who, though they pursued philosophy, had the reputation of sophists. But those who were correctly styled sophists were the following.

9. Sicily produced GORGIAS OF LEONTINI, and we must consider that the art of the sophists carries back to him as though he were its father. For if we reflect how many additions Aeschylus made to tragedy when he furnished her with her proper costume and the buskin that gave the actor's height, with the types

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ἠρώων εἶδεσιν ἀγγέλοις τε καὶ ἐξαγγέλοις καὶ οἷς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τε καὶ ὑπὸ σκηνῆς χρή πράττειν, τοῦτο ἂν εἴη καὶ ὁ Γοργίας τοῖς ὁμοτέχνουσι. ὄρμητις τε γὰρ τοῖς σοφισταῖς ἤρξε καὶ παραδοξολογίας καὶ πνεύματος καὶ τοῦ τὰ μεγάλα μεγάλως ἐρμηνεύειν, ἀποστάσεων τε καὶ προσβολῶν, ὑφ' ὧν ὁ λόγος ἡδίων ἑαυτοῦ γίνεται καὶ σοβαρώτερος, περιβάλλετο δὲ καὶ ποιητικὰ ὀνόματα ὑπὲρ κόσμου καὶ σεμνότητος. ὡς μὲν οὖν καὶ ῥᾶστα ἀπεσχεδίαζεν, εἴρηται μοι κατὰ ἀρχὰς τοῦ λόγου, διαλεχθεῖς δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἤδη γηράσκων εἰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐθαυμάσθη, οὐπω θαῦμα, ὁ δέ, οἶμαι, καὶ τοὺς ἐλλογιμωτάτους ἀνηρτήσατο, Κριτίαν μὲν καὶ 493 Ἀλκιβιάδην νέω ὄντε, Θουκυδίδην δὲ καὶ Περικλέα ἤδη γηράσκοντε. καὶ Ἀγάθων δὲ ὁ τῆς τραγωδίας ποιητής, ὃν ἡ κωμωδία σοφόν τε καὶ καλλιπεπῆ οἶδε, πολλαχού τῶν ἰάμβων γοργιάζει.

Ἐμπρέπων δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πανηγύρεσι τὸν μὲν λόγον τὸν Πυθικὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἤχησεν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ χρυσοῦς ἀνετέθη, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Πυθίου ἱερῷ, ὁ δὲ Ὀλυμπικὸς λόγος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγίστου αὐτῷ ἐπολιτεύθη. στασιάζουσαν γὰρ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὁρῶν ὁμονομίας ξύμβουλος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο τρέπων ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ πείθων ἄθλα ποιει-

<sup>1</sup> For this term see Glossary.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 482.

<sup>3</sup> This is one of the most obvious errors of Philostratus. Pericles had been dead for two years when Gorgias came to Athens.

<sup>4</sup> Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusas* 49. Plato, *Symposium* 195 foll., with satirical intention makes Agathon speak in the style of Gorgias.

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of heroes, with messengers who tell what has happened at home and abroad, and with the conventions as to what must be done both before and behind the scenes, then we find that this is what Gorgias in his turn did for his fellow-craftsmen. For he set an example to the sophists with his virile and energetic style, his daring and unusual expressions, his inspired impressiveness, and his use of the grand style for great themes; and also with his habit of breaking off his clauses and making sudden transitions,<sup>1</sup> by which devices a speech gains in sweetness and sublimity; and he also clothed his style with poetic words for the sake of ornament and dignity. That he also improvised with the greatest facility I have stated at the beginning of my narrative;<sup>2</sup> and when, already advanced in years, he delivered discourses at Athens, there is nothing surprising in the fact that he won applause from the crowd; but he also, as is well known, enthralled the most illustrious men, not only Critias and Alcibiades, who were both young men, but also Thucydides and Pericles<sup>3</sup> who were by that time well on in years. Agathon also, the tragic poet, whom Comedy calls a clever poet and "lovely in his speech,"<sup>4</sup> often imitates Gorgias in his iambics.

Moreover, he played a distinguished part at the religious festivals of the Greeks, and declaimed his *Pythian Oration* from the altar; and for this his statue was dedicated in gold and was set up in the temple of the Pythian god. His *Olympian Oration* dealt with a theme of the highest importance to the state. For, seeing that Greece was divided against itself, he came forward as the advocate of reconciliation, and tried to turn their energies against the barbarians

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σθαι τῶν ὄπλων μὴ τὰς ἀλλήλων πόλεις, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων χώραν. ὁ δὲ ἐπιτάφιος, ὃν διήλθεν Ἀθήνησιν, εἴρηται μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων, οὓς Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίᾳ ξὺν ἐπαίνοις ἔθαψαν, σοφία δὲ ὑπερβαλλούσῃ ξύγκειται· παροξύνων τε γὰρ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Πέρσας καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν νοῦν τῷ Ὀλυμπικῷ ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας μὲν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας οὐδὲν διήλθεν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἦν ἀρχῆς ἐρώντας, ἦν οὐκ ἦν κτήσασθαι μὴ τὸ δραστήριον αἴρουμένους, ἐνδιέτριψε δὲ τοῖς τῶν Μηδικῶν τροπαίων ἐπαίνοις, 494 ἐνδεικνύμενος αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τὰ μὲν κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων τρόπαια ὕμνους ἀπαιτεῖ, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θρήνους.

Λέγεται δὲ ὁ Γοργίας ἐς ὀκτῶ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐλάσας ἔτη μὴ καταλυθῆναι τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρωσ, ἀλλ' ἄρτιος καταβιῶναι καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἡβῶν.

ἰ'. Πρωταγόρας δὲ ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης σοφιστῆς Δημοκρίτου μὲν ἀκροατῆς οἴκοι ἐγένετο, ὠμίλησε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ Περσῶν μάγοις κατὰ τὴν Ξέρξου ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔλασιν. πατὴρ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ Μαϊάνδρος πλούτῳ κατεσκευασμένος παρὰ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ, δεξάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Ξέρξην οἰκία τε καὶ δώροις τὴν ξυνουσίαν τῶν μάγων τῷ παιδί παρ' αὐτοῦ εὔρετο. οὐ γὰρ παιδεύουσι τοὺς μὴ Πέρσας Πέρσαι μάγοι, ἦν μὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφῆ. τὸ δὲ ἀπορεῖν φάσκειν, εἴτε εἰσὶ θεοί, εἴτε οὐκ εἰσὶ, δοκεῖ

<sup>1</sup> cf. Isocrates, *Panegyric* 42.

<sup>2</sup> This is a lapse of memory on the part of Philostratus. Diogenes Laertius tells this story of Democritus, not of Protagoras. For the father of Democritus as the host of Xerxes cf. Valerius Maximus viii. 7.

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and to persuade them not to regard one another's cities as the prize to be won by their arms, but rather the land of the barbarians.<sup>1</sup> The *Funeral Oration*, which he delivered at Athens, was spoken in honour of those who had fallen in the wars, to whom the Athenians awarded public funerals and panegyrics, and it is composed with extraordinary cleverness. For though he incited the Athenians against the Medes and Persians, and was arguing with the same purpose as in the *Olympian Oration*, he said nothing about a friendly agreement with the rest of the Greeks, for this reason, that it was addressed to Athenians who had a passion for empire, and that could not be attained except by adopting a drastic line of policy. But he dwelt openly on their victories over the Medes and praised them for these, making it evident to them the while that victories over barbarians call for hymns of praise, but victories over Greeks for dirges.

It is said that though Gorgias attained to the age of 108, his body was not weakened by old age, but to the end of his life he was in sound condition, and his senses were the senses of a young man.

10. PROTAGORAS OF ABDERA, the sophist, was a pupil of Democritus in the city of his birth, and he also associated with the Persian magi<sup>2</sup> when Xerxes led his expedition against Greece. For his father was Maeander, who had amassed wealth beyond most men in Thrace; he even entertained Xerxes in his house, and, by giving him presents, obtained his permission for his son to study with the magi. For the Persian magi do not educate those that are not Persians, except by command of the Great King. And when he says that he has no knowledge whether

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μοι Πρωταγόρας ἐκ τῆς Περσικῆς παιδεύσεως παρανομήσαι· μάγοι γὰρ ἐπιθειάζουσι μὲν οἷς ἀφανῶς δρῶσι, τὴν δὲ ἐκ φανεροῦ δόξαν τοῦ θείου καταλούσιν οὐ βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ δύνασθαι. διὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πάσης γῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἠλάθη, ὡς μὲν τινες, κριθεῖς, ὡς δὲ ἐνίοις δοκεῖ, ψήφου ἐπενεχθείσης μὴ κριθέντι. νήσους δὲ ἐξ ἠπείρων ἀμείβων καὶ τὰς Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις φυλαττόμενος πάσαις θαλάτταις ἐνεσπαρμένας κατέδου πλέων ἐν ἀκατίῳ μικρῷ.

Τὸ δὲ μισθοῦ διαλέγεσθαι πρῶτος εὔρε, πρῶτος δὲ παρέδωκεν Ἑλλησι πρᾶγμα οὐ μεμπτόν, ἃ γὰρ σὺν δαπάνῃ σπουδάζομεν, μᾶλλον ἀσπαζόμεθα τῶν προῖκα. γνοὺς δὲ τὸν Πρωταγόραν ὁ Πλάτων σεμνῶς μὲν ἐρμηνεύοντα, ἐνυπτιάζοντα δὲ τῇ  
 495 σεμνότητι καὶ που καὶ μακρολογώτερον τοῦ συμμέτρου, τὴν ἰδέαν αὐτοῦ μύθῳ μακρῷ ἐχαρακτήρισεν.

ια'. Ἰππίας δὲ ὁ σοφιστὴς ὁ Ἡλεῖος τὸ μὲν μνημονικὸν οὕτω τι καὶ γηράσκων ἔρρωτο, ὡς καὶ πεντήκοντα ὀνομάτων ἀκούσας ἅπαξ ἀπομνημονεύειν αὐτὰ καθ' ἣν ἤκουσε τάξιν, ἐσήγετο δὲ ἐς τὰς διαλέξεις γεωμετρίαν ἀστρονομίαν μουσικὴν ῥυθμούς, διελέγετο δὲ καὶ περὶ ζωγραφίας καὶ περὶ ἀγαλματοποιίας. ταῦτα ἐτέρωθι, ἐν Λακεδαίμονι

<sup>1</sup> For these triremes, sixty in number, cf. Plutarch, *Pericles* 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Protagoras* 349 A and *Gorgias* 520 c.

<sup>3</sup> This is the myth of Prometheus and Epimetheus in the *Protagoras*.

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the gods exist or not, I think that Protagoras derived this heresy from his Persian education. For though the magi invoke the gods in their secret rites, they avoid any public profession of belief in a deity, because they do not wish it to be thought that their own powers are derived from that source. It was for this saying that he was outlawed from the whole earth by the Athenians, as some say after a trial, but others hold that the decree was voted against him without the form of a trial. And so he passed from island to island and from continent to continent, and while trying to avoid the Athenian triremes<sup>1</sup> which were distributed over every sea, he was drowned when sailing in a small boat.

He was the first to introduce the custom of charging a fee for lectures, and so was the first to hand down to the Greeks a practice which is not to be despised, since the pursuits on which we spend money we prize more than those for which no money is charged. Plato recognized<sup>2</sup> that though Protagoras had a dignified style of eloquence, that dignity was a mask for his real indolence of mind, and that he was at times too long-winded and lacked a sense of proportion, and so, in a long myth, he hit off the main characteristics of the other's style.<sup>3</sup>

11. HIPPIAS OF ELIS, the sophist, had such extraordinary powers of memory, even in his old age, that after hearing fifty names only once he could repeat them from memory in the order in which he had heard them. He introduced into his discourses discussions on geometry, astronomy, music, and rhythms, and he also lectured on painting and the art of sculpture. These were the subjects that he handled in other parts of Greece, but in Sparta he

δὲ γένη τε διήει πόλεων καὶ ἀποικίας καὶ ἔργα, ἐπειδὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι ἄρχειν τῇ ιδέα ταύτῃ ἔχαιρον. ἔστιν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Τρωικὸς διάλογος, οὐ λόγος· ὁ Νέστωρ ἐν Τροίᾳ ἀλούση ὑποτίθεται Νεοπτολέμῳ τῷ Ἀχιλλέως, ᾧ χρη ἐπιτηδεύοντα ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν φαίνεσθαι.<sup>1</sup> πλείστα δὲ Ἑλλήνων πρεσβεύσας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἡλιδος οὐδαμοῦ κατέλυσε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν δημηγορῶν τε καὶ διαλεγόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα πλείστα ἐξέλεξε καὶ φυλαῖς ἐνεγράφη πόλεων μικρῶν τε καὶ μειζόνων. παρήλθε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἴνυκὸν ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, τὸ δὲ πολίχνιον τοῦτο Σικελικοὶ εἰσιν, οὓς ὁ Πλάτων ἐπισκώπτει. εὐδοκιμῶν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον  
 496 ἔθελγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ λόγοις ποικίλοις καὶ πεφροντισμένοις εὔ. ἐρμήνευε δὲ οὐκ ἔλλιπῶς, ἀλλὰ περιττῶς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν, ἐς ὀλίγα καταφεύγων τῶν ἐκ ποιητικῆς ὀνόματα.

β'. Προδίκου δὲ τοῦ Κείου ὄνομα τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ σοφία ἐγένετο, ὡς καὶ τὸν Γρύλλου ἐν Βοιωτοῖς δεθέντα ἀκροᾶσθαι διαλεγόμενου, καθιστάντα ἐγγυητὴν τοῦ σώματος. πρεσβεύων δὲ παρὰ Ἀθηναίους παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἰκανώτατος ἔδοξεν ἀνθρώπων, καίτοι δυσήκοον καὶ βαρὺ φθηγόμενος. ἀνίχρευε δὲ οὗτος τοὺς εὐπατρίδας τῶν νέων καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν βαθέων οἴκων, ὡς καὶ προξέ-

<sup>1</sup> Cobet would read γίγρεσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. he was given the privileges of a citizen.

<sup>2</sup> In Plato *Hippias Maior* 282 e Hippias says that at Inycus alone, a small city, he made more than twenty minae, i.e. about £80; Plato scoffs at the luxurious Sicilians for paying to learn virtue, whereas at Sparta Hippias made nothing.

<sup>3</sup> Xenophon.



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described the different types of states and colonies and their activities, because the Spartans, owing to their desire for empire, took pleasure in this kind of discourse. There is also extant by him a Trojan dialogue which is not an oration—Nestor in Troy, after it has been taken, expounds to Neoptolemus the son of Achilles what course one ought to pursue in order to win a good name. On behalf of Elis he went on more embassies than any other Greek, and in no case did he fail to maintain his reputation, whether when making public speeches or lecturing, and at the same time he amassed great wealth and was enrolled in the tribes<sup>1</sup> of cities both great and small. In order to make money he also visited Inycus, a small town in Sicily, to whose people Plato alludes sarcastically.<sup>2</sup> In the rest of his time also he won renown for himself, and used to charm the whole of Greece at Olympia by his ornate and carefully studied orations. His style was never meagre, but copious and natural, and he seldom had to take refuge in the vocabulary of the poets.

12. PRODICUS OF CEOS had so great a reputation for wisdom that even the son of Gryllus,<sup>3</sup> when he was a prisoner in Boeotia,<sup>4</sup> used to attend his lectures, after procuring bail for himself. When he came on an embassy to Athens and appeared before the Senate, he proved to be the most capable ambassador possible, though he was hard to hear and had a very deep bass voice.<sup>5</sup> He used to hunt out well-born youths and those who came from wealthy families,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is no other evidence for this imprisonment of Xenophon, but it may have occurred in 412 when the Boeotians took Oropus; cf. Thucydides viii. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Probably an echo of Plato, *Protagoras* 316 A.

<sup>3</sup> Plato, *Sophist* 231 D.

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vous ἐκτῆσθαι ταύτης τῆς θῆρας, χρημάτων τε γὰρ ἤττων ἐτύγχανε καὶ ἡδοναῖς ἐδεδώκει. τὴν δὲ Ἡρακλέους αἵρεσιν τὸν τοῦ Προδίκου λόγον οὐ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπεμνήσθην, οὐδὲ Ξενοφῶν ἀπηξίωσε μὴ οὐχὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι. καὶ τί ἂν χαρακτηρίζοιμεν τὴν τοῦ Προδίκου γλώτταν, Ξενοφῶντος αὐτὴν ἱκανῶς ὑπογράφοντας;

497 γ'. Πῶλον δὲ τὸν Ἀκραγαντῖνον Γοργίας σοφιστὴν ἐξεμελέτησε πολλῶν, ὡς φασι, χρημάτων, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῶν πλουτούντων ὁ Πῶλος. εἰσὶ δέ, οἱ φασι καὶ τὰ πάρισα καὶ τὰ ἀντίθετα καὶ τὰ ὁμοιοτέλευτα Πῶλον εὐρηκέναι πρῶτον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες, τῇ γὰρ τοιαύτῃ ἀγλαίᾳ τοῦ λόγου Πῶλος εὐρημένῃ κατεχρήσατο, ὅθεν ὁ Πλάτων διαπτύων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ ταύτῃ φησὶν. “ὦ λῶστε Πῶλε, ἵνα σε προσείπω κατὰ σέ.”

ιδ'. Οἱ δὲ καὶ Θρασύμαχον τὸν Καλχηδόνιον ἐν σοφισταῖς γράφοντας δοκοῦσί μοι παρακούειν Πλάτωνος λέγοντος<sup>1</sup> ταῦτόν εἶναι λέοντα ξυρεῖν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν Θρασύμαχον· δικογραφίαν γὰρ αὐτῷ προφέροντός ἐστὶ πού ταῦτα καὶ τὸ ἐν δικαστηρίοις συκοφαντοῦντα τρίβεσθαι.

498 ιε'. Ἀντιφῶντα δὲ τὸν Ῥαμνούσιον οὐκ οἶδ', εἴτε χρηστὸν δεῖ προσειπεῖν, εἴτε φαῦλον. χρηστός μὲν γὰρ προσειρήσθω διὰ τὰδε· ἐστρατήγησε πλεῖστα, ἐνίκησε πλεῖστα, ἐξήκοντα τριήρεσι πεπληρωμέναις ἠΰξησεν Ἀθηναίους τὸ ναυτικόν, ἱκανώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἔδοξεν εἰπεῖν τε καὶ γινῶναι· διὰ

<sup>1</sup> λέγοντος Cobet adds.

<sup>1</sup> *Memorabilia* ii. 1. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Gorgias* 467 v. In the Greek the sentence contains two jingles of sound such as Polus and his school employed. cf. Plato, *Symposium*, 185. <sup>3</sup> *Republic*, 341 c.

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so much so that he even had agents employed in this pursuit; for he had a weakness for making money and was addicted to pleasure. Even Xenophon<sup>1</sup> did not disdain to relate the fable of Prodicus called *The Choice of Heracles*, which I mentioned when I began my narrative. As for the language of Prodicus, why should I describe its characteristics, when Xenophon has given so complete a sketch of it?

13. POLUS OF AGRIGENTUM, the sophist, was trained in the art by Gorgias, and for this he paid, as we are told, very high fees; for in fact Polus was a wealthy man. Some say that Polus was the first to use clauses that exactly balance, antitheses, and similar endings; but they are mistaken in so saying; for rhetorical ornament of this kind was already invented, and Polus merely employed it to excess. Hence Plato, to express his contempt for Polus because of this affectation, says: "O polite Polus! to address you in your own style."<sup>2</sup>

14. Those who include THRASYMACHUS OF CHALCEDON among the sophists fail, in my opinion, to understand Plato when he says<sup>3</sup> that shaving a lion is the same thing as trying to get the law of Thrasymachus. For this saying really amounts to taunting him with writing legal speeches for clients, and spending his time in the law courts trumping up cases for the prosecution.

15. As for ANTIPHON OF RHAMNUS, I am uncertain whether one ought to call him a good or a bad man. On the one hand he may be called a good man, for the following reasons. Very often he held commands in war, very often he was victorious; he added to the Athenian navy sixty fully equipped triremes; he was held to be the most able of men, both in the art of speaking and in the invention

μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐμοί τε ἐπαινετός καὶ ἑτέρῳ. κακὸς δ' ἂν εἰκότως διὰ τὰδε φαίνοιτο· κατέλυσε τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἐδούλωσε τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, ἐλακώτισε κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀφανῶς, ὕστερον δ' ἐπιδήλως, τυράννων τετροκοσίῳ δῆμον ἐπαφῆκε τοῖς Ἀθηναίων πράγμασιν.

Ῥητορικὴν δὲ τὸν Ἀντιφῶντα οἱ μὲν οὐκ οὔσαν εὐρεῖν, οἱ δ' εὐρημένην αὐξῆσαι, γενέσθαι τε αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν αὐτομαθῶς σοφόν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ πατρός. πατέρα γὰρ εἶναι δὴ αὐτῷ Σώφιλον διδάσκαλον ῥητορικῶν λόγων, ὃς ἄλλους τε τῶν ἐν δυνάμει καὶ τὸν τοῦ Κλειῖου ἐπαίδευσεν. πιθανώτατος δὲ ὁ Ἀντιφῶν γενόμενος καὶ προσρηθείς Νέστωρ ἐπὶ τῷ περὶ παντὸς εἰπῶν ἂν πείσαι νηπενθεῖς ἀκροάσεις ἐπήγγειλεν, ὡς οὐδὲν οὔτω δευρὸν ἐρούντων ἄχος, ὃ μὴ  
 499 ἐξελεῖν τῆς γνώμης. καθάπτεται δὲ ἡ κωμωδία τοῦ Ἀντιφῶντος ὡς δευρὸν τὰ δικανικὰ καὶ λόγους κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου ξυγκειμένους ἀποδιδόμενου πολλῶν χρημάτων αὐτοῖς μάλιστα τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν. τουτὶ ὅποιαν ἔχει φύσιν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω· ἄνθρωποι κατὰ μὲν τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιστήμας καὶ τέχνας τιμῶσι τοὺς ἐν ἐκάστη αὐτῶν προύχοντας καὶ θαυμάζουσι τῶν ἰατρῶν τοὺς μᾶλλον παρὰ τοὺς ἥττον, θαυμάζουσι δ' ἐν μαντικῇ καὶ μουσικῇ τὸν σοφώτερον,

<sup>1</sup> This account of Antiphon as the contriver of the whole scheme of the oligarchic revolution, and of his rhetorical ability, is probably derived from Thucydides viii. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Alcibiades.

<sup>3</sup> *Νηπενθής* is an epic word and the reference is to the *φάρμακον νηπενθέης* used by Helen, *Odyssey* iv. 221.

<sup>4</sup> A paraphrase of Euripides, *Orestes* 1-3:

οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν δευρὸν ὧδ' εἰπεῖν ἔπος  
 οὐδὲ πάθος οὐδὲ συμφορὰ θεήλατος  
 ἧς οὐκ ἂν ἄραϊτ' ἄχθος ἀνθρώπου φύσις.

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of themes. On these grounds, then, he deserves praise from me or any other. But on the other hand there are evidently good reasons for regarding him as a bad man, and they are the following. He broke up the democracy; he enslaved the Athenian people; he sided with Sparta, secretly at first, but openly later on; and he let loose on the public life of Athens the mob of the Four Hundred Tyrants.<sup>1</sup>

Some say that Antiphon invented rhetoric which before him did not exist, others that it was already invented, but that he widened its scope; some say that he was self-taught, others that he owed his erudition to his father's teaching. For, say they, his father was Sophilus who taught the art of composing rhetorical speeches and educated the son of Cleinias,<sup>2</sup> as well as other men of great influence. Antiphon achieved an extraordinary power of persuasion, and having been nicknamed "Nestor" because of his ability to convince his hearers, whatever his theme, he announced a course of "sorrow-assuaging"<sup>3</sup> lectures, asserting that no one could tell him of a grief so terrible that he could not expel it from the mind.<sup>4</sup> Antiphon is attacked in Comedy for being too clever in legal matters, and for selling for large sums of money speeches composed in defiance of justice for the use of clients whose case was especially precarious. The nature of this charge I will proceed to explain. In the case of other branches of science and the arts, men pay honour to those who have won distinction in any one of these fields; that is to say, they pay more honour to physicians who are skilful than to those who are less skilful; in the arts of divination and music they admire the expert, and

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τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ περὶ τεκτονικῆς καὶ πασῶν βαναύσων  
τιθέμενοι ψῆφον, ῥητορικὴν δὲ ἐπαινοῦσι μὲν,  
ὑποπτεύουσι δὲ ὡς πανοῦργον καὶ φιλοχρήματον  
καὶ κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου ξυγκειμένην. γινώσκουσι  
δ' οὕτω περὶ τῆς τέχνης οὐχ οἱ πολλοὶ μόνον,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ  
καὶ τῶν σπουδαίων οἱ ἔλλογιμώτατοι· καλοῦσι  
γούν δεινούς ῥήτορας τοὺς ἱκανῶς μὲν συνιέντας,  
ἱκανῶς δὲ ἐρμηνεύοντας, οὐκ εὐφημον ἐπωνυμίαν  
τιθέμενοι τῷ πλεονεκτήματι. τούτου δὲ φύσιν  
τοιαύτην ἔχοντος οὐκ ἀπεικὸς ἦν, οἶμαι, γενέσθαι  
καὶ τὸν Ἀντιφῶντα κωμωδίας λόγον αὐτὰ μάλιστα  
κωμωδοῦσης τὰ λόγου ἄξια.

Ἀπέθανε μὲν οὖν περὶ Σικελίαν ὑπὸ Διονυσίου  
τοῦ τυράννου, τὰς δ' αἰτίας, ἐφ' αἷς ἀπέθανεν,  
Ἀντιφῶντι μᾶλλον ἢ Διονυσίῳ προσγράφομεν· διε-  
500 φαύλιζε γὰρ τὰς τοῦ Διονυσίου τραγωδίας, ἐφ' αἷς  
ὁ Διονύσιος ἐφρόνει μείζον ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ τυραννεύειν,  
σπουδάζοντος δὲ τοῦ τυράννου περὶ εὐγενείας χαλ-  
κοῦ καὶ ἐρομένου τοὺς παρόντας, τίς ἠπειρος ἢ  
νῆσος, τὸν ἄριστον χαλκὸν φύει, παρατυχῶν ὁ  
Ἀντιφῶν τῷ λόγῳ “ἐγὼ ἄριστον” ἔφη “οἶδα τὸν  
Ἀθήγησιν, οὗ γεγόνασιν αἱ<sup>2</sup> Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀρισ-  
τογείτονος εἰκόνες.” ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἀπέθανεν,  
ὡς ὑφέρπων τὸν Διονύσιον καὶ τρέπων ἐπ' αὐτὸν  
τοὺς Σικελιώτας. ἤμαρτε δὲ ὁ Ἀντιφῶν πρῶτον

<sup>1</sup> μᾶλλον Kayser; μόνον Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> ai Cobet adds.

<sup>1</sup> Since the regular meaning of λόγου ἄξια is “noteworthy,” perhaps Philostratus intended nothing but a compliment to Antiphon.

<sup>2</sup> Philostratus confuses the orator Antiphon with a poet of the same name, who is said by Plutarch, *On the Flatterer*, to have been put to death for his rash epigram. The

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for carpentering and all the inferior trades they cast the same sort of vote; only in the case of rhetoric, even while they praise it they suspect it of being rascally and mercenary and constituted in despite of justice. And it is not only the crowd who so regard this art, but also the most distinguished among the men of sound culture. At any rate they apply the term "clever rhetorician" to those who show skill in the invention of themes and their exposition, thus attaching a far from flattering label to this particular excellence. Seeing that such conditions exist, it was, I think, not unnatural that Antiphon like the rest should become a theme for Comedy; for it is just the things which deserve to be a theme that Comedy makes fun of.<sup>1</sup>

He was put to death in Sicily by Dionysius the tyrant,<sup>2</sup> and I ascribe to Antiphon himself rather than to Dionysius the responsibility for his death. For he used to run down the tragedies of Dionysius, though Dionysius prided himself more on these than on his power as a tyrant; and once when the tyrant was interested in finding out where the best kind of bronze was produced, and asked the bystanders what continent or island produced the best bronze, Antiphon broke into the conversation and said, "The best I know of is at Athens, of which the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton<sup>3</sup> have been made." The result of this behaviour was that he was put to death on the charge of plotting against Dionysius and turning the Sicilians against him. And Antiphon was in the wrong, in the first place,

Athenian orator was executed in 411 and the tyranny of Dionysius did not begin till about 404.

<sup>3</sup> Who overthrew the tyrants at Athens.

μὲν τυράννῳ προσκρούων, ὑφ' ᾧ ζῆν ἤρητο μᾶλλον ἢ οἴκοι δημοκρατεῖσθαι, ἔπειτα Σικελιώτας μὲν ἐλευθερῶν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ δουλούμενος. καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦ τραγωδίας ποιεῖν ἀπάγων τὸν Διονύσιον ἀπῆγεν αὐτὸν τοῦ ῥαθυμεῖν, αἱ γὰρ τοιαῖδε σπουδαὶ ῥαθυμοί, καὶ οἱ τύραννοι δὲ αἰρετώτεροι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἀνιέμενοι<sup>1</sup> μᾶλλον ἢ ξυντείνοντες, εἰ γὰρ ἀνήσουσιν, ἤττον μὲν ἀποκτενοῦσιν, ἤττον δὲ βιάσονται<sup>2</sup> τε καὶ ἀρπάσονται, τύραννος δὲ τραγωδίας ἐπιτιθέμενος ἰατρῷ εἰκάσθω νοσοῦντι μὲν, ἑαυτὸν δὲ θεραπεύοντι· αἱ γὰρ μυθοποιαὶ καὶ αἱ μονωδίαὶ καὶ οἱ ῥυθμοὶ τῶν χορῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν ἡθῶν μίμησις, ὧν ἀνάγκη τὰ πλείω χρηστὰ φαίνεσθαι, μετακαλεῖ<sup>3</sup> τοὺς τυράννους τοῦ ἀπαραιτήτου καὶ σφοδροῦ, καθάπερ αἱ φαρμακοποσίαι τὰς νόσους. ταῦτα μὴ κατηγορίαν Ἀντιφῶντος, ἀλλὰ ξυμβουλίαν ἐς πάντα ἠγώμεθα τοῦ μὴ ἐκκαλεῖσθαι τὰς τυραννίδας, μηδὲ ἐς ὄργην ἄγειν ἦθη ὡμά.

Λόγοι δ' αὐτοῦ δικανικοὶ μὲν πλείους, ἐν οἷς ἡ δεωότης καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τέχνης ἔγκειται, σοφιστικοὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι μὲν, σοφιστικώτερος δὲ ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁμονοίας, ἐν ᾧ γνωμολογίαί τε λαμπραὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι σεμνὴ τε ἀπαγγελία καὶ ἐπὶ πηθισμένη ποιητικοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τὰ ἀποτάδην ἐρημνεύόμενα παραπλήσια τῶν πεδίων τοῖς λείοις.

501 15'. Κριτίας δὲ ὁ σοφιστῆς εἰ μὲν κατέλυσε

<sup>1</sup> ἀνιέμενοι Kayser; ἀνιέμενοι Richards.

<sup>2</sup> βιάσονται mss., Kayser; δράζονται Jahn; βιάσονται Cobet; cf. Plato, Republic, 574 b; διασπᾶσονται Richards.

<sup>3</sup> μεταβάλλει Kayser; μετακαλεῖ Cobet.



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for provoking a collision with a tyrant under whom he had chosen to live rather than be under a democracy at home; secondly he was wrong in trying to free the Sicilians, whereas he had tried to enslave the Athenians. Furthermore, in diverting Dionysius from writing tragedy he really diverted him from being easy-going; for pursuits of that sort belong to an easy temper, and their subjects may well prefer tyrants when they are slack rather than when they are strung up. For when they slacken their energies they will put fewer men to death, they will do less violence and plunder less; so that a tyrant who occupies himself with tragedies may be likened to a physician who is sick, but is trying to heal himself. For the writing of myths and monodies and choric rhythms and the representation of characters, the greater part of which necessarily present what is morally good, diverts tyrants from their own implacable and violent temper as taking medicines diverts the course of disease. What I have just said we must not regard as an indictment of Antiphon, but rather as advice to all men not to provoke tyrants against themselves, or excite to wrath their savage dispositions.

A good many of his legal speeches are extant, and they show his great oratorical power and all the effects of art. Of the sophistic type there are several, but more sophistic than any is the speech *On Concord*, in which are brilliant philosophical maxims and a lofty style of eloquence, adorned moreover with the flowers of poetical vocabulary; and their diffuse style makes them seem like smooth plains.

16. CRITIAS the sophist, even though he did over-

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τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, οὐπω κακός — καταλυθείη γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ δῆμος οὕτω τι ἐπηρεζόμενος, ὡς μηδὲ τῶν κατὰ νόμους ἀρχόντων ἀκροᾶσθαι — ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ λαμπρῶς μὲν ἐλακύνισε, προὔδιδου δὲ τὰ ἱερά, καθήρει δὲ διὰ Λυσάνδρου τὰ τείχη, οὓς δ' ἤλαυνε τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ στήναί ποι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀφηρέϊτο πόλεμον Λακωνικὸν ἀνειπὼν ἐς πάντας, εἴ τις τὸν Ἀθηναῖον φεύγοντα δέξοιτο, ὠμότητι δὲ καὶ μαιφονίᾳ τοὺς τριάκοντα ὑπερεβάλλετο βουλευμάτων τε ἀτόπου τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ξυνελάμβανεν, ὡς μηλόβοτος ἢ Ἀττικὴ ἀποφανθείη τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγέλης ἐκκενωθεῖσα, κάκιστος ἀνθρώπων ἔμοιγε φαίνεται ξυμπάντων, ὧν ἐπὶ κακία ὄνομα. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀπαίδευτος ὧν ἐς τὰδε ὑπήχθη, ἔρρωτο ἂν ὁ λόγος τοῖς φάσκουσιν ὑπὸ Θετταλίας καὶ τῆς ἐκείνη ὀμιλίας παρεφθορέναι αὐτόν, τὰ γὰρ ἀπαίδευτα ἦθη εὐπαράγωγα πάντως ἐς βίου αἵρεσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄριστα μὲν ἦν πεπαιδευμένος, γνώμας δὲ πλείστας ἐρμηνεύων, ἐς Δρωπίδην δ' ἀναφέρων, ὅς μετὰ Σόλωνα Ἀθηναίους ἤρξεν, οὐκ ἂν διαφύγοι παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰτίαν τὸ μὴ οὐ κακία φύσεως ἀμαρτεῖν ταῦτα. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ κακίνο ἄτοπον Σωκράτει μὲν τῷ Σωφρονίσκῳ μὴ ὁμοιωθῆναι αὐτόν, ᾧ πλείστα δὴ συνεφιλοσόφησε σοφωτάτω

<sup>1</sup> A favourite oratorical theme; cf. Thucydides iii. 58.

<sup>2</sup> For the disorder and licence of the Thessalians cf. Plato, *Crito* 53 D, and the proverb "Thessalian forcible persuasion" in Julian and Eunapius.

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throw democratic government at Athens, was not thereby proved to be a bad man; for the democracy might well have been overthrown from within, since it had become so overbearing and insolent that it would not heed even those who governed according to the established laws. But seeing that he conspicuously sided with Sparta, and betrayed the holy places<sup>1</sup> to the enemy; that he pulled down the walls by the agency of Lysander; that he deprived the Athenians whom he drove into exile of any place of refuge in Greece by proclaiming that Sparta would wage war on any that should harbour an Athenian exile; that in brutality and bloodthirstiness he surpassed even the Thirty; that he shared in the monstrous design of Sparta to make Attica look like a mere pasture for sheep by emptying her of her human herd; for all this I hold him to be the greatest criminal of all who are notorious for crime. Now if he had been an uneducated man, led astray into these excesses, there would be some force in the explanation of those who assert that he was demoralized by Thessaly<sup>2</sup> and the society that he frequented there; for characters that lack education are easily led to choose any sort of life. But since he had been highly educated and frequently delivered himself of philosophical maxims, and his family dated back to Dropides who was archon at Athens next after Solon, he cannot be acquitted in the sight of most men of the charge that these crimes were due to his own natural wickedness. Then again it is a strange thing that he did not grow to be like Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, with whom above all others he studied philosophy and who had the reputation of being the wisest and the most just

τε καὶ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ δόξαντι, Θετταλοῖς δ' ὁμοιωθῆναι, παρ' οἷς ἀγερωχία καὶ ἄκρατος καὶ τυραννικά ἐν οἴνῳ σπουδάζεται. ἀλλ' ὁμως οὐδέ Θετταλοὶ σοφίας ἡμέλουν, ἀλλ' ἐγοργιάζον ἐν Θετταλία μικραὶ καὶ μείζους πό-  
 502 λεις ἐς Γοργίαν ὀρώσαι τὸν Λεοντῖνον, μετέβαλον δ' ἂν καὶ ἐς τὸ κριτιάζειν, εἴ τινα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας ἐπίδειξιν ὁ Κριτίας παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐποιεῖτο· ὁ δὲ ἡμέλει μὲν τούτον, βαρυτέρας δ' αὐτοῖς ἐποίει τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας διαλεγόμενος τοῖς ἐκεῖ δυνατοῖς καὶ καθαπτόμενος μὲν δημοκρατίας ἀπάσης, διαβάλλων δ' Ἀθηναίους, ὡς πλείστα ἀνθρώπων ἀμαρτάνοντας, ὥστε ἐνθυμουμένῳ ταῦτα Κριτίας ἂν εἴη Θετταλοῦς διεφθορώς μᾶλλον ἢ Κριτίαν Θετταλοί.

Ἀπέθανε μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ Θρασύβουλον, οἱ κατήγον ἀπὸ Φυλῆς<sup>1</sup> τὸν δῆμον, δοκεῖ δ' ἐνίοις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενέσθαι παρὰ τὴν τελευταίην, ἐπειδὴ ἐνταφίῳ τῇ τυραννίδι ἐχρήσατο· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀποπεφάνθῳ μηδένα ἀνθρώπων καλῶς δὴ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐκ ὀρθῶς εἴλετο, δι' ἃ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ σοφία τοῦ ἀνδρός καὶ τὰ φρονίσματα ἦττον σπουδασθῆναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ὁμολογήσει ὁ λόγος τῷ ἦθει, ἀλλοτρία τῇ γλώττῃ δόξομεν φθέγγεσθαι, ὥσπερ οἱ αὐλοί.

Τὴν δὲ ἰδέαν τοῦ λόγου δογματίας ὁ Κριτίας καὶ πολυγνώμων σεμνολογήσαι τε ἰκανώτατος οὐ

<sup>1</sup> φυλῆς Kayser; Φυλῆς Bentley, Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. he lost his life in its cause. For this favourite figure cf. p. 590 and *Gymnasticus* 34; it is derived from Isocrates, *Archidamus* 45.

<sup>2</sup> An echo of Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon* 623; cf.

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of his times ; but did grow to be like the Thessalians, who maintain by force an insolent arrogance, and practise tyrannical customs even in their wine-drinking. However, not even the Thessalians neglected learning, but all the cities great and small in Thessaly tried to write like Gorgias and looked to Gorgias of Leontini ; and they would have changed over and tried to write like Critias, if Critias had made any public display in their country of his own peculiar skill. But for this kind of success he cared nothing, and instead he tried to make the oligarchies more oppressive to the people, by conversing with the men in power there and assailing all popular government, and by falsely accusing the Athenians of an unheard of number of crimes ; so that, taking all this into consideration, it would seem that Critias corrupted the Thessalians, rather than the Thessalians Critias.

He was put to death by Thrasybulus and his party who restored the democracy from Phyle, and there are those who think that he played an honourable part at the last, because his tyranny became his shroud.<sup>1</sup> But let me declare my opinion that no human being can be said to have died nobly for a cause that he took up in defiance of the right. And I believe that this is the reason why this man's wisdom and his writings are held in slight esteem by the Greeks ; for unless our public utterances and our moral character are in accord, we shall seem, like flutes, to speak with a tongue that is not our own.<sup>2</sup>

As regards the style of his oratory, Critias abounded in brief and sententious sayings, and he

1 *Corinthians* xiii., "I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal."

τὴν διδυραμβώδη σεμνολογίαν, οὐδὲ καταφεύγουσαν ἐς τὰ ἐκ ποιητικῆς ὀνόματα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν  
 503 κυριωτάτων συγκειμένην καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσαν. ὁρῶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ βραχυλογούντα ἱκανῶς καὶ δεινῶς καθαπτόμενον ἐν ἀπολογίας ἤθει, ἀπτικίζοντά τε οὐκ ἀκρατῶς, οὐδὲ ἐκφύλως — τὸ γὰρ ἀπειρόκαλον ἐν τῷ ἀπτικίζειν βάρβαρον — ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀκτίνων αὐγαὶ τὰ Ἄττικά ὀνόματα διαφαίνεται τοῦ λόγου. καὶ τὸ ἀσυνδέτως δὲ χωρίῳ προσβαλεῖν Κριτίου ὄρα, καὶ τὸ παραδόξως μὲν ἐνθυμηθῆναι, παραδόξως δ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι Κριτίου ἀγών, τὸ δὲ τοῦ λόγου πνεῦμα ἐλλιπέστερον μὲν, ἡδὺ δὲ καὶ λείον, ὥσπερ τοῦ Ζεφύρου ἢ αὔρα.

ἰζ'. Ἡ δὲ Σειρὴν ἢ ἐφεστηκυῖα τῷ Ἴσοκράτους τοῦ σοφιστοῦ σήματι, ἐφέστηκε δὲ καὶ οἶον ἄδουσα, πειθῶ κατηγορεῖ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἣν συνεβάλετο ῥητορικοῖς νόμοις καὶ ἤθεσι, πάρισα καὶ ἀντίθετα καὶ ὁμοιοτέλευτα οὐχ εὐρῶν πρῶτος, ἀλλ' εὐρημένοις εὖ χρησάμενος, ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ περιβολῆς καὶ ῥυθμοῦ καὶ συνθήκης καὶ κρότου. ταυτὶ δ' ἡτοίμασέ που καὶ τὴν Δημοσθένους  
 504 γλῶτταν. Δημοσθένης γὰρ μαθητὴς μὲν Ἰσαίου, ζηλωτὴς δὲ Ἴσοκράτους γενόμενος ὑπερεβάλετο αὐτὸν θυμῷ καὶ ἐπιφορᾷ καὶ περιβολῇ καὶ ταχυ-

<sup>1</sup> Lucian, *Lexiphanes* 24, satirizes the hyperatticism which consists in using obsolete or rare words; on the Atticism of the Sophists see Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> On the invention of *προσβολαί* by Gorgias see Glossary. <sup>1</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For *περιβολή* see Glossary.

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was most skilful in the use of elevated language, but not of the dithyrambic sort, nor did he have recourse to words borrowed from poetry; but his was the kind of elevated language that is composed of the most appropriate words and is not artificial. I observe, moreover, that he was a master of concise eloquence, and that even when he maintained the tone proper to a speech in defence, he used to make vigorous attacks on his opponent; and that he Atticized, but in moderation, nor did he use outlandish words<sup>1</sup>—for bad taste in Atticizing is truly barbarous—but his Attic words shine through his discourse like the gleams of the sun's rays. Critias also secures a charming effect by passing without connectives from one part of his speech to another.<sup>2</sup> Then, too, Critias strives for the daring and unusual both in thought and expression, yet his eloquence is somewhat lacking in virility, though it is agreeable and smooth, like the breath of the west wind.

17. The Siren which stands on the tomb of ISOCRATES the sophist—its pose is that of one singing—testifies to the man's persuasive charm, which he combined with the conventions and customs of rhetoric. For though he was not the inventor of clauses that exactly balance, antitheses, and similar endings, since they had already been invented, nevertheless he employed those devices with great skill. He also paid great attention to rhetorical amplification,<sup>3</sup> rhythm, structure, and a striking effect, and in fact it was by his study of these very things that Demosthenes achieved his eloquence. For though Demosthenes was a pupil of Isaeus, it was on Isocrates that he modelled himself, but he surpassed him in fire and impetuosity, in amplification,

τῆτι λόγου τε καὶ ἐνοίας. σεμνότης δ' ἢ μὲν Δημοσθένους ἐπεστραμμένη μᾶλλον, ἢ δὲ Ἴσοκράτους ἀβροτέρα τε καὶ ἡδίων. παράδειγμα δὲ ποιούμεθα τῆς Δημοσθένους σεμνότητος. "πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, κἂν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθείρξας τηρῆ, δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν ἀεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρεω δέ, ἃ ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῶ, γενναίως." ἢ δὲ Ἴσοκράτους σεμνότης ὡδε κεκόσμηται. "τῆς γὰρ γῆς ἀπάσης τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ κόσμῳ κεμένης δίχα τετμημένης, καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἀσίας, τῆς δὲ Εὐρώπης καλουμένης, τὴν ἡμισειαν ἐκ τῶν συνθηκῶν εἴληφεν, ὥσπερ πρὸς τὸν Δία τὴν χώραν νεμόμενος."

505 Τὰ μὲν οὖν πολιτικὰ ὠκνεῖ καὶ ἀπεφοίτα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν διὰ τε τὸ ἐλλιπὲς τοῦ φθέγγματος, διὰ τε τὸν Ἀθήνησιν φθόνον ἀντιπολιτευόμενον αὐτοῖς μάλιστα τοῖς σοφώτερον τι ἑτέρου ἀγορεύουσιν. ὅμως δ' οὐκ ἀπεσπούδαζε τῶν κοινῶν τόν τε γὰρ Φίλιππον, ἐν οἷς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔγραφεν, Ἀθηναίοις δῆπου διωρθοῦτο, καὶ οἷς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης συνέγραφεν, ἀεσκεύαζε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῆς θαλάττης, ὡς κακῶς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀκούοντας, πανηγυρικός τ' ἐστὶν αὐτῷ λόγος, ὃν διῆλθεν Ὀλυμπίᾳσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα πείθων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατεύειν πανσαμένους τῶν οἴκοι ἐγκλημάτων. οὗτος μὲν οὖν εἰ καὶ κάλλιστος λόγων, αἰτίαν

<sup>1</sup> *On the Crown* 97. This is a favourite passage with the rhetoricians; cf. Lucian, *Encomium of Demosthenes* 5; Hermogenes, *On the Types of Oratory* 222 Walz.

<sup>2</sup> *Panegyricus* 179. Note the "similar endings" of the participles.



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and in rapidity both of speech and thought. Again, the grand style in Demosthenes is more vigorous, while in Isocrates it is more refined and suave. Let me give a specimen of the grand style of Demosthenes: "For to all mankind the end of life is death, though a man keep himself shut up in a closet; yet it is the duty of brave men ever to set their hands to all honourable tasks, setting their good hope before them as their shield, and endure nobly whatever comes from the hand of God."<sup>1</sup> With Isocrates on the other hand, the grand style is ornate, as in the following: "For since the whole earth that lies beneath the heavens is divided into two parts, and one is called Asia, the other Europe, he has received by the treaty one half thereof, as though he were dividing the territory with Zeus."<sup>2</sup>

He shrank from political life and did not attend political assemblies, partly because his voice was not strong enough, partly because of the jealous distrust that in politics at Athens was always especially opposed to those who had a talent above the average for public speaking.<sup>3</sup> Yet in spite of this he took a strong interest in public affairs. Hence in the letters that he addressed to Philip he tried to reconcile him with the Athenians; in his writings on peace he tried to wean the Athenians from their maritime policy, on the ground that they thereby injured their reputation; and there is also his *Panegyric* which he delivered at Olympia, when he tried to persuade Greece to cease from domestic quarrels and make war on Asia. This oration, though it is the finest of all, nevertheless gave rise to the charge that it had

<sup>3</sup> For this cf. Thucydides iii. 38, Cleon's attack on plausible orators.

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ὁμως παρέδωκεν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Γοργία σπουδασθέντων ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν συντεθείη. ἄριστα δὲ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους φροντισμάτων ὃ τε Ἀρχίδαμος ξύγκειται καὶ ὁ Ἀμάρτυρος, τοῦ μὲν γὰρ διήκει φρόνημα τῶν Λευκτρικῶν ἀναφέρον καὶ οὐκ ἀκριβῆ μόνον τὰ ὀνόματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ξυνήκη λαμπρά, ἐναγώνιος δὲ ὁ λόγος, ὡς καὶ τὸ μυθῶδες αὐτοῦ μέρος, τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὰς βουῖς σὺν ἐπιστροφῇ ἐρμηνεύσθαι, ὃ δὲ Ἀμάρτυρος ἰσχὺν ἐνδείκνυται κεκολασμένην ἐς ρυθμούς, νόημα γὰρ ἐκ νοήματος ἔς περιόδους ἰσοκώλους τελευτᾷ.

506 Ἀκροαταὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου πολλοὶ μὲν, ἐλλογιμώτατος δὲ Ὑπερείδης ὁ ῥήτωρ, Θεόπομπον γὰρ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Χίου καὶ τὸν Κυμαῖον Ἐφορον οὐτ' ἂν διαβάλοιμι οὐτ' ἂν θαυμάσαιμι. οἱ δὲ ἡγούμενοι τὴν κωμωδίαν καθάπτεσθαι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ὡς αὐλοποιῦ, ἀμαρτάνουσιν, πατὴρ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ Θεόδωρος ἦν, ὃν ἐκάλουν αὐλοποιὸν Ἀθήνησιν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐτε αὐλοῦς ἐγίνωσκεν οὐτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐν βαναυσίοις, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲ τῆς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ εἰκόνας ἔτυχεν, εἴ τι τῶν εὐτελῶν εἰργάζετο. ἀπέθανε μὲν οὖν Ἀθήνησιν ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη, ἕνα δὲ αὐτὸν ἡγώμεθα τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ ἀποθανόντων, ἐπειδὴ μετὰ Χαιρώνειαν ἐτελεύτα μὴ καρτερήσας τὴν ἀκρόασιν τοῦ Ἀθηναίων πταίσματος.

<sup>1</sup> This is the sub-title of the speech *Against Euthynous*, and was so called because the plaintiff had no evidence to produce and depended on logical argument.

<sup>2</sup> Heracles carried off the oxen of Geryon.

<sup>3</sup> These minor historians were fellow-pupils in the school which Isocrates opened at Chios.

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been compiled from the works of Gorgias on the same subject. The most skilfully composed of all the works of Isocrates are the *Archidamus* and the speech called *Without Witnesses*.<sup>1</sup> For the former is animated throughout by the desire to revive men's courage and spirit after the defeat at Leuctra, and not only is its language exquisitely chosen, but its composition is brilliant also, and the whole speech is in the style of a legal argument; so that even the myth in it, the story of Heracles and the oxen,<sup>2</sup> is expressed with vigour and energy. Again, the speech *Without Witnesses* in its rhythms displays a well-restrained energy, for it is composed of periods of equal length, as one idea follows another.

Isocrates had many pupils, but the most illustrious was the orator Hypereides; for as for Theopompus of Chios and Ephorus<sup>3</sup> of Cumae, I will neither criticize nor commend them. Those who think that Comedy aimed her shafts at Isocrates because he was a maker of flutes,<sup>4</sup> are mistaken; for though his father was Theodorus, who was known in Athens as a flute-maker, Isocrates himself knew nothing about flute-making or any other sordid trade; and he certainly would not have been honoured with the statue at Olympia if he had ever been employed in any low occupation. He died at Athens, aged about one hundred years, and we must reckon him among those who perished in war, seeing that he died after the battle of Chaeronea because he could not support the tidings of the Athenian defeat.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Strattis, *frag.* 712 Kock, refers to Isocrates as "the flute-borer"; cf. pseudo-Plutarch, *Isocrates* 836 E.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Milton, Sonnet—

As that dishonest victory,  
At Chaeronea, fatal to liberty,  
Killed with report that old man eloquent.

507 *ιη'*. Περὶ δὲ Αἰσχίνου τοῦ Ἀτρομήτου, ὃν  
 φάμεν τῆς δευτέρας σοφιστικῆς ἄρξαι, τάδε χρή  
 ἐπεσκέφθαι· ἡ Ἀθήνησι δημαγωγία διεισθήκει  
 πᾶσα, καὶ οἱ μὲν βασιλεῖ ἐπιτήδειοι ἦσαν, οἱ  
 δὲ Μακεδόσιν, ἐφέροντο δὲ ἄρα τὴν πρώτην τῶν  
 μὲν βασιλεῖ χαριζομένων ὁ Παιανιεύς Δημο-  
 σθένης, τῶν δὲ ἐς Φίλιππον ὀρώντων ὁ Κοθωκίδης  
 Αἰσχίνης, καὶ χρήματα παρ' ἀμφοῖν ἐφοίτα σφίσι,  
 βασιλέως μὲν ἀσχολοῦντος δι' Ἀθηναίων Φίλιπ-  
 πον τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ Ἀσίαν ἐλάσαι, Φιλίππου δὲ πειρω-  
 μένου διαλύειν τὴν ἰσχὺν Ἀθηναίων, ὡς ἐμπόδιμα  
 τῆς διαβάσεως.

Διαφορᾶς δ' ἦρξεν Αἰσχίνη καὶ Δημοσθένει καὶ  
 αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ἄλλον ἄλλω βασιλεῖ πολιτεύειν, ὡς  
 δ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, τὸ ἐναντίως ἔχειν καὶ τῶν ἡθῶν,  
 ἐξ ἡθῶν γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀντιξόων φύεται μῖσος  
 αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχον. ἀντιξόω δ' ἦσθη καὶ διὰ τάδε·  
 ὁ μὲν Αἰσχίνης φιλοπότης τε ἐδόκει καὶ ἡδὺς καὶ  
 ἀνευμένος καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐπίχαρι ἐκ Διονύσου ἡρη-  
 κῶς, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῖς βαρυστόνοις ὑποκρι-  
 ταῖς τὸν ἐν μεираκίῳ χρόνον ὑπετραγώδησεν, ὁ δ'  
 508 αὖ συννεοφῶς τε ἐφαίνετο καὶ βαρὺς τὴν ὄφρυν  
 καὶ ὕδωρ πίνων, ὅθεν δυσκόλοις τε καὶ δυσ-  
 τρόποις ἐνεγράφετο, καὶ πολλῶ πλέον, ἐπειδὴ  
 πρεσβεύοντε ξὺν ἐτέροις παρὰ τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 262; Aeschines was only a tritagonist.

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18. AESCHINES, the son of Atrometus, we are accustomed to call the founder of the Second Sophistic, and with respect to him the following facts must be borne in mind. The whole government at Athens was divided into two parties, of which one was friendly to the Persian king, the other to the Macedonians. Now among those who favoured the Persian king, Demosthenes of the deme Paeania was the recognized leader, while Aeschines of the deme Cothidae led those who looked to Philip; and sums of money used to arrive regularly from both these, from the king because with the aid of Athenians he kept Philip too busy to invade Asia; and from Philip in the attempt to destroy the power of Athens which hindered him from crossing over into Asia.

The quarrel between Aeschines and Demosthenes arose partly because of this very fact that the former was working in the interests of one king and the latter in the interests of another; but also, in my opinion, because they were of wholly opposite temperaments. For between temperaments that are antagonistic to one another there grows up a hatred that has no other grounds. And naturally antagonistic the two men were, for the following reasons. Aeschines was a lover of wine, had agreeable and easy manners, and was endowed with all the charm of a follower of Dionysus; and in fact while he was still a mere boy, he actually played minor parts for ranting tragic actors.<sup>1</sup> Demosthenes, on the other hand, had a gloomy expression and an austere brow, and was a water-drinker; hence he was reckoned an ill-tempered and unsociable person, and especially so when the two men along with others went on an embassy to Philip, and as messmates the one showed

ὁμοδιαίτω ὄντε ὁ μὲν διακεχυμένος τε καὶ ἡδὺς ἐφαίνετο τοῖς συμπρέσβειν, ὁ δὲ κατεσκληκῶς τε καὶ αἰὲ σπουδάζων. ἐπέτειε δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν διαφορὰν ὁ ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἐπὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου λόγος, ὅτε δὴ ἐξέπεσε τοῦ λόγου ὁ Δημοσθένης, ὁ δ' Αἰσχίνης . . . οὐδὲ τῶν ἀποβεβλημένων ποτὲ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐνθυμουμένῳ τὸ ἐν Ταμύναις ἔργον,<sup>1</sup> ἐν ᾧ Βοιωτοὺς ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι ἀριστεία τούτου δημοσία ἐστεφανοῦτο τά τε ἄλλα καὶ χρησάμενος ἀμηχάνῳ τάχει περὶ τὰ εὐαγγέλια τῆς νίκης. διαβάλλοντος δὲ αὐτὸν Δημοσθένους, ὡς αἴτιον τοῦ Φωκικοῦ πάθους, ἀπέγνωσαν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ καταψηφισθέντι Ἀντιφῶντι ἦλθον μὴ κριθεῖς, καὶ ἀφείλοντο αὐτὸν οἱ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου τὸ μὴ οὐ συνειπεῖν σφισιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ. καὶ μὴν καὶ πυλαγόρας ἀναρρηθεῖς οὕτω παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς διαπέφευγε τὸ μὴ οὐκ αὐτὸς Ἐλατεία ἐπιστῆσαι τὸν Φίλιππον τὴν Πυλαίαν συνταράξας εὐπροσώποις λόγοις καὶ μύθοις. Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὑπεξῆλθεν οὐχὶ φεύγειν προσταχθεῖς, ἀλλ' ἀτιμία ἐξιστάμενος, ἣ ὑπήγετο

<sup>1</sup> Some words have dropped out which confuses the construction though the meaning is clear.

<sup>2</sup> The incident is described by Aeschines, *On the False Embassy* 34.

<sup>3</sup> The text is corrupt and the meaning is not clear.

<sup>4</sup> The Athenian general Phocion won the battle of Tamynae in Euboea in 354 in an attempt to recover the cities which had revolted from Athens; cf. Aeschines, *On the False Embassy* 169.

<sup>5</sup> Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 142; Demosthenes, *On the False Embassy* throughout makes Aeschines responsible for the crushing defeat of the Phocians by Philip when he seized

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himself pliant and amiable to his fellow-ambassadors, while the other was stiff and dry and took everything too seriously. And their quarrel was intensified by the discussions about Amphipolis in Philip's presence, when Demosthenes broke down in his speech<sup>1</sup>; but Aeschines . . .<sup>2</sup> was not one of those who ever throw away the shield, as is evident when one considers the battle of Tamynae,<sup>3</sup> when the Athenians defeated the Boeotians. As a reward for his part in this he was crowned by the state, both for his conduct in general and because he had conveyed the good news of the victory with extraordinary speed. When Demosthenes accused him of being responsible for the Phocian disaster,<sup>4</sup> the Athenians acquitted him of the charge, but after Antiphon had been condemned Aeschines was found guilty without a trial, and the court of the Areopagus deprived him of the right to join them in pleading for the temple on Delos.<sup>5</sup> And after he had been nominated as a deputy to Pylae<sup>6</sup> he did not escape suspicion from most men of having himself prompted Philip to seize Elatea, by his action in stirring up the synod at Pylae with his specious words and fables.<sup>7</sup> He secretly left Athens, not because he had been ordered to go into exile, but in order to avoid the political disgrace which he had incurred when he failed to secure the necessary votes in his

Delphi in 346. Aeschines had assured the Athenians that Philip would not deal harshly with the Phocians.

<sup>5</sup> The Athenians were defending their right to control the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos.

<sup>6</sup> *On the Crown* 149. This was in 346.

<sup>7</sup> Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 143, brings this charge; Philostratus borrows freely from this speech in his account of the political life of Aeschines.

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ὕπὸ Δημοσθένει καὶ Κτησιφῶντι ἐκπεσῶν τῶν ψήφων. ἡ μὲν δὴ ὄρμη τῆς ἀποδημίας αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἦν, ὡς αὐτίκα ἤξοντα ἐς Βαβυλῶνά τε καὶ Σοῦσα, καθορμισθεὶς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἔφεσον καὶ τὸν μὲν τεθνάναι ἀκούων, τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας οὕτω ξυγκεκλυσμένα πράγματα, Ῥόδου εἶχετο, ἡ δὲ νῆσος ἀγαθὴ ἐνσπουδάσαι, καὶ σοφιστῶν φροντιστήριον ἀποφήνας τὴν Ῥόδον αὐτοῦ διητᾶτο θύων ἡσυχία τε καὶ Μούσαις καὶ Δωρίοις ἤθεσιν ἐγκαταμιγνὺς Ἀττικά.

Τὸν δὲ αὐτοσχέδιον λόγον ξὺν εὐροία καὶ θείως διατιθέμενος τὸν ἔπαινον τοῦτον πρῶτος ἠνέγκατο. τὸ γὰρ θείως λέγειν οὕτω μὲν ἐπεχωρίασε σοφιστῶν σπουδαῖς, ἀπ' Αἰσχίνου δ' ἤρξατο θεοφορήτῳ ὄρμῃ ἀποσχεδιάζοντος, ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἀναπνέοντες. ἀκροατῆς δὲ Πλάτωνός τε καὶ Ἰσοκράτους γενόμενος πολλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῆς 510 ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως ἠγάγετο. σαφηνείας τε γὰρ φῶς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἀβρὰ σεμνολογία καὶ τὸ ἐπίχαρι σὺν δεινότητι καὶ καθάπαξ ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ λόγου κρείττων ἢ μιμήσει ὑπαχθῆναι.

Λόγοι δ' Αἰσχίνου γ' <sup>1</sup> κατ' ἐπίου μὲν καὶ τέταρτός τις Δηλιακὸς καταψευδόμενος τῆς ἐκείνου γλώττης. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὴν Ἀμφισσαν λόγους, ὑφ' ὧν ἡ Κιρραία χώρα καθιερώθη, εὐπροσώπως τε καὶ ξὺν ὥρᾳ διέθετο κακὰ

<sup>1</sup> γ Richards inserts.

<sup>1</sup> Philostratus ignores the fact that seven years elapsed between the departure of Aeschines from Athens in 330 and the death of Alexander in 323.

<sup>2</sup> This may be an echo of Longinus, *On the Sublime* xiii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> This is not true.

<sup>4</sup> An allusion to Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon* 119 foll.,



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suit against Demosthenes and Ctesiphon. It was his purpose, when he set out on his journey, to go to Alexander, since the latter was on the point of arriving at Babylon and Susa. But when he touched at Ephesus he learned that Alexander was dead,<sup>1</sup> and that therefore things were greatly disturbed in Asia, so he took up his abode at Rhodes, for the island is well adapted to literary pursuits, and having transformed Rhodes into a school for sophists, he continued to live there, sacrificing to peace and the Muses, and introducing Attic customs into the Dorian mode of life.

As an extempore speaker he was easy and fluent and employed the inspired manner, in fact he was the first to win applause by this means. For hitherto the inspired manner in oratory had not become a regular device of the sophists, but it dates from Aeschines, who extemporized as though he were carried away by a divine impulse, like one who exhales oracles.<sup>2</sup> He was a pupil of Plato,<sup>3</sup> and Isocrates, but his success was due in great part to natural talent. For in his orations shines the light of perfect lucidity, he is at once sublime and seductive, energetic and delightful, and in a word his sort of eloquence defies the efforts of those who would imitate it.

There are three orations of Aeschines; but some ascribe to him a fourth besides, *On Delos*, though it does no credit to his eloquence. Nor is it at all likely that after having composed so plausibly and with such charm those speeches about Amphissa, the people by whom the plain of Cirrha was consecrated to the god,<sup>4</sup> when his design was to injure Athens,

where he quotes his accusation against Amphissa, made in 340.

βουλευών Ἀθηναίους, ὡς φησι Δημοσθένης, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Δηλιακοὺς μύθους, ἐν οἷς θεολογία τε καὶ θεογονία καὶ ἀρχαιολογία, φαύλως οὕτως ὤρμησε καὶ τοῦτο προαγωνιζόμενος Ἀθηναίων οὐ μικρὸν ἀγώνισμα ἡγουμένων τὸ μὴ ἐκπεσεῖν τοῦ ἐν Δῆλῳ ἱεροῦ. τρισὶ δὴ λόγοις περιωρίσθω ἢ Αἰσχίνου γλώττα· τῷ τε κατὰ Τιμάρχου καὶ τῇ ἀπολογία τῆς πρεσβείας καὶ τῇ τοῦ Κτησιφῶντος κατηγορίᾳ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τέταρτον αὐτοῦ φρόντισμα, ἐπιστολαί, οὐ πολλαὶ μὲν, εὐπαιδευσίας δὲ μεσταὶ καὶ ἤθους. τοῦ δὲ ἠθικοῦ καὶ Ῥοδίοις ἐπίδειξιν ἐποίησατο· ἀναγνοὺς γάρ ποτε δημοσίᾳ τὸν κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος οἱ μὲν ἐθαύμαζον, ὅπως ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ ἠττήθη καὶ καθήπτοντο τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὡς παρανοούντων, ὁ δὲ “ οὐκ ἂν ” ἔφη “ ἐθαυμάζετε, εἰ Δημοσθένους λέγοντος πρὸς ταῦτα ἠκούσατε, ” οὐ μόνον ἐς ἔπαινον ἐχθροῦ καθιστάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀφιεῖς αἰτίας.

ἰθ'. Ὑπερβάντες δ' Ἀριοβαρζάνην τὸν Κίλικα  
 511 καὶ Ξενόφρονα τὸν Σικελιώτην καὶ Πειθαγόραν τὸν ἐκ Κυρήνης, οἱ μῆτε γινῶναι ἱκανοὶ ἔδοξαν, μῆθ' ἐρμηνεύσαι τὰ γνωσθέντα, ἀλλ' ἀπορία γενναίων σοφιστῶν ἐσπουδάσθησαν τοῖς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν Ἑλλησιν, ὃν που τρόπον τοῖς σίτου ἀποροῦσιν οἱ ὄροβοι, ἐπὶ Νικήτην ἴωμεν τὸν Σμυρναῖον. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Νικήτης παραλαβὼν τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐς στενὸν ἀπειλημένην ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ παρόδους πολλῷ λαμπροτέρας ὢν αὐτὸς τῇ Σμύρνῃ ἐδείματο, συνάψας τὴν

<sup>1</sup> These are not extant.

<sup>2</sup> Libanius, *Oration* i. 8, says that in his education he had to put up with inferior sophists, as men eat bread made of barley for lack of a better sort.

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as Demosthenes says, he would have handled so unskilfully the myths about Delos, which are concerned with the nature and descent of the gods and the story of bygone times, and that too when he was arguing the case of the Athenians, who considered it of the utmost importance not to fail to maintain the custody of the temple at Delos. Accordingly we must limit the eloquence of Aeschines to three orations, which are: *Against Timarchus*, *In Defence of the Embassy*, and the speech *Against Ctesiphon*. There is also extant a fourth work of his, the *Letters*,<sup>1</sup> which, though they are few, are full of learning and character. What that character was he clearly showed at Rhodes. For once after he had read in public his speech *Against Ctesiphon*, they were expressing their surprise that he had been defeated after so able a speech, and were criticizing the Athenians as out of their senses, but Aeschines said: "You would not marvel thus if you had heard Demosthenes in reply to these arguments." Thus he not only praised his enemy but also acquitted the jury from blame.

19. We will pass over Ariobarzanes of Cilicia, Xenophon of Sicily, and Peithagoras of Cyrene, who showed no skill either in invention or in the expression of their ideas, though in the scarcity of first-rate sophists they were sought after by the Greeks of their day, as men seek after pulse when they are short of corn;<sup>2</sup> and we will proceed to NICETES of Smyrna. For this Nicetes found the science of oratory reduced to great straits, and he bestowed on it approaches far more splendid even than those which he himself built for Smyrna, when he connected the city with

πόλιν ταῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον πύλαις καὶ διὰ μέγεθος ἀντεξάρας λόγοις ἔργα. ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ οὗτος τοῖς μὲν δικανικοῖς ἀμείνων ἐδόκει τὰ δικανικά, τοῖς δὲ σοφιστικοῖς τὰ σοφιστικά ὑπὸ τοῦ περιδεξίως τε καὶ πρὸς ἀμιλλαν ἐς ἀμφω ἠρμόσθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δικανικὸν σοφιστικῇ περιβολῇ ἐκόσμησεν, τὸ δὲ σοφιστικὸν κέντρῳ δικανικῶ ἐπέρρωσεν. ἡ δὲ ἰδέα τῶν λόγων τοῦ μὲν ἀρχαίου καὶ πολιτικοῦ ἀποβέβηκεν, ὑπόβακχος δὲ καὶ διθυραμβώδης, τὰς δ' ἐννοίας ἰδίας τε καὶ παραδόξους ἐκδίδωσιν, ὥσπερ “οἱ βακχεῖοι θύρσοι” τὸ μέλι καὶ “τοὺς εἰμούς τοῦ γάλακτος.”

Μεγάλων δ' ἀξιούμενος τῆς Σμύρνης τί οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτῷ βοώσης ὡς ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ θαυμασίῳ καὶ ῥήτορι, οὐκ ἐθάμιζεν ἐς τὸν δῆμον, ἀλλ' αἰτίαν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔχων φόβου “φοβοῦμαι” ἔφη “δῆμον ἐπαίροντα μᾶλλον ἢ λοιδορούμενον.” τελώνου δὲ θρασυναμένου ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ καὶ εἰπόντος “παῦσαι ὑλακτῶν με” μάλα ἀστείως ὁ Νικήτης “νῆ Δία,” εἶπεν “ἦν καὶ σὺ παύση δάκνων με.”

- 512 Ἡ δὲ ὑπὲρ Ἀλπεις τε καὶ Ῥήνον ἀποδημία τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐγένετο μὲν ἐκ βασιλείου προστάγματος, αἰτία δὲ αὐτῆς ἦδε· ἀνὴρ ὑπατος, ᾧ ὄνομα Ῥούφος, τοὺς Σμυρναίους ἐλογίστετε πικρῶς καὶ δυστρόπως. τούτῳ τι προσκρούσας ὁ Νικήτης “ἔρρωσο,” εἶπεν, καὶ οὐκέτι προσῆει δικάζοντι. τὸν μὲν δὴ χρόνον,

<sup>1</sup> For this word see Glossary.

<sup>2</sup> Both these phrases are echoes of Euripides, *Bacchae* 710-11.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. like a noxious insect; this seems to have been a favourite retort. cf. p. 588.

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the gate that looks to Ephesus, and by this great structure raised his deeds to the same high level as his words. He was a man who, when he dealt with legal matters, seemed to be a better lawyer than anything else, and again when he dealt with sophistic themes he seemed to do better as a sophist, because of the peculiar skill and the keen spirit of competition with which he adapted himself to both styles. For he adorned the legal style with sophistic amplification,<sup>1</sup> while he reinforced the sophistic style with the sting of legal argument. His type of eloquence forsook the antique political convention and is almost bacchic and like a dithyramb, and he produces phrases that are peculiar and surprise by their daring, like "the thyrsi of Dionysus drip with honey," and "swarms of milk."<sup>2</sup>

Though he was deemed worthy of the highest honour in Smyrna, which left nothing unsaid in its loud praise of him as a marvellous man and a great orator, he seldom came forward to speak in the public assembly; and when the crowd accused him of being afraid: "I am more afraid," said he, "of the public when they praise than when they abuse me." And once when a tax-collector behaved insolently to him in the law court, and said: "Stop barking at me," Nicetes replied with ready wit: "I will, by Zeus, if you too will stop biting<sup>3</sup> me."

His journey beyond the Alps and the Rhine was made at the command of the Emperor, and the reason for it was as follows. A consul named Rufus was governing Smyrna with great harshness and malevolence, and Nicetes having come into collision with him in a certain matter, said "Good day" to him and did not again appear before his court. Now so long

ὄν μιᾶς πόλεως ἤρξεν, οὕτω δεινὰ πεπονθέναι ᾤετο, ἐπιτραπίεις δὲ τὰ Κελτικά στρατόπεδα ὀργῆς ἀνεμνήσθη — αἱ γὰρ εὐπράγιοι τὰ τε ἄλλα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπαίρουσι καὶ τὸ μηκέτι καρτερεῖν, ἂ πρὶν εὖ πράττειν ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ ἐκαρτέρουν — καὶ γράφει πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Νερούαν πολλὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Νικήτην καὶ σχέτλια, καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ "αὐτὸς" εἶπεν "ἀκροᾶσαι ἀπολογουμένου, κἂν ἀδικοῦντα εὖρης, ἐπίθες δίκην." ταυτὶ δὲ ἔγραφεν οὐ τὸν Νικήτην ἐκδιδούς, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ῥοῦφον ἐς συγγνώμην ἐτοιμάζων, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε ἄνδρα τοιοῦτον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ γεγονότα οὐτ' ἂν ἀποκτεῖναι ὁ Ῥοῦφος, οὐτ' ἂν ἕτερον ζημιῶσαι οὐδέν, ὡς μὴ φανεῖη βαρὺς τῷ καθιστάντι αὐτὸν δικαστὴν ἐχθροῦ. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπὶ Ῥῆγόν τε καὶ Κελτοὺς ἦλθεν, παρελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν οὕτω τι κατέπληξε τὸν Ῥοῦφον, ὡς πλείω μὲν ἀφεῖναι ἐπὶ τῷ Νικήτῃ δάκρυα οὐ διεμέτρησεν αὐτῷ ὕδατος, ἀποπέμψαι δὲ οὐκ ἄτρωτον μόνον, ἀλλὰ περίβλεπτον καὶ ἐν τοῖς ζηλωτοῖς Σμυρναίων. τὸν δὲ ἄνδρὸ τοῦτον χρόνοις ὕστερον Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Λύκιος σοφιστῆς διορθούμενος ἐπέγραψε Νικήτην τὸν κεκαθαρμένον, ἠγγόησε δὲ ἀκροθίνια Πυγμαῖα κολοσσῷ ἐφάρμόζων.

κ'. Ἰσαῖος δὲ ὁ σοφιστῆς ὁ Ἀσσύριος τὸν μὲν ἐν μειρακίῳ χρόνον ἠδοναῖς ἐδεδῶκει, γαστροῦς τε 513 γὰρ καὶ φιλοποσίας ἤττητο καὶ λεπτὰ ἠμπύσχετο

<sup>1</sup> i.e. in the clepsydra, the water-clock.

<sup>2</sup> Heraclides ventured to rewrite the speech delivered by Nicetes before Rufus; see pp. 612-613 for Heraclides.

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as Rufus was procurator of only one city, he did not take serious offence at this behaviour; but when he became prefect of the armies in Gaul his anger revived in his memory; for men are uplifted by success in various ways, but especially they refuse any longer to tolerate things that, before their success, when they used ordinary human standards, they used to tolerate. Accordingly he wrote to the Emperor Nerva, bringing many serious charges against Nicetes, to which the Emperor replied: "You shall yourself hear him in his own defence, and if you find him guilty do you fix the penalty." Now in writing thus he was not abandoning Nicetes, but rather preparing the mind of Rufus for forgiveness, since he thought that he would never put to death so worthy a man if the decision were in his hands, nor indeed inflict any other penalty on him, lest he should appear harsh and vindictive to him who had appointed him his enemy's judge. It was therefore on this account that Nicetes went to the Rhine and to Gaul, and when he came forward to make his defence he impressed Rufus so profoundly that the tears he shed over Nicetes amounted to more than the water that had been allotted<sup>1</sup> to him for his defence; and he sent him away not only unscathed, but singled out for honour even among the most illustrious of the citizens of Smyrna. In latter times Heracleides,<sup>2</sup> the Lycian sophist, attempted to correct the writings of this great man and called his work *Nicetes Revised*, but he failed to see that he was fitting the spoils of the Pygmies on to a colossus.

20. ISAEUS, the Assyrian sophist, had devoted the period of his early youth to pleasure, for he was the slave of eating and drinking, dressed himself in elegant

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καὶ θαμὰ ἦρα καὶ ἀπαρακαλύπτως ἐκώμαζεν, ἐς δὲ ἄνδρας ἦκων οὕτω τι μετέβαλεν, ὡς ἕτερος ἐξ ἑτέρου νομισθῆναι, τὸ μὲν γὰρ φιλόγελων ἐπιπολάζειν αὐτῷ δοκοῦν ἀφείλε καὶ προσώπου καὶ γνώμης, λυρῶν τε καὶ αὐλῶν κτύποις οὐδ' ἐπὶ σκηνηῆς ἔτι παρετύγγανεν, ἀπέδου δὲ καὶ τὰ λήθια καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐφεστρίδων βαφὰς καὶ τράπεζαν ἐκόλασε καὶ τὸ ἐρᾶν μεθήκεν,<sup>1</sup> ὥσπερ τοὺς προτέρους ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀποβαλὼν. Ἄρδουος γοῦν τοῦ ρήτορος ἐρομένου αὐτόν, εἰ ἢ δεῖνα αὐτῷ καλῆ φαίνοιτο, μάλα σωφρόνως ὁ Ἰσαῖος “πέπαυμαι” εἶπεν “ὀφθαλμῶν.” ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτόν ἑτέρου, τίς ἄριστος τῶν ὀρνίθων καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων ἐς βρώσιν, “πέπαυμαι” ἔφη ὁ Ἰσαῖος “ταῦτα σπουδάζων, ξυνηκα γὰρ τοὺς Ταντάλου κήπους τρυγῶν,” ἐνδεικνύμενος δήπου τῷ ἐρομένῳ ταῦτα, ὅτι σκιά καὶ ὀνειράτα αἱ ἡδοναὶ πᾶσαι.

Τῷ δὲ Μιλησίῳ Διονυσίῳ ἀκροατῇ ὄντι τὰς μελέτας ξὺν ᾧδῃ ποιουμένῳ ἐπιπλήττων ὁ Ἰσαῖος “μειράκιον” ἔφη “Ἰωνικόν, ἐγὼ δέ σε ἄδειν οὐκ ἐπαίδευσα.” νεανίσκου δὲ Ἰωνικοῦ θαυμάζοντος πρὸς αὐτόν τὸ τοῦ Νικήτου μεγαλοφώνως ἐπὶ τοῦ Ξέρξου εἰρημένον “ἐκ τῆς βασιλείου νεὼς Αἴγιναν ἀναδησώμεθα” καταγελάσας πλατὺ ὁ Ἰσαῖος “ἀνόητε,” εἶπεν, “καὶ πῶς ἀναχθήσῃ;”

514 Τὰς δὲ μελέτας οὐκ αὐτοσχεδίους ἐποιεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐπεσκεμμένος<sup>2</sup> τὸν ἐξ ἔω ἐς μεσημβρίαν καιρόν.

<sup>1</sup> μετέθηκεν Kayser; μεθήκεν Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπεσκεμμένος Kayser; ἐπεσκεμμένος Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> A proverb of fleeting joys; cf. p. 595 and *Life of Apollonius* iv. 25.



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stuffs, was often in love, and openly joined in drunken revels. But when he attained to manhood he so transformed himself as to be thought to have become another person, for he discarded both from his countenance and his mind the frivolity that had seemed to come to the surface in him; no longer did he, even in the theatre, hearken to the sounds of the lyre and the flute; he put off his transparent garments and his many-coloured cloaks, reduced his table, and left off his amours as though he had lost the eyes he had before. For instance, when Ardy the rhetorician asked him whether he considered some woman or other handsome, Isaeus replied with much discretion: "I have ceased to suffer from eye trouble." And when someone asked him what sort of bird and what sort of fish were the best eating: "I have ceased," replied Isaeus, "to take these matters seriously, for I now know that I used to feed on the gardens of Tantalus."<sup>1</sup> Thus he indicated to his questioner that all pleasures are a shadow and a dream.

When Dionysius of Miletus, who had been his pupil, delivered his declamations in a sing-song, Isaeus rebuked him, saying: "Young man from Ionia, I did not train you to sing."<sup>2</sup> And when a youth from Ionia admired in his presence the grandiloquent saying of Nicetes in his *Xerxes*, "Let us fasten Aegina to the king's ship," Isaeus burst into a loud laugh and said: "Madman, how will you put to sea?"

His declamations were not actually extempore, but he deliberated from daybreak till midday. The

<sup>1</sup> The Ionian rhetoricians were especially fond of such vocal effects.

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ιδέαν δ' ἐπήσκησε λόγων οὐτ' ἐπιβεβλημένην,<sup>1</sup> οὐτ' αἶσον, ἀλλ' ἀπέριττον καὶ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ ἀποχρῶσαν τοῖς πράγμασιν. καὶ τὸ βραχέως ἐρμηνεύειν, τοῦτό τε καὶ πᾶσαν ὑπόθεσιν συνελείν ἐς βραχὺ Ἰσαίου εὖρημα, ὡς ἐν πλείοσι μὲν ἑτέροις, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τοῖσδε ἐδηλώθη· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀγωνιζόμενος τοὺς βουλευομένους περὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀπὸ τῶν Ὀμήρου ἐβραχυλόγησε τοσοῦτον·

“ ἀσπίς ἄρ' ἀσπίδ' ἔρειδε, κόρυς κόρυιν, ἀνέρα δ' ἀνήρ·

οὕτω στήτέ μοι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τετειχισμεθα.” κατηγορῶν δὲ τοῦ Βυζαντίου Πύθωνος, ὡς δεθέντος μὲν ἐκ χρησμῶν ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ, κεκριμένης δὲ τῆς προδοσίας, ὡς ἀνέζευξεν ὁ Φίλιππος, ξυνέλαβε τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον ἐς τρεῖς ἐννοίας, ἔστι γὰρ τὰ εἰρημένα ἐν τρισὶ τούτοις· “ ἐλέγχω Πύθωνα προδεδωκότα τῷ χρήσαντι θεῷ, τῷ δῆσαντι δῆμῳ, τῷ ἀναζεύξαντι Φιλίππῳ, ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἔχρησεν, εἰ μὴ τις ἦν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἔδησεν, εἰ μὴ τοιοῦτος ἦν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἀνέζευξεν, εἰ μὴ δι' ὃν ἦλθεν, οὐχ εὔρεν.”

κα'. Ὑπὲρ Σκοπελιανοῦ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ διαλέξομαι καθαψάμενος πρότερον τῶν κακίζειν αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> Cobet would read περιβεβλημένην, but this is unnecessary.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* xvi. 215. On the later fortification of Sparta cf. Pausanias i. 13. This was a famous theme and was inspired by the saying *Non est Sparta lapidibus circumdata* (Seneca, *Suasoriae* ii. 3); cf. below, p. 584.

<sup>2</sup> For Python cf. p. 482 note. But here as elsewhere, Python is probably confused with Leon of Byzantium, of

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style of eloquence that he practised was neither exuberant nor meagre, but simple and natural and suited to the subject matter. Moreover, a concise form of expression and the summing up of every argument into a brief statement was peculiarly an invention of Isaeus, as was clearly shown in many instances, but especially in the following. He had to represent the Lacedaemonians debating whether they should fortify themselves by building a wall, and he condensed his argument into these few words from Homer :

“ And shield pressed on shield, helm on helm, man on man.”<sup>1</sup>

Thus stand fast, Lacedaemonians, these are our fortifications !” When he took for his theme the indictment of Python<sup>2</sup> of Byzantium, imprisoned for treason at the command of an oracle and on his trial for treason after Philip’s departure, he confined his case to three points to be considered ; for what he said is summed up in these three statements : “ I find Python guilty of treason by the evidence of the god who gave the oracle, of the people who put him in prison, of Philip who has departed. For the first would not have given the oracle if there were no traitor ; the second would not have imprisoned him if he were not that sort of man ; the third would not have departed if he had not failed to find the man who had caused him to come.”<sup>3</sup>

21. I will now speak of the sophist SCOPELIAN, but first I will deal with those who try to calumniate whom Suidas relates this story. For this theme as used in declamations *cf.* the third-century rhetorician Apsines ix. 479 Walz.

<sup>3</sup> This is an example of antithesis combined with *ισόκωλα*, clauses of equal length.

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πειρωμένων, ἀπαξιούσι γὰρ δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ τῶν σοφιστῶν κύκλου διθυραμβώδη καλοῦντες καὶ ἀκό-  
 515 λαστον καὶ πεπαχυσμένον. ταυτὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγου-  
 σιν οἱ λεπτολόγοι καὶ νωθροὶ καὶ μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτο-  
 σχεδίου γλώττης ἀναπνέοντες· φύσει μὲν γὰρ ἐπί-  
 φθονον χρῆμα ἄνθρωπος.<sup>1</sup> διαβάλλουσι γοῦν τοὺς  
 μὲν εὐμήκεις οἱ μικροί, τοὺς δὲ εὐειδεῖς οἱ πονηροὶ  
 τὸ εἶδος, τοὺς δὲ κούφους τε καὶ δρομικοὺς οἱ  
 βραδεῖς καὶ ἑτερόποδες, τοὺς θαρσαλέους οἱ δειλοὶ  
 καὶ οἱ ἄμουσοι τοὺς λυρικοὺς, τοὺς δ' ἄμφι παλαί-  
 στραν οἱ ἀγύμναστοι, καὶ οὐ χρῆθ' ἀθαυμάζειν, εἰ  
 πεπηδημένοι τὴν γλώτταν τινες καὶ βοῦν ἀφωνίας  
 ἐπ' αὐτὴν βεβλημένοι καὶ μήτ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τι ἐνθυ-  
 μηθέντες μέγα, μήτ' ἂν ἐνθυμηθέντος ἑτέρου  
 ξυμφήσαντες διαπτύοιέν τε καὶ κακίζοιεν τὸν  
 ἑτοιμότατα δὴ καὶ θαρραλεώτατα καὶ μεγαλειότατα  
 τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ Ἑλλήνων ἑρμηνεύσαντα. ὡς δὲ  
 ἠγνοήκασιν τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, καὶ ὅποιον  
 αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τοῦ οἴκου σχῆμα.

Ἄρχιερεὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐγένετο τῆς Ἀσίας αὐτὸς τε  
 καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ παῖς ἐκ πατρὸς πάντες, ὁ δὲ  
 στέφανος οὗτος πολὺς καὶ ὑπὲρ πολλῶν χρημάτων.  
 δίδυμός τε ἀποτεχθεὶς ἄμφω μὲν ἦσθη ἐν σπαρ-  
 γάνοις, πεμπταίων δὲ ὄντων κεραυνῷ μὲν ἐβλήθη  
 ὁ ἕτερος, ὁ δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἐπηρώθη τῶν αἰσθήσεων  
 ξυγκατακείμενος τῷ βληθέντι. καίτοι τὸ τῶν σκη-  
 πτῶν πῦρ οὕτω δριμύ καὶ θειῶδες, ὡς τῶν ἀγχοῦ  
 τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείνειν κατ' ἐκπληξιν, τῶν δὲ ἀκοάς

<sup>1</sup> ἄνθρωποι Kayser ; ἄνθρωπος Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> A proverb for silence first found in Theognis 651 ; cf. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 36 ; Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* vi. 11 ; its precise origin is not clear, but it may refer to the  
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him. For they say that he is unworthy of the sophistic circle and call him dithyrambic, intemperate in his style, and thick-witted. Those who say this about him are quibblers and sluggish and are not inspired with extempore eloquence; for man is by nature a creature prone to envy. At any rate the short disparage the tall, the ill-favoured the good-looking, those who are slow and lame disparage the light-footed swift runner, cowards the brave, the unmusical the musical, those who are unathletic disparage athletes. Hence we must not be surprised if certain persons who are themselves tongue-tied, and have set on their tongues the "ox of silence,"<sup>1</sup> who could not of themselves conceive any great thought or sympathize with another who conceived it, should sneer at and revile one whose style of eloquence was the readiest, the boldest, and the most elevated of any Greek of his time. But since they have failed to understand the man, I will make known what he was and how illustrious was his family.

For he was himself high-priest of Asia and so were his ancestors before him, all of them, inheriting the office from father to son. And this is a great crown of glory and more than great wealth. He was one of twins, and as both were lying in one cradle, when they were five days old, one of them was struck by lightning, but the other, though he was lying with the stricken child, was not maimed in any one of his senses. And yet, so fierce and sulphurous was the fire of the thunderbolt that some of those who stood near were killed by the shock, others suffered

weight of the ox, or to coins engraved with an ox and laid on the tongue *e.g.* of a victim. The Latin proverb *bos in lingua*, "he is bribed," must refer to an engraved coin.

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τε καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς σίνεσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐς τοὺς νοῦς ἀποσκήπτειν. ἀλλ' οὐδενὶ τούτων ὁ Σκοπελιανὸς ἦλω, διετέλεσε γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐς γῆρας βαθὺ ἀκέραιός τε καὶ ἄρτιος. τουτὶ δὲ ὁπόθεν θαυμάζω, δηλώσαι σοι βούλομαι· ἐδείπνουν μὲν κατὰ τὴν Λῆμνον ὑπὸ δρυὶ μεγάλη θερισταὶ ὀκτῶ περι τὸ καλούμενον Κέρας τῆς νήσου, τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο λιμὴν ἐστίν  
 516 ἐς κεραίας ἐπιστρέφων λεπτάς, νέφους δὲ τὴν δρυὶν περισχόντος καὶ σκηπτοῦ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκδοθέντος ἢ μὲν ἐβέβλητο, οἱ θερισταὶ δὲ ἐκπλήξεως αὐτοῖς ἐμπεσούσης, ἐφ' οὐπερ ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος πρᾶπτων, οὕτως ἀπέθανεν, ὁ μὲν γὰρ κύλικα ἀναιρούμενος, ὁ δὲ πίνων, ὁ δὲ μάττων, ὁ δὲ ἐσθίων, ὁ δὲ ἕτερόν τι<sup>1</sup> ποιῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀφήκαν ἐπιτεθυμμένοι καὶ μέλανες, ὥσπερ οἱ χαλκοὶ τῶν ἀνδριάντων περι τὰς ἐμπύρους τῶν πηγῶν κεκαπνισμένοι. ὁ δὲ οὕτω τι οὐκ ἀθεεὶ ἐτρέφετο, ὡς διαφυγεῖν μὲν τὸν ἐκ τοῦ σκηπτοῦ θάνατον, ὃν μηδὲ οἱ σκληρότατοι τῶν ἀγροίκων διέφυγον, ἄτρωτος δὲ μείναι τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἔτοιμος καὶ ὕπνου κρείττων, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ νωθρὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπῆν.

Ἐφοίτησε δὲ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς τῶν λόγων παρὰ τὸν Σμυρναῖον Νικήτην μελετήσαντα μὲν ἐπιφανῶς, πολλῶ δὲ μεῖζον ἐν δικαστηρίοις πνεύσαντα. δεομένων δὲ τῶν Κλαζομενίων τὰς μελέτας αὐτὸν οἴκοι ποιεῖσθαι καὶ προβήσεσθαι τὰς Κλαζομενάς ἐπὶ μέγα ἡγουμένων, εἰ τοιοῦτος δὴ ἀνὴρ ἐμπαιδεύσοι σφίσι, τουτὶ μὲν οὐκ ἀμούσως παρητήσατο τὴν

<sup>1</sup> δὲ τι Kayser ; δὲ ἕτερόν τι Cobet.

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injury to their ears and eyes, while the minds of others were affected by the shock of the bolt. But Scopelian was afflicted by none of these misfortunes, for he remained healthy and sound far on into old age. I will explain the reason why I marvel at this. Once, in Lemnos, eight harvesters were eating their meal beneath a great oak, near that part of the island called the Horn—this place is a harbour curved in the shape of slender horns—when a cloud covered the oak and a bolt was hurled on to it, so that the tree itself was struck, and the harvesters, when the stroke fell on them, were killed every one of them in the act of doing whatever it might be, one as he lifted a cup, one drinking, one kneading bread, one while eating, in fact, whatever else it might be that they were engaged on, thus in the act they lost their lives; and they were covered with smoke and blackened like bronze statues that are near hot springs and so become darkened by fumes. But Scopelian was reared under the protection of the gods so carefully that he not only escaped death from the thunderbolt, though not even the most robust of those field-labourers escaped it, but remained with his senses unimpaired, keen-witted, and independent of sleep, and in fact he was never subject even to a feeling of torpor.

He frequented the rhetoricians' schools of oratory as a pupil of Nicetes of Smyrna, who had conspicuous success as a declaimer, though in the law courts he was an even more vigorous orator. When the city of Clazomenae begged Scopelian to declaim in his native place, because they thought it would greatly benefit Clazomenae if so talented a man should open a school there, he declined politely, saying that the

ἀηδόνα φήσας ἐν οἰκίσκῳ μὴ ᾄδειν, ὥσπερ δὲ ἄλσος τι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ εὐφωνίας τὴν Σμύρναν ἐσκέψατο καὶ τὴν ἠχὴν τὴν ἐκεῖ πλείστου ἀξίαν ᾤθη. πάσης γὰρ τῆς Ἰωνίας οἶον μουσείου πεπολισμένης ἀρτιωτάτην ἐπέχει τάξιν ἢ Σμύρνα, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ὄργανοις ἢ μαγᾶς.

Αἱ δὲ αἰτίαι, δι' ἧς ὁ πατὴρ ἐξ ἡμέρου τε καὶ πρᾶου χαλεπὸς αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, λέγονται μὲν ἐπὶ πολλά, καὶ γὰρ ἡ δεῖνα καὶ ἡ δεῖνα καὶ πλείους, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τὴν ἀληθεστάτην δηλώσω· μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ Σκοπελιανοῦ μητέρα γυναῖκα ὁ πρεσβύτης ἦγετο ἡμίγαμόν τε καὶ οὐ κατὰ νόμους, ὁ δὲ ὄρων  
 517 ταῦτα ἐνουθέτει καὶ ἀπήγγεν, τουτὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐξώροις ἀηδές. ἡ δ' αὖ ξυνετίθει κατ' αὐτοῦ λόγον, ὡς ἐρώντος μὲν αὐτῆς, τὴν διαμαρτίαν δὲ μὴ καρτεροῦντος. ξυνελάμβανε δὲ αὐτῇ τῶν διαβολῶν καὶ οἰκέτης τοῦ πρεσβύτου μάγειρος, ᾧ ἐπωνυμία Κύθηρος, ὑποθωπεύων, ὥσπερ ἐν δράματι, τὸν δεσπότην καὶ τοιαυτὶ λέγων· “ ὦ δέσποτα, βούλεται σε ὁ υἱὸς τεθνάναι ἤδη, οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτόματον καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ θάνατον ἐνδιδούς τῷ σῶ γήρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτουργῶν μὲν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, μισθοῦμενος δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐμὰς χεῖρας. ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῷ φάρμακα ἀνδροφόνα ἐπὶ σέ, ὧν τὸ καιριώτατον κελεύει με ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς ἓν τι τῶν ὄψων ἐλευθερίαν τε ὁμολογῶν καὶ ἀγροῦς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ χρήματα καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι βουλοίμην ἔχειν τοῦ σοῦ οἴκου, καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν πειθομένῳ εἶναι, ἀπειθοῦντι δὲ μαστίγῳσιν τε καὶ στρέβλωσιν καὶ παχείας πέδας καὶ κύφωνα

<sup>1</sup> For the same figure cf. p. 487.



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nightingale does not sing in a cage; and he regarded Smyrna as, so to speak, a grove in which he could practise his melodious voice, and thought it best worth his while to let it echo there. For while all Ionia is, as it were, an established seat of the Muses, Smyrna holds the most important position, like the bridge in musical instruments.<sup>1</sup>

The reasons why his father, after being kind and indulgent to him, treated him harshly, are told in many different versions, for they allege now this reason, now that, then more than one, but I shall relate the truest version. After the death of Scopelian's mother, the old man was preparing to bring home a woman as a concubine and not in legal wedlock, and when the son perceived this he admonished him and tried to deter him, which is always an annoying thing to older men. The woman thereupon trumped up a tale against him to the effect that he was in love with her, and could not endure his lack of success. In this calumny she had also a slave as accomplice, the old man's cook whose name was Cytherus, and he used to flatter his master, like a slave in a play, and say things of this sort: "Master, your son wishes you to die now at once, nor will he allow to your old age a natural death, such as must needs be, not long hence; and he himself is preparing the plot, but he is trying to hire the help of my hands as well. For he has poisonous drugs destined for you, and he orders me to put the most deadly of them in one of my dishes, promising me my freedom, lands, houses, money, and whatever I may please, to have from your house; and this, if I obey; but if I disobey he promises me the lash, torture, stout fetters, and the cruel pillory." And

βαρύν." καὶ τοιοῦτοδε θωπεύμασι περιελθὼν τὸν δεσπότην τελευτῶντος μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ πρὸς διαθήκαις ὄντος γράφεται κληρονόμος, υἱὸς τε προσρηθεῖς καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ψυχὴ πᾶσα. καὶ οὐχὶ ταυτὶ χρὴ θαυμάζειν, ἐπεὶ πρεσβύτην ἐρώντα ἔθελεν ἴσως πού καὶ παραπαίοντα ὑπὸ ἡλικίας καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐράν — καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ νέοι ἐρώντες οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις αὐτῶν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν ἔχει — ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τῆς τοῦ Σκοπελιανοῦ δεωότητος τε καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀκμῆς κρείττων ἔδοξεν ἀγωνισάμενος μὲν περὶ τῶν διαθηκῶν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀντεκτείνας δὲ τῇ ἐκείνου δεωότητι τὸν ἐκείνου πλοῦτον ἀπαντλῶν γὰρ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ μισθούμενος ὑπερβολαῖς χρημάτων γλώττας ὁμοῦ πάσας καὶ δικαστῶν ψήφους πανταχοῦ τὴν νικῶσαν ἀπηνέγκατο, ὅθεν ὁ Σκοπελιανὸς τὰ μὲν Ἀναξαγόρου μηλόβοτα εἶναι, τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ δουλόβοτα ἔλεγεν. ἐπιφανῆς δὲ καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ ὁ Κῦθηρος γενόμενος γηράσκων ἤδη καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ὀρῶν ὑποδιδούσαν καταφρονούμενός τε ἱκανῶς καὶ πού καὶ πληγὰς λαβὼν πρὸς ἀνδρός, ὃν χρήματα ἀπαιτῶν ἐτύγχανεν, ἰκέτης τοῦ

518 Σκοπελιανοῦ γίνεται μνησικακίαν τε αὐτῷ παρεῖναι καὶ ὀργὴν ἀπολαβεῖν τε τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς οἶκον ἀέντα μὲν αὐτῷ μέρος τῆς οἰκίας πολλῆς οὐσης, ὡς μὴ ἀνελευθέρως ἐνδαιτηθήσεται, συγχωρήσαντα δὲ ἀγροὺς δύο τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. καὶ Κυθήρου οἶκος ἐπωνόμασται νῦν ἔτι τὸ μέρος τῆς οἰκίας, ἐν ᾧ κατεβίω. ταυτὶ μὲν, ὡς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν αὐτά,

<sup>1</sup> Anaxagoras when exiled from Athens lost his property, which was then neglected; the story is told by Diogenes Laertius ii. 9; cf. Plato, *Hippias maior* 283 A; Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* i. 13.

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by wheedling him in this way he got round his master, so that when the latter was dying not long after, and came to make a will, he was appointed heir and was therein styled his son, his eyes, and his whole soul. And this indeed need not surprise us, since he whom he beguiled was an amorous old man, who was perhaps feeble-minded besides, from old age and from that same passion—for even when young men are in love there is not one of them that keeps his wits—but the surprising thing is that he showed himself more than a match for the oratorical talent of Scopelian, and his high reputation, in the law courts; for he went to law with him over the will, and used Scopelian's own fortune to counteract the latter's talent. For by drawing deeply on the estate and bribing with extravagant sums the tongues of all men, and at the same time the votes of the jury, he won a complete victory on every point, and hence Scopelian used to say that, whereas the property of Anaxagoras had become a sheep pasture, his own was a slave pasture.<sup>1</sup> Cytherus became prominent in public life also, and when he was now an old man and saw that his estate was growing less and that he himself was greatly despised, nay had even received blows at the hands of a man from whom he tried to recover money, he implored Scopelian to lay aside the memory of his wrongs and his anger, and to take back his father's property, only giving up to himself a part of the house, which was spacious, so that he might live in it without too great squalor; and to yield to him also two fields out of those near the sea. And to this day, that part of the house in which he lived till his death is called the dwelling of Cytherus. All these facts I have related that they may not

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συνιέναι δὲ καὶ τούτων, ὅτι οἱ ἄνθρωποι μὴ θεοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλήλων παίγνια.

Σκοπελιανοῦ δὲ σπουδάζοντος ἐν τῇ Σμύρνη ξυμφοιτᾶν μὲν ἐς αὐτὴν Ἴωνάς τε καὶ Λυδοὺς καὶ Κᾶρας καὶ Μαίονας Αἰολέας τε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Μυσῶν Ἑλληνας καὶ Φρυγῶν οὕτω μέγα, ἀγχίθυρος γὰρ τοῖς ἔθνεσι τούτοις ἢ Σμύρνα καιρίως ἔχουσα τῶν γῆς καὶ θαλάττης πυλῶν, ὁ δὲ ἦγε μὲν Καππαδόκας τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους, ἦγε δὲ Αἰγυπτίους καὶ Φοίνικας Ἀχαιῶν τε τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτέρους καὶ νεότητά τὴν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἄπασαν. δόξαν μὲν οὖν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς παραδεδώκει ῥαστώνης τε καὶ ἀμελείας, ἐπειδὴ τὸν πρὸ τῆς μελέτης καιρὸν ξυνῆν ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῖς τῶν Σμυρναίων τέλεσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιτικῶν, ὁ δὲ ἀπεχρήτο μὲν καὶ τῇ φύσει λαμπρᾷ τε οὔσῃ καὶ μεγαλογνώμονι, καὶ τὸν μεθ' ἡμέραν καιρὸν ἦττον ἐσπούδαζεν, ἀυπνότητος δ' ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος “ὦ νύξ,” ἔλεγε “σὺ γὰρ δὴ πλείστον σοφίας μετέχεις μέρος θεῶν,” ξυνεργὸν δὲ αὐτὴν ἐποιεῖτο τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φροντισμάτων. λέγεται γοῦν καὶ ἐς ὄρθρον ἀποτεῖναι σπουδάζων ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας.

Προσέκειτο μὲν οὖν ἅπασι ποιήμασι, τραγωδίας δὲ ἐνεφορεῖτο, ἀγωνιζόμενος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ διδασκάλου μεγαλοφωνίαν—ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ μέρους ὁ Νικήτης σφόδρα ἐθαυμάζετο—ὁ δὲ οὕτω τι μεγαλοφωνίας ἐπὶ μείζον ἤλασεν, ὡς καὶ Γιγαντίαν ξυμβεῖναι παραδοῦναί τε Ὀμηρί-

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<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Laws* 644 D. The saying became a proverb, cf. *Life of Apollonius* iv. 36.

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remain unknown, and that from them we may learn that men are the playthings not only of God<sup>1</sup> but of one another.

It is no great wonder that, while Scopelian taught at Smyrna, Ionians, Lydians, Carians, Maeonians, Aeolians also and Hellenes from Mysia and Phrygia flocked thither to his school; for Smyrna is next door to these peoples and is a convenient gateway both by land and sea. But besides these he attracted Cappadocians and Assyrians, he attracted also Egyptians and Phoenicians, the more illustrious of the Achaeans, and all the youth of Athens. To the crowd he no doubt gave an impression of indolence and negligence, since during the period before a declamation he was generally in the society of the magistrates of Smyrna transacting public business, but he was able to rely on his own genius, which was brilliant and of a lofty kind; and in fact during the daytime he did not work much, but he was the most sleepless of men, and hence he used to say: "O Night, thy share of wisdom is greater than that of the other gods!"<sup>2</sup> and he made her the collaborator in his studies. Indeed it is said that he used to work continuously from evening until dawn.

He devoted himself to all kinds of poetry, but tragedies he devoured in his endeavour to rival the grand style of his teacher; for in this branch Nicetes was greatly admired. But Scopelian went so much further in magniloquence that he even composed an *Epic of the Giants*, and furnished the Homerids<sup>3</sup> with

<sup>2</sup> Menander, *frag.* 199 Meineke; Scopelian adapted the line by substituting *wisdom* for *love*.

<sup>3</sup> The allusion is to certain epic poets of the day who imitated Scopelian's epic and are hence sarcastically called "Sons of Homer."

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δαις ἀφορμὰς ἐς τὸν λόγον. ὠμίλει δὲ σοφιστῶν  
 μὲν μάλιστα Γοργία τῷ Λεοντίνῳ, ῥητόρων δὲ  
 519 τοῖς λαμπρὸν ἤχοῦσιν. τὸ δὲ ἐπίχαρι φύσει  
 μᾶλλον εἶχεν ἢ μελέτῃ, πρὸς φύσεως μὲν γὰρ  
 τοῖς Ἰωνικοῖς τὸ ἀστείζεσθαι, τῷ δ' αὖ καὶ ἐπὶ  
 τῶν λόγων τοῦ φιλόγελω περιῆν, τὸ γὰρ κατηφές  
 δυσξύμβολόν τε καὶ ἀηδές ἡγεῖτο. παρῆει δὲ καὶ  
 ἐς τοὺς δῆμους ἀνειμένῳ τε καὶ διακεχυμένῳ τῷ  
 προσώπῳ, καὶ πολλῷ πλέον, ὅτε ξὺν ὀργῇ ἐκ-  
 κλησιάζοιεν, ἀνιῖς αὐτοὺς καὶ διαπραύνων τῇ  
 τοῦ εἴδους εὐθυμίᾳ. τὸ δὲ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις  
 ἦθος οὔτε φιλοχρήματος οὔτε φιλολοῖδορος· προῖ-  
 κα μὲν γὰρ ξυνέταπτεν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς  
 κινδυνεύουσι, τοὺς δὲ λοιδορουμένους ἐν τοῖς  
 λόγοις καὶ θυμοῦ τινα ἐπίδειξιν ἡγουμένους ποιεῖ-  
 σθαι γραΐδια ἐκάλει μεθύοντα καὶ λυττῶντα. τὰς  
 δὲ μελέτας μισθοῦ μὲν ἐποιεῖτο, ὁ δὲ μισθὸς ἦν  
 ἄλλος ἄλλου καὶ ὡς ἕκαστος οἴκου εἶχεν, παρῆει  
 τε ἐς αὐτοὺς οὔθ' ὑπερφρονῶν καὶ σεσοβημένος,  
 οὔθ' ὥσπερ οἱ δεδιότες, ἀλλ' ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν  
 ἀγωνιῶντα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης, θαρροῦντα  
 δὲ τῷ μὴ ἂν σφαλῆναι. διελέγετο δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν  
 τοῦ θρόνου ξὺν ἀβρότητι, ὅτε δὲ ὀρθὸς διαλέγοιτο,  
 ἐπιστροφῆν τε εἶχεν ὁ λόγος καὶ ἔρρωτο. καὶ  
 ἐπεσκοπεῖτο οὐκ ἔνδον, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ ὀμίλῳ, ἀλλ'  
 ὑπεξιῶν ἐν βραχεῖ τοῦ καιροῦ διεώρα πάντα.  
 περιῆν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ εὐφωνίας, καὶ τὸ φθέγμα  
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material for their poetry. Of the sophists he studied most carefully Gorgias of Leontini, and of the orators those that have a splendid ring. But his charm was natural rather than studied, for with the Ionians urbanity and wit are a gift of nature. For example, even in his orations he abounded in jests, for he held that to be over-serious is unsociable and disagreeable. And even when he appeared in the public assembly it was with a cheerful and lively countenance, and all the more when the meeting was excited by anger, for then he relaxed the tension and calmed their minds by his own good-tempered demeanour. In the law courts he displayed a temper neither avacious nor malevolent. For without a fee he would champion the cause of those who were in danger of their lives, and when men became abusive in their speeches, and thought fit to make a great display of indignation, he used to call them tippy and frenzied old hags. Though he charged a fee for declaiming, it was not the same for every pupil, and depended on the amount of property possessed by each. And he used to appear before his audience with no arrogance or conceited airs, nor again with the bearing of a timid speaker, but as befitted one who was entering the lists to win glory for himself and was confident that he could not fail. He would argue with suavity, so long as he was seated, but when he stood up to speak his oration became more impressive and gained in vigour. He meditated his theme neither in private nor before his audience, but he would withdraw and in a very short time would review all his arguments. He had an extremely melodious voice and a charming pronunciation, and he would often

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ἡδονὴν εἶχε τὸν τε μῆρὸν θαμὰ ἔπληττεν ἑαυτὸν  
 τε ὑπεγείρων καὶ τοὺς ἀκρωμένους. ἄριστος  
 μὲν οὖν καὶ σχηματίσαι λόγον καὶ ἐπαμφοτέρως  
 εἶπειν, θαυμασιώτερος δὲ περὶ τὰς ἀκμαιοτέρας  
 τῶν ὑποθέσεων καὶ πολλῶ πλέον περὶ τὰς Μηδι-  
 κάς, ἐν αἷς οἱ Δαρειοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ οἱ Ξέρξαι, ταύ-  
 520 τας γὰρ αὐτὸς τέ μοι δοκεῖ ἄριστα σοφιστῶν  
 ἐρμηνεῦσαι παραδοῦναι τε τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις  
 ἐρμηνεύειν, καὶ γὰρ φρόνημα ἐν αὐταῖς ὑπεκρί-  
 νετο καὶ κουφότητα τὴν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἦθεσιν.  
 ἐλέγετο καὶ σείεσθαι μᾶλλον ἐν ταύταις, ὥσπερ  
 βακχεύων, καὶ τινος τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Πολέμωνα  
 τυμπανίζειν αὐτὸν φήσαντος λαβόμενος ὁ Σκοπε-  
 λιανὸς τοῦ σκώμματος “τυμπανίζω μὲν,” εἶπεν  
 “ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ Αἴαντος ἀσπίδι.”

Βασίλειοι δὲ αὐτοῦ πρεσβεῖαι πολλαὶ μὲν, καὶ  
 γὰρ τις καὶ ἀγαθὴ τύχη ξυνηκολούθει πρεσβεύ-  
 οντι, ἀρίστη δὲ ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμπέλων· οὐ γὰρ  
 ὑπὲρ Συμυρναίων μόνων, ὥσπερ αἱ πλείους, ἀλλ’  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀσίας ὁμοῦ πάσης ἐπρεσβεύθη. τὸν  
 δὲ νοῦν τῆς πρεσβείας ἐγὼ δηλώσω· ἐδόκει τῷ  
 βασιλεῖ μὴ εἶναι τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἀμπέλους, ἐπειδὴ ἐν  
 οἴνῳ στασιάζειν ἔδοξαν, ἀλλ’ ἐξηρηθῆναι μὲν τὰς  
 ἤδη πεφυτευμένας, ἄλλας δὲ μὴ φυτεῦειν ἔτι.  
 ἔδει δὴ πρεσβείας ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ ἀνδρός, ὃς  
 ἔμελλεν ὥσπερ Ὀρφεὺς τις ἢ Θάμυρις ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν  
 θέλξειν. αἰροῦνται τοίνυν Σκοπελιανὸν πάντες, ὃ

<sup>1</sup> For this type of rhetoric see Glossary.

<sup>2</sup> Domitian; cf. *Life of Apollonius* vi. 42; and Suetonius, *Domitian*, who gives another reason for this edict.



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smite his thigh in order to arouse both himself and his hearers. He excelled also in the use of "covert allusion"<sup>1</sup> and ambiguous language, but he was even more admirable in his treatment of the more vigorous and grandiloquent themes, and especially those relating to the Medes, in which occur passages about Darius and Xerxes; for in my opinion he surpassed all the other sophists, both in phrasing these allusions and in handing down that sort of eloquence for his successors to use; and in delivering them he used to represent dramatically the arrogance and levity that are characteristic of the barbarians. It is said that at these times he would sway to and fro more than usual, as though in a Bacchic frenzy, and when one of Polemo's pupils said of him that he beat a loud drum, Scopelian took to himself the sneering jest and retorted: "Yes, I do beat a drum, but it is the shield of Ajax."

He went on many embassies to the Emperor, and while a peculiar good luck ever accompanied his missions as ambassador, his most successful was that on behalf of the vines. For this embassy was sent, not as in most cases on behalf of Smyrna alone, but on behalf of all Asia in general. I will relate the aim of the embassy. The Emperor<sup>2</sup> resolved that there should be no vines in Asia, because it appeared that the people when under the influence of wine plotted revolution; those that had been already planted were to be pulled up, and they were to plant no more in future. There was clearly need of an embassy to represent the whole community, and of a man who in their defence, like another Orpheus or Thamyris, would charm his hearer. Accordingly they unanimously selected Scopelian, and on this

δ' οὕτω τι ἐκ περιουσίας ἐκράτει τὴν πρεσβείαν, ὡς μὴ μόνον τό ἐξείναι φυτεύειν ἐπανελθεῖν ἔχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιτίμια κατὰ τῶν μὴ φυτευόντων. ὡς δὲ ἠὐδοκίμησε τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμπέλων, δημοῖ μὲν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα, ὁ γὰρ λόγος ἐν τοῖς θαυμασιωτάτοις, δημοῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ, δῶρων τε γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔτυχεν, ἃ νομίζεται παρά βασιλεῖ, παλλῶν τε προσρήσεών τε καὶ ἐπαίνων, νεότης τε αὐτῷ λαμπρὰ ξυνηκολούθησεν ἐς Ἰωνίαν σοφίας ἐρώντες.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἐγένετο, ποιεῖται αὐτὸν  
 521 ξένον ὁ Ἡρώδου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ πατὴρ Ἀττικὸς  
 θαυμάζων ἐπὶ ῥητορικῇ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν Γοργίαν  
 ποτέ Θετταλοῖ. ὅποσοι γοῦν τῶν πάλαι ῥητόρων  
 ἔρμαϊ ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς τῆς οἰκίας δρόμοις, ἐκέλευε  
 τούτους βάλλεσθαι λίθοις, ὡς διεφθορότας αὐτῷ  
 τὸν υἱόν. μεῖράκιον μὲν δὴ ἐτύγχανεν ὢν ὁ Ἡρώ-  
 δης τότε καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὶ ἔτι, τοῦ δὲ αὐτοσχε-  
 διάζειν ἦρα μόνου, οὐ μὴν ἐθάρρει γε αὐτό, οὐδέ  
 γὰρ τῷ Σκοπελιανῷ ξυγγεγονῶς ἦν ἐς ἐκεῖνό πω  
 τοῦ χρόνου, οὐδ' ἦτις ἢ τῶν αὐτοσχεδίων ὄρμη  
 γινώσκων, ὅθεν ἀσμένῳ οἱ ἐγένετο ἢ ἐπιδημία  
 τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ λέγοντος ἤκουσε καὶ  
 διατιθεμένου τὸν αὐτοσχεδίων, ἐπτερώθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ ἠτοιμάσθη, καὶ τὸν πατέρα δὲ ἦσαι διανοηθεὶς  
 ἀπαγγέλλει οἱ μελέτην ἐς τὴν ἰδέαν τοῦ ξένου.  
 ὁ πατὴρ δὲ ἠγάσθη τε αὐτὸν τῆς μιμήσεως καὶ  
 πεντήκοντα<sup>1</sup> ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τάλαντα, ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ  
 αὐτῷ τῷ Σκοπελιανῷ πεντεκαίδεκα, ὁ δὲ, ὅσαπερ

<sup>1</sup> πεντακῶσια Kayser; πεντήκοντα Valckenaer in order to reduce the improbably large sum.

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mission he succeeded so far beyond their hopes that he returned bringing not only the permission to plant, but actually the threat of penalties for those who should neglect to do so. How great a reputation he won in this contest on behalf of the vines is evident from what he said, for the oration is among the most celebrated; and it is evident too from what happened as a result of the oration. For by it he won such presents as are usually given at an imperial court, and also many compliments and expressions of praise, and moreover a brilliant band of youths fell in love with his genius and followed him to Ionia.

While he was at Athens he was entertained by Atticus, the father of Herodes the sophist, who admired him for his eloquence more than the Thessalians once admired Gorgias. Atticus accordingly gave orders that all the busts of the ancient orators that were in the porticoes of his house should be pelted with stones, because they had corrupted his son's talent. Herodes at the time was only a stripling and still under his father's control, but he cared only for extempore speaking, though he had not enough confidence for it, since he had not yet studied with Scopelian, nor learned the vigour that extempore eloquence requires. For this reason he rejoiced at Scopelian's visit. For when he heard him speak and handle an extempore discourse, by his example he became fledged and fully equipped, and with the idea of pleasing his father he invited him to hear him give a declamation in the same style as their guest. His father greatly admired his imitation and gave him fifty talents, while to Scopelian himself he gave fifteen; but Herodes besides gave him from

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ὁ πατήρ, τσαῦτα ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δωρεᾶς προσ-  
έδωκεν αὐτῷ, ἔτι καὶ διδάσκαλον ἑαυτοῦ προσ-  
ειπών. τουτὶ δὲ συνιέντι Ἑρώδου καὶ τῶν τοῦ  
Πακτωλοῦ πηγῶν ἦδιον.

Τὴν δὲ εὐτυχίαν, ἣ περὶ τὰς πρεσβείας ἐχρήτο,  
ξυμβάλλειν ἐστὶ καὶ τοῖσδε· ἔδει μὲν γὰρ τοῖς  
Σμυρναίοις τοῦ πρεσβεύσοντος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνδρός,  
ἣ πρεσβεία δὲ ἦν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων. ὁ μὲν δὴ  
ἐγήρασκεν ἤδη καὶ τοῦ ἀποδημεῖν ἐξώρως εἶχεν,  
ἐχειροτονεῖτο δὲ ὁ Πολέμων οὕτω πεπρεσβευκῶς  
πρότερον. εὐξάμενος οὖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης  
ἐδεῖτο γενέσθαι οἱ τὴν τοῦ Σκοπελιανοῦ πειθῶ,  
καὶ περιβαλὼν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μάλα  
ἀστείως ὁ Πολέμων τὰ ἐκ Πατροκλείας ἐπέειπεν  
τῷ ἀνδρί.<sup>1</sup>

δὸς δέ μοι ὤμουιν τὰ σὰ τεύχεα θωρηχθῆναι,  
αἶ κ' ἐμέ σοὶ ἴσκωσι,

καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ὁ Τυανεὺς ὑπερενεγκῶν σοφία  
τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν τὸν Σκοπελιανὸν ἐν θαυ-  
μασίοις τάττει.

κβ'. Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος εἶθ', ὡς ἔνοι-  
φασι, πατέρων ἐπιφανεστάτων ἐγένετο, εἶθ', ὡς  
τινες, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐλευθέρων, ἀφείσθω τούτου  
522 τοῦ μέρους, ἐπειδὴ οἰκεία ἀρετῇ ἐλαμπρύνετο, τὸ  
γὰρ καταφεύγειν ἐς τοὺς ἄνω ἀποβεβληκότων  
ἐστὶ τὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἔπαινον. Ἰσαίου δὲ ἀκροα-  
τῆς γενόμενος ἀνδρός, ὡς ἔφην, κατὰ φύσιν ἐρμη-  
νεύοντος τουτὶ μὲν ἰκανῶς ἀπεμάξατο καὶ πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> μάλα . . . ἀνδρί in mss. and Kayser precede the quotation;  
Cobet transposes.

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his own present the same sum as had been bestowed by his father, and called him his teacher. And when he heard this title from Herodes it was sweeter to him than the springs of Pactolus.

The good fortune that attended his embassies we may gather also from the following. The citizens of Smyrna needed someone to go on an embassy for them, and the mission was on affairs of the greatest moment. But he was now growing old and was past the age for travelling, and therefore Polemo was elected, though he had never before acted as ambassador. So in offering up prayers for good luck, Polemo begged that he might be granted the persuasive charm of Scopelian, embraced him before the assembly, and applied very aptly to him the verses from the exploits of Patroclus:

Give me thy harness to buckle about my shoulders, if perchance they may take me for thee.<sup>1</sup>

Apollonius of Tyana also, who in wisdom surpassed mere human achievement, ranks Scopelian among the men to be admired.<sup>2</sup>

22. With regard to DIONYSIUS OF MILETUS, whether, as some say, he was born of highly distinguished parentage, or, as others say, was merely of free birth, let him not be held responsible on this head, seeing that he achieved distinction by his own merits. For to have recourse to one's ancestors is the mark of those who despair of applause for themselves. He was a pupil of Isaeus, that is of one who, as I have said, employed a natural style, and of this style he successfully took the impress, and the orderly arrange-

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* xvi. 40, Patroclus to Achilles.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Apollonius* l. 23, 24.

τούτω τὴν εὐταξίαν τῶν νοημάτων, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο Ἰσαίου. μελιχρότατος δὲ περὶ τὰς ἐννοίας γενόμενος οὐκ ἐμέθνε περὶ τὰς ἡδονάς, ὡσπερ ἔνιοι τῶν σοφιστῶν, ἀλλ' ἔταμιεύετο λέγων αἰεὶ πρὸς τοὺς γνωρίμους, ὅτι χρή τοῦ μέλιτος ἄκρω δακτύλῳ, ἀλλὰ μὴ κοίλῃ χειρὶ γενέσθαι, ὡς ἐν ἅπασιν μὲν τοῖς εἰρημένοις δεδήλωται τῷ Διονυσίῳ, λογικοῖς τε καὶ νομικοῖς καὶ ἠθικοῖς ἀγῶσι, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Χαιρωνείᾳ θρήνῳ. διεξιὼν γὰρ τὸν Δημοσθένην τὸν μετὰ Χαιρωνείαν προσαγγέλλοντα<sup>1</sup> τῇ βουλῇ ἑαυτὸν ἐς τήνδε τὴν μονωδίαν τοῦ λόγου ἐτελεύτησεν "ὦ Χαιρωνεία πονηρὸν χωρίον." καὶ πάλιν "ὦ αὐτομολήσασα πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους Βουωτία. στενάξατε οἱ κατὰ γῆς ἥρωες, ἐγγὺς Πλαταιῶν νενικήμεθα." καὶ πάλιν ἐν τοῖς κρινομένοις ἐπὶ τῷ μισθοφορεῖν Ἀρκάσω "Ἀγορὰ πολέμου πρόκειται καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κακὰ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν τρέφει," καὶ "ἐπέρχεται πόλεμος αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχων."

Τοιάδε μὲν ἢ ἐπίπαν ἰδέα τοῦ Διονυσίου, καθ' ἣν τὰ τῆς μελέτης αὐτῷ προὔβαιναν ἐπισκοποῦ-  
 523 μένω καιρὸν, ὅσονπερ ὁ Ἰσαῖος, ὁ δὲ λόγος ὁ περὶ τοῦ Διονυσίου λεγόμενος, ὡς Χαλδαῖοις τέχναις τοὺς ὀμιλητὰς τὸ μνημονικὸν ἀναπαιδεύοντος πόθεν εἶρηται, ἐγὼ δηλώσω· τέχναι μνήμης οὔτε εἰσὶν οὔτ' ἂν γένοιτο, μνήμη μὲν γὰρ δίδωσι τέχναις, αὐτὴ δὲ ἀδίδακτος καὶ οὐδε-

<sup>1</sup> προσάγοντα Kayser; προσαγγέλλοντα Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> A proverb; cf. Lucian, *How to write History* 4.

<sup>3</sup> This imaginary situation was a favourite theme; cf. *Life of Polemo*, p. 542; Syrianus ii. 165; Apsines ix. 471.

<sup>4</sup> This perhaps echoes Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon* 648.

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ment of his thoughts besides; for this too was characteristic of Isaeus. And though he presented his ideas with honeyed sweetness, he was not intemperate in the use of pleasing effects, like some of the sophists, but was economical with them, and would always say to his pupils that honey should be tasted with the finger-tip<sup>1</sup> and not by the handful. This indeed is clearly shown in all the speeches delivered by Dionysius, whether critical works or forensic or moral disputations, but above all in the *Dirge for Chaeronea*. For when representing Demosthenes as he denounced himself before the Senate after Chaeronea,<sup>2</sup> he ended his speech with this monody: "O Chaeronea, wicked city!" and again: "O Boeotia that hast deserted to the barbarians! Wail, ye heroes beneath the earth! We have been defeated near Plataea!"<sup>3</sup> And again in the passage where the Arcadians are on trial for being mercenaries, he said: "War is bought and sold in the market-place, and the woes of the Greeks fatten Arcadia," and "A war for which there is no cause is upon us."<sup>4</sup>

Such was in general the style of Dionysius, thus his declamations proceeded, and he used to meditate his themes about as long as Isaeus. As for the story that is told about him that he used to train his pupils in mnemonics by the help of Chaldean arts,<sup>5</sup> I will show the source of the tradition. There is no such thing as an art of memory, nor could there be, for though memory gives us the arts, it cannot itself be taught, nor can it be acquired by

<sup>1</sup> On the Asiatic rhythms in these quotations see Norden, *Antike Kunst-Prosa* i. 413. The Arcadians were notorious mercenaries; cf. Xenophon, *Hellenica* vii. 1. 23.

<sup>2</sup> For Chaldean astrology cf. Julian, vol. i. *Oration* 4. 156 B; 5. 172 D, note; here it is regarded as a kind of magic.

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μᾶ τέχνη ἀλωτός, ἔστι γὰρ πλεονέκτημα φύσεως ἢ τῆς ἀθανάτου ψυχῆς μοῖρα. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε ἀθάνατα <sup>1</sup> νομισθεῖη τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, οὐδὲ διδακτά, ἂ ἐμάθομεν, εἰ μὴ <sup>2</sup> μνήμη συνεπολιτεύετο ἀνθρώποις, ἦν εἶτε μητέρα δεῖ χρόνου καλεῖν, εἶτε παῖδα, μὴ διαφερώμεθα πρὸς τοὺς ποιητάς, ἀλλ' ἔστω, ὃ τι βούλονται. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τίς οὕτως εὐθήτης κατὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης ἐν σοφοῖς γραφόμενος, ὡς γοητεύων ἐν μειρακίοις διαβάλλειν καὶ ἂ ὀρθῶς ἐπαιδεύθη; πόθεν οὖν τὸ μνημονικὸν τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις; ἀπληστα τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐδόκει τὰ τοῦ Διονυσίου καὶ πολλάκις ἐπαναλαμβάνειν αὐτὰ ἠναγκάζετο, ἐπειδὴ ξυνίει σφῶν χαϊρόντων τῇ ἀκραάσει. οἱ δὴ εὐμαθέστεραι τῶν νέων ἐνετυποῦντο αὐτὰ ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ ἀπήγγελλον ἑτέροις μελέτῃ μᾶλλον ἢ μνήμῃ ξυνειληφότες, ὅθεν μνημονικοὶ τε ὠνομάζοντο καὶ τέχνην αὐτὸ 524 πεποιημένοι. ἐνθεν ὀρμώμενοί τινες τὰς τοῦ Διονυσίου μελέτας ἐσπερματολογῆσθαί φασιν, ὡς δὴ ἄλλο ἄλλου ξυνενεγκόντων ἐς αὐτάς, ἐν ᾧ ἔβραχυλόγησεν.

Μεγάλων μὲν οὖν ἤξιούτο κακ τῶν πόλεων, ὅποσαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ ἐθαύμαζον, μεγίστων δὲ ἐκ βασιλείως. Ἀδριανὸς γὰρ σατράπην μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπέφηνεν οὐκ ἀφανῶν ἔθνῶν, ἐγκατέλεξε δὲ τοῖς δημοσίᾳ ἱππεύουσι καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ Μουσεῖῳ σιτουμένοις, τὸ δὲ Μουσεῖον τράπεζα Αἰγυπτία

<sup>1</sup> θνητὰ Kayser; ἀθάνατα Jahn.

<sup>2</sup> μὴ Cobet adds.

<sup>1</sup> An allusion to the Platonic doctrine of reminiscence, and especially to *Meno* 81 c d.

<sup>2</sup> Philostratus refers to the *Hymn to Memory* by Apollonius of Tyana; see his *Life* i, 14. The sophists certainly taught some sort of mnemonics; cf. Volkmann, *Rhetorik* 567 foil.



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any method or system, since it is a gift of nature or a part of the immortal soul. For never could human beings be regarded as endowed with immortality, nor could what we have learned be taught, did not Memory inhabit the minds of men.<sup>1</sup> And I will not dispute with the poets whether we ought to call her the mother of Time or the daughter, but let that be as they please.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, who that is enrolled among the wise would be so foolishly careless of his own reputation as to use magic arts with his pupils, and so bring into disrepute also what has been taught by correct methods? How was it then that his pupils had a peculiar gift of memory? It was because the declamations of Dionysius gave them a pleasure of which they could never have enough, and he was compelled to repeat them very often, since he knew that they were delighted to hear them. And so the more ready-witted of these youths used to engrave them on their minds, and when, by long practice rather than by sheer memory, they had thoroughly grasped them, they used to recite them to the rest; and hence they came to be called "the memory-artists," and men who made it into an art. It is on these grounds that some people say that the declamations of Dionysius are a collection of odds and ends, for they say one person added this, another that, where he had been concise.

Great honours were paid him by the cities that admired his talent, but the greatest was from the Emperor. For Hadrian appointed him satrap<sup>3</sup> over peoples by no means obscure, and enrolled him in the order of the knights and among those who had free meals in the Museum. (By the Museum I mean

<sup>3</sup> *i. e.* prefect.

ξυγκαλοῦσα τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῆ ἔλλογίμους. πλείστας δὲ ἐπελθὼν πόλεις καὶ πλείστοις ἐνομιλήσας ἔθνεσιν οὔτε ἐρωτικὴν ποτε αἰτίαν ἔλαβεν οὔτε ἀλαζόνα ὑπὸ τοῦ σωφρονέστατός τε φαίνεσθαι καὶ ἐφεστηκώς. οἱ δὲ ἀνατιθέντες Διονυσίῳ τὸν Ἀράσπαν τὸν τῆς Πανθείας ἐράντα ἀνήκοι μὲν τῶν τοῦ Διονυσίου ῥυθμῶν, ἀνήκοι δὲ τῆς ἄλλης ἐρμηνείας, ἄπειροι δὲ τῆς τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων τέχνης· οὐ γὰρ Διονυσίου τὸ φρόντισμα τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ Κέλερος τοῦ τεχνογράφου, ὁ δὲ Κέλερ βασιλικῶν μὲν ἐπιστολῶν ἀγαθὸς προστάτης, μελέτῃ δὲ οὐκ ἀποχρῶν, Διονυσίῳ δὲ τὸν ἐκ μεираκίου χρόνον διάφορος.

Μηδ' ἐκεῖνα παρεῖσθω μοι Ἀρισταίου γε ἡκροαμένῳ αὐτὰ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ Ἑλλήνων καὶ πλείστα ὑπὲρ σοφιστῶν εἰδότης· ἐγήρασκε μὲν ὁ Διονύσιος ἐν δόξῃ λαμπρᾷ, παρήει δ' ἐς ἀκμὴν ὁ Πολέμων οὔπω γινωσκόμενος τῷ Διονυσίῳ καὶ ἐπεδήμει ταῖς Σάρδεσι ἀγορεύσων<sup>1</sup> δίκην ἐν τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἀνδράσιν, ὑφ' ὧν ἐδικαιοῦτο ἡ Λυδία. ἑσπέρας οὖν ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ἦκων ὁ Διονύσιος ἤρετο  
 525 Δωρίωνα τὸν κριτικὸν ξένον ἑαυτοῦ· “εἰπέ μοι,” ἔφη “ὦ Δωρίων, τί Πολέμων ἐνταῦθα;” καὶ ὁ Δωρίων “ἀνὴρ” ἔφη “πλουσιώτατος τῶν ἐν Λυδίᾳ κινδυνεύων περὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἄγει συνήγορον τὸν Πολέμωνα ἀπὸ τῆς Σμύρνης πείσας διταλάντω

<sup>1</sup> ἀγορεύων Kayser; ἀγορεύσων Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> Founded by the first Ptolemy at Alexandria in connexion with the Library.

<sup>2</sup> Panthea, wife of the Persian king Abradatas, was taken captive by the Elder Cyrus and placed in charge of the

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a dining-table in Egypt<sup>1</sup> to which are invited the most distinguished men of all countries.) He visited very many cities and lived among many peoples, yet he never incurred the charge of licentious or insolent conduct, being most temperate and sedate in his behaviour. Those who ascribe to Dionysius the piece called *Araspes the Lover of Panthea*,<sup>2</sup> are ignorant not only of his rhythms but of his whole style of eloquence, and moreover they know nothing of the art of ratiocination. For this work is not by Dionysius, but by Celer<sup>3</sup> the writer on rhetoric; and Celer, though he was a good Imperial Secretary, lacked skill in declamation and was on unfriendly terms with Dionysius from their earliest youth.

I must not omit the following facts which I heard direct from Aristaeus who was the oldest of all the educated Greeks in my time and knew most about the sophists. When Dionysius was beginning to grow old and enjoyed the most distinguished reputation, and Polemo, on the other hand, was attaining to the height of his career, though he was not yet personally known to Dionysius, Polemo paid a visit to Sardis to plead a case before the Centumviri who had jurisdiction over Lydia. And towards evening Dionysius came to Sardis and asked Dorion the critic, who was his host: "Tell me, Dorion, what is Polemo doing here?" And Dorion replied: "A very wealthy man, a Lydian, is in danger of losing his property, and hence he has brought Polemo from Smyrna to be his advocate by the inducement of a fee of two talents, and he will defend the suit

Mede Araspes who fell in love with her; cf. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* v. 1. 4; Philostratus, *Imagines* ii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the teacher of Marcus Aurelius; cf. *To Himself* viii. 25.

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μισθῶ, καὶ ἀγωνιέται τὴν δίκην αὔριον.” καὶ ὁ Διονύσιος “οἶον” ἔφη “ἔρμαιον εἴρηκας, εἰ καὶ ἀκούσαί μοι ἔσται Πολέμωνος οὐπω ἐς πείραν αὐτοῦ ἀφιγμένω.” “ἔοικεν” εἶπεν ὁ Δωρίων “στρέφειν σε ὁ νεανίας ἐς ὄνομα ἤδη προβαίνων μέγα.” “καὶ καθεύδειν γε οὐκ ἔα, μὰ τὴν Ἀθηῶν, ἦ δ’ ὁ Διονύσιος “ἀλλ’ ἐς πήδησιν ἄγει τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐνθυμουμένω, ὡς πολλοὶ οἱ ἐπαινέται αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς μὲν δωδεκάκρουνον<sup>1</sup> δοκεῖ τὸ στόμα, οἱ δὲ καὶ πήχεσι διαμετροῦσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν γλῶτταν, ὥσπερ τὰς τοῦ Νείλου ἀναβάσεις. σὺ δ’ ἂν<sup>2</sup> ταύτην ἰάσαιό μοι τὴν φροντίδα εἰπών, τί μὲν πλέον, τί δὲ ἦττον ἐν ἐμοί τε καὶ κείνῳ καθεώρακας.” καὶ ὁ Δωρίων μάλα σωφρόνως “αὐτός,” εἶπεν “ὦ Διονύσιε, σεαυτῶ τε καὶ κείνῳ δικάσεις ἄμεινον, σὺ γὰρ ὑπὸ σοφίας οἶος σαυτὸν τε γινώσκεις, ἕτερόν τε μὴ ἀγνοῆσαι.” ἤκουσεν ὁ Διονύσιος ἀγωνιζομένου τὴν δίκην καὶ ἀπιὼν τοῦ δικαστηρίου “ἰσχὺν” ἔφη “ὁ ἀθλητὴς ἔχει, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκ παλαιστρας.” ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσεν ὁ Πολέμων, ἦλθε μὲν ἐπὶ θύρας τοῦ Διονυσίου μελέτην αὐτῶ ἐπαγγέλλων, ἀφικομένου δὲ διαπρεπῶς ἀγωνιζόμενος προσῆλθε τῷ Διονυσίῳ καὶ ἀντερείσας τὸν ὤμον, ὥσπερ οἱ τῆς σταδιαίας πάλης ἐμβιβάζοντες, μάλα ἀστείως ἐπετώθασεν εἰπών

ἦσαν ποτ’, ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι.

<sup>1</sup> δωδεκάκρουνος Kayser; δωδεκάκρουνον Cobet; cf. Cratinus, *Puține frag.* 7 δωδεκάκρουνον τὸ στόμα.

<sup>2</sup> αὐ Kayser; ἂν Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> The epithet indicates the volume and variety of his oratory.

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to-morrow." "What a stroke of luck is this!" cried Dionysius, "that I shall actually be able to hear Polemo, for I have never yet had a chance to judge of him." Dorion remarked: "The young man seems to make you uneasy by his rapid advance to a great reputation." "Yes, by Athene," said Dionysius, "he does not even allow me to sleep. He makes my heart palpitate, and my mind too, when I think how many admirers he has. For some think that from his lips flow twelve springs,<sup>1</sup> others measure his tongue by cubits, like the risings of the Nile. But you might cure this anxiety for me by telling me what are the respective superiorities and defects that you have observed in us both." Dorion replied with great discretion: "You yourself, Dionysius, will be better able to judge between yourself and him, for you are well qualified by your wisdom not only to know yourself but also to observe another accurately." Dionysius heard Polemo defend the suit, and as he left the court he remarked: "This athlete possesses strength, but it does not come from the wrestling-ground." When Polemo heard this he came to Dionysius' door and announced that he would declaim before him. And when he had come and Polemo had sustained his part with conspicuous success, he went up to Dionysius, and leaning shoulder to shoulder with him, like those who begin a wrestling match standing, he wittily turned the laugh against him by quoting

Once O once they were strong, the men of Miletus,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For this iambic response of Apollo which became a proverb for the degenerate *cf.* Aristophanes, *Plutus* 1003. It occurs also as a fragment of Anacreon.

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Ἄνδρῶν μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος, Διονυσίῳ δὲ σῆμα ἐν τῇ ἐπιφανεστάτῃ Ἐφέσῳ, τέθαιπται γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κατὰ τὸ κυριώτατον τῆς Ἐφέσου, ἐν ἣ κατεβίω παιδεύσας τὸν πρῶτον βίον ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ.

κγ'. Λολλιανὸς δὲ ὁ Ἐφέσιος προὔστη μὲν τοῦ Ἀθήνησι θρόνου πρῶτος, προὔστη δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων δήμου στρατηγήσας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων, ἣ δὲ ἀρχὴ αὕτη πάλαι μὲν κατέλεγέ τε καὶ ἐξῆγεν ἐς τὰ πολέμια, νυνὶ δὲ τροφῶν ἐπιμελεῖται καὶ σίτου ἀγορᾶς. θορύβου δὲ καθεστηκότος παρὰ τὰ ἀρτοπώλια καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βάλλειν αὐτὸν ὠρμηκώτων Παγκράτης ὁ κύων ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν Ἰσθμῷ φιλοσοφήσας παρελθὼν ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ εἰπὼν “ Λολλιανὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρτοπώλης, ἀλλὰ λογοπώλης ” διέχεεν οὕτω τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡς μεθεῖναι τοὺς λίθους διὰ χειρὸς αὐτοῖς ὄντας. σίτου δὲ ἐκ Θετταλίας ἐσπεπλευκότος καὶ χρημάτων δημοσίᾳ οὐκ ὄντων ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ Λολλιανὸς ἔρανον τοῖς αὐτοῦ γνωρίμοις, καὶ χρήματα συχνὰ ἠθροίσθη. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀνδρὸς εὐμηχάνου δόξει καὶ σοφοῦ  
527 τὰ πολιτικά, ἐκείνο δὲ δικαίου τε καὶ εὐγνώμονος· τὰ γὰρ χρήματα ταῦτα τοῖς ξυμβαλομένοις ἀπέδωκεν ἐπανεῖς τὸν μισθὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως.

Ἔδοξε δὲ ὁ σοφιστῆς οὗτος τεχνικώτατός τε καὶ φρονιμώτατος τὸ ἐπιχειρηματικὸν ἐν ἐπινοίᾳ τεχνικῇ κείμενον ἱκανῶς ἐκπονῆσαι, καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι

<sup>1</sup> From Thucydides ii. 43.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the municipal, as distinct from the Imperial chair.

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Famous men have the whole earth for their sepulchre,<sup>1</sup> but the actual tomb of Dionysius is in the most conspicuous part of Ephesus, for he was buried in the market-place, on the most important spot in Ephesus, in which city he ended his life; though during the earlier period of his career he had taught in Lesbos.

23. LOLLIANUS OF EPHEBUS was the first to be appointed to the chair of rhetoric<sup>2</sup> at Athens, and he also governed the Athenian people, since he held the office of strategus in that city. The functions of this office were formerly to levy troops and lead them to war, but now it has charge of the food-supplies and the provision-market. Once when a riot arose in the bread-sellers' quarter, and the Athenians were on the point of stoning Lollianus, Pancrates the Cynic, who later professed philosophy at the Isthmus, came forward before the Athenians, and by simply remarking: "Lollianus does not sell bread but words," he so diverted the Athenians that they let fall the stones that were in their hands. Once when a cargo of grain came by sea from Thessaly and there was no money in the public treasury to pay for it, Lollianus bade his pupils contribute, and a large sum was collected. This device proves him to have been a very ingenious man and prudent in public affairs, but what followed proved that he was both just and magnanimous. For by remitting the fee for his lectures he repaid this money to those who had subscribed it.

This sophist was considered to be deeply versed in his art and very clever in working out successfully the train of reasoning that depends on skill in invention. His style was admirable, and in the invention

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μὲν ἀποχρῶν, νοῆσαι δὲ καὶ τὰ νοηθέντα τάξαι ἀπέριττος. διαφαίνονται δὲ τοῦ λογου καὶ λαμπρότητες λήγουσαι ταχέως, ὥσπερ τὸ τῆς ἀστραπῆς σέλας. δηλοῦται δὲ τοῦτο ἐν πᾶσι μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τοῖσδε· κατηγορῶν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Λεπτίνου διὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἔφοίτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σίτος, ὧδε ἤκμασεν· “κέκλεισται τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου νόμῳ καὶ τὰς Ἀθηναίων τροφὰς ὀλίγοι κωλύουσι συλλαβαί, καὶ ταῦτόν δύναται Λύσανδρος ναυμαχῶν καὶ Λεπτίνης νομομαχῶν” ἀντιλέγων δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀπορία χρημάτων βουλευομένοις πωλεῖν τὰς νήσους ὧδε ἔπνευσεν· “λύσον, ὦ Πόσειδον, τὴν ἐπὶ Δήλῳ χάριν, συγχώρησον αὐτῇ πωλουμένη φυγεῖν.” ἐσχεδίαζε μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὸν Ἰσαῖον, οὗ δὴ καὶ ἠκροάσατο, μισθοὺς δὲ γενναίους ἐπράττετο τὰς συνουσίας οὐ μελετηρὰς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδασκαλικὰς παρέχων. εἰκόνες δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἀθήνησι μία μὲν ἐπ’ ἀγορᾶς, ἑτέρα δὲ ἐν τῷ ἄλσει τῷ μικρῷ, ὃ αὐτὸς λέγεται ἐκφυτεῦσαι.

κδ'. Οὐδὲ τὸν Βυζάντιον σοφιστὴν παραλείψω Μάρκον, ὑπὲρ οὗ κἂν ἐπιπλήξαιμι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, εἰ 528 τοιοῦσδε γενόμενος, ὅποιον δηλώσω, μήπω τυγχάνοι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης. Μάρκῳ τοίνυν ἦν ἀναφορὰ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> This fictitious theme is based on Demosthenes, *Leptines* 30, delivered in 355, and assumes that the law of Leptines to abolish exemptions from public services was in force, and that the evils foreboded by Demosthenes had come about; cf. Apsines 232 for the same theme.

<sup>2</sup> Norden, p. 410, quotes this passage for its “similar endings.”

<sup>3</sup> We do not know whether this theme is based on historical fact or is purely fictitious.



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and arrangement of his ideas he was free from affectation and redundancy. In his oratory brilliant passages flare out and suddenly come to an end like a flash of lightning. This is evident in all that he wrote, but especially in the example that I now quote. His theme was to denounce Leptines on account of his law, because the supply of corn had failed to reach the Athenians from the Pontus;<sup>1</sup> and he wound up as follows: "The mouth of the Pontus has been locked up by a law, and a few syllables keep back the food supply of Athens; so that Lysander fighting with his ships and Leptines fighting with his law have the same power."<sup>2</sup> Again, when his theme was to oppose the Athenians, when in a scarcity of funds they were planning to sell the islands,<sup>3</sup> he declaimed with energy the following: "Take back, Poseidon, the favour that you granted to Delos!<sup>4</sup> Permit her, while we are selling her, to make her escape!" In his extempore speeches he imitated Isaeus, whose pupil he had been. He used to charge handsome fees, and in his classes he not only declaimed but also taught the rules of the art. There are two statues of him at Athens, one in the agora, the other in the small grove which he is said to have planted himself.

24. Nor must I omit to speak of MARCUS OF BYZANTIUM,<sup>5</sup> on whose behalf I will bring this reproach against the Greeks, that though he was as talented as I shall show, he does not as yet receive the honour that he deserves. The genealogy of Marcus dated back as

<sup>1</sup> Delos was once a "floating" island and was made stationary by Poseidon; cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* vi. 191.

<sup>2</sup> We know nothing more about Marcus, unless he is the Anniius Marcus mentioned by Capitolinus, *Life of Marcus Aurelius*, as one of that Emperor's teachers.

γένους ἐς τὸν ἀρχαῖον Βύζαντα, πατὴρ δὲ ὁμώνυμος ἔχων θαλασσιουργοὺς οἰκέτας ἐν Ἱερῶ, τὸ δὲ Ἱερὸν παρὰ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Πόντου, διδάσκαλος δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἰσαῖος ἐγένετο, παρ' οὗ καὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἐρμηνεύειν μαθὼν ἐπεκόσμησεν αὐτὸ ὠραισμένη πραότητα. καὶ παράδειγμα ἱκανώτατον τῆς Μάρκου ἰδέας ὁ Σπαρτιάτης ὁ ξυμβουλευὼν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις μὴ παραδέχεσθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ Σφακτηρίας γυμνοὺς ἦκοντας. τῆσδε γὰρ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἤρξατο ὧδε· "ἀνὴρ Λακεδαιμόνιος μέχρι γῆρας φυλάξας τὴν ἀσπίδα ἠδέως μὲν ἂν τοὺς γυμνοὺς τούτους ἀπέκτευνα." ὅστις δὲ καὶ τὰς διαλέξεις ὧδε ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, ξυμβαλεῖν ἔστιν ἐκ τῶνδε διδασκῶν γὰρ περὶ τῆς τῶν σοφιστῶν τέχνης, ὡς πολλὴ καὶ ποικίλη, παράδειγμα τοῦ λόγου τὴν Ἰριω ἐποίησατο καὶ ἤρξατο τῆς διαλέξεως ὧδε· "ὁ τὴν Ἰριω ἰδὼν, ὡς ἐν χρώμα, οὐκ εἶδεν ὡς θαυμάσαι, ὁ δέ, ὅσα χρώματα, μᾶλλον ἐθαύμασεν." οἱ δὲ τὴν διάλεξιν ταύτην Ἀλκινόω τῷ Στωικῷ ἀνατιθέντες διαμαρτάνουσι μὲν ἰδέας λόγου, διαμαρτάνουσι δὲ ἀληθείας, ἀδικώτατοι δ' ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ προσαφαιρούμενοι τὸν σοφιστὴν καὶ τὰ οἰκεία.

Τὸ δὲ τῶν ὀφρύων ἦθος καὶ ἡ τοῦ προσώπου σύννοια σοφιστὴν ἐδήλου τὸν Μάρκον, καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν αἰεὶ τι ἐπισκοπῶν τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ ἀναπαιδεύων ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἐς τὸ σχεδιάζειν ἄγουσι. καὶ τοῦτο ἐδηλοῦτο μὲν τῇ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν στάσει

<sup>1</sup> The legendary founder of Byzantium, said to have been the son of Poseidon.

<sup>2</sup> The punishment of these men by Sparta is described by Thucydides v. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Iris was the daughter of Thaumas whose name means

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far as the original Byzas,<sup>1</sup> and his father, who had the same name, owned slaves who were fishermen at Hieron. (Hieron is near the entrance to the Pontus.) His teacher was Isaeus, and from him he learned the natural style of oratory, but he adorned it with a charming suavity. The most characteristic example of the style of Marcus is his speech of the Spartan advising the Lacedaemonians not to receive the men who had returned from Sphacteria without their weapons.<sup>2</sup> He began this argument as follows: "As a citizen of Lacedaemon who till old age has kept his shield, I would gladly have slain these men who have lost theirs." His style in his discourses may be gathered from the following. He was trying to show how rich and how many-sided is the art of the sophists, and taking the rainbow as the image of an oration, he began his discourse thus: "He who sees the rainbow only as a single colour does not see a sight to marvel at, but he who sees how many colours it has, marvels more."<sup>3</sup> Those who ascribe this discourse to Alcinous the Stoic fail to observe the style of his speech, they fail to observe the truth, and are most dishonest men, in that they try to rob the sophist even of what he wrote about his own art.

The expression of his brows and the gravity of his countenance proclaimed Marcus a sophist, and indeed his mind was constantly brooding over some theme, and he was always training himself in the methods that prepare one for extempore speaking. This was evident from the steady gaze of his eyes

"Wonder." The play on the word θαυμάζειν, "to wonder," seems to echo Plato, *Theaetetus* 155 c D: "philosophy begins in wonder." Plato goes on to apply the image of the rainbow (Iris) to philosophy.

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πεπηγότων τὰ πολλὰ ἐς ἀπορρήτους ἐννοίας, ὡμολογήθη δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἐρομένου γάρ τινος αὐτὸν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὅπως χθές ἐμελέτα “ ἐπ’ 529 ἔμαυτοῦ μὲν ” ἔφη “ λόγου ἀξίως, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γνωρίμων ἦττον.” θαυμάσαντος δὲ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν “ ἐγὼ ” ἔφη ὁ Μάρκος “ καὶ τῇ σιωπῇ ἐνεργῶ χρῶμαι καὶ γυμνάζουσί με δύο ὑποθέσεις καὶ τρεῖς ὑπὸ τὴν μίαν, ἣν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγωνίζομαι.” γενειάδος δὲ καὶ κόμης αὐχμηρῶς εἶχεν, ὅθεν ἀγροικότερος ἀνδρὸς πεπνυμένου ἐδόκει τοῖς πολλοῖς. τουτὶ δὲ καὶ Πολέμων ὁ σοφιστῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔπαθεν· παρήλθε μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὴν τοῦ Πολέμωνος διατριβὴν ὀνομαστός ἤδη ὢν, ξυγκαθημένων δὲ τῶν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἀπηνητηκότων ἀναγνούς τις αὐτὸν τῶν ἐς τὸ Βυζάντιον πεπλευκότων διεμήνυσε τῷ πέλας, ὁ δὲ τῷ πλησίον, καὶ διεδόθη ἐς πάντας, ὅτι ὁ Βυζάντιος εἶη σοφιστῆς, ὅθεν τοῦ Πολέμωνος αἰτοῦντος τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἐπεστρέφοντο πάντες ἐς τὸν Μάρκον, ἵνα προβάλῃ. τοῦ δὲ Πολέμωνος εἰπόντος “ τί ἐς τὸν ἀγροικὸν ὀρᾶτε; οὐ γὰρ δώσει γε οὗτος ὑπόθεσιν,” ὁ Μάρκος ἐπάρας τὴν φωνήν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, καὶ ἀνακύψας “ καὶ προβαλῶ<sup>1</sup> ” ἔφη “ καὶ μελετασεῦμαι.” ἔνθεν ἐλὼν ὁ Πολέμων καὶ ξυνιεῖς δωριάζοντος διελέχθη ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα πολλὰ τε καὶ θαυμάσια ἐφιεῖς τῷ καιρῷ, μελετήσας δὲ καὶ μελετῶντος ἀκροασάμενος καὶ ἐθαυμάσθη καὶ ἐθαύμασεν.

Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἦκων ὁ Μάρκος ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα, οἰκισταὶ δὲ οὗτοι Βυζαντίων, ἐστασίαζον μὲν οἱ

<sup>1</sup> προβαλοῦμαι . . . μελετήσομαι Kayser; προβαλῶ . . . μελετασεῦμαι Cobet, to give the Doric dialect.

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which were usually intent on secret thoughts, and, moreover, it was admitted by the man himself. For when one of his friends asked him how he declaimed the day before, he replied : " To myself, well enough, but to my pupils not so well." And when the other expressed surprise at the answer, Marcus said : " I work even when I am silent, and I keep myself in practice with two or three arguments beside the one that I maintain in public." His beard and hair were always unkempt, and hence most people thought that he looked too boorish to be a learned man. And this was the impression of him that Polemo the sophist had. For, when he had already made his reputation, he once visited Polemo's school, and when the pupils who had come to attend the lecture had taken their seats, one of those who had made the voyage to Byzantium recognized him and pointed him out to the man next him, and he in turn to his neighbour, and so word was handed on to them all that he was the sophist from Byzantium. Accordingly, when Polemo asked for themes to be proposed, they all turned towards Marcus that he might propose one. And when Polemo asked : " Why do you look to the rustic? This fellow will not give you a theme," Marcus, speaking as he always did at the top of his voice, and throwing his head up, retorted : " I will propose a subject and will myself declaim." Thereupon Polemo, who recognized him partly by his Doric dialect, addressed himself to Marcus in a long and wonderful speech on the spur of the moment, and when he had declaimed and heard the other declaim he both admired and was admired.

When, later on, Marcus went to Megara (Byzantium was originally a Megarian colony), the Megarians

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Μεγαρεῖς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀκμαζούσαις ταῖς γνώμαις, ὥσπερ ἄρτι τοῦ πινακίου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς γεγραμμένου, καὶ οὐκ ἐδέχοντο σφᾶς ἐς τὰ Πύθια τὰ μικρὰ ἦκοντας. παρελθὼν δὲ ἐς μέσους ὁ Μάρκος οὕτω τι μεθήρμοσε τοὺς Μεγαρέας, ὡς ἀνοῖξαι πείσαι τὰς οἰκίας καὶ δέξασθαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ γυναικᾶς τε καὶ παῖδας. ἠγάσθη αὐτὸν καὶ 530 Ἀδριανὸς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ πρεσβεύοντα ὑπὲρ Βυζαντιῶν, ἐπιτηδειότατος τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων γενόμενος ἀρετὰς αὐξῆσαι.

κέ'. Πολέμων δὲ ὁ σοφιστῆς οὐθ', ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ δοκοῦσι, Σμυρναῖος, οὐθ', ὡς τινες, ἐκ Φρυγῶν, ἀλλὰ ἤνεγκεν αὐτὸν Ασαοδίκεια ἢ ἐν Καρία, ποταμῶ πρόσοικος Λύκω, μεσογειία μὲν, δυνατωτέρα δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. ἢ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Πολέμωνος οἰκία πολλοὶ ὑπατοὶ καὶ ἔτι, ἐρασταὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πολλοὶ μὲν πόλεις, διαφερόντως δὲ ἢ Σμύρνα· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐκ μειρακίου κατιδόντες τι ἐν αὐτῷ μέγα πάντας τοὺς οἴκοι στεφάνους ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Πολέμωνος κεφαλὴν συνήνεγκαν, αὐτῷ τε ψηφισάμενοι καὶ γένει τὰ οἴκοι ζηλωτά, προκαθῆσθαι γὰρ τῶν Ἀδριανῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἔδοσαν τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἐγγόνοις, καὶ τῆς 531 ἱερᾶς τριήρους ἐπιβατεύειν. πέμπεται γὰρ τις μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι μεταρσία τριήρης ἐς ἀγοράν, ἣν ὁ τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερεὺς, οἶον κυβερνήτης, εὐθύνει πείσματα ἐκ θαλάττης λύουσαν.

Ἐνσπουδάζων δὲ τῇ Σμύρῃ τάδε αὐτὴν ὦνησεν· πρῶτα μὲν τὴν πόλιν πολυανθρωποτάτην αὐτῆς

<sup>1</sup> This was the decree by which the Megarians were proscribed by the Athenians in the fifth century B.C.

<sup>2</sup> These games were held at Smyrna.

<sup>3</sup> February.

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were still keeping up their quarrel with the Athenians with the utmost energy of their minds, just as if the famous decree<sup>1</sup> against them had been lately drawn up; and they did not admit them when they came to the Lesser Pythian games. Marcus, however, came among them, and so changed the hearts of the Megarians that he persuaded them to throw open their houses and to admit the Athenians to the society of their wives and children. The Emperor Hadrian too admired him when he came on an embassy for Byzantium, for of all the Emperors in the past he was the most disposed to foster merit.

25. POLEMO the sophist was neither a native of Smyrna, as is commonly supposed, nor from Phrygia as some say, but he was born at Laodicea in Caria, a city which lies on the river Lycus and, though far inland, is more important than those on the sea-coast. Polemo's family has produced many men of consular rank, and still does, and many cities were in love with him, but especially Smyrna. For the people having from his boyhood observed in him a certain greatness, heaped on the head of Polemo all the wreaths of honour that were theirs to give, decreeing for himself and his family the distinctions most sought after in Smyrna; for they bestowed on him and his descendants the right to preside over the Olympic games founded by Hadrian,<sup>2</sup> and to go on board the sacred trireme. For in the month Anthesterion<sup>3</sup> a trireme in full sail is brought in procession to the agora, and the priest of Dionysus, like a pilot, steers it as it comes from the sea, loosing its cables.

By opening his school at Smyrna he benefited the city in the following ways. In the first place he made her appear far more populous than before,

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φαίνεσθαι, νεότητος αὐτῇ ἐπιρρεούσης ἐξ ἠπείρων τε καὶ νήσων οὐκ ἀκολάστου καὶ ξυγκλύδος, ἀλλ' ἐξειλεγμένης τε καὶ καθαρῶς<sup>1</sup> Ἑλλάδος, ἔπειτα ὁμονοοῦσαν καὶ ἀστασίαστον πολιτεύειν, τὸν γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον ἐστασίαζεν ἡ Σμύρνα καὶ διεστῆκεσαν οἱ ἄνω πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. πλείστου δὲ ἄξιος τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ πρεσβευτικὰ ἐγένετο φοιτῶν παρὰ τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας καὶ προαγωνιζόμενος τῶν ἠθῶν. Ἀδριανὸν γοῦν προσκείμενον τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις οὕτω τι μετεποίησε τοῖς Σμυρναίοις, ὡς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ μυριάδας χιλίας ἐπαντλήσαι αὐτὸν τῇ Σμύρνῃ, ἀφ' ὧν τά τε τοῦ σίτου ἐμπόρια ἐξεποιήθη καὶ γυμνάσιον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μεγαλοπρεπέστατον καὶ νεὼς τηλεφανῆς ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας ἀντικείμενος δοκῶν τῷ Μίμαντι. καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἀμαρταγομένοις δημοσίᾳ ἐπιπλήττων καὶ κατὰ σοφίαν πλείστα νουθετῶν ὠφέλει, ὕβριν τε ὁμοίως ἐξήρει καὶ ἀγερωχίαν πᾶσαν, τοσοῦτῳ πλέον, ὅσω μὴδὲ  
532 τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ ἀπεθίξειν ἦν.<sup>2</sup> ὠφέλει δὲ κακεῖνα δῆπου· τὰς δίκας τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐκ ἄλλοσέ ποι ἐκφοιτῶν εἶα, ἀλλ' οἴκοι ἔπαυεν· λέγω δὲ τὰς ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, τὰς γὰρ ἐπὶ μοιχοῦς καὶ ἱεροσύλους καὶ σφαγέας, ὧν ἀμελουμένων ἄγῃ φύεται, οὐκ ἐξάγειν παρεκελεύετο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξωθεῖν τῆς Σμύρνης, δικαστοῦ γὰρ δεῖσθαι αὐτὰς ξίφος ἔχοντος.  
Καὶ ἡ αἰτία δέ, ἦν ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν εἶχεν, ὡς

<sup>1</sup> καθαρῶς Kayser; καθαρῶς Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> Lacuna in mss.; ἦν Kayser suggests.

<sup>1</sup> "Windy Mimas" (*Odyssey* iii. 172) is a headland opposite Chios. This temple was destroyed by an earthquake and rebuilt by Marcus Aurelius.



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since the youth flowed into her from both continents and the islands; nor were they a dissolute and promiscuous rabble, but select and genuinely Hellenic. Secondly, he brought about a harmonious government free from faction. For, before that, Smyrna was rent by factions, and the inhabitants of the higher district were at variance with those on the sea-shore. Also he proved to be of great value to the city by going on embassies to the Emperors and defending the community. Hadrian, at any rate, had hitherto favoured Ephesus, but Polemo so entirely converted him to the cause of Smyrna that in one day he lavished a million drachmae on the city, and with this the corn-market was built, a gymnasium which was the most magnificent of all those in Asia, and a temple that can be seen from afar, the one on the promontory that seems to challenge Mimas.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, when they made mistakes in their public policy, Polemo would rebuke them, and often gave them wise advice; thus he was of great use to them, and at the same time he cured them of arrogance and every kind of insolence, an achievement that was all the greater because it was not like the Ionian to reform his ancient customs. He helped them also in the following manner. The suits which they brought against one another he did not allow to be carried anywhere abroad, but he would settle them at home. I mean the suits about money, for those against adulterers, sacrilegious persons and murderers, the neglect of which breeds pollution, he not only urged them to carry them out of Smyrna but even to drive them out. For he said that they needed a judge with a sword in his hand.

Though he excited the disapproval of many,

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ὄδοιποροῦντι αὐτῷ πολλὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα ἔποιτο, πολλοὶ δὲ ἵπποι, πολλοὶ δὲ οἰκέται, πολλὰ δὲ ἔθνη κυνῶν ἄλλα ἐς ἄλλην θήραν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ ζεύγους ἀργυροχαλίνου Φρυγίου τινὸς ἢ Κελτικοῦ πορεύοιτο, εὐκλειαν τῇ Σμύρνῃ ἔπραττεν· πόλιν γὰρ δὴ λαμπρύνει μὲν ἀγορὰ καὶ κατασκευὴ μεγαλοπρεπῆς οἰκοδομημάτων, λαμπρύνει δὲ οἰκία εὖ πράττουσα, οὐ γὰρ μόνον δίδωσι πόλις ἀνδρὶ ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ ἄρνυται ἐξ ἀνδρός. ἐπεσκοπεῖτο δὲ καὶ τὴν Λαοδίκειαν ὁ Πολέμων θαμίζων ἐς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον καὶ δημοσίᾳ ὠφελῶν ὅ τι ἠδύνατο.

Τὰ δὲ ἐκ βασιλέων αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα· Τραιανὸς μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ ἀτελῆ πορεύεσθαι διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης, Ἀδριανὸς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πᾶσιν, ἐγκατέλεξε δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τῷ τοῦ Μουσείου κύκλῳ 533 ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτίαν σίτησιν, ἐπὶ τε τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπαιτουμένου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ὑπερ-ἀπέδωκε ταῦτα τὰ χρήματα οὔτε εἰπόντος, ὡς δέοιτο, οὔτε προειπών, ὡς δώσοι. αἰτιωμένης δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς Σμύρνης, ὡς πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιδοθέντων σφίσις ἐκ βασιλέως χρημάτων ἐς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἠδὺ καταθέμενον ἔπεμψεν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπιστολὴν ὠδε ξυγκειμένην· “Πολέμων τῶν ἐπιδοθέντων ὑμῖν χρημάτων ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἐμοὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἔδωκεν.” ταῦτα δὲ εἰ καὶ συγγνώμην ἐρεῖ τις, οὐκ ἦν δῆπου συγγνώμην αὐτὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασι μὴ οὐκ ἐς τὸ προὔχον τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς εὐρέσθαι. τὸ δὲ Ἀθήνησιν Ὀλυμπίειον<sup>1</sup> δι’ ἐξή-

<sup>1</sup> Ὀλύμπιον Kayser ; Ὀλυμπίειον Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> A favourite saying with Pindar ; cf. Thucydides vi. 16.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 524.

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because when he travelled he was followed by a long train of baggage-animals and many horses, many slaves and many different breeds of dogs for various kinds of hunting, while he himself would ride in a chariot from Phrygia or Gaul, with silver-mounted bridles, by all this he acquired glory for Smyrna. For just as its market-place and a splendid array of buildings reflect lustre on a city, so does an opulent establishment; for not only does a city give a man renown, but itself acquires it from a man.<sup>1</sup> Polemo administered the affairs of Laodicea as well, for he often visited his relatives there, and gave what assistance he could in public affairs.

The following privileges were bestowed on him by the Emperors. By the Emperor Trajan the right to travel free of expense by land and sea, and Hadrian extended this to all his descendants, and also enrolled him in the circle of the Museum, with the Egyptian right of free meals.<sup>2</sup> And when he was in Rome and demanded 250,000 drachmae,<sup>3</sup> he gave him that sum and more, though Polemo had not said that he needed it, nor had the Emperor said beforehand that he would give it. When the people of Smyrna accused him of having expended on his own pleasures a great part of the money that had been given by the Emperor for them, the Emperor sent a letter to the following effect: "Polemo has rendered me an account of the money given to you by me." And though one may say that this was an act of clemency, nevertheless it would not have been possible for him to win clemency in the affair of the money, had he not won pre-eminence for virtue of another kind. The temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens had been

<sup>3</sup> The drachma was worth about ninepence.

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κοντα καὶ πεντακοσίων ἐτῶν ἀποτελεσθὲν καθιερώσας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ὡς χρόνου μέγα ἀγώνισμα, ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὸν Πολέμωνα ἐφυμνήσαι τῇ θυσίᾳ. ὁ δέ, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, στήσας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἤδη παρισταμένας ἐννοίας ἐπαφῆκεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς κρηπίδος τοῦ νεῶ διελέχθη πολλὰ καὶ θαυμάσια, προοίμιον ποιούμενος τοῦ λόγου τὸ μὴ ἄβειε τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὄρμην γενέσθαι οἷ.

534 Διήλλαξε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα Ἄντωνῖνον ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν τῇ τοῦ σκήπτρου παραδόσει θεὸς ἐκ θνητοῦ γιγνόμενος. τουτὶ δὲ ὅποιον, ἀνάγκη δηλῶσαι· ἤρξε μὲν γὰρ δὴ πάσης ὁμοῦ Ἀσίας ὁ Ἄντωνῖνος, καὶ κατέλυσεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πολέμωνος οἰκίᾳ ὡς ἀρίστη τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν καὶ ἀρίστου ἀνδρός, νύκτωρ δὲ ἐξ ἀποδημίας ἦκων ὁ Πολέμων ἐβόα ἐπὶ θύραις, ὡς δεινὰ πάσχοι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εἰργόμενος, εἶτα συνηνάγκασε τὸν Ἄντωνῖνον εἰς ἑτέραν οἰκίαν μετασκευάσασθαι. ταῦτα ἐγίγνωσκε μὲν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἠρώτα δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οὐδέν, ὡς μὴ ἀναδέροιτο, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμηθεῖς τὰ μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ ὅτι πολλάκις καὶ τὰς ἡμέρους ἐκκαλοῦνται φύσεις οἱ προσκείμενοί τε καὶ παροξύνοντες, ἔδεισε περὶ τῷ Πολέμωνι, ὅθεν ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας διαθήκαις “ καὶ Πολέμων ὁ σοφιστῆς ” ἔφη “ ξύμβουλος τῆς διανοίας ἐμοὶ ταύτης ἐγένετο, ” τῷ καὶ χάριν ὡς εὐεργέτη πράττειν τὴν συγγνώμην ἐκ περιουσίας ἐτοιμάζων.

<sup>1</sup> The original Olympieion, begun about 530 B.C. by Peisistratus, was never completed. The existing temple was begun about 174 B.C. by Antiochus Epiphanes, was completed by Hadrian and dedicated A.D. 130.

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completed at last after an interval of five hundred and sixty years,<sup>1</sup> and when the Emperor consecrated it as a marvellous triumph of time, he invited Polemo also to make an oration at the sacrifice. He fixed his gaze, as was his custom, on the thoughts that were already taking their place in his mind, and then flung himself into his speech, and delivered a long and admirable discourse from the base of the temple. As the prooemium of his speech he declared that not without a divine impulse was he inspired to speak on that theme.

Moreover, the Emperor reconciled his own son Antoninus with Polemo, at the time when he handed over his sceptre and became a god instead of a mortal. I must relate how this happened. Antoninus was proconsul of the whole of Asia without exception, and once he took up his lodging in Polemo's house because it was the best in Smyrna and belonged to the most notable citizen. However, Polemo arrived home at night from a journey and raised an outcry at the door that he was outrageously treated in being shut out of his own house, and next he compelled Antoninus to move to another house. The Emperor was informed of this, but he held no inquiry into the affair, lest he should reopen the wound. But in considering what would happen after his death, and that even mild natures are often provoked by persons who are too aggressive and irritating, he became anxious about Polemo. Accordingly in his last testament on the affairs of the Empire, he wrote: "And Polemo, the sophist, advised me to make this arrangement." By this means he opened the way for him to win favour as a benefactor, and forgiveness enough and to spare. And in fact Antoninus used

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καὶ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἡστείζετο μὲν πρὸς τὸν Πολέμωνα περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν ἐνδεικνύμενός που τὸ μὴ ἐκκληῆσθαι, ταῖς δὲ ἐκάστοτε τιμαῖς ἐπὶ μέγα ἦρεν ἐγγνώμενός που τὸ μὴ μεμνησθαι. ἡστείζετο δὲ τάδε· ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἦκοντος τοῦ Πολέμωνος περιβαλὼν αὐτὸν Ἀντωνῖνος “ δότε ” ἔφη “ Πολέμωνι καταγωγὴν, καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτὸν ἐκβάλη.” ὑποκριτοῦ δὲ τραγωδίας ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ὀλυμπίων, οἷς ἐπεστάται ὁ Πολέμων, 535 ἐφίεναι φήσαντος, ἐξελαθῆναι γὰρ παρ’ αὐτοῦ κατ’ ἀρχὰς τοῦ δράματος, ἦρετο ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τὸν ὑποκριτὴν, πηνίκα εἶη, ὅτε τῆς σκηνῆς ἠλάθη, τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, ὡς μεσημβρία τυγχάνοι οὔσα, μάλα ἀστείως ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ “ ἐμὲ δὲ ” εἶπεν “ ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐξήλασε τῆς οἰκίας, καὶ οὐκ ἐφῆκα.”

Ἐχέτω μοι καὶ ταῦτα δήλωσι βασιλέως τε πράου καὶ ἀνδρὸς ὑπέρφρονος. ὑπέρφρων γὰρ δὴ οὕτω τι ὁ Πολέμων, ὡς πόλεσι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ προὔχοντος, δυνασταῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ὑφειμένου, θεοῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου διαλέγεσθαι. Ἀθηναῖοις μὲν γὰρ ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτοσχεδίους λόγους, ὅτε καὶ πρῶτον Ἀθήναζε ἀφίκετο, οὐκ ἐς ἐγκώμια κατέστησεν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ ἄστεος, τοσοῦτων ὄντων, ἃ τις ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων ἂν εἶποι, οὐδ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης ἐμακρηγόρησε, καίτοι καὶ τῆς τοιαύσδε ιδέας ὠφελούσης τοὺς σοφιστὰς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιδείξεσιν, ἀλλ’ εὖ γινώσκων, ὅτι τὰς Ἀθηναίων φύσεις ἐπικόπτειν χρὴ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπαίρειν διελέχθη ὧδε· “ φασὶν ὑμᾶς, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, σοφοὺς

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to jest with Polemo about what had happened in Smyrna, thus showing that he had by no means forgotten it, though by the honours with which he exalted him on every occasion he seemed to pledge himself not to bear it in mind. This is the sort of jest he would make. When Polemo came to Rome, Antoninus embraced him, and then said: "Give Polemo a lodging and do not let anyone turn him out of it." And once when a tragic actor who had performed at the Olympic games in Asia, over which Polemo presided, declared that he would prosecute him, because Polemo had expelled him at the beginning of the play, the Emperor asked the actor what time it was when he was expelled from the theatre, and when he replied that it happened to be at noon, the Emperor made this witty comment: "But it was midnight when he expelled *me* from his house, and I did not prosecute him."

Let this suffice to show how mild an Emperor could be, and how arrogant a mere man. For in truth Polemo was so arrogant that he conversed with cities as his inferiors, Emperors as not his superiors, and the gods as his equals. For instance, when he gave a display to the Athenians of extempore speeches on first coming to Athens, he did not condescend to utter an encomium on the city, though there were so many things that one might say in honour of the Athenians; nor did he make a long oration about his own renown, although this style of speech is likely to win favour for sophists in their public declamations. But since he well knew that the natural disposition of the Athenians needs to be held in check rather than encouraged to greater pride, this was his introductory speech: "Men say, Athenians,

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εἶναι ἀκροατὰς λόγων· εἶσομαι.” ἀνδρὸς δέ, ὃς ἦρχε μὲν Βοσπόρου, πᾶσαν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν παιδευσιν ἤρμοστο, καθ’ ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἰωνίας ἐς τὴν Σμύρναν ἦκοντος οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἔταξεν ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς θεραπεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεομένου ξυνεῖναί οἱ θαμὰ ἀνεβάλλετο, ἕως ἠνάγκασε τὸν βασιλέα ἐπὶ θύρας ἀφικέσθαι ἀπάγοντα μισθοῦ δέκα τάλαντα. ἦκων δὲ ἐς τὸ Πέργαμον, ὅτε δὴ τὰ ἄρθρα ἐνόσει, κατέδαρθε μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐπιστάντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ προειπόντος ἀπέχεσθαι ψυχροῦ ποτοῦ ὁ Πολέμων “ βέλτιστε,” εἶπεν “ εἰ δὲ βούῃ ἐθεράπευες; ”

Τὸ δὲ μεγαλόγνημον τοῦτο καὶ φρονηματῶδες ἐκ Τιμοκράτους ἔσπασε τοῦ φιλοσόφου, συγγενόμενος αὐτῷ ἦκοντι ἐς Ἰωνίαν ἐτῶν τεττάρων. οὐ χεῖρον δὲ καὶ τὸν Τιμοκράτην δηλῶσαι· ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ πατρίς Ἡράκλεια τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἐπαινοῦντες; ἐφιλοσόφει δὲ καθ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν τοὺς ἰατρικοὺς τῶν λόγων, εἰδὼς εὖ τὰς Ἱπποκράτους τε καὶ Δημοκρίτου δόξας, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσεν Εὐφράτου τοῦ Τυρίου, πλήρῃσιν ἰστίοις ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου φιλοσοφίαν ἀφῆκεν. ἐπιχολώτερος δὲ οὕτω τι ἦν τοῦ ξυμμέτρου, ὡς ὑπανίστασθαι αὐτῷ διαλεγομένῳ τὴν τε γενειάδα καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ χαιτάς, ὥσπερ τῶν λεόντων ἐν ταῖς ὀρμαῖς. τῆς δὲ γλώττης εὐφόρως εἶχε καὶ σφοδρῶς καὶ ἐτοιμίως, διὸ καὶ τῷ Πολέμωνι πλείστου ἦν ἄξιος ἀσπαζομένῳ τὴν τοιάνδε ἐπιφορὰν τοῦ λόγου. διαφορᾶς γούν τῷ

<sup>1</sup> At this date there were kings of the Bosphorus under the protectorate of Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian, *Demonax* 3, praises Timocrates.



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that as an audience you are accomplished judges of oratory. I shall soon find out." And once when the ruler of the Bosphorus, a man who had been trained in all the culture of Greece, came to Smyrna in order to learn about Ionia, Polemo not only did not take his place among those who went to salute him, but even when the other begged him to visit him he postponed it again and again, until he compelled the king<sup>1</sup> to come to his door with a fee of ten talents. Again, when he came to Pergamon suffering from a disease of the joints, he slept in the temple, and when Asclepius appeared to him and told him to abstain from drinking anything cold, "My good sir," said Polemo, "but what if you were doctoring a cow?"

This proud and haughty temper he contracted from Timocrates<sup>2</sup> the philosopher, with whom he associated for four years when he came to Ionia. It would do no harm to describe Timocrates also. This man came from the Pontus and his birthplace was Heraclea whose citizens admire Greek culture. At first he devoted himself to the study of writings on medicine and was well versed in the theories of Hippocrates and Democritus. But when he had once heard Euphrates<sup>3</sup> of Tyre, he set full sail for his kind of philosophy. He was irascible beyond measure, so much so that while he was arguing his beard and the hair on his head stood up like a lion's when it springs to the attack. His language was fluent, vigorous and ready, and it was on this account that Polemo, who loved this headlong style of oratory, valued him so highly. At any rate, when a quarrel arose between Timocrates

<sup>2</sup> cf. p. 488 and *Life of Apollonius, passim*. Euphrates had much influence with Vespasian.

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Τιμοκράτει πρὸς τὸν Σκοπελιανὸν γενομένης ὡς ἐκδεδωκότα ἑαυτὸν πίττη καὶ παρατιλτρίαις διέστη μὲν ἢ ἐνομιλοῦσα νεότης τῇ Σμύρῃ, ὁ δὲ Πολέμων ἀμφοῖν ἀκροώμενος τῶν τοῦ Τιμοκράτους στασιωτῶν ἐγένετο πατέρα καλῶν αὐτὸν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γλώττης. ἀπολογούμενος δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς Φαβωρίνον λόγων εὐλαβῶς ὑπέστειλε καὶ ὑφειμένως, ὡσπερ τῶν παιδῶν οἱ τὰς ἐκ τῶν διδασκάλων πληγὰς, εἴ τι ἀτακτήσειαν, δεδιότες.

Τῷ δὲ ὑφειμένῳ τούτῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σκοπελιανὸν ἐχρήσατο χρόνῳ ὕστερον, πρεσβεύειν μὲν χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῶν Σμυρναίων, ὡς ὄπλα δὲ Ἀχιλλεῖα τὴν ἐκείνου πειθῶ αἰτήσας. Ἡρώδη δὲ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ πῆ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑφειμένου, πῆ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπεραίροντος ξυνεγένετο. ὅπως δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔσχε, δηλῶσαι βούλομαι, καλὰ γὰρ καὶ μεμνήσθαι ἄξια· ἦρα μὲν γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοσχεδιάζειν ὁ Ἡρώδης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ὑπατός τε καὶ ἐξ ὑπάτων δοκεῖν, τὸν Πολέμωνα δὲ οὐπω γιγνώσκων ἀφίκτο μὲν ἐς τὴν Σμύρναν ἐπὶ ξυνουσίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κατὰ χρόνους, οὓς τὰς ἐλευθέρων τῶν πόλεων αὐτὸς διωρθοῦτο, περιβαλὼν δὲ καὶ ὑπερασπασάμενος ὁμοῦ τῷ τὸ στόμα ἀφελεῖν τοῦ στόματος “ πότε,” εἶπεν “ ὦ πάτερ, ἀκροασόμεθά σου;” καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ ᾤετο ἀναβαλεῖσθαι αὐτὸν τὴν ἀκρόασιν ὀκνεῖν φήσαντα ἐπ’ ἀνδρὸς τοιούτου ἀποκινδυνεύειν, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν πλασάμενος “ τήμερον” ἔφη “ ἀκροῶ, καὶ ἴωμεν.” τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐκπλαγῆναί φησι τὸν ἄνδρα,

<sup>1</sup> This was a mark of effeminacy and foppishness.

<sup>2</sup> This incident is described above, p. 521.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 548.

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and Scopelian, because the latter had become addicted to the use of pitch-plasters and professional "hair-removers,"<sup>1</sup> the youths who were then residing in Smyrna took different sides, but Polemo, who was the pupil of both men, became one of the faction of Timocrates and called him "the father of my eloquence." And when he was defending himself before Timocrates for his speeches against Favorinus, he cowered before him in awe and submission, like boys who fear blows from their teachers when they have been disobedient.

This same humility Polemo showed also towards Scopelian somewhat later, when he was elected to go on an embassy on behalf of Smyrna, and begged for Scopelian's power of persuasion as though it were the arms of Achilles.<sup>2</sup> His behaviour to Herodes the Athenian was in one way submissive and in another arrogant. I wish to relate how this came about, for it is a good story and worth remembering. Herodes, you must know, felt a keener desire to succeed in extempore speaking than to be called a consul and the descendant of consuls, and so, before he was acquainted with Polemo, he came to Smyrna in order to study with him. It was at the time when Herodes alone<sup>3</sup> was regulating the status of the free cities. When he had embraced Polemo and saluted him very affectionately by kissing him on the mouth, he asked: "Father, when shall I hear you declaim?" Now Herodes thought that he would put off the declamation and would say that he hesitated to run any risks in the presence of so great a man, but Polemo, without any such pretext, replied: "Hear me declaim to-day, and let us be going." Herodes says that when he heard this, he was struck with admiration

ὡς καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτοσχέδιον καὶ τὴν γνώμην. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν φρόνημα ἐνδείκνυται τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καί, νῆ Δία, σοφίαν, ἥ ἐς τὴν ἔκπληξιν ἐχρήσατο, ἐκεῖνα δὲ σωφροσύνην τε καὶ κόσμον· ἀφικόμενον γὰρ ἐς τὴν ἐπίδειξιν ἐδέξατο ἐπαίνῳ μακρῷ καὶ ἐπαξίῳ τῶν Ἡρώδου λόγων τε καὶ ἔργων.

Τὴν δὲ σκηνὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ἥ ἐς τὰς μελέτας ἐχρήσατο, ἔστι μὲν καὶ Ἡρώδου μαθεῖν ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Βάρον ἐπιστολῶν εἰρημένον,<sup>1</sup> δηλώσω δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖθεν· παρῆει μὲν ἐς τὰς ἐπιδείξεις διακεχυμένῳ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ τεθαρρηκότι, φοράδην δὲ ἐσεφοίτα διεφθορότων αὐτῷ ἤδη τῶν ἄρθρων. καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις οὐκ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐπεσκοπεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐξίων τοῦ ὀμίλου βραχὺν καιρὸν. φθέγμα δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ λαμπρὸν καὶ ἐπίτονον καὶ κρότος θαυμάσιος οἷος ἀπεκτύπει τῆς γλῶττης. φησὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡρώδης καὶ ἀναπηδᾶν τοῦ θρόνου περὶ τὰς ἀκμὰς τῶν ὑποθέσεων, τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ περιεῖναι ὀρμῆς, καὶ ὅτε ἀποτορνεοὶ περίοδον, τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσι αὐτῆς κῶλον σὺν μειδιάματι φέρειν, ἐνδεικνύμενον πολὺ τὸ ἀλύπως φράζειν, καὶ κροαίνεω ἐν τοῖς τῶν ὑποθέσεων χωρίοις  
538 οὐδὲν μείον τοῦ Ὀμηρικοῦ ἵππου. ἀκροᾶσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν πρώτην, ὡς οἱ δικάζοντες, τὴν δὲ ἐφεξῆς, ὡς οἱ ἐρῶντες, τὴν δὲ τρίτην, ὡς οἱ θαυμάζοντες, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ξυγγενέσθαι οἱ. ἀναγράφει καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις ὁ Ἡρώδης, ἐφ' αἷς ξυνεγένετο· ἦν τοίνυν ἡ μὲν πρώτη Δημο-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιστολῆ εἰρημένων Kayser ; ἐπιστολῶν εἰρημένων Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> See Glossary s.v. σκηνή.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* vi. 507.

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of the man and the ready facility both of his tongue and brain. This incident illustrates Polemo's pride and, by Zeus, the cleverness with which he was wont to dazzle his hearers, but the following shows equally his modesty and sense of propriety. For when the other arrived to hear him declaim, he received him with a long and appropriate panegyric on the words and deeds of Herodes.

The scenic effects<sup>1</sup> which he employed in his declamations we may learn from Herodes, since they are described in one of the letters that he wrote to Varus, and I will relate them from that source. He would come forward to declaim with a countenance serene and full of confidence, and he always arrived in a litter, because his joints were already diseased. When a theme had been proposed, he did not meditate on it in public but would withdraw from the crowd for a short time. His utterance was clear and incisive, and there was a fine ringing sound in the tones of his voice. Herodes says also that he used to rise to such a pitch of excitement that he would jump up from his chair when he came to the most striking conclusions in his argument, and whenever he rounded off a period he would utter the final clause with a smile, as though to show clearly that he could deliver it without effort, and at certain places in the argument he would stamp the ground just like the horse in Homer.<sup>2</sup> Herodes adds that he listened to his first declamation like an impartial judge, to the second like one who longs for more, to the third as one who can but admire; and that he attended his lectures for three days. Moreover, Herodes has recorded the themes of the declamations at which he was present. The first was :

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σθένης ἔξομνύμενος ταλάντων πεντήκοντα δωροδοκίαν, ἣν ἤγεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν Δημάδης, ὡς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦτο Ἀθηναίους ἐκ τῶν Δαρείου λογισμῶν ἐπεσταλκός, ἣ δὲ ἐφεξῆς τὰ τρόπαια κατέλυε τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ τοῦ Πελοποννησίου πολέμου ἐς διαλλαγὰς ἤκοντος, ἣ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ὑποθέσεων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μετὰ Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς ἐς τοὺς δῆμους ἀνεσκεύαζεν· ὑπὲρ οὗ φησιν ὁ Ἡρώδης πέμψαι οἱ πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας προσειπὼν αὐτὰς μισθὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως, μὴ προσεμένου δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπερῶφθαι οἴεσθαι, ξυμπίνοντα δὲ αὐτῷ Μουνάτιον τὸν κριτικόν, ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἐκ Τραλλέων, “ὦ Ἡρώδη,” φάναι “δοκεῖ μοι Πολέμων ὄνειροπολήσας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας παρὰ τοῦτ' ἔλαττον ἔχειν ἠγεῖσθαι, παρ' ὃ μὴ τοσαύτας ἐπέμψας.” προσθεῖναι φησιν ὁ Ἡρώδης τὰς δέκα καὶ τὸν Πολέμωνα προθύμως λαβεῖν, ὡσπερ ἀπολαμβάνοντα. ἔδωκε τῷ Πολέμωνι ὁ Ἡρώδης καὶ τὸ μὴ παρελθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐς λόγων ἐπίδειξιν, μηδ' ἐπαγωνίσασθαι οἱ, νύκτωρ δὲ ἐξελάσαι τῆς Σμύρνης, ὡς μὴ βιασθεῖη, θρασὺ γὰρ καὶ τὸ βιασθῆναι ᾤετο. διετέλει δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐπαινῶν τὸν Πολέμωνα καὶ ὑπερθαυμάζων.<sup>1</sup> Ἀθήνησι μὲν γὰρ διαπρεπῶς ἀγωνισάμενος τὸν περὶ τῶν τροπαίων ἀγῶνα καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> ὑπὲρ θαῦμα ἀγων Kayser; ὑπερθαυμάζων Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> Apsines 219 mentions this theme, and it was also de-claimed by Herodes, cf. p. 539. The argument was that there must not be permanent monuments of Greek victories over Greeks.

<sup>2</sup> This theme is similar to that of Isocrates mentioned

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“Demosthenes swears that he did not take the bribe of fifty talents,” the charge which Demades brought against him, on the ground that Alexander had communicated this fact to the Athenians, having learned it from the account-books of Darius. In the second, on the conclusion of peace after the Peloponnesian war, he urged: “That the trophies erected by the Greeks should be taken down.”<sup>1</sup> The third argument was to persuade the Athenians to return to their demes after the battle of Aegos Potami.<sup>2</sup> Herodes says that in payment for this he sent him 150,000 drachmae, and called this the fee for his lectures. But since he did not accept it, Herodes thought that he had been treated with contempt, but Munatius the critic, when drinking with him (this man came from Tralles), remarked: “Herodes, I think that Polemo dreamed of 250,000 drachmae, and so thinks that he is being stinted because you did not send so large a sum.” Herodes says that he added the 100,000 drachmae, and that Polemo took the money without the least hesitation, as though he were receiving only what was his due. Herodes gave Polemo leave not to appear after him to give an exhibition of his oratory, and not to have to maintain a theme after him, and allowed him to depart from Smyrna by night, lest he should be compelled to do this, since Polemo thought it outrageous to be compelled to do anything. And from that time forward he never failed to commend Polemo, and to think him beyond praise. For instance, in Athens, when Herodes had brilliantly maintained the argument about the war trophies, and was being complimented on the fluency and

above, p. 505; it was designed to induce the Athenians to renounce their empire of the sea.

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τῆ φορᾷ τοῦ λόγου “ τὴν Πολέμωνος ” ἔφη “ μελέτην ἀνάγνωτε καὶ εἴσεσθε ἄνδρα.” Ὀλυμπίασι δὲ βοησάσης ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος “ εἰς ὡς Δημοσθένης,” “ εἶθε γὰρ ” ἔφη “ ὡς ὁ Φρύξ,” τὸν Πολέμωνα ὡδὲ ἐπονομάζων, ἐπειδὴ τότε ἡ Λαοδίκεια τῆ Φρυγία συνετάττετο. Μάρκου δὲ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος “ τί σοι δοκεῖ ὁ Πολέμων; ” στήσας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ Ἡρώδης

ἵππων μ’

ἔφη

ὠκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος οὐατα βάλλει,

ἐνδεικνύμενος δὴ τὸ ἐπικροτον καὶ τὸ ὑψηλὸς τῶν λόγων. ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Βάρου τοῦ ὑπάτου, τίσι καὶ διδασκάλοις ἐχρήσατο, “ τῷ δεῖνι μὲν καὶ τῷ δεῖνι ” ἔφη “ παιδευόμενος, Πολέμωνι δὲ ἤδη παιδεύων.”

Φησὶν ὁ Πολέμων ἠκροᾶσθαι καὶ Δίωνα<sup>1</sup> ἀποδημίαν ὑπὲρ τούτου στείλας ἐς τὸ τῶν Βιθυνῶν ἔθνος. ἔλεγε δὲ ὁ Πολέμων τὰ μὲν τῶν καταλογάδην ὤμοις<sup>2</sup> δεῖν ἐκφέρειν, τὰ δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν ἀμάξαις. κάκεῖνα τῶν Πολέμωνι τιμὴν ἐχόντων ἤριζεν ἡ Σμύρνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ναῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς δικαίων, ξύνδικον πεποιημένη τὸν Πολέμωνα ἐς τέρμα ἤδη τοῦ βίου ἦκοντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν ὄρμῃ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων ἀποδημίας ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐγένετο μὲν ἐπ’ ἄλλοις ξυνδίκους ἡ πόλις, πονηρῶς

540 δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ δικαστηρίῳ διατιθεμένων τὸν λόγον βλέψας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐς τοὺς τῶν

<sup>1</sup> Δίωνος Kayser; Δίωνα Schmid.

<sup>2</sup> ὄνοι, “on the backs of asses,” Prof. Margoliouth suggests.



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vigour of his speech, he said: "Read Polemo's declamation, and then you will know a great man." And at the Olympic games when all Greece acclaimed him, crying: "You are the equal of Demosthenes!" he replied: "I wish I were the equal of the Phrygian," applying this name to Polemo because in those days Laodicea counted as part of Phrygia. When the Emperor Marcus asked him: "What is your opinion of Polemo?" Herodes gazed fixedly before him and said:

The sound of swift-footed horses strikes upon mine ears;<sup>1</sup> thus indicating how resonant and far-echoing was his eloquence. And when Varus the consul asked him what teachers he had had, he replied: "This man and that, while I was being taught, but Polemo, when I was teaching others."

Polemo says that he studied also with Dio, and that in order to do so he paid a visit to the people of Bithynia. He used to say that the works of prose writers needed to be brought out<sup>2</sup> by armfuls, but the works of poets by the wagon-load. Among the honours that he received were also the following. Smyrna was contending on behalf of her temples and their rights, and when he had already reached the last stage of his life, appointed Polemo as one of her advocates. But since he died at the very outset of the journey to defend those rights, the city was entrusted to other advocates. Before the imperial tribunal they presented their case very badly, whereupon the Emperor looked towards the counsel from

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* x. 535.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of the verb is obscure, but as "bury" and "publish" are improbable, Polemo seems to mean that the student, for his training as a sophist, must take out from his store of books more poets than prose writers.

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Σμυρναίων ξυνηγόρους “ οὐ Πολέμων ” εἶπεν “ τουτουὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ξύνδικος ὑμῖν ἀπεδέδεικτο; ” “ ναί, ” ἔφασαν “ εἴ γε τὸν σοφιστὴν λέγεις. ” καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ “ ἴσως οὖν ” ἔφη “ καὶ λόγον τινὰ ξυνέγραφεν ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων, οἷα δὴ ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ τε ἀγωνιούμενος καὶ ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων. ” “ ἴσως, ” ἔφασαν, “ ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐ μὴν ἡμῖν γε εἰδέναί. ” καὶ ἔδωκεν ἀναβολὰς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τῇ δίκῃ, ἔστ’ ἂν διακομισθῇ ὁ λόγος, ἀναγνωσθέντος δὲ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἢ Σμύρνα τὰ πρωτεῖα νικῶσα καὶ τὸν Πολέμωνα αὐτοῖς ἀναβεβιωκέναι φάσκοντες.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐλλογίμων ἀξιομνημόνευτα οὐ μόνον τὰ μετὰ σπουδῆς λεχθέντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς παιδιαῖς, ἀναγράψω καὶ τοὺς ἀστεισμοὺς τοῦ Πολέμωνος, ὡς μηδὲ οὗτοι παραλελειμμένοι φαίνονται. μειράκιον Ἰωνικὸν ἐτύφα κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν ὑπὲρ τὰ Ἰώνων ἦθη, καὶ ἀπώλλυ αὐτὸ πλοῦτος βαθύς, ὅσπερ ἐστὶ πονηρὸς διδάσκαλος τῶν ἀκολάστων φύσεων. ὄνομα μὲν δὴ τῷ μειρακίῳ Οὐραρος, διεφθορὸς δὲ ὑπὸ κολάκων ἐπεπεῖκει αὐτὸ ἑαυτὸ ὡς καλῶν τε εἶη ὁ κάλλιστος καὶ μέγας ὑπὲρ τοὺς εὐμήκεις καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ παλαιστραν γενναιοτάτος τε καὶ τεχνικώτατος καὶ μηδ’ ἂν τὰς Μούσας ἀναβάλλεσθαι αὐτοῦ ἦδιον, ὅποτε πρὸς τὸ ἄδειν τράποιτο. παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν ᾤετο, παριππεῦσαι γὰρ ἂν καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων γλώττας, ὅποτε μελετῶη, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμελέτα, καὶ οἱ

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Smyrna and said: "Had not Polemo been appointed as your public advocate in this suit?" "Yes," they replied, "if you mean the sophist." "Then, perhaps," said the Emperor, "he wrote down some speech in defence of your rights, inasmuch as he was to speak for the defence in my presence and on behalf of such great issues." "Perhaps, O Emperor," they replied, "but not as far as we know." Whereupon the Emperor adjourned the case until the speech could be brought, and when it had been read aloud in court the Emperor gave his decision in accordance with it; and so Smyrna carried off the victory, and the citizens departed declaring that Polemo had come to life to help them.

Now inasmuch as, when men have become illustrious, not only what they said in earnest but also what they said in jest is worthy of record, I will write down Polemo's witticisms also, so that I may not seem to have neglected even them. There was an Ionian youth who was indulging in a life of dissipation at Smyrna to a degree not customary with the Ionians, and was being ruined by his great wealth, which is a vicious teacher of ill-regulated natures. Now the youth's name was Varus, and he had been so spoiled by parasites that he had convinced himself that he was the fairest of the fair, the tallest of the tall, and the noblest and most expert of the youths at the wrestling-ground, and that not even the Muses could strike up a prelude more sweetly than he, whenever he had a mind to sing. He had the same notions about the sophists; that is to say, that he could outstrip even their tongues whenever he declaimed—and he actually used to declaim—and those who borrowed money

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δανειζόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ χρήματα τὸ καὶ μελε-  
 τῶντος ἀκροάσασθαι προσέγραφον τῷ τόκῳ. ὑπή-  
 γετο δὲ καὶ ὁ Πολέμων τῷ δασμῷ τούτῳ νέος ὢν  
 541 ἔτι καὶ οὐπω νοσῶν, δεδάνειστο γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῦ  
 χρήματα, καὶ ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐθεράπευε, μηδὲ ἐς τὰς  
 ἀκροάσεις ἐφοίτα, χαλεπὸν ἦν τὸ μειράκιον καὶ  
 ἠπέιλει τύπους. οἱ δὲ τύποι γράμμα εἰσὶν ἀγορᾶς,  
 ἐρήμην ἐπαγγέλλον τῷ οὐκ ἀποδιδόντι. αἰτιω-  
 μένων οὖν τὸν Πολέμονα τῶν οἰκειῶν, ὡς ἀηδῆ καὶ  
 δύστροπον, εἰ παρὸν αὐτῷ μὴ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ  
 μειράκιον ἐκκαρποῦσθαι παρέχοντα αὐτῷ νεῦμα  
 εὔνουν μὴ ποιεῖ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἐκκαλεῖται αὐτὸ καὶ  
 παροξύνει, τοιαῦτα ἀκούων ἀπήντησε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν  
 ἀκρόασιν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς δείλην ἤδη ὀψίαν τὰ τῆς  
 μελέτης αὐτῷ προὔβαινε καὶ οὐδεὶς ὄρμος ἐφαίνετο  
 τοῦ λόγου, σολοικισμῶν τε καὶ βαρβαρισμῶν καὶ  
 ἐναντιώσεων πλέα ἦν πάντα, ἀναπηδήσας ὁ Πολέ-  
 μων καὶ ὑποσχῶν τῷ χεῖρι "Οὔαρε," εἶπεν  
 "φέρε τοὺς τύπους." ληστήν δὲ πολλαῖς αἰτίαις  
 ἐαλωκότα στρεβλοῦντος ἀνθυπάτου καὶ ἀπορεῖν  
 φάσκοντος, τίς γένοιτ' ἂν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τιμωρία τῶν  
 εἰργασμένων ἀξία, παρατυχῶν ὁ Πολέμων "κέλευ-  
 σον" ἔφη "αὐτὸν ἀρχαῖα ἐκμανθάνειν." καίτοι  
 γὰρ πλεῖστα ἐκμαθῶν ὁ σοφιστῆς οὗτος ὅμως ἐπι-  
 πονώτατον ἠγεῖτο τῶν ἐν ἀσκήσει τὸ ἐκμανθάνειν.  
 ἰδὼν δὲ μονόμαχον ἰδρῶτι ρέομενον καὶ δεδιότα  
 τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα "οὕτως" εἶπεν "ἀγω-  
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from him used to reckon their attendance at his declamations as part of the interest. Even Polemo, when he was still a young man and not yet an invalid, was induced to pay this tribute, for he had borrowed money from him, and when he did not pay court to him or attend his lectures, the youth resented it and threatened him with a summons to recover the debt. This summons is a writ issued by the law court proclaiming judgement by default against the debtor who fails to pay. Thereupon his friends reproached Polemo with being morose and discourteous, seeing that when he could avoid being sued and could profit by the young man's money by merely giving him an amiable nod of approval, he would not do this, but provoked and irritated him. Hearing this sort of thing said, he did indeed come to the lecture, but when, late in the evening, the youth's declamation was still going on, and no place of anchorage for his speech was in sight, and everything he said was full of solecisms, barbarisms, and inconsistencies, Polemo jumped up, and stretching out his hands, cried: "Varus, bring your summons." On another occasion, when the consul was putting to the torture a bandit who had been convicted on several charges, and declared that he could not think of any penalty for him that would match his crimes, Polemo who was present said: "Order him to learn by heart some antiquated stuff." For though this sophist had learned by heart a great number of passages, he nevertheless considered that this is the most wearisome of all exercises. Again, on seeing a gladiator dripping with sweat out of sheer terror of the life-and-death struggle before him, he remarked: "You are in as great an agony

νιάς, ὡς μελετᾶν μέλλων." σοφιστῆ δὲ ἐντυχῶν ἀλλάντας ὠνούμενω καὶ μαινίδας καὶ τὰ εὐτελεῆ ὄψα " ὦ λῶσθε," εἶπεν " οὐκ ἔστι τὸ Δαρείου καὶ Ξέρξου φρόνημα καλῶς ὑποκρίνασθαι ταῦτα σιτουμένω." Τιμοκράτους δὲ τοῦ φιλοσόφου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, ὡς λάλον χρῆμα ὁ Φαβωρίνος γένοιτο, ἀστειότατα ὁ Πολέμων " καὶ πᾶσα " ἔφη " γραῦς " τὸ εὐνουχῶδες αὐτοῦ διασκώπτων. ἀγωνιστοῦ δὲ τραγωδίας ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν Ὀλυμπίοις τὸ " ὦ Ζεῦ " ἐς τὴν γῆν δείξαντος, τὸ δὲ " καὶ γὰρ " ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχόντος, προκαθήμενος τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ὁ Πολέμων ἐξέωσεν αὐτὸν 542 τῶν ἄθλων εἰπὼν " οὗτος τῇ χειρὶ ἐσολοίκισεν." μὴ πλείω ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἀπόχρη γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα τὸ ἐπίχαρι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δηλώσαι.

Ἡ δὲ ἰδέα τῶν Πολέμωνος λόγων θερμὴ καὶ ἐναγώνιος καὶ τορὸν ἠχοῦσα, ὥσπερ ἡ Ὀλυμπιακὴ σάλπιγξ, ἐπιπρέπει δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ Δημοσθενικὸν τῆς γνώμης, καὶ ἡ σεμνολογία οὐχ ὑπτία, λαμπρὰ δὲ καὶ ἔμπνους, ὥσπερ ἐκ τρίποδος. διαμαρτάνουσι μέντοι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φάσκοντες αὐτὸν τὰς μὲν ἐπιφορὰς ἄριστα σοφιστῶν μεταχειρίσασθαι, τὰς δὲ ἀπολογίας ἤττον, ἐλέγχει γὰρ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ καὶ ἡ δεῖνα μὲν καὶ ἡ δεῖνα τῶν ὑποθέσεων, ἐν αἷς ἀπολογεῖται, μάλιστα δὲ ὁ Δημοσθένης ὁ τὰ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἐξομνύμενος. ἀπολογία γὰρ οὕτω χαλεπὴν διαθέμενος ἤρκεσε τῷ λόγῳ ξὺν περιβολῇ καὶ τέχνῃ. τὴν αὐτὴν ὁρῶ διαμαρτίαν καὶ

<sup>1</sup> From Euripides, *Orestes* 1496.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* by an oracle.

<sup>3</sup> For this theme *cf.* Apsines ix. 535.

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as though you were going to declaim." Again, when he met a sophist who was buying sausages, sprats, and other cheap dainties of that sort, he said: "My good sir, it is impossible for one who lives on this diet to act convincingly the arrogance of Darius and Xerxes." When Timocrates the philosopher remarked to him that Favorinus had become a chatter-box, Polemo said wittily: "And so is every old woman," thus making fun of him for being like a eunuch. Again, when a tragic actor at the Olympic games in Smyrna pointed to the ground as he uttered the words, "O Zeus!"<sup>1</sup> then raised his hands to heaven at the words, "and Earth!" Polemo, who was presiding at the Olympic games, expelled him from the contest, saying: "The fellow has committed a solecism with his hand." I will say no more on this subject, for this is enough to illustrate the charming wit of the man.

Polemo's style of eloquence is passionate, combative, and ringing to the echo, like the trumpet at the Olympic games. The Demosthenic cast of his thought lends it distinction and a gravity which is not dull or inert but brilliant and inspired, as though delivered from the tripod.<sup>2</sup> But they fail to understand the man who say that he handles invective more skilfully than any other sophist, but is less skilful in making a defence. Such a criticism is proved to be untrue by this and that declamation in which he speaks for the defence, but especially by the speech in which Demosthenes swears that he did not accept the fifty talents.<sup>3</sup> For in establishing a defence so difficult to make, his ornate rhetoric and technical skill were fully equal to the argument. I observe the same error in the case of those who

περὶ τοὺς ἡγουμένους αὐτὸν ἐκφέρεσθαι τῶν ἐσχη-  
μοτισμένων ὑποθέσεων εἰργόμενον τοῦ δρόμου,  
καθάπερ ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ ἵππον, παραιτούμενόν τε  
αὐτὰς τὰς Ὀμηρείους γνώμας εἶπειν

ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Ἄϊδαο πύλησιν,  
ὃς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθη ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἶπη,

ταῦτα γὰρ ἴσως ἔλεγεν ἀνιπτόμενος καὶ παραδηλῶν  
τὸ δύστροπον τῶν τοιούτων ὑποθέσεων, ἄριστα  
δὲ κάκεινα ἠγωνίσαστο, ὡς δηλοῦσιν ὃ τε μοιχὸς ὁ  
ἐκκεκαλυμμένος<sup>1</sup> καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὁ ἀξιῶν ἀπο-  
θνήσκει ἐπὶ Σωκράτει καὶ ὁ Σόλων ὁ αἰτῶν ἀπ-  
αλείφειν τοὺς νόμους λαβόντος τὴν φρουρὰν τοῦ  
Πεισιστράτου καὶ οἱ Δημοσθένεις τρεῖς, ὁ μετὰ  
Χαιρώνειαν προσαγγέλλων<sup>2</sup> ἑαυτὸν καὶ ὁ δοκῶν  
543 θανάτου ἑαυτῷ τιμᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀρπαλείοις καὶ  
ὁ ξυμβουλευὼν ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων φεύγειν ἐπιόντος  
μὲν Φιλίππου, νόμον δὲ Αἰσχίνου κεκυρωκότος  
ἀποθνήσκει τὸν πολέμου μνημονεύσαντα. ἐν γὰρ  
ταύταις μάλιστα τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ σχῆμα προ-  
ηγμένων ἡγία τε ἐμβέβληται τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὸ  
ἐπαμφοτέρον αἰ διάνοιαι σώζουσιν.

Ἰατροῖς δὲ θαμὰ ὑποκείμενος λιθιῶντων αὐτῷ  
τῶν ἄρθρων παρεκελεύετο αὐτοῖς ὀρύττειν καὶ τέ-  
μνειν τὰς Πολέμωνος λιθοτομίας. Ἡρώδη δὲ ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> Cobet suggests ἐγκεκαλυμμένος, "veiled," as more suitable for an "ambiguous" speech.

<sup>2</sup> προσάγων Kayser; προσαγγέλλων Wright, cf. p. 522.

<sup>1</sup> See Glossary.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* ix. 312.

<sup>3</sup> Solon's efforts to check the tyranny of Peisistratus are described by Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* xiv. 2, Plutarch, *Solon*, and elsewhere; but this precise incident is not recorded. For the bodyguard see Herodotus i. 59.



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hold that he was not qualified to sustain simulated arguments,<sup>1</sup> but was forced off the course like a horse for whom the ground is too rough, and that he deprecated the use of these themes when he quoted the maxim of Homer :

For hateful to me even as the gates of hell is he that hideth one thing in his heart and uttereth another.<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps he used to say this with a double meaning, and to illustrate by this allusion how intractable are such themes; nevertheless, these too he sustained with great skill, as is evident from his *Adulterer Unmasked* or his *Xenophon refuses to survive Socrates*; or his *Solon demands that his laws be rescinded after Peisistratus has obtained a bodyguard*.<sup>3</sup> Then there are the three on Demosthenes, the first where he denounced himself after Chaeronea,<sup>4</sup> the second in which he pretends that he ought to be punished with death for the affair of Harpalus, lastly that in which he advises the Athenians to flee on their triremes at the approach of Philip,<sup>5</sup> though Aeschines had carried a law that anyone who mentioned the war should be put to death. For in these more than any other of the simulated themes that he produced, he has given free reins to the argument, and yet the ideas preserve the effect of presenting both sides.

When the doctors were regularly attending him for hardening of the joints, he exhorted them to "dig and carve in the stone-quarries of Polemo." And in writing to Herodes about this disease he

<sup>1</sup> For this theme, a "simulated argument" like the one that follows, see p. 522.

<sup>2</sup> This was perhaps modelled on the famous rhetorical theme in which Themistocles gives similar advice in the Persian war.

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στέλλων ὑπὲρ τῆς νόσου ταύτης ὧδε ἐπέστειλεν·  
 “δεῖ ἐσθίειν, χεῖρας οὐκ ἔχω· δεῖ βαδίζειν, πόδες  
 οὐκ εἰσὶ μοι· δεῖ ἀλγεῖν, τότε καὶ πόδες εἰσὶ μοι  
 καὶ χεῖρες.”

Ἐτελεύτα μὲν περὶ τὰ ἕξ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτη,  
 τὸ δὲ μέτρον τῆς ἡλικίας τοῦτο ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις  
 ἐπιστήμαις γήρως ἀρχή, σοφιστῆ δὲ νεότης ἔτι,  
 γηράσκουσα γὰρ ἦδε ἢ ἐπιστήμη σοφίαν ἀρτύνει.

Τάφος δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν οὐδεῖς, εἰ καὶ  
 πλείους λέγονται· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ τοῦ τῆς  
 Ἀρετῆς ἱεροῦ ταφῆναι αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ οὐ πόρρω τού-  
 του ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, νεὼς δέ τις ἐστὶ βραχὺς καὶ  
 ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ Πολέμωνος ἐσταλμένον, ὡς ἐπὶ  
 τῆς τριήρους ὠργίαζεν, ὑφ’ ᾧ κεῖσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, οἱ  
 δὲ ἐν τῇ τῆς οἰκίας αὐλῇ ὑπὸ τοῖς χαλκοῖς ἀν-  
 δριᾶσιν. ἔστι δὲ οὐδέν τούτων ἀληθές, εἰ γὰρ  
 ἐτελεύτα κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν, οὐδενὸς ἂν τῶν  
 θαυμασίων παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἱερῶν ἀπηξιώθη τὸ μὴ οὐκ  
 ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖσθαι. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνα ἀληθέστερα, κεῖσθαι  
 μὲν αὐτόν ἐν τῇ Λαοδικείᾳ παρὰ τὰς Συρίας πύλας,  
 οὗ δὴ καὶ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ θῆκαι, ταφῆναι δὲ  
 αὐτόν ζῶντα ἔτι, τουτὶ γὰρ τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἐπι-  
 544 σκῆψαι, κείμενόν τε ἐν τῷ σήματι παρακελεύεσθαι  
 τοῖς συγκλείουσι τὸν τάφον “ἔπειγε, ἔπειγε,<sup>1</sup> μὴ  
 γὰρ ἴδοι με σιωπῶντα ἥλιος.” πρὸς δὲ τοὺς  
 οἰκείους ὀλοφυρομένους αὐτόν ἀνεβόησε· “δότε  
 μοι σῶμα καὶ μελετήσομαι.”

Μέχρι Πολέμωνος τὰ Πολέμωνος, οἱ γὰρ ἐπ’

<sup>1</sup> ἔπαγε, ἔπαγε Kayser; ἔπειγε, ἔπειγε Cobet.

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sent this bulletin: "I must eat, but I have no hands; I must walk, but I have no feet; I must endure pain, and then I find I have both feet and hands."

When he died he was about fifty-six years old, but this age-limit, though for the other learned professions it is the beginning of senility, for a sophist still counts as youthfulness, since in this profession a man's knowledge grows more adaptable with advancing age.

He has no tomb in Smyrna, though several there are said to be his. For some say that he was buried in the garden of the temple of Virtue; others, not far from that place near the sea, and there is a small temple thereabouts with a statue of Polemo in it, arrayed as he was when he performed the sacred rites on the trireme, and beneath his statue they say that the man himself lies; while others say that he was buried in the courtyard of his house under the bronze statues. But none of these accounts is true, for if he had died in Smyrna there is not one of the marvellous temples in that city in which he would have been deemed unworthy to lie. But yet another version is nearer the truth, namely that he lies at Laodicea near the Syrian gate, where, in fact, are the sepulchres of his ancestors; that he was buried while still alive, for so he had enjoined on his nearest and dearest; and that, as he lay in the tomb, he thus exhorted those who were shutting up the sepulchre: "Make haste, make haste! Never shall the sun behold me reduced to silence!" And when his friends wailed over him, he cried with a loud voice: "Give me a body and I will declaim!"

With Polemo ended the house of Polemo, for his

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αὐτῷ γενόμενοι ξυγγενεῖς μὲν, οὐ μὴν οἱοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρετὴν ἐξετάζεσθαι, πλὴν ἐνός ἀνδρός, περὶ οὗ μικρόν ὕστερον λέξω.

κς'. Μηδὲ Σεκοῦνδου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ἀμνημονῶμεν, ὃν ἐκάλουν ἐπίουρον τινες ὡς τέκτονος παῖδα. Σεκοῦνδος τοίνυν ὁ σοφιστὴς γνῶναι μὲν περιττός, ἐρμηνεύσαι δὲ ἀπέρिटτος, Ἡρώδην δὲ ἐκπαιδεύσας ἐς διαφορὰν αὐτῷ ἀφίκετο παιδεύοντι ἤδη, ὅθεν ὁ Ἡρώδης διεικνύετο αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνο ἐπιλέγων·

καὶ κερομεύς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ ῥήτορι τέκτων,

ἀλλ' ἀποθανόντι καὶ λόγον ἐπεφθέγγετο καὶ δάκρυα ἐπέδωκε καίτοι γηραιῷ τελευτήσαντι.

545 Μνήμης δὲ ἄξια τοῦ ἀνδρός τούτου καὶ πλείω μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ ἦδε ἡ ὑπόθεσις· “ὁ ἄρξας στάσεως ἀποθνησκέτω καὶ ὁ παύσας στάσιν ἐχέτω δωρεάν· ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἄρξας καὶ παύσας αἰτεῖ τὴν δωρεάν.” τήνδε τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ὠδε ἐβραχυλόγησεν· “οὐκοῦν” ἔφη “τί πρότερον; τὸ κωῆσαι στάσιν. τί δεύτερον; τὸ παῦσαι. δούς οὖν τὴν ἐφ' οἷς ἠδίκεις τιμωρίαν, τὴν ἐφ' οἷς εὖ πεποίηκας δωρεάν, εἰ δύνασαι, λάβε.” τοιούδε μὲν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος, τέθλαται δὲ πρὸς τῇ Ἐλευσίῳ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς Μέγα-  
ράδε ὁδοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> This is Polemo's great-grandson Hermocrates, whose *Life Philostratus* gives below, p. 608.

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descendants, though they were his kindred, were not the sort of men who could be compared with his surpassing merit, with the exception of one, of whom I shall speak a little later.<sup>1</sup>

26. I must not fail to mention SECUNDUS THE ATHENIAN whom some called "Wooden Peg," because he was the son of a carpenter. Secundus the sophist was varied and abundant in invention, but plain and simple in his style. Though he taught Herodes, he quarrelled with him while he was still his pupil, and therefore Herodes ridiculed him, and quoted at his expense the verse :

And the potter envies the potter and the carpenter  
the orator.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, when he died Herodes not only spoke his funeral oration, but shed a tribute of tears over him, though he died an old man.

Several of this man's compositions are worthy of mention, but above all the following theme for a disputation: "Suppose that he who instigates a revolt is to die, and he who suppresses it is to receive a reward. Now the same man both instigated a revolt and suppressed it, and he demands the reward." Secundus summed up this argument as follows. "Which of the two," he asked, "came first? The instigation to revolt. Which second? The suppression thereof. Therefore first pay the penalty for trying to do wrong, then, if you can, receive the reward for your good deed." Such was Secundus. He is buried near Eleusis, on the right of the road that leads to Megara.

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, *Works and Days* 25. Herodes changed the word *τέκνον* to *πῆροπι*, the orator being himself.

## B'.

α'. Περὶ δὲ Ἡρώδου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου τάδε χρῆ  
 εἰδέναι· ὁ σοφιστῆς Ἡρώδης ἐτέλει μὲν ἐκ πατέ-  
 ρων ἐς τοὺς δισυπάτους, ἀνέφερε δὲ ἐς τὸν τῶν Αἰακι-  
 546 δῶν, οὓς ξυμμάχους ποτὲ ἢ Ἑλλὰς ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσην  
 ἐποιεῖτο, ἀπηξίου δὲ οὐδὲ τὸν Μιλτιάδην, οὐδὲ τὸν  
 Κίμωνα, ὡς ἄνδρε ἀρίστῳ καὶ πολλοῦ ἀξίῳ Ἀθη-  
 547 ναίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι περὶ τὰ Μηδικά,  
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἤρξε τροπαίων Μηδικῶν, ὁ δὲ ἀπήτησε  
 δίκας τοὺς βαρβάρους ὧν μετὰ ταῦτα ὕβρισαν.

Ἄριστα δὲ ἀνθρώπων πλούτῳ ἐχρήσατο. τουτὶ  
 δὲ μὴ τῶν εὐμεταχειρίστων ἠγώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῶν  
 παγχαλέπων τε καὶ δυσκόλων, οἱ γὰρ πλούτῳ  
 μεθύοντες ὕβριν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπαντλοῦσιν. προσ-  
 διαβάλλουσι δὲ ὡς καὶ τυφλὸν τὸν Πλούτον, ὃς εἰ  
 καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐδόκει τυφλός, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ  
 Ἡρώδου ἀνέβλεψεν, ἔβλεψε μὲν γὰρ ἐς φίλους,  
 ἔβλεψε δὲ ἐς πόλεις, ἔβλεψε δὲ ἐς ἔθνη, πάντων  
 περιωπὴν ἔχοντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ θησαυρίζοντος

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus viii. 64 describes the invocation by the Athenians of the Aeacids Ajax and Telamon; cf. Philostratus, *Heroicus* 743.

<sup>2</sup> They were descended from Aeacus. Philostratus seems to reprove Plato, who disparaged them in the *Gorgias* 515.

## BOOK II

1. Concerning **HERODES THE ATHENIAN** the following facts ought to be known. Herodes the sophist on his father's side belonged to a family which twice held consulships and also dated back to the house of the **Aeacids**,<sup>1</sup> whom Greece once enlisted as allies against the Persian. Nor did he fail to be proud of **Miltiades** and **Cimon**,<sup>2</sup> seeing that they were two very illustrious men and did great service to the Athenians and the rest of Greece in the wars with the Medes. For the former was the first to triumph over the Medes and the latter inflicted punishment on the barbarians for their insolent acts afterwards.<sup>3</sup>

No man employed his wealth to better purpose. And this we must not reckon a thing easy to achieve, but very difficult and arduous. For men who are intoxicated with wealth are wont to let loose a flood of insults on their fellow-men. And moreover they bring this reproach on **Plutus**<sup>4</sup> that he is blind; but even if at all other times he appeared to be blind, yet in the case of Herodes he recovered his sight. For he had eyes for his friends, he had eyes for cities, he had eyes for whole nations, since the man watched over them all, and laid up the treasures

<sup>3</sup> In 466 Cimon defeated the Persians by sea and land, and, later, expelled them from the Thracian Chersonese.

<sup>4</sup> Plutus was the god of wealth.

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τὸν πλοῦτον ἐν ταῖς τῶν μετεχόντων αὐτοῦ γνώμασι. ἔλεγε γὰρ δὴ, ὡς προσήκοι τὸν ὀρθῶς πλοῦτῳ χρώμενον τοῖς μὲν δεομένοις ἐπαρκεῖν, ἵνα μὴ δέωνται, τοῖς δὲ μὴ δεομένοις, ἵνα μὴ δεθῶσι, ἐκάλει τε τὸν μὲν ἀσύμβολον πλοῦτον καὶ φειδοῖ κεκολασμένον νεκρὸν πλοῦτον, τοὺς δὲ θησαυροὺς, ἐς οὓς ἀποτίθενται τὰ χρήματα ἔνιοι, πλοῦτου δεσμοκτήρια, τοὺς δὲ καὶ θύειν ἀξιοῦντας ἀποθέτοις χρήμασι. Ἀλωάδας ἐπωνόμαζε θύοντας Ἄρει μετὰ τὸ δῆσαι αὐτόν.

Πηγαὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ πλοῦτου πολλαὶ μὲν κακὰ πολλῶν οἰκῶν, μέγισται δὲ ἢ τε πατρώα καὶ ἡ μητρόθεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πάππος αὐτοῦ Ἰππαρχος ἐδημεύθη τὴν οὐσίαν ἐπὶ τυραννικαῖς αἰτίαις, ἃς Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὐκ ἐπήγον, ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ οὐκ ἠγνόησεν, Ἀττικὸν δὲ τὸν μὲν ἐκείνου παῖδα, Ἡρώδου δὲ πατέρα οὐ περιεΐδεν ἢ Τύχῃ πένητα ἐκ πλουσίου γενόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀνέδειξεν αὐτῷ θησαυροῦ χρήμα ἀμύθητον ἐν μιᾷ τῶν οἰκιῶν, ἃς πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐκέκτητο, οὗ διὰ μέγεθος εὐ-  
 548 λαβῆς μᾶλλον ἢ περιχαρῆς γενόμενος ἔγραψε πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐπιστολὴν ὧδε συγκεκλιμένην·  
 “θησαυρόν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμαντοῦ οἰκίας εὔρηκα· τί οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ κελεύεις;” καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, Νερούας δὲ ἦρχε τότε, “χρῶ” ἔφη “οἷς εὔρηκας.” τοῦ δὲ Ἀττικοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς εὐλαβείας μείναντος καὶ γράψαντος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι τὰ τοῦ θησαυροῦ μέτρα “καὶ παραχρῶ”

<sup>1</sup> cf. Matthew vi. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* v. 385; Otus and Ephialtes, the Aloadae, imprisoned Ares for thirteen months; he was released by Hermes.

<sup>3</sup> Suetonius, *Vespasian* 13, refers to the trial of Hipparchus.



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of his riches<sup>1</sup> in the hearts of those who shared them with him. For indeed he used to say that he who would use his wealth aright ought to give to the needy that they might cease to be in need, and to those that needed it not, lest they should fall into need; and he used to call riches that did not circulate and were tied up by parsimony "dead riches," and the treasure-chambers in which some men hoard their money "prison-houses of wealth"; and those who thought they must actually sacrifice to their hoarded money he nicknamed "Aloadae,"<sup>2</sup> for they sacrificed to Ares after they had imprisoned him.

The sources of his wealth were many and derived from several families, but the greatest were the fortunes that came from his father and mother. For his grandfather Hipparchus suffered the confiscation of his estate on the charge of aspiring to a tyranny, of which the Emperor was not ignorant, though the Athenians did not bring it forward.<sup>3</sup> His son Atticus, however, the father of Herodes, was not overlooked by Fortune after he had lost his wealth and become poor, but she revealed to him a prodigious treasure in one of the houses which he had acquired near the theatre. And since, on account of its vastness, it made him cautious rather than overjoyed, he wrote the following letter to the Emperor: "O Emperor, I have found a treasure in my own house. What commands do you give about it?" To which the Emperor (Nerva at that time was on the throne) replied: "Use what you have found." But Atticus did not abandon his caution and wrote that the extent of the treasure was beyond his station. "Then misuse your windfall," replied the

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ἔφη “ τῷ ἔρμαίῳ, σὸν γάρ ἐστιν.” ἐντεῦθεν μέγας μὲν ὁ Ἀττικὸς, μείζων δὲ ὁ Ἡρώδης, πρὸς γὰρ τῷ πατρώῳ πλούτῳ καὶ ὁ μητρῶος αὐτῷ πλοῦτος οὐ παρὰ πολὺ τούτου ἐπερρήνη.

Μεγαλοψυχία δὲ λαμπρὰ καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἀττικὸν τοῦτον ἦρχε μὲν γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλευθέρων πόλεων ὁ Ἡρώδης, ἰδὼν δὲ τὴν Τρωάδα βαλανείων τε πονήρως ἔχουσαν καὶ γεῶδες ὕδωρ ἐκ φρεάτων ἀνιμῶντας ὀμβρίων τε ὑδάτων θήκας ὀρύττοντας ἐπέστειλεν Ἀδριανῷ αὐτοκράτορι μὴ περιδεῖν πόλιν ἀρχαίαν καὶ εὐθάλαττον αὐχμῷ φθαρεῖσαν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιδουναί σφισι τριακοσίας μυριάδας ἐς ὕδωρ, ὧν πολλαπλασίους ἤδη καὶ κώμαις ἐπιδεδώκοι. ἐπήνεσεν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα ὡς πρὸς τρόπου ἑαυτῷ ὄντα καὶ τὸν Ἡρώδη αὐτὸν ἐπέταξε τῷ ὕδατι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς ἑπτακοσίας μυριάδας ἢ δαπάνη προὔβαινεν ἐπέστελλον τε τῷ αὐτοκράτορι οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπιτροπεύοντες, ὡς δεινὸν πεντακοσίων πόλεων φόρον ἐς μιᾶς πόλεως δαπανᾶσθαι κρήνην, ἐμέμψατο πρὸς τὸν Ἀττικὸν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ταῦτα, καὶ ὁ Ἀττικὸς μεγαλοφρονέστατα ἀνθρώπων “ ὦ βασιλεῦ,” εἶπεν “ ὑπὲρ μικρῶν μὴ παροξύνου, τὸ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὰς τριακοσίας μυριάδας ἀναλωθὲν ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ υἱῷ ἐπιδίδωμι, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τῇ πόλει ἐπιδώσει.<sup>1</sup>”

549 καὶ αἱ διαθῆκαι δέ, ἐν αἷς τῷ Ἀθηναίων δήμῳ κατέλειπε καθ’ ἕκαστον ἔτος μῶναν καθ’ ἓνα, μεγαλοφροσύνην κατηγοροῦσι τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἥ καὶ ἐς τὰ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιδίδωσι Kayser ; ἐπιδώσει Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> Suidas tells the story of Herodes himself.

<sup>2</sup> This is the later city known as Alexandria Troas.

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Emperor, "for yours it is."<sup>1</sup> Hence Atticus became powerful, but Herodes still more so, for besides his father's fortune his mother's also, which was not much less, helped to make him affluent.

This same Atticus was also distinguished for his lordly spirit. As an instance, at a time when Herodes was governor of the free cities in Asia, he observed that Troy<sup>2</sup> was ill-supplied with baths, and that the inhabitants drew muddy water from their wells, and had to dig cisterns to catch rain water. Accordingly he wrote to the Emperor Hadrian to ask him not to allow an ancient city, conveniently near the sea, to perish from drought, but to give them three million drachmae to procure a water-supply, since he had already bestowed on mere villages many times that sum. The Emperor approved of the advice in the letter as in accordance with his own disposition, and appointed Herodes himself to take charge of the water-supply. But when the outlay had reached the sum of seven million drachmae,<sup>3</sup> and the officials who governed Asia kept writing to the Emperor that it was a scandal that the tribute received from five hundred cities should be spent on the fountain of one city, the Emperor expressed his disapproval of this to Atticus; whereupon Atticus replied in the most lordly fashion in the world: "Do not, O Emperor, allow yourself to be irritated on account of so trifling a sum. For the amount spent in excess of the three millions I hereby present to my son, and my son will present it to the town." His will, moreover, in which he bequeathed to the people of Athens a mina<sup>4</sup> annually for every citizen, proclaims the magnificence of the man; and he practised it in

<sup>3</sup> About £280,000.

<sup>4</sup> A little over £4.

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ἀλλα ἐχρήτο, ἑκατὸν μὲν βούς τῇ θεῷ θύων ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πολλάκις, ἐστιῶν δὲ τῇ θυσίᾳ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον κατὰ φυλὰς καὶ γένη, ὅποτε δὲ ἦκοι Διονύσια καὶ κατίοι ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου ἔδος, ἐν Κεραμεικῷ ποτίζων ἀστουὺς ὁμοίως καὶ ξένους κατακειμένους ἐπὶ στιβάδων κιττοῦ.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ διαθηκῶν ἐπεμνήσθην, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἀναγράψαι, δι' ἃς προσέκρουσεν Ἡρώδης Ἀθηναίους· εἶχον μὲν γὰρ αἱ διαθῆκαι, ὡς εἶπον, ἔγραψε δὲ αὐτὰς ξυμβουλίᾳ τῶν ἀμφ' ἑαυτὸν ἀπελευθέρων, οἱ χαλεπὴν ὀρώντες τὴν Ἡρώδου φύσιν ἀπελευθέρους τε καὶ δούλοις ἀποστροφὴν ἐποιοῦντο τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον,<sup>1</sup> ὡς τῆς δωρεᾶς αὐτοὶ αἴτιοι. καὶ ὅποια μὲν τῶν ἀπελευθέρων τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδη, δηλοῦτω ἡ κατηγορία, ἣν πεποιήται σφῶν πᾶν κέντρον ἡρμένος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γλώττης. ἀναγνωσθεισῶν δὲ τῶν διαθηκῶν ξυνέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδη πέντε μνᾶς αὐτὸν ἐσάπαξ ἐκάστῳ καταβαλόντα<sup>2</sup> πρίασθαι παρ' αὐτῶν τὸ μὴ ἀεὶ δίδοναι· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ προσήεσαν μὲν ταῖς τραπέζαις ὑπὲρ τῶν ὠμολογημένων, ἐπανεγιγνώσκετο δὲ αὐτοῖς ξυμβόλοια πατέρων τε καὶ πάππων ὡς ὀφειλόντων τοῖς Ἡρώδου γονεῦσιν ἀντιλογισμοῖς τε ὑπήγοντο καὶ οἱ μὲν μικρὰ ἠριθμοῦντο, οἱ δὲ οὐδέν, οἱ δὲ συνέιχοντο ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ὡς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ . . . δῆμον Kayser; τὸν . . . δῆμον Valckenaer and others.

<sup>2</sup> καταβάλλοντα Kayser; καταβαλόντα Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> cf. Pausanias i. 29. 2. The image of Dionysus of Eleu-

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other ways also. He would often sacrifice a hundred oxen to the goddess in a single day, and entertain at the sacrificial feast the whole population of Athens by tribes and families. And whenever the festival of Dionysus came round and the image of Dionysus descended to the Academy,<sup>1</sup> he would furnish wine to drink for citizens and strangers alike, as they lay in the Cerameicus on couches of ivy leaves.

Since I have mentioned the will of Atticus, I must also record the reasons why Herodes offended the Athenians. The terms of the will were as I have stated, and Atticus drew it up by the advice of his freedmen, who since they saw that Herodes was by nature prone to deal harshly with his freedmen and slaves, tried in this way to prepare a haven for themselves among the people of Athens, by appearing responsible for the legacy. What sort of relation existed between the freedmen and Herodes may be plainly seen in the invective which he composed against them. For in it he shot forth at them every weapon that his tongue could command. When the will had been read, the Athenians made a compact with Herodes that by paying them each five minae down he should redeem his obligation to keep up continued payments. But when they came to the banks to get the sum that had been agreed upon, then and there they had to listen to the recital of contracts made by their fathers and grandfathers, showing that they were in debt to the parents of Herodes, and they were held liable for counter-payments, with the result that some received payment of only a small sum, others nothing at all, while some were detained in theaeræ was taken in procession once a year to the god's small temple near the Academy.

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ἀποδώσοντες, παρώξυνε ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὡς ἠρπασμένους τὴν δωρεὰν καὶ οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο μισοῦντες, οὐδὲ ὁπότε τὰ μέγιστα εὐεργετεῖν ᾤετο. τὸ οὖν στάδιον ἔφασαν εὖ ἐπωνομάσθαι Παναθηναϊκόν, κατεσκευάσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐξ ὧν ἀπεστεροῦντο Ἀθηναῖοι πάντες.

Καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐλειτούργησεν Ἀθηναίοις τὴν τε ἐπώνυμον καὶ τὴν τῶν Πανελληνίων, στεφανωθείς δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων “καὶ ὑμᾶς,”  
 550 εἶπεν “ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς ἤξοντας καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν τοὺς ἀγωνιουμένους ὑποδέξομαι σταδίῳ λίθου λευκοῦ.” καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα τὸ στάδιον τὸ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἴλισσὸν ἔσω τετάρτων ἐτῶν ἀπετέλεσεν ἔργον ξυμβεῖς ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ θαύματα, οὐδὲν γὰρ θέατρον αὐτῷ ἀμιλλᾶται. κάκεῖνα περὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων τούτων ἤκουον· πέπλον μὲν ἀνῆφθαι τῆς νεῶς ἡδὶω γραφῆς ξὺν οὐρίῳ τῷ κόλπῳ, δραμεῖν δὲ τὴν ναῦν οὐχ ὑποζυγίων ἀγόντων, ἀλλ’ ὑπογείοις μηχαναῖς ἐπολιθάουσαν, ἐκ Κεραμεικοῦ δὲ ἄρασαν χιλία κώπη ἀφεῖναι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον καὶ περιβαλοῦσαν αὐτὸ παραμεῖψαι τὸ Πελασγικὸν κομιζομένην τε παρὰ τὸ Πύθιον ἐλθεῖν, οἱ νῦν ὤρμισται. τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ σταδίου νεῶς ἐπέχει Τύχης καὶ

<sup>1</sup> The chief archon at Athens gave his name to the current year.

<sup>2</sup> A marble stadium has been built recently on the site of the stadium of Herodes.

<sup>3</sup> The Athenians dedicated a robe, “peplos,” to Athene annually and displayed it on a ship constructed for this purpose and dragged in a procession.

<sup>4</sup> This is probably not the Pythium near the Olympieion

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the market-place as debtors who must pay. This treatment exasperated the Athenians, who felt they had been robbed of their legacy, and they never ceased to hate Herodes, not even at the time when he thought he was conferring on them the greatest benefits. Hence they declared the Panathenaic stadium was well named, since he had built it with money of which all the Athenians were being deprived.

Furthermore he held the office of archon eponymus<sup>1</sup> at Athens, and the curatorship of the pan-Hellenic festival; and when he was offered the crowning honour of the charge of the Panathenaic festival he made this announcement: "I shall welcome you, O Athenians, and those Hellenes that shall attend, and the athletes who are to compete, in a stadium of pure white marble." In accordance with this promise he completed within four years the stadium<sup>2</sup> on the other side of the Ilissus, and thus constructed a monument that is beyond all other marvels, for there is no theatre that can rival it. Moreover, I have been told the following facts concerning this Panathenaic festival. The robe of Athene that was hung on the ship<sup>3</sup> was more charming than any painting, with folds that swelled before the breeze, and the ship, as it took its course, was not hauled by animals, but slid forward by means of underground machinery. Setting sail at the Cera-meicus with a thousand rowers, it arrived at the Eleusinium, and after circling it, passed by the Pelasgicum: and thus escorted came by the Pythium,<sup>4</sup> to where it is now moored. The other end of the stadium is occupied by a temple of Fortune with

but, according to Dörpfeld, is the old shrine of Apollo near Pan's Cave.

ἄγαλμα ἐλεφάντινον ὡς κυβερνώσης πάντα. μετ-  
εκόσμησε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἐφήβους ἐς τὸ  
νῦν σχῆμα χλαμύδας πρώτος ἀμφιέσας λευκάς,  
τέως γὰρ δὴ μελαίνας ἐνημμένοι τὰς ἐκκλησίας  
περικεάθηγον καὶ τὰς πομπὰς ἔπεμπον πενθούν-  
των δημοσίᾳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν κήρυκα τὸν  
Κοπρέα, ὃν αὐτοὶ ἀπέκτευν τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας  
τοῦ βωμοῦ ἀποσπῶντα.

- 551 Ἀνέθηκε δὲ Ἡρώδης Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ  
Ῥηγιλλῆ θέατρον κέδρου ξυμβεῖς τὸν ὄροφον, ἣ  
δὲ ὕλη καὶ ἐν ἀγαματοποιαῖς σπουδαία· δύο  
μὲν δὴ ταῦτα Ἀθήνησιν, ἃ οὐχ ἐτέρωθι τῆς ὑπὸ  
Ῥωμαίοις, ἀξιούσθω δὲ λόγου καὶ τὸ ὑπωρόφιον  
θέατρον, ὃ ἐδείματο Κορινθίοις, παρὰ πολὺ μὲν  
τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν, ἐν ὀλίγοις δὲ τῶν παρ' ἄλλοις  
ἐπαινουμένων, καὶ τὰ Ἴσθμοι ἀγάλματα ὃ τε τοῦ  
Ἴσθμίου κολοσσός καὶ ὃ τῆς Ἀμφιτρίτης καὶ τὰ  
ἄλλα, ὧν τὸ ἱερόν ἐπέπλησεν, οὐδὲ τὸν τοῦ Μελι-  
κέρτου παρελθὼν δελφίνα. ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ τῷ  
Πυθίῳ τὸ Πυθοῖ στάδιον καὶ τῷ Διὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ  
Ὀλυμπίᾳ ὕδωρ, Θετταλοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς περὶ Μη-  
λιακὸν κόλπον Ἕλλησι τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλαις  
κολυμβήθρας τοῖς νοσοῦσι παιωνίους. ὤκισε δὲ  
καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἠπείρῳ Ὠρικὸν ὑποδεδωκὸς ἤδη  
καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ Κανύσιον ἡμερώσας ὕδατι

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* xv. 639; for this custom *cf.* Plutarch, *Aratus* 53; Pausanias ii. 3. 6; Philostratus, *Heroicus* 740. Copreus was the herald of Eurystheus, the task-master of Heracles.

<sup>2</sup> The Odeum or Theatre of Music, of which considerable remains exist; Pausanias vii. 20. 6. Regilla was the wife of Herodes.

<sup>3</sup> Pausanias i. 44. 11. The corpse of Melicertes or Palaemon, who was drowned by his mother Ino Leucothea,



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her statue in ivory to show that she directs all contests. Herodes also changed the dress of the Athenian youths to its present form, and was the first to dress them in white cloaks, for before that time they had worn black cloaks whenever they sat in a group at public meetings, or marched in festal processions, in token of the public mourning of the Athenians for the herald Copreus,<sup>1</sup> whom they themselves had slain when he was trying to drag the sons of Heracles from the altar.

Herodes also dedicated to the Athenians the theatre in memory of Regilla,<sup>2</sup> and he made its roof of cedar wood, though this wood is considered costly even for making statues. These two monuments, then, are at Athens, and they are such as exist nowhere else in the Roman Empire; but I must not neglect to mention also the roofed theatre which he built for the Corinthians, which is far inferior indeed to the one at Athens but there are not many famous things elsewhere which equal it; and there are also the statues at the Isthmus and the colossal statue of the Isthmian god, and that of Amphitrite, and the other offerings with which he filled the temple; nor must I pass over the dolphin sacred to Melicertes.<sup>3</sup> He also dedicated the stadium at Pytho to the Pythian god, and the aqueduct at Olympia to Zeus, and for the Thessalians and the Greeks who dwell around the Maliac gulf, the bathing pools at Thermopylae that heal the sick. Further he colonized Oricum in Epirus, which by this time had fallen into decay, and Canusium in Italy, and made it habitable by giving it a water-supply, since it was carried by dolphins to the shore near Corinth, and games were celebrated in his honour at the Isthmus.

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μάλα τούτου δεόμενον, ὤνησε δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ Βοιωτία πόλεις ἄλλο ἄλλην. καὶ τοσοῦτος ὢν ἐν μεγαλοουργίᾳ μέγα οὐδὲν εἰργάσθαι ᾤετο, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἔτεμεν, λαμπρὸν ἠγούμενος ἤπειρον ἀποτεμεῖν καὶ πελάγη ξυνάψαι διττὰ καὶ ἐς περίπλουν σταδίων ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι θαλάττης ξυνελεῖν μήκη. καὶ τούτου ἦρα μὲν, οὐκ ἐθάρρει δὲ αὐτὸ αἰτεῖν ἐκ βασιλέως, ὡς μὴ διαβληθεῖη διανοίας δοκῶν ἀπτεσθαι, ἢ μηδὲ Νέρων ἤρκεσεν. ἐξελάλησε δὲ αὐτὸ ὧδε· ὡς γὰρ 552 ἐγὼ Κτησιδήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ἤκουον, ἤλαυνε μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ Κορίνθου ὁ Ἡρώδης ξυγκαθημένου τοῦ Κτησιδήμου, γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν “Πόσειδον,” εἶπεν “βούλομαι μὲν, ξυγχωρήσει δὲ οὐδεὶς.” θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Κτησιδήμος τὸ εἰρημένον ἤρετο αὐτὸν τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ λόγου. καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης “ἐγὼ” ἔφη “πολὺν χρόνον ἀγωνίζομαι σημεῖον ὑπολείπεσθαι τοῖς μετ’ ἐμὲ ἀνθρώποις διανοίας δηλούσης ἄνδρα καὶ οὕτω δοκῶ μοι τῆς δόξης ταύτης τυγχάνειν.” ὁ μὲν δὲ Κτησιδήμος ἐπαίνους διῆει τῶν τε λόγων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔργων ὡς οὐκ ἐχόντων ὑπερβολὴν ἐτέρω, ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης “φθαρτὰ” ἔφη “λέγεις ταῦτα, καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ χρόνῳ ἄλωτά, καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἡμῶν τοιχωρυχοῦσιν ἕτεροι ὁ μὲν τὸ μεμφόμενος, ὁ δὲ τό, ἢ δὲ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ τομῆ ἔργον ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀπιστούμενον τῇ φύσει, δοκεῖ γάρ μοι τὸ ρῆξαι τὸν Ἴσθμὸν Ποσειδῶνος δεῖσθαι ἢ ἀνδρός.”

<sup>1</sup> Of Corinth.

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greatly in need of this. And he endowed the cities of Euboea and the Peloponnese and Boeotia with various gifts. And yet, though he had achieved such great works, he held that he had done nothing important because he had not cut through the Isthmus.<sup>1</sup> For he regarded it as a really brilliant achievement to cut away the mainland to join two seas, and to contract lengths of sea into a voyage of twenty-six stades. This then he longed to do, but he never had the courage to ask the Emperor to grant him permission, lest he should be accused of grasping at an ambitious plan to which not even Nero had proved himself equal. But in conversation he did let out that ambition in the following way. For as I have been told by Ctesidemus the Athenian, Herodes was driving to Corinth with Ctesidemus sitting by his side, and when he arrived at the Isthmus Herodes cried: "Poseidon, I aspire to do it, but no one will let me!" Ctesidemus was surprised at what he had said and asked him why he had made the remark. Whereupon Herodes replied: "For a long time I have been striving to bequeath to men that come after me some proof of an ambition that reveals me for the man I am, and I consider that I have not yet attained to this reputation." Then Ctesidemus recited praises of his speeches and his deeds which no other man could surpass. But Herodes replied: "All this that you speak of must decay and yield to the hand of time, and others will plunder my speeches and criticize now this, now that. But the cutting of the Isthmus is a deathless achievement and more than one would credit to human powers, for in my opinion to cleave through the Isthmus calls for Poseidon rather than a mere man."

Ὄν δ' ἐκάλουον οἱ πολλοὶ Ἡρώδου Ἡρακλέα,  
 νεανίας οὗτος ἦν ἐν ὑπῆγῃ πρώτῃ Κελτῶ μεγάλῳ  
 ἴσος καὶ ἐς ὀκτῶ πόδας τὸ μέγεθος. διαγράφει  
 δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἰου-  
 λιανὸν ἐπιστολῶν, κομᾶν τε ξυμμέτρως καὶ τῶν  
 ὀφρύων λασίως ἔχειν, ἄς καὶ ξυμβάλλειν ἀλλήλαις  
 οἶον μίαν, χαροπὴν τε ἀκτῖνα ἐκ τῶν ὀμμάτων  
 ἐκδίδουσαι παρεχομένην τι ὀρμῆς ἤθος καὶ γρυ-  
 πὸν εἶναι καὶ εὐτραφῶς ἔχοντα τοῦ ἀνχένος,  
 τουτὶ δὲ ἐκ πόνων ἦκειν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ σίτου.  
 εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ στέρνα εὐπαγῆ καὶ ξὺν ᾧρα  
 κατεσκληρότα, καὶ κνήμην μικρὴν ἐς τὰ ἔξω  
 κυρτουμένην καὶ παρέχουσαν τῇ βάσει τὸ εὖ  
 553 βεβηκέναι. ἐνήφθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ δορὰς λύκων,  
 ραπτὸν ἔσθημα, ἄθλους τε ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀγρίους  
 τῶν σῶν καὶ τοὺς θῶας καὶ τοὺς λύκους καὶ τῶν  
 ταύρων τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας, καὶ ὠτειλὰς δὲ δεικνύναι  
 τούτων τῶν ἀγῶνων. γενέσθαι δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλέα  
 τούτου οἱ μὲν γηγενῆ φασιν ἐν τῷ Βοιωτίῳ δήμῳ,  
 Ἡρώδης δὲ ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντός φησιν, ὡς μήτηρ  
 μὲν αὐτῷ γένοιτο γυνὴ οὕτω τι ἐρρωμένη,<sup>1</sup> ὡς  
 βουκολεῖν, πατὴρ δὲ Μαραθῶν, οὗ τὸ ἐν Μαρα-  
 θῶνι ἄγαλμα, ἔστι δὲ ἥρωος γεωργός. ἤρετό τε  
 τὸν Ἡρακλέα τούτου ὁ Ἡρώδης, εἰ καὶ ἀθάνατος  
 εἴη, ὃ δὲ "θνητοῦ" ἔφη "μακροσημεριώτερας."  
 ἤρετο αὐτὸν καὶ ὃ τι σιτοῖτο, ὃ δὲ "γαλακτοφαγῶ"  
 ἔφη "τὸν πλείω τοῦ χρόνου καὶ με βόσκουσιν  
 αἰγές τε καὶ ποιῦμαι<sup>2</sup> τῶν τε βοῶν καὶ τῶν ἵπ-  
 πων αἰ τοκάδες, ἐκδίδονται δέ τι καὶ θηλῆς ὄνων  
 γάλα εὐποτόν τε καὶ κοῦφον, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀλφίτοις

<sup>1</sup> ἐερρωμένη Kayser; ἐρρωμένη Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> ποιμένες Kayser; ποιῦμαι Cobet.

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As to the being whom most men used to call the Heracles of Herodes, this was a youth in early manhood,<sup>1</sup> as tall as a tall Celt, and in fact about eight feet high. Herodes describes him in one of his letters to Julian.<sup>2</sup> He says that his hair grew evenly on his head, his eyebrows were bushy and they met as though they were but one, and his eyes gave out a brilliant gleam which betrayed his impulsive temperament; he was hook-nosed, and had a solidly built neck, which was due rather to work than to diet. His chest, too, was well formed and beautifully slim, and his legs were slightly bowed outwards, which made it easy for him to stand firmly planted. He was draped in wolf-skins sewed together to make a garment, and he used to contend against wild boars, jackals, wolves, and mad bulls, and would exhibit the scars from these combats. Some say that this Heracles was "earth-born" and sprang from the folk in Boeotia, but Herodes says that he heard him say that his mother was a woman so strong that she herded cattle, and his father was Marathon whose statue is at Marathon, and he is a rustic hero. Herodes asked this Heracles whether he also was immortal. To which he replied: "I am only longer lived than a mortal." Then he asked him what he lived on, and he said: "I live chiefly on milk, and am fed by goats and herds of cows and brood mares, and the she-ass also provides a sweet sort of milk and light to digest. But when I meet with barley meal, I eat ten quarts,"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* x. 279 *πρωτον ἄνηθητη, τοῦ περ χαριστάτη ἦθη*; Lucian, *Demonax* 1, calls him Sostratus.

<sup>2</sup> Antoninus Julianus is mentioned by Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, xix. 9.

<sup>3</sup> One quart was regarded as a day's ration for an ordinary man.

προσβάλλω, δέκα σιτοῦμαι χοίνικας, καὶ ξυμφέ-  
 ρουσί μοι τὸν ἔρανον τοῦτον γεωργοὶ Μαραθῶνιοί  
 τε καὶ Βοιώτιοι, οἳ με καὶ Ἀγαθίωνα ἐπονομά-  
 ζουσιν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ εὐξύμβολος αὐτοῖς φαίνομαι.”  
 “τὴν δὲ δὴ γλώτταν” ἔφη ὁ Ἡρώδης “πῶς  
 ἐπαιδεύθης καὶ ὑπὸ τίνων; οὐ γάρ μοι τῶν ἀπαι-  
 δεύτων φαίνῃ.” καὶ ὁ Ἀγαθίων “ἡ μεσογοία”  
 ἔφη “τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀγαθὸν διδασκαλεῖον ἀνδρὶ  
 βουλομένῳ διαλέγεσθαι, οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει  
 Ἀθηναῖοι μισθοῦ δεχόμενοι Θράκια καὶ Ποντικὰ  
 μειράκια καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων ἔθνῶν βαρβάρων ξυνε-  
 ρηκότα παραφθείρονται παρ’ αὐτῶν τὴν φωνὴν  
 μᾶλλον ἢ ξυμβάλλονται τι αὐτοῖς ἐς εὐγλωττίαν,  
 ἡ μεσογοία δὲ ἄμικτος βαρβάρους οὔσα ὑγιαίνει  
 αὐτοῖς ἢ φωνὴ καὶ ἡ γλώττα τὴν ἄκραν Ἀτθίδα  
 ἀποψάλλει.” “πανηγύρει δὲ” ἢ δ’ ὁ Ἡρώδης  
 “παρέτυχες;” καὶ ὁ Ἀγαθίων “τῇ γε Πυθοῖ”  
 ἔφη “οὐκ ἐπιμιγνὺς τῷ ὁμίλῳ, ἀλλ’ ἐκ περιωπῆς  
 τοῦ Παρνασοῦ ἀκούων τῶν τῆς μουσικῆς ἀγωνι-  
 στῶν, ὅτε Παμμένης ἐπὶ τραγωδίᾳ ἐθαυμάσθη, καί  
 554 μοι ἔδοξαν οἱ σοφοὶ Ἕλληνες οὐ χρηστὸν πρᾶγμα  
 ἐργάζεσθαι τὰ τῶν Πελοπιδῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Λαβ-  
 δακιδῶν κακὰ ξὺν ἡδονῇ ἀκούοντες, ξύμβουλοι  
 γὰρ σχετλίων ἔργων μῦθοι μὴ ἀπιστούμενοι.”  
 φιλοσοφοῦντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ὁ Ἡρώδης ἤρετο  
 καὶ περὶ τῆς γυμνικῆς ἀγωνίας ὅπως γιννώσκου,  
 καὶ ὅς “ἐκείνων” ἔφη “καταγελῶ μᾶλλον ὁρῶν  
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διαγωνιζομένους ἀλλήλοις παγ-  
 κράτιον καὶ πυγμὴν καὶ δρόμον καὶ πάλην καὶ  
 στεφανομένους ὑπὲρ τούτου· στεφανούσθω δὲ ὁ  
 μὲν δρομικὸς ἀθλητῆς ἔλαφον παρελθὼν ἢ ἵππον,

<sup>1</sup> “Goodfellow.”

<sup>2</sup> cf. *Life of Aelian*, below, p. 624.

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and the farmers of Marathon and Boeotia supply me with this feast; they also nickname me Agathion,<sup>1</sup> because they think that I bring them luck." "And what about your speech?" asked Herodes. "How were you educated, and by whom? For you do not seem to be an uneducated man." "The interior of Attica educated me," Agathion replied, "a good school for a man who wishes to be able to converse. For the Athenians in the city admit as hirelings youths who come in like a flood from Thrace and the Pontus and from other barbarian peoples, and their own speech deteriorates from the influence of these barbarians to a greater extent than they can contribute to the improvement of the speech of the newcomers. But the central district is untainted by barbarians, and hence its language remains uncorrupted and its dialect sounds the purest strain of Attic."<sup>2</sup> "Were you ever at a public festival?" inquired Herodes. "Yes, at Pytho," replied Agathion, "but I did not mingle with the crowd, but from the summit of Parnassus I listened to the musical competitions when Pammenes won applause in tragedy, and it seemed to me that the wise Greeks were doing an immoral thing when they listened with delight to the criminal deeds of the houses of Pelops and Labdacus; for when myths are not discredited they may be the counsellors of evil deeds." When Herodes saw that he had a philosophic bent, he asked him also what was his opinion about the gymnastic contests, and he replied: "Even more do I laugh at them when I see men struggling with one another in the pancratium, and boxing, running, wrestling, and winning crowns for all this. Let the athlete who is a runner receive a crown for running

ὁ δὲ τὰ βαρύτερα ἀσκῶν ταύρω συμπλακεῖς ἢ ἄρκτω, ὃ ἐγὼ ὀσημέραι πράττω μέγαν ἄθλον ἀφηρημένης μοι τῆς τύχης, ἐπεὶ μηκέτι βόσκει λέοντας Ἀκαρνανία."

Ἀγασθεῖς οὖν ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐδεῖτο αὐτοῦ ξυσσιτῆσαι οἱ. καὶ ὁ Ἀγαθίων "αὔριον" ἔφη "ἀφίξομαί σοι κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Κανώβου ἱερόν, ἔστω δὲ σοι κρατῆρ ὁ μέγιστος τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γάλακτος πλέως, ὃ μὴ γυνή ἤμελξεν." καὶ ἀφίκετο μὲν ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν καθ' ὃν ὠμολόγησε καιρὸν, τὴν δὲ ῥίνα ἐρείσας ἐς τὸν κρατῆρα "οὐ καθαρὸν" ἔφη "τὸ γάλα, προσβάλλει γὰρ με χεῖρ γυναικός." καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἀπῆλθε μὴ ἐπισπασάμενος τοῦ γάλακτος. ἐπιστήσας οὖν ὁ Ἡρώδης τῷ περὶ τῆς γυναικός λόγῳ ἐπεμψεν ἐς τὰ ἐπαύλια τοὺς ἐπισκεψομένους τάληθές, καὶ μαθῶν αὐτὸ οὕτως ἔχον, ξυνήκεν ὡς δαιμονία φύσις εἶη περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα.

Οἱ δὲ ποιούμενοι κατηγορίαν τῶν Ἡρώδου χειρῶν ὡς ἐπενεχθεισῶν Ἀντωνίνῳ ἐν τῇ Ἰδίῃ τῷ ὄρει κατὰ χρόνους, οὓς ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐλευθέρων πόλεων, ὃ δὲ πασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἤρχον, ἠγνοσκένοι  
556 μοι δοκοῦσι τὸν Δημοστράτου πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ πλεῖστα διαβάλλων αὐτὸν οὐδαμοῦ τῆς παροιρίας ταύτης ἐπεμνήσθη, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἐγένετο. ὠθισμὸς μὲν γὰρ τις αὐτοῖς ξυνέπεσεν, ὡς ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ καὶ στενοῖς, αἱ δὲ χεῖρες οὐδὲν παρηνόμησαν,

<sup>1</sup> Canobus or Canopus was the helmsman of Menelaus, who died in Egypt, and a city was named after him at the mouth of the Nile. His cult was often confused with that of Serapis, who had long been worshipped at Athens, and it is possible that the latter's temple is meant here (Pausanias I. 34).



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faster than a deer or a horse, and let him, who trains for a weightier contest be crowned for wrestling with a bull or bear, a thing which I do every day; for fortune has robbed me of a really great encounter, now that Acarnania no longer breeds lions."

On this Herodes admired him greatly and begged him to dine with him. "To-morrow," replied Agathion, "I will come to you at noon at the temple of Canobus,<sup>1</sup> and do you have there the largest bowl that is in the temple full of milk that has not been milked by a woman." Accordingly he came next day at the time agreed upon, but when he had raised the bowl to his nose, he said: "The milk is not pure, for the odour of a woman's hand assails my senses." When he had said this he went away without tasting the milk. Then Herodes gave heed to what he had said about the woman, and sent to the cow-sheds to find out the truth; and on hearing that thus the matter actually stood, he recognized that there was a superhuman character about the man.

Those who accused Herodes of having lifted his hand against Antoninus<sup>2</sup> on Mount Ida, at the time when the former was the governor of the free cities, and the latter of all the cities in Asia, were, in my opinion, unaware of the action brought by Demostrius against Herodes, in which he made many charges against him, but nowhere mentioned this insolent act, for the reason that it never took place. For though they did in a manner shove one another aside, as happens in a rough place and a narrow road, still they did not break the law by coming to blows,

<sup>2</sup> Later the Emperor Antoninus Pius; for his quarrel with Polemo about the same time see p. 534.

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καίτοι<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἂν παρήκεν ὁ Δημόστρατος διελθεῖν αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην δίκη πικρῶς οὕτω καθαψάμενος τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς διαβάλλειν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἐπαινούμενα.

Ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην καὶ φόνου δίκη ὧδε ξυντεθείσα· κύειν μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα Ῥήγιλλαν ὄγδοόν που μῆνα, τὸν δὲ Ἡρώδην οὐχ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων Ἀλκιμέδοντι ἀπελευθέρω προστάξει τυπτῆσαι αὐτήν, πληγείσαν δὲ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα τὴν γυναῖκα ἀποθανεῖν ἐν ὧμῳ τῷ τόκῳ. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὡς ἀληθέσι γράφεται αὐτὸν φόνου Βραδούας ὁ τῆς Ῥηγίλλης ἀδελφὸς εὐδοκιμώτατος ὢν ἐν ὑπάτοις καὶ τὸ ξύμβολον τῆς εὐγενείας περιηρητῆτος τῷ ὑποδήματι, τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπισφύριον ἐλεφάντινον μνησοειδές, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων βουλευτήριον πιθανὸν μὲν οὐδὲν διῆει περὶ τῆς αἰτίας, ἣν ἐπήγεν, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ ἔπαινον ἐμακρηγόρει περὶ τοῦ γένους, ὅθεν ἐπισκώπτων αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡρώδης “ σὺ ” ἔφη “ τὴν εὐγένειαν ἐν τοῖς ἀστραγάλοις ἔχεις.”  
 556 ὁ Ἡρώδης “ καγὼ ” ἔφη “ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ ἑμαντοῦ διῆειν ἂν, εἰ ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ γῆ ἐκρινόμεν.”  
 ξυνήρατο δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἀπολογίας πρῶτον μὲν τὸ μηδὲν προστάξει τοιοῦτον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥηγίλλαν, ἔπειτα τὸ ὑπερπενθῆσαι ἀποθανοῦσαν· διεβάλλετο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ὡς πλάσμα, ἀλλ’ ὁμως τάληθές

<sup>1</sup> ὥστε Kayser; καίτοι he suggests.

<sup>1</sup> Roman patricians and senators wore a half moon as a badge on their shoes; cf. Juvenal vii. 191. In the inscription to Regilla, “starry sandals” are mentioned as her family’s hereditary insignia.

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and indeed Demostratus would not have neglected to describe the incident in his suit against Herodes, when he attacked the man so bitterly that he actually censured those acts of his which are regularly applauded.

A charge of murder was also brought against Herodes, and it was made up in this way. His wife Regilla, it was said, was in the eighth month of her pregnancy, and Herodes ordered his freedman Alcimedon to beat her for some slight fault, and the woman died in premature childbirth from a blow in the belly. On these grounds, as though true, Regilla's brother Braduas brought a suit against him for murder. He was a very illustrious man of consular rank, and the outward sign of his high birth, a crescent-shaped ivory buckle, was attached to his sandal.<sup>1</sup> And when Braduas appeared before the Roman tribunal he brought no convincing proof of the charge that he was making, but delivered a long panegyric on himself dealing with his own family. Whereupon Herodes jested at his expense and said: "You have your pedigree on your toe-joints."<sup>2</sup> And when his accuser boasted too of his benefactions to one of the cities of Italy, Herodes said with great dignity: "I too could have recited many such actions of my own in whatever part of the earth I were now being tried." Two things helped him in his defence. First that he had given orders for no such severe measures against Regilla; secondly, his extraordinary grief at her death. Even this was regarded as a pretence and made a charge against him, but nevertheless the

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* there was no need to talk about it.

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ἴσχυεν, οὐ γὰρ ποτε οὐτ' ἂν θέατρον αὐτῇ ἀναθεῖναι τοιοῦτον, οὐτ' ἂν δευτέραν κλήρωσιν τῆς ὑπάτου ἀρχῆς ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἀναβαλέσθαι μὴ καθαρῶς ἔχοντα τῆς αἰτίας, οὐτ' ἂν τὸν κόσμον αὐτῆς ἐς τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἱερὸν ἀναθεῖναι φέροντα φόνῳ μεμισμένον, τουτὶ γὰρ τιμωροὺς τοῦ φόνου ποιούντος ἦν τὰς θεὰς μᾶλλον ἢ ξυγγνώμονας. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς οἰκίας ἐπ' αὐτῇ ὑπήλλαξε μελαίνων τὰ τῶν οἴκων ἄνθη παραπετάσμασι καὶ χρώμασι καὶ λίθῳ Λεσβίῳ — κατηφῆς δὲ ὁ λίθος καὶ μέλας — ὑπὲρ ὧν λέγεται καὶ Λούκιος ἀνὴρ σοφὸς ἐς ξυμβουλίαν τῷ Ἡρώδῃ καθιστάμενος, ὡς οὐκ ἔπειθε μεταβαλεῖν αὐτὸν διασκῶψαι. ἄξιον δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο παρελθεῖν λόγου παρὰ τοῖς σπουδαίοις ἀξιούμενον· ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς φανεροῖς σπουδαῖος ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος, Μουσωνίῳ δὲ τῷ Τυρίῳ προσφιλοσοφήσας εὐσκόπως εἶχε τῶν ἀποκρίσεων καὶ τὸ ἐπίχαρι σὺν καιρῷ ἐπετήδευεν, ἐπιτηδειότατος δὲ ὧν τῷ

557 Ἡρώδῃ παρῆν αὐτῷ πονήρως διατιθεμένῳ τὸ πένθος καὶ ἐνουθέτει τοιαῦτα λέγων· “ὦ Ἡρώδη, πᾶν τὸ ἀποχρῶν μεσότητι ὤρισται, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου πολλὰ μὲν ἤκουσα Μουσωνίου διαλεγομένου, πολλὰ δὲ αὐτὸς διείλεγμαι, καὶ σοῦ δὲ ἠκροώμην ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἐπαικούντος αὐτὸ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἐκέλευες μέσους τῆς ὄχθης ρεῖν. ἀλλὰ μὴν νῦν ποῦ ταῦτα; σεαυτοῦ

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truth prevailed. For he never would have dedicated to her memory so fine a theatre nor would he have postponed for her sake the casting of lots for his second consulship, if he had not been innocent of the charge; nor again would he have made an offering of her apparel at the temple of Eleusis, if he had been polluted by a murder when he brought it, for this was more likely to turn the goddesses into avengers of the murder than to win their pardon. He also altered the appearance of his house in her honour by making the paintings and decorations of the rooms black by means of hangings, dyes, and Lesbian marble, which is a gloomy and dark marble. And they say that Lucius, a wise man, tried to give Herodes advice about this, and since he could not persuade him to alter it, he turned him into ridicule. And this incident must not be omitted from my narrative, since it is held worthy of mention by learned writers. For this Lucius ranked among men renowned for learning, and since he had been trained in philosophy by Musonius of Tyre, his repartees were apt to hit the mark, and he practised a wit well suited to the occasion. Now, as he was very intimate with Herodes, he was with him when he was most deeply afflicted by his grief, and used to give him good advice to the following effect: "Herodes, in every matter that which is enough is limited by the golden mean, and I have often heard Musonius argue on this theme, and have often discoursed on it myself; and, moreover, I used to hear you also, at Olympia, commending the golden mean to the Greeks, and at that time you would even exhort rivers to keep their course in mid channel between their banks. But what has now become of all this advice? For you

γὰρ ἐκπεσῶν ἄξια τοῦ πενθεῖσθαι πράττεις περὶ τῆ δόξῃ κινδυνεύων" καὶ πλείω ἕτερα. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐπειθεν, ἀπῆει δυσχεράνας. ἰδὼν δὲ παῖδας ἐν κρήνῃ τινὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ῥαφανίδας πλύνοντας ἤρετο αὐτοὺς, ὅτου εἶη τὸ δεῖπνον, οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν Ἡρώδῃ εὐτρεπίζειν αὐτό. καὶ ὁ Λούκιος "ἀδικεῖ" ἔφη "Ῥηγίλλαν Ἡρώδης λευκὰς ῥαφανίδας σιτούμενος ἐν μελαίνῃ οἰκίᾳ." ταῦτα ὡς ἤκουσεν ἐσαγγελθέντα ὁ Ἡρώδης ἀφείλε τὴν ἀχλὺν τῆς οἰκίας, ὡς μὴ ἄθυρμα γένοιτο ἀνδρῶν σπουδαίων.

Λουκίου τούτου κάκεῖνο θαυμάσιον ἐσπούδαζε μὲν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Μάρκος περὶ Σέξτον τὸν ἐκ Βοιωτίας φιλόσοφον, θαμίζων αὐτῷ καὶ φοιτῶν ἐπὶ θύρας, ἄρτι δὲ ἦκων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Λούκιος ἤρετο τὸν αὐτοκράτορα προϊόντα, ποῖ βαδίζοι καὶ ἐφ' ὅ τι, καὶ ὁ Μάρκος "καλὸν" ἔφη "καὶ γηράσκοντι τὸ μανθάνειν· εἰμι δὴ πρὸς Σέξτον τὸν φιλόσοφον μαθησόμενος, ἃ οὐπω οἶδα." καὶ ὁ Λούκιος ἐξάρας τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν "ὦ Ζεῦ," ἔφη "ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς γηράσκων ἤδη δέλτον ἐξαψάμενος ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτᾷ, ὁ δὲ ἐμὸς βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ὧν<sup>1</sup> ἀπέθανεν." ἀπόχρη καὶ τὰ εἰρημμένα δεῖξαι τὴν ἰδέαν, ἣν ἐφιλοσόφει Λούκιος, ἱκανὰ γάρ που ταῦτα δηλώσαι τὸν ἄνδρα, καθάπερ τὸν ἀνθοσμῖαν τὸ γεῦμα.

Τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ Ῥηγίλλῃ πένθος ὠδε ἐσβέσθη,

<sup>1</sup> ἐτῶν Kayser; ὧν Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> For a curious modern parallel see *Punch* 1916: "In Paris they are serving a half-mourning salad consisting mainly of potatoes, artichokes, and pickled walnuts . . . he 162

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have lost your self-control, and are acting in a way that we must needs deplore, since you risk your great reputation." He said more to the same effect. But since he could not convince him, he went away in anger. And he saw some slaves at a well that was in the house, washing radishes, and asked them for whose dinner they were intended. They replied that they were preparing them for Herodes. At this Lucius remarked: "Herodes insults Regilla by eating white radishes<sup>1</sup> in a black house." This speech was reported indoors to Herodes, and when he heard it he removed the signs of mourning from his house, for fear he should become the laughing-stock of wise men.

Here is another admirable saying of this Lucius. The Emperor Marcus was greatly interested in Sextus the Boeotian philosopher, attending his classes and going to his very door. Lucius had just arrived in Rome, and asked the Emperor, whom he met going out, where he was going and for what purpose. Marcus answered: "It is a good thing even for one who is growing old to acquire knowledge. I am going to Sextus the philosopher to learn what I do not yet know." At this Lucius raised his hand to heaven, and exclaimed: "O Zeus! The Emperor of the Romans is already growing old, but he hangs a tablet round his neck and goes to school, while my Emperor Alexander died at thirty-two!" What I have quoted is enough to show the kind of philosophy cultivated by Lucius, for these speeches suffice to reveal the man as a sip reveals the bouquet of wine.

Thus, then, his grief for Regilla was quenched, expressed surprise at their failure to add a few radishes to the dish."

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558 τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ Παναθηναίδι τῇ θυγατρὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπρά-  
 ναν ἐν ἄστει τε αὐτὴν θάψαντες καὶ ψηφισάμενοι  
 τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐφ' ἧς ἀπέθανεν, ἐξαιρεῖν τοῦ ἔτους.  
 ἀποθανούσης δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης θυγατρὸς, ἦν  
 Ἑλπινίκην ὠνόμαζεν, ἔκειτο μὲν ἐν τῷ δαπέδῳ τὴν  
 γῆν παίων καὶ βοῶν " τί σοι, θύγατερ, καθαγίσω;  
 τί σοι ξυνθάψω;" παρατυχῶν δὲ αὐτῷ Σέξτος ὁ  
 φιλόσοφος " μεγάλα " ἔφη " τῇ θυγατρὶ δώσεις  
 ἐγκρατῶς αὐτὴν πενθήσας." ἐπένθει δὲ ταῖς  
 ὑπερβολαῖς ταύταις τὰς θυγατέρας, ἐπειδὴ Ἀττικὸν  
 τὸν υἱὸν ἐν ὄργῃ εἶχεν. διεβέβλητο δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 ὡς ἡλιθιώδῃ καὶ δυσγράμματον καὶ παχὺν τὴν  
 μνήμην· τὰ γοῦν πρῶτα γράμματα παραλαβεῖν  
 μὴ δυνηθέντος ἦλθεν ἐς ἐπίνοϊαν τῷ Ἡρώδῃ ξυν-  
 τρέφειν αὐτῷ τέτταρας παῖδας καὶ εἴκοσιν ἰσηλικας  
 ὠνομασμένους ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων, ἵνα ἐν τοῖς τῶν  
 παίδων ὀνόμασι τὰ γράμματα ἐξ ἀνάγκης αὐτῷ  
 μελετῶτο. εὔρα δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ μεθυστικὸν καὶ  
 ἀνοήτως ἐρῶντα, ὅθεν ζῶν μὲν ἐπεχρησμῶδει τῇ  
 ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίᾳ<sup>1</sup> ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔπος·

εἰς δ' ἔτι που μωρὸς καταλείπεται εὐρεί οἴκῳ,

τελευτῶν δὲ τὰ μὲν μητρῶα αὐτῷ ἀπέδωκεν, ἐς  
 ἑτέροισι δὲ κληρονόμοις τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον μετέστη-  
 σεν. ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίους ἀπάνθρωπα ἐδόκει ταῦτα οὐκ  
 ἐνθυμουμένοις τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καὶ τὸν Πολυδεύκην  
 καὶ τὸν Μέμνονα, οὓς ἴσα γνησίους ἐπένθησε τροφί-  
 μους ὄντας, ἐπειδὴ καλοὶ μάλιστα καὶ ἀγαθοὶ ἦσαν

<sup>1</sup> οὐσίᾳ Kayser; οἰκίᾳ Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> The original of this verse, often parodied by the sophists,  
 and several times by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, is *Odyssey*  
 iv. 498 :



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while his grief for his daughter Panathenais was mitigated by the Athenians, who buried her in the city, and decreed that the day on which she died should be taken out of the year. But when his other daughter, whom he called Elpinice, died also, he lay on the floor, beating the earth and crying aloud: "O my daughter, what offerings shall I consecrate to thee? What shall I bury with thee?" Then Sextus the philosopher who chanced to be present said: "No small gift will you give your daughter if you control your grief for her." He mourned his daughters with this excessive grief because he was offended with his son Atticus. He had been misrepresented to him as foolish, bad at his letters, and of a dull memory. At any rate, when he could not master his alphabet, the idea occurred to Herodes to bring up with him twenty-four boys of the same age named after the letters of the alphabet, so that he would be obliged to learn his letters at the same time as the names of the boys. He saw too that he was a drunkard and given to senseless amours, and hence in his lifetime he used to utter a prophecy over his own house, adapting a famous verse as follows:

One fool methinks is still left in the wide house,<sup>1</sup>

and when he died he handed over to him his mother's estate, but transferred his own patrimony to other heirs. The Athenians, however, thought this inhuman, and they did not take into consideration his foster-sons Achilles, Polydeuces, and Memnon, and that he mourned them as though they had been his own children, since they were highly honourable youths,

*εἰς δ' ἔτι πού τις ζωὸς κατερύκεται εὐρέι πόντῳ.*

Herodes substitutes "house" for "deep."

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γενναίοι τε καὶ φιλομαθεῖς καὶ τῇ παρ' αὐτῷ  
 τροφῇ πρέποντες. εἰκόνας γοῦν ἀνετίθει σφῶν  
 559 θηρώντων καὶ τεθηρακότων καὶ θηρασόντων τὰς  
 μὲν ἐν δρυμοῖς, τὰς δὲ ἐπ' ἀγροῖς, τὰς δὲ πρὸς  
 πηγαῖς, τὰς δὲ ὑπὸ σκιαῖς πλατάνων, οὐκ ἀφανῶς,  
 ἀλλὰ ξὺν ἀραῖς τοῦ περικόψοντος ἢ κινήσοντος, οὓς  
 οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἤρεν, εἰ μὴ ἐπαίνων ἀξίους  
 ἐγίγνωσκεν. Κυντιλίω δέ, ὅποτε ἤρχον τῆς Ἑλ-  
 λάδος, αἰτιωμένων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν μειρακίων  
 τούτων εἰκόσιν ὡς περιτταῖς “ τί δὲ ὑμῖν ” ἔφη  
 “ διενήνοχεν, εἰ ἐγὼ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐμπαίζω λιθαρίοις; ”

Ἦρξε δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Κυντιλίου δια-  
 φορᾶς, ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ φασι, Πυθικὴ πανήγυρις,  
 ἐπειδὴ ἑτεροδόξως τῆς μουσικῆς ἠκροῶντο, ὡς δὲ  
 ἔνιοι, τὰ παισθέντα περὶ αὐτῶν Ἠρώδη πρὸς  
 Μάρκον ὀρῶν γὰρ αὐτοὺς Τρῶας μὲν, μεγάλων δὲ  
 ἀξιουμένους παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως “ ἐγὼ ” ἔφη “ καὶ  
 τὸν Δία μέμφομαι τὸν Ὀμηρικόν, ὅτι τοὺς Τρῶας  
 φιλεῖ.” ἢ δὲ ἀληθεστέρα αἰτία ἦδε· τῷ ἄνδρῳ  
 τούτῳ, ὅποτε ἄμφω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἠρχέτην, καλέ-  
 σαντες ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Ἀθηναῖοι φωνὰς ἀφήκαν  
 τυραννεομένων πρὸς τὸν Ἠρώδη ἀποσημαίνον-  
 τες καὶ δεόμενοι ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια ὧτα  
 παραπεμφθῆναι τὰ εἰρημένα. τῶν δὲ Κυντιλίων  
 παθόντων τι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον καὶ ξὺν ὀρμῇ ἀναπεμ-  
 ψάντων ἃ ἤκουσαν, ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν ὁ  
 Ἠρώδης ἔφασκεν ὡς ἀναθολούντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοὺς  
 Ἀθηναίους· μετ' ἐκείνην γὰρ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Δημό-

<sup>1</sup> These brothers are mentioned by Cassius Dio lxxi. 33.

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noble-minded and fond of study, a credit to their upbringing in his house. Accordingly he put up statues of them hunting, having hunted, and about to hunt, some in his shrubberies, others in the fields, others by springs or in the shade of plane-trees, not hidden away, but inscribed with execrations on any one who should pull down or move them. Nor would he have exalted them thus, had he not known them to be worthy of his praises. And when the Quintilii during their proconsulship of Greece censured him for putting up the statues of these youths on the ground that they were an extravagance, he retorted: "What business is it of yours if I amuse myself with my poor marbles?"

His quarrel with the Quintilii<sup>1</sup> began, as most people assert, over the Pythian festival, when they held different views about the musical competition; but some say that it began with the jests that Herodes made to Marcus at their expense. For when he saw that, though they were Trojans, the Emperor thought them worthy of the highest honours, he said: "I blame Homer's Zeus also, for loving the Trojans." But the following reason is nearer the truth. When these two men were both governing Greece, the Athenians invited them to a meeting of the assembly, and made speeches to the effect that they were oppressed by a tyrant, meaning Herodes; and finally begged that what they had said might be forwarded to the Emperor's ears. And when the Quintilii felt pity for the people and without delay reported what they had heard, Herodes asserted that they were plotting against him, for they were inciting the Athenians to attack him. Certainly, after that meeting of the assembly there sprang into

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στρατοὶ ἀνέφυσαν καὶ Πραξαγόραι καὶ Μαμερ-  
 τῖνοι καὶ ἕτεροι πλείους ἐς τὸ ἀντίξοον τῷ Ἡρώδῃ  
 560 πολιτεύοντες. γραψάμενος δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἡρώδης ὡς  
 ἐπισυνιστάνας αὐτῷ τὸν δῆμον ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγε-  
 μονίαν, οἱ δὲ ὑπεξῆλθον ἀφανῶς παρὰ τὸν αὐτο-  
 κράτορα Μάρκον, θαρροῦντες τῇ τε φύσει τοῦ  
 βασιλέως δημοτικωτέρα οὔση καὶ τῷ καιρῷ· ὧν  
 γὰρ ὑπόπτεισε Λούκιον κοινωὸν αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς  
 γενόμενον, οὐδὲ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἠφίει τοῦ μὴ οὐ  
 ξυμμετέχειν αὐτῷ. ὁ μὲν δὴ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐκάθητο  
 ἐς τὰ Παιόνια ἔθνη ὀρμητηρίῳ τῷ Σιρμίῳ χρώμενος,  
 κατέλουν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Δημόστρατον περὶ τὰ  
 βασιλεία, παρέχοντος αὐτοῖς ἀγορὰν τοῦ Μάρκου  
 καὶ θαμὰ ἐρωτῶντος, εἴ του δέοιντο. φιλανθρώπως  
 δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχειν αὐτός τε ἑαυτὸν ἐπεπείκει καὶ  
 τῇ γυναικὶ ἐπέπειστο καὶ τῷ θυγατρὶ ψελλιζομένῳ  
 ἔτι, τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα ξὺν πολλοῖς θωπεύμασι  
 περιπίπτον τοῖς γόνασι τοῦ πατρὸς ἐδεῖτο σῶσαί οἱ  
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ἐν προαστείῳ  
 ἐσκήνου, ἐν ᾧ πύργοι ἐξωκοδόμηντο καὶ ἡμιπύργια,  
 καὶ δὴ ξυναπεδήμον αὐτῷ καὶ δίδυμοι κόραι πρὸς  
 ἀκμῇ γάμων θαυμαζόμεναι ἐπὶ τῷ εἶδει, ἃς ἐκη-  
 πιώσας ὁ Ἡρώδης οἰνοχόους ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὀψοποιούς  
 ἐπεποίητο θυγάτρια ἐπονομάζων καὶ ὠδε ἀσπαζό-  
 μενος — Ἀλκιμέδοντος μὲν δὴ αὗται θυγατέρες, ὁ  
 δὲ Ἀλκιμέδων ἀπελεύθερος τοῦ Ἡρώδου — καθευ-

<sup>1</sup> Lucius Verus, the Emperor's son-in-law and colleague ;  
 cf. Cassius Dio lxxi. 1-2.

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activity men like Demostratus, Praxagoras and Mamertinus, and many others whose public policy was opposed to Herodes. Thereupon Herodes indicted them on the charge of a conspiracy to set the people against him, and tried to bring them before the proconsular court. But they escaped secretly and went to the Emperor Marcus, relying both on the Emperor's disposition, which was somewhat democratic, and also on the favourable moment. For the Emperor did not acquit Herodes of being an accomplice in the treasonable plots of which he had suspected Lucius,<sup>1</sup> after the latter had become his consort in the Empire. Now the Emperor had his head-quarters among the tribes of Pannonia, with Sirmium for his base, and Demostratus and his friends lodged near the Emperor's head-quarters, where Marcus furnished them with supplies, and often asked them whether they needed anything. Not only was he himself convinced that he ought to treat them with this benevolence, but also he was induced to do so by his wife and by his little daughter who could not yet speak plainly; for she above all used to fall at her father's knees with many blandishments and implore him to save the Athenians for her. But Herodes lodged in a suburb in which towers had been erected, some of full height and others half-towers; and there had travelled with him from home two girls, twins just of marriageable age, who were greatly admired for their beauty. Herodes had brought them up from childhood, and appointed them to be his cupbearers and cooks, and used to call them his little daughters and loved them as though they were. They were the daughters of Alcimedon, and he was a freedman of Herodes.

δούσας δὲ αὐτὰς ἐν ἐνὶ τῶν πύργων, ὃς ἦν  
 ἐχυρώτατος, σκηπτὸς ἐνεχθεὶς νύκτωρ ἀπέκτεινεν.  
 ὑπὸ τούτου δὴ τοῦ πάθους ἔκφρων ὁ Ἡρώδης  
 ἐγένετο καὶ παρήλθεν ἐς τὸ βασιλεῖον δικαστήριον  
 561 οὔτε ἔννοους καὶ θανάτου ἐρῶν. παρελθὼν γὰρ  
 καθίστατο ἐς διαβολὰς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος οὐδὲ  
 σχηματίσας τὸν λόγον, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν ἄνδρα γεγυμνα-  
 σμένον τῆς τοιαύτης ἰδέας μεταχειρίσασθαι τὴν  
 ἑαυτοῦ χολήν, ἀλλ' ἀπηγκωτισμένη τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ  
 γυμνῇ διετείετο λέγων "ταῦτά μοι ἢ Λουκίου  
 ξενία, ὃν σύ μοι ἔπεμψας· ὄθεν δικάζεις, γυναικί με  
 καὶ τριετεί παιδίῳ καταχαριζόμενος." Βασσαίου  
 δὲ τοῦ πεπιστευμένου τὸ ξίφος θανατῶν αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup>  
 φήσαντος ὁ Ἡρώδης "ὦ λῶστε," ἔφη "γέρων  
 ὀλίγα φοβεῖται." ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἡρώδης ἀπῆλθε τοῦ  
 δικαστηρίου εἰπὼν ταῦτα καὶ μετέωρον καταλείψας  
 πολὺ τοῦ ὕδατος, ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἐπιδήλως τῷ Μάρκῳ  
 φιλοσοφηθέντων καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν δίκην ταύτην  
 ἠγώμεθα· οὐ γὰρ ξυνήγαγε τὰς ὀφρῦς, οὐδὲ  
 ἔτρεψε τὸ ὄμμα, ὃ κἂν διαιτητῆς τις ἔπαθεν, ἀλλ'  
 ἐπιστρέψας ἑαυτὸν ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους "ἀπολο-  
 γείσθε," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ καὶ μὴ ξυγχωρεῖ  
 Ἡρώδης." καὶ ἀκούων ἀπολογουμένων ἐπὶ πολ-  
 λοῖς μὲν ἀφανῶς ἤλγησεν, ἀναγιγνωσκομένης δὲ  
 αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐκκλησίας, ἐν ἧ ἔφαινοντο  
 καθαπτόμενοι τοῦ Ἡρώδου, ὡς τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῆς

<sup>1</sup> θάνατον αὐτῷ Kayser; θανατῶν αὐτὸν Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> i. e. it was a lost opportunity for a speech of "covert allusion"; see Glossary.

<sup>2</sup> This is the only place where ἐκκλησία, "assembly," is used as the equivalent of ψήφισμα, "decree voted."

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Now while they were asleep in one of the towers which was very strongly built, a thunderbolt struck them in the night and killed them. Herodes was driven frantic by this misfortune, and when he came before the Emperor's tribunal he was not in his right mind but longed for death. For when he came forward to speak he launched into invectives against the Emperor, and did not even use figures of speech<sup>1</sup> in his oration, though it might have been expected that a man who had been trained in this type of oratory would have had his own anger under control. But with an aggressive and unguarded tongue he persisted in his attack, and cried: "This is what I get for showing hospitality to Lucius, though it was you who sent him to me! These are the grounds on which you judge men, and you sacrifice me to the whim of a woman and a three-year-old child!" And when Bassaeus, the pretorian prefect, said that he evidently wished to die, Herodes replied: "My good fellow, an old man fears few things!" With these words Herodes left the court, leaving much of his allowance of water in the clock still to run. But among the eminently philosophic actions of Marcus we must include his behaviour in this trial. For he never frowned or changed his expression, as might have happened even to an umpire, but he turned to the Athenians and said: "Make your defence, Athenians, even though Herodes does not give you leave." And as he listened to the speeches in defence he was greatly pained, though without showing it, by many things that he heard. But when the decree<sup>2</sup> of the Athenian assembly was recited to him, in which they openly attacked Herodes for trying to corrupt the magis-

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Ἑλλάδος ὑποποιουμένου πολλῶ τῷ μέλιτι καὶ που καὶ βεβοηκότες “ ὦ πικροῦ μέλιτος ” καὶ πάλιν “ μακάριοι οἱ ἐν τῷ λοιμῷ ἀποθνήσκοντες ” οὕτως ἐσείσθη τὴν καρδίαν ὑφ’ ὧν ἤκουσεν, ὡς ἐς δάκρυα φανερά ὑπαχθῆναι. τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπολογίας ἐχούσης κατηγορίαν τοῦ τε Ἡρώδου καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων τὴν ὄργην ὁ Μάρκος ἐς τοὺς ἀπελευθέρους ἔτρεψε κολάσει χρησάμενος ὡς οἶόν τε ἐπιεικεῖ, οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸς χαρακτηρίζει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κρίσιν, μόνῳ δὲ Ἀλκιμέδοντι τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπανήκεν ἀποχρῶσαν εἶναί οἱ φήσας τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς τέκνοις συμφορὰν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδε ἐφιλοσοφεῖτο τῷ Μάρκῳ.

562 Ἐπιγράφουσι δὲ ἔνιοι καὶ φύγην οὐ φυγόντι καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν οἰκῆσαι τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἡπείρῳ Ὠρικόν, ὃ καὶ πολίσαι αὐτόν, ὡς εἶη δίαίτα ἐπιτηδεῖα τῷ σώματι. ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ὥκησε μὲν τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο νοσήσας ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ θύσας ἐκβατήρια τῆς νόσου, φυγεῖν δὲ οὔτε προσετάχθη οὔτε ἔτλη. καὶ μάρτυρα τοῦ λόγου τούτου ποιήσομαι τὸν θεσπέσιον Μάρκον· μετὰ γὰρ τὰ ἐν τῇ Παιονίᾳ διητᾶτο μὲν ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ περὶ τοὺς φιλάτους ἑαυτῷ δῆμους Μαραθῶνα καὶ Κηφισίαν ἐξηρτημένης αὐτοῦ τῆς πανταχόθεν νεότητος, οἱ κατ’ ἔρωτα τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων ἐφοίτων Ἀθήναζε, πείραν δὲ ποιούμενος, μὴ χαλεπὸς αὐτῷ εἶη διὰ τὰ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν οὐκ ἀπολογίαν ἔχουσαν, ἀλλ’ ἔγκλημα, θαυμάζειν γὰρ ἔφη, τοῦ χάριν οὐκέτι

<sup>1</sup> See p. 551.



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trates of Greece with the honeyed strains of his eloquence, and when they exclaimed: "Alas, what bitter honey!" and again, "Happy they who perished in the plague!" his feelings were so profoundly affected by what he heard that he burst into tears without concealment. But since the Athenian defence contained an indictment not of Herodes only but also of his freedmen, Marcus turned his anger against the freedmen, employing a punishment which was "as mild as possible"; for by this phrase he himself describes his judgement. Only in the case of Alcimedon he remitted the penalty, saying that the loss of his children was enough. Thus did Marcus conduct this affair in a manner worthy of a philosopher.

Some place on record the exile of Herodes, though exiled he was not, and they say that he lived at Oricum in Epirus and that he in fact founded the city<sup>1</sup> in order that it might be a residence suited to his constitution. But though Herodes did actually live in this place and fell ill there, and offered sacrifices in return for his recovery from sickness, still he was never condemned to exile nor did he suffer this penalty. And as a witness to the truth of this statement I will employ the divine Marcus. For after the affair in Pannonia, Herodes lived in Attica in the demes that he loved best, Marathon and Cephisia. And youths from all parts of the world hung on his lips, and they flocked to Athens in their desire to hear his eloquence. But he put it to the test whether the Emperor was offended with him on account of what had happened in the court, by sending him a letter which so far from being an apology was a complaint. For he said that he

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αὐτῷ ἐπιστέλλοι καίτοι τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον θαμὰ οὕτω γράφων, ὡς καὶ τρεῖς γραμματοφόρους ἀφικέσθαι ποτὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ κατὰ πόδας ἀλλήλων. καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ διὰ πλειόνων μὲν καὶ ὑπὲρ πλειόνων, θαυμάσιον δὲ ἦθος ἐγκαταμίξας τοῖς γράμμασιν ἐπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδη, ὃν ἐγὼ τὰ ξυντείνοντα ἐς τὸν παρόντα μοι λόγον ἐξελὼν τῆς ἐπιστολῆς δηλώσω· τὸ μὲν δὴ προοίμιον τῶν ἐπεσταλμένων “χαῖρέ μοι, φίλε Ἡρώδη.” διαλεχθεὶς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῦ πολέμου χειμαδίων, ἐν οἷς ἦν τότε, καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ὀλοφυράμενος ἄρτι αὐτῷ τεθνεῶσαν εἰπὼν τέ τι καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενείας ἐφεξῆς γράφει “σοὶ δὲ ὑγιαίνειν τε εὐχομαι καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ ὡς εὖνου σοὶ διανοεῖσθαι, μηδὲ ἡγεῖσθαι ἀδικεῖσθαι, εἰ καταφωράσας τινὰς τῶν σῶν πλημμελοῦντας κολάσει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐχρησάμην ὡς οἶόν τε ἐπιεικεῖ. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα μὴ μοι ὀργίζου, εἰ δέ τι λελύ-  
 563 πηκά σε ἢ λυπῶ, ἀπαίτησον παρ' ἐμοῦ δίκας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς ἐν ἄστει Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν μυστηρίοις. ἡϋξάμην γάρ, ὅποτε ὁ πόλεμος μάλιστα ἐφλέγμαине, καὶ μνηθῆναι, εἴη δὲ καὶ σοῦ μυσταγωγούντος.” τοιάδε ἢ ἀπολογία τοῦ Μάρκου καὶ οὕτω φιλάνθρωπος καὶ ἐρρωμένη. τίς ἂν οὖν ποτε ἢ ὄν φυγῇ περιέβαλεν οὕτω προσεῖπεν ἢ τὸν ἄξιον οὕτω προσειρησθαι φεύγειν προσέταξεν;  
 Ἔστι δὲ τις λόγος, ὡς νεώτερα μὲν ὁ τὴν ἐῶσαν ἐπιτροπεύων Κάσσιος ἐπὶ τὸν Μάρκον βουλευοί,

<sup>1</sup> The Empress Faustina died suddenly at the foot of Mount Taurus, about A.D. 175.

<sup>2</sup> For the conspiracy and death of Cassius in Syria see Cassius Dio lxxi. 22.

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wondered why the Emperor no longer wrote to him, though in former times he had written to him so often that three letter-carriers had once arrived at his house in a single day, treading in one another's footsteps. Thereupon the Emperor wrote to Herodes at some length and on several subjects, tempering what he wrote with an admirable urbanity, and from this letter I will extract all that bears on my present narrative, and publish it. The letter began with these words: "I greet you, friend Herodes!" Then after discussing the military winter quarters where he was at the time, and lamenting his wife of whom he had recently been bereaved by death,<sup>1</sup> and after some remarks on his own bad health, he continued the letter as follows: "For yourself I wish you good health, and that you should think of me as well disposed to you. And do not regard yourself as unjustly treated, if after I detected the crimes of some of your household I chastised them with a punishment as mild as possible. Do not, I say, feel resentment against me on this account, but if I have annoyed you in aught, or am still annoying you, demand reparation from me in the temple of Athene in your city at the time of the Mysteries. For I made a vow, when the war began to blaze highest, that I too would be initiated, and I could wish that you yourself should initiate me into those rites." Such was the apology of Marcus, so benignant and so firm. Who would ever have addressed in these terms one whom he had cast into exile, or who would have imposed exile on one whom he held worthy to be so addressed?

Moreover, the story is told that when Cassius<sup>2</sup> the governor of the Eastern provinces was plotting treason

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ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ἐπιπλήξειεν αὐτῷ δι' ἐπιστολῆς ὧδε. ξυγκειμένης “ Ἡρώδης Κασσίω· ἐμάνης.” τήνδε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν μὴ μόνον ἐπίπληξιν ἠγάμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥώμην ἀνδρὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως τιθεμένου τὰ τῆς γνώμης ὄπλα.

Ὁ δὲ λόγος, ὃν διῆλθε πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην ὁ Δημόστρατος, ἐν θαυμασίοις δοκεῖ. ἰδέα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἢ μὲν τοῦ ἠθους μία, τὸ γὰρ ἐμβριθὲς ἐκ προοιμίων ἐς τέλος διήκει τοῦ λόγου, αἱ δὲ τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἰδέαι πολλαὶ καὶ ἀνόμοιαι μὲν ἀλλήλαις, λόγου δὲ ἄξια. ἔστω που καὶ τὸ δι' Ἡρώδην παρὰ τοῖς βασκάνοις εὐδοκιμεῖν τὸν λόγον, ἐπειδὴ ἀνὴρ τοιοῦτος ἐν αὐτῷ κακῶς ἤκουσεν. ἀλλ' ὅπως γε καὶ πρὸς τὰς λοιδορίας ἔρρωτο, δηλώσει καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν κύνα Πρωτέα λεχθέντα ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Ἀθήνησιν· ἦν μὲν γὰρ τῶν οὕτω θαρραλέως φιλοσοφούντων ὁ Πρωτεὺς οὗτος, ὡς καὶ ἐς πῦρ ἑαυτὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπία ρῖψαι, ἐπηκολούθει δὲ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ κακῶς ἀγορεύων αὐτὸν ἡμιβαρβάρῳ γλώττῃ· ἐπιστραφεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἡρώδης “ ἔστω,” ἔφη “ κακῶς με ἀγορεύεις, πρὸς τί καὶ οὕτως;” ἐπικειμένου δὲ τοῦ Πρωτέως ταῖς λοιδορίαις “ γεγηράκαμεν” ἔφη “ σὺ μὲν κακῶς  
564 με ἀγορεύων, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀκούων” ἐνδεικνύμενος δὴπου τὸ ἀκούειν μὲν, καταγελᾶν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πεπεῖσθαι τὰς ψευδεῖς λοιδορίας μὴ περαιτέρω ἀκοῆς ἤκειν.

Ἐρμηνεύσω καὶ τὴν γλώτταν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐς χαρακτήρα ἰὼν τοῦ λόγου· ὡς μὲν δὴ Πολέμωνα

<sup>1</sup> Lucian in his *Peregrinus* gives a full account of the self-immolation, of which he was an eyewitness, of Peregrinus Proteus the Cynic philosopher. This took place in A.D. 165.

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against Marcus, Herodes rebuked him in a letter that ran thus : " Herodes to Cassius. You have gone mad." We must regard this letter as not merely a rebuke but also as a strong demonstration by one who, to defend the Emperor, took up the weapons of the intelligence.

The speech which Demonstratus delivered against Herodes is, I think, admirable. In regard to its style, its characterization is even throughout, for the impressive manner is sustained from the opening sentences to the end of the speech. But the formal modes of expression are manifold and never alike, but are worthy of all praise. I grant that the speech has become famous among the malicious partly on account of Herodes, because it attacked one so distinguished. But how stoutly Herodes bore himself in the face of abuse will appear also from what he once said to the Cynic Proteus<sup>1</sup> at Athens. For this Proteus was one of those who have the courage of their philosophy, so much so that he threw himself into a bonfire at Olympia ; and he used to dog the steps of Herodes and insult him in a semi-barbarous dialect. So once Herodes turned round and said : " You speak ill of me, so be it, but why in such bad Greek ? " And when Proteus became still more persistent with his accusations, he said : " We two have grown old, you in speaking ill of me and I in hearing you." By which he implied that, though he heard him, he laughed him to scorn, because he was convinced that false accusations reach the ears but wound no deeper.<sup>2</sup>

I will describe also the eloquence of Herodes and proceed to the main characteristics of his oratory. I

<sup>2</sup> An echo of Aeschines, *On the False Embassy*, 149.

καὶ Φαβιωρῖνον καὶ Σκοπελιανὸν ἐν διδασκάλοις  
 ἑαυτοῦ ἤγε καὶ ὡς Σεκούδῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ ἐφοί-  
 τησεν, εἰρημένον μοι ἦδη, τοὺς δὲ κριτικούς τῶν  
 λόγων Θεαγένει τε τῷ Κνιδίῳ καὶ Μουνατίῳ τῷ  
 ἐκ Τραλλέων συνεγένετο καὶ Ταύρῳ τῷ Τυρίῳ  
 ἐπὶ ταῖς Πλάτωνος δόξαις. ἡ δὲ ἀρμονία τοῦ  
 λόγου ἰκανῶς κεκολασμένη καὶ ἡ δεινότης ὑφέρ-  
 πουσα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐγκειμένη κρότος τε σὺν ἀφελείᾳ  
 καὶ κριτιάζουσα ἤχῳ καὶ ἔννοια ὅσαι μὴ ἑτέρῳ  
 ἐνθυμηθῆναι κωμικὴ τε εὐγλωττία οὐκ ἐπέσακτος,  
 ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ ἡδὺς ὁ λόγος καὶ  
 πολυσχήματος καὶ εὐσχήμεων καὶ σοφῶς ἐξαλ-  
 λάττων τὸ πνεῦμά τε οὐ σφοδρὸν, ἀλλὰ λείον καὶ  
 καθεστηκὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπίπαν ἰδέα τοῦ λόγου χρυσοῦ  
 ψήγμα ποταμῷ ἀργυροδίῃ ὑπαίγαζον. προσέ-  
 κειτο μὲν γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς παλαιοῖς, τῷ δὲ Κριτία  
 καὶ προσετετήκει καὶ παρήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐς ἦθη  
 Ἑλλήνων τέως ἀμελούμενον καὶ περιορώμενον.  
 βωώσης δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ καλούσης  
 αὐτὸν ἓνα τῶν δέκα οὐχ ἠττήθη τοῦ ἐπαίνου μεγά-  
 λου δοκοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἀστείότατα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπαινε-  
 565 σαντας " Ἀνδοκίδου μὲν " ἔφη " βελτίων εἰμί."   
 εὐμαθέστατος δὲ ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος οὐδὲ τοῦ  
 μοχθεῖν ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πότον ἐσπού-  
 दाζε καὶ νύκτωρ ἐν τοῖς διαλείμμασι τῶν ὕπνων,  
 ὅθεν ἐκάλουν αὐτὸν σιτευτὸν ῥήτορα οἱ ὀλίγωροι

<sup>1</sup> From Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1003 :

ἦνικ' ἂν τὸ πνεῦμα λείον καὶ καθεστηκὸς λάβης.

<sup>2</sup> The same figure is used by Lucian, *Dialogues of the Sea-Gods* 3.

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have already said that he counted Polemo, Favorinus, and Scopelian among his teachers, that he attended the lectures of Secundus the Athenian, but for the critical branch of oratory he studied with Theagenes of Cnidos and Munatius of Tralles; and for the doctrines of Plato, with Taurus of Tyre. The structure of his work was suitably restrained, and its strength lay in subtlety rather than in vigour of attack. He was impressive in the plain style, sonorous after the manner of Critias; his ideas were such as would not occur to the mind of another; he had an easy and urbane wit which was not dragged in, but inspired by the subjects themselves; his diction was pleasing and abounded in figures and had grace and beauty; he was skilful in varying his constructions; his tone was not vehement but smooth and steady,<sup>1</sup> and, speaking generally, his type of eloquence is like gold dust shining beneath the waters of a silvery eddying river.<sup>2</sup> For while he devoted himself to the study of all the older writers, from Critias he was inseparable, and he made the Greeks better acquainted with him, since he had hitherto been neglected and overlooked. And when all Greece was loud in applause of Herodes and called him one of the Ten,<sup>3</sup> he was not abashed by such a compliment, though it seems magnificent enough, but replied to his admirers with great urbanity: "Well at any rate I am better than Andocides." Though no man ever learned more easily than he, he did not neglect hard work, but used to study even while he drank his wine, and at night in his wakeful intervals. Hence the lazy and light-minded used to call him the "Stuffed Orator."

<sup>3</sup> The Ten Attic Orators of the canon.

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τε καὶ λεπτοί. ἄλλος μὲν οὖν ἄλλο ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἄλλος ἐν ἄλλῳ βελτίων ἑτέρου, ὁ μὲν γὰρ σχεδιάσαι θαυμάσιος, ὁ δὲ ἐκπονήσαι λόγον, ὁ δὲ τὰ ξύμπαντα ἄριστα τῶν σοφιστῶν διέθετο καὶ τὸ παθητικὸν οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τραγωδίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων συνελέξατο.

Ἐπιστολαὶ δὲ πλείστα Ἡρώδου καὶ διαλέξεις καὶ ἐφημερίδες ἐγχειρίδιά τε καὶ καίρια τὴν ἀρχαίαν πολυμάθειαν ἐν βραχεῖ ἀπηνθισμένα. οἱ δὲ προφέροντες αὐτῷ νέῳ ἔτι τὸ λόγου τινὸς ἐν Παιονίᾳ ἐκπεσεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἠγνοηκέναι μοι δοκοῦσιν, ὅτι καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐπὶ Φιλίππου λέγων ταῦτόν ἔπαθεν· κάκεῖνος μὲν ἤκων Ἀθήναζε τιμὰς προσήτει καὶ στεφάνους ἀπολωλυίας Ἀθηναίοις Ἀμφιπόλεως, Ἡρώδης δέ, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἔπαθεν, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον ἦλθεν ὡς ρίψων ἑαυτόν, τοσοῦτον γὰρ αὐτῷ περιῆν τοῦ ἐν λόγοις βούλεσθαι ὀνομαστῶ εἶναι, ὡς θανάτου τιμᾶσθαι τὸ σφαλῆναι.

Ἐτελεύτα μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὰ ἕξ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ξυντακῆς γενόμενος. ἀποθανόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι καὶ ἐπισκῆψαντος τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις ἐκεῖ θάπτειν, Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς τῶν ἐφήβων χερσὶν ἀρπάσαντες ἐς ἄστὺ ἤνεγκαν προαπαντῶντες τῷ λέχει πᾶσα ἡλικία δακρύοις ἅμα καὶ ἀνευφημοῦν-  
 568 τες, ὅσα παῖδες χρηστοῦ πατρὸς χηρεύσαντες, καὶ ἔθαιψαν ἐν τῷ Παναθηναικῷ ἐπιγράψαντες αὐτῷ βραχὺ καὶ πολὺ ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·



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Different men excel in different ways and this or that man is superior to another in this or that, since one is admirable as an extempore speaker, another at elaborating a speech, but our friend surpassed every other sophist in his grasp of all these methods; and when he wished to move his hearers he drew not only on tragedy but also on the life of every day.

There are extant by Herodes very many letters, discourses and diaries, handbooks and collections of suitable passages in which the flowers of antique erudition have been collected in a small volume. And those who cast in his teeth the fact that while he was yet a youth he broke down in a speech before the Emperor in Pannonia, are, I think, not aware that the same thing happened to Demosthenes also, when he spoke before Philip. And Demosthenes returned to Athens and demanded honours and crowns, though the Athenians never recovered Amphipolis<sup>1</sup>; but Herodes after that humiliation rushed to the river Danube as though he would throw himself in; for so overwhelming was his desire to become famous as an orator, that he assessed the penalty of failure at death.

He died at the age of about seventy-six, of a wasting sickness. And though he expired at Marathon and had left directions to his freedmen to bury him there, the Athenians carried him off by the hands of the youths and bore him into the city, and every age went out to meet the bier with tears and pious ejaculations, as would sons who were bereft of a good father. They buried him in the Panathenaic stadium, and inscribed over him this brief and noble

<sup>1</sup> Philip had taken Amphipolis in 357, eleven years before this embassy, and the failure of Demosthenes had nothing to do with its retention by him.

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Ἄττικου Ἡρώδης Μαραθώνιος, οὐ τάδε πάντα  
κεῖται τῷδε τάφῳ, πάντοθεν εὐδόκιμος.

τοσαῦτα περὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, τὰ μὲν εἰρη-  
μένα, τὰ δὲ ἠγνοημένα ἑτέροις.

β'. Ἐπὶ τὸν σοφιστὴν Θεόδοτον καλεῖ με ὁ  
λόγος. Θεόδοτος μὲν προὔστη καὶ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων  
δήμου κατὰ χρόνους, οὓς προσέκρουον Ἡρώδη  
Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐς ἀπέχθειαν φανεράν οὐδεμίαν τῷ  
ἀνδρὶ ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' ἀφανῶς αὐτὸν ὑπεκάθητο  
δεινὸς ὢν χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν, καὶ γὰρ δὴ  
καὶ τῶν ἀγοραίων εἰς οὗτος· τοῖς γοῦν ἀμφὶ τὸν  
Δημόστρατον οὕτω ξυνεκέκρατο, ὡς καὶ ξυνά-  
ρασθαί σφισι τῶν λόγων, οὓς ἐξεπόνουν πρὸς τὸν  
Ἡρώδη. προὔστη δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων νεό-  
τητος πρῶτος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκ βασιλείως μυρίαῖς. καὶ  
οὐ τοῦτό πω λόγου ἄξιον, οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντες οἱ  
ἐπιβατεύοντες τοῦ θρόνου τούτου λόγου ἄξιοι,  
ἀλλ' ὅτι τοὺς μὲν Πλατωνείους καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς  
Στοᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Περιπάτου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
Ἐπικούρου προσέταξεν ὁ Μάρκος τῷ Ἡρώδη  
κρῖναι, τὸν δὲ ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν  
587 δόξης αὐτὸς ἐπέκρινε τοῖς νέοις ἀγωνιστὴν τῶν  
πολιτικῶν προσειπὼν λόγων καὶ ῥητορικῆς ὄφελος.  
ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος Λολλιανοῦ μὲν ἀκροατῆς, Ἡρώδου  
δὲ οὐκ ἀνήκοος. ἐβίω μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ τὰ πεντή-  
κοντα δυοῖν ἔτοῖν κατασχὼν τὸν θρόνον, τὴν δὲ  
ιδέαν τῶν λόγων ἀποχρῶν καὶ τοῖς δικανικοῖς  
καὶ τοῖς ὑπερσοφιστεύουσιν.

γ'. Ὀνομαστός ἐν σοφισταῖς καὶ Ἀριστοκλῆς

<sup>1</sup> Nothing more of any importance is known about this  
sophist.

<sup>2</sup> He was "king archon" at Athens.

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epitaph : " Here lies all that remains of Herodes, son of Atticus, of Marathon, but his glory is world-wide." That is all I have to say concerning Herodes the Athenian ; part of it has been told already by others, but part was hitherto unknown.

2. My narrative calls me to consider the sophist THEODOTUS.<sup>1</sup> Theodotus was a chief magistrate<sup>2</sup> of the Athenian people at the time when the Athenians had their quarrel with Herodes, and though he never reached the stage of open hostility towards him, he plotted against him in secret, since he had a talent for profiting by any turn of affairs ; and indeed he was one of the baser sort. At any rate he became so thoroughly mixed up with Demostratus and his friends that he collaborated with them in the speeches that they were carefully preparing against Herodes. Also he was appointed to the chair of rhetoric to educate the youth of Athens, and was the first to receive a salary of ten thousand drachmae from the Emperor. Yet this fact alone would not be worth mentioning ; for not all who ascend this chair are worthy of mention, but I do so because Marcus assigned to Herodes the task of choosing the Platonic philosophers and the Stoics, Peripatetics, and Epicureans, but this man he himself chose from the opinion that he had formed of him to direct the education of the youth and called him a past master of political oratory and an ornament to rhetoric. This man was a pupil of Lollianus, but he had also attended the lectures of Herodes. He lived to be over fifty, held the chair for two years, and both in the forensic and purely sophistic branches of oratory the style of his speeches was sufficiently good.

3. ARISTOCLES of Pergamon also won renown among

ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Περγάμου, ὑπὲρ οὗ δηλώσω, ὅποσα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἤκουον· ἐτέλει μὲν γὰρ ἐς ὑπάτους ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος, τὸν δὲ ἐκ παίδων ἐς ἡβην χρόνον τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Περιπάτου φιλοσοφήσας λόγους ἐς τοὺς σαφιστὰς μετερρῆθαι θαμίζων ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ διατιθεμένῳ σχεδίου λόγους. ὃν δὲ ἐφιλοσόφει χρόνον ἀχμηρὸς δοκῶν καὶ τραχὺς τὸ εἶδος καὶ δυσπινῆς τὴν ἐσθῆτα, ἡβρυνε καὶ τὸν ἀχμὸν ἀπετρίψατο, ἡδονὰς τε, ὅποσαι λυρῶν τε καὶ αὐλῶν καὶ εὐφωνίας εἰσὶ, πάσας ἐσηγάγετο ἐπὶ τὴν διαίταν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ θύρος αὐτῷ ἠκούσας, τὸν γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον οὕτω κεκολασμένος ἀτάκτως ἐς τὰ θέατρα ἐφοῖτα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τούτων ἡχώ. εὐδοκιμοῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ Πέργαμον κἀξηρητημένῳ πᾶν τὸ ἐκείνη Ἑλληνικὸν ἐξελαύνων ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐς Πέργαμον ἐπεμψε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ὁμιλητὰς πάντας καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοκλέα ἤρεν, ὥσπερ τις Ἀθηναῖος ψῆφος. ἡ δὲ ἰδέα τοῦ λόγου διαυγῆς μὲν καὶ ἀττικίζουσα, διαλέγεσθαι δὲ ἐπιτηδεῖα μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγωνίζεσθαι, χολή τε γὰρ ἄπεστι τοῦ λόγου καὶ ὄρμαι πρὸς βραχύ, αὐτὴ τε ἡ ἀττικισίς, εἰ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἡρώδου γλώτταν βασανίζοιτο, λεπτολογεῖσθαι δόξει μᾶλλον ἢ κρότου τε καὶ ἡχοῦς ξυγκεῖσθαι. ἐτελεύτα δὲ ὁ Ἀριστοκλῆς μεσαιπόλιος, ἄρτι προσβαίνων τῷ γηράσκειν.

δ'. Ἀντίοχον δὲ τὸν σοφιστὴν αἱ Κιλικῶν Αἰγαὶ ἠνεγκαν οὕτω τι εὐπατρίδην, ὡς νῦν ἔτι τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένος ὑπάτους εἶναι. αἰτίαν δὲ ἔχων

<sup>1</sup> An echo of Plato, *Republic* 489 B; *Phaedrus* 233 E.

<sup>2</sup> The vote of Athene given in the trial of Orestes in Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, became a proverb.

<sup>3</sup> The Greek epithet is from *Iliad* xiii. 361.

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the sophists, and I will relate all that I have heard about him from men older than myself. This man belonged to a family of consular rank, and though from boyhood to early manhood he had devoted himself to the teachings of the Peripatetic school, he went over entirely to the sophists, and at Rome regularly attended the lectures of Herodes on extempore oratory. Now, so long as he was a student of philosophy he was slovenly in appearance, unkempt and squalid in his dress, but now he began to be fastidious, discarded his slovenly ways, and admitted into his house all the pleasures that are afforded by the lyre, the flute, and the singing voice, as though they had come begging to his doors.<sup>1</sup> For though hitherto he had lived with such austerity he now began to be immoderate in his attendance at theatres and their loud racket. When he was beginning to be famous at Pergamon, and all the Hellenes in that region hung on his oratory, Herodes travelled to Pergamon and sent all his own pupils to hear him, thereby exalting the reputation of Aristocles as though Athene<sup>2</sup> herself had cast her vote. His style of eloquence was lucid and Attic, but it was more suited to formal discourse than to forensic argument, for his language is without acrimony or impulsive outbreaks on the spur of the moment. And even his Atticism, tested by comparison with the language of Herodes, will seem over-subtle and deficient in the qualities of magnificence and sonorousness. Aristocles died when his hair was streaked with grey,<sup>3</sup> on the very threshold of old age.

4. ANTIOCHUS the sophist was born at Aegae in Cilicia of so distinguished a family that even now his descendants are made consuls. When he was

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δειλίας, ἐπεὶ μὴ παρήει ἐς τὸν δῆμον, μηδὲ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐπολίτευεν, “οὐχ ὑμᾶς,” εἶπεν “ἀλλ’ ἐμαυτὸν δέδοικα,” εἰδώς που τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χολὴν ἄκρατόν τε καὶ οὐ καθεκτὴν οὔσαν. ἀλλ’ ὅμως ὠφέλει τοὺς ἀστοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας, ὃ τι εἶη δυνατός, σιτόν τε ἐπιδιδούς, ὅποτε τούτου δεομένων αἰσθοίτο, καὶ χρήματα ἐς τὰ πεπονηκότα τῶν ἔργων. τὰς δὲ πλείους τῶν νυκτῶν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερὸν ἀπεκάθειεν ὑπὲρ τε ὄνειράτων ὑπὲρ τε ξυνουσίας, ὅποση ἐγρηγορότων τε καὶ διαλεγομένων ἀλλήλοις, διελέγετο γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐγρηγορότι ὁ θεὸς καλὸν ἀγώνισμα ποιούμενος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τέχνης τὸ τὰς νόσους ἐρύκειν τοῦ Ἀντίοχου.

Ἀκροατῆς ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἐν παισὶ μὲν Δαρδάνου τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου, προῖων δὲ ἐς τὰ μειράκια Διονυσίου ἐγένετο τοῦ Μιλησίου κατέχοντος ἤδη τὴν Ἐφεσίων. διελέγετο μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως — φρονιμώτατος δ’ ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος διέβαλλεν 569 αὐτὸ ὡς μεираκιῶδες, ἵνα ὑπερωρακῶς αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπολειπόμενος φαίνοιτο — τὰ δὲ ἀμφὶ μελέτην ἐλλογιμώτατος· ἀσφαλὴς μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς κατὰ σχῆμα προηγμέναις τῶν ὑποθέσεων, σφοδρὸς δὲ ἐν ταῖς κατηγορίαις καὶ ἐπιφοραῖς, εὐπρεπὴς δὲ τὰς ἀπολογίας καὶ τῷ ἠθικῷ ἰσχύων, καὶ καθάπαξ τὴν ἰδέαν τοῦ λόγου δικανικῆς μὲν σοφιστικώτερος, σοφιστικῆς δὲ δικανικώτερος. καὶ τὰ πάθη ἄριστα σοφιστῶν μετεχειρίσατο, οὐ γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> In the sophistic literature of this period there is much evidence of the decay of the Greek towns, especially in Aristeides, *Oration* 43, and of the generosity of sophists in restoring them.

<sup>2</sup> For an interview of Apollonius and Asclepius in the temple at Aegae see Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* i. 8. 9.

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accused of cowardice in not appearing to speak before the assembly and taking no part in public business, he said: "It is not you but myself that I fear." No doubt that was because he knew that he had a bitter and violent temper, and that he could not control it. But nevertheless he used to aid the citizens from his private means as far as he was able, and furnished them not only with corn whenever he saw they were in need, but also with money to restore their dilapidated buildings.<sup>1</sup> He used to spend very many nights in the temple of Asclepius,<sup>2</sup> both on account of the dreams that he had there, and also on account of all the intercourse there is between those who are awake and converse with one another, for in his case the god used to converse with him while awake, and held it to be a triumph of his healing art to ward off disease from Antiochus.

As a boy, Antiochus was a pupil of Dardanus the Assyrian, and as he grew to early manhood he studied with Dionysius of Miletus, who was already living in Ephesus. He had no talent for formal discourse, and since he was the shrewdest of men he used to run down this branch of the art as childish, so that he might appear to despise it rather than to be unequal to it. But in declamation he won great fame, for he had a sure touch in simulated arguments, was energetic in accusation and invective, brilliant in defence, strong in characterization, and, in a word, his style of eloquence was somewhat too sophistic for the forensic branch and more forensic than sophistic usually is.<sup>3</sup> He handled the emotions more skilfully than any other sophist, for he did not

<sup>3</sup> The same is said of Nicetes, p. 511, of Damianus, p. 606; cf. Cicero, *Brutus* 31.

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μονωδίας ἀπεμήκυνεν, οὐδὲ θρήνους ὑποκειμένους, ἀλλ' ἐβραχυλόγει αὐτὰ ξὺν διανοίαις λόγου κρείττοσιν, ὡς ἔκ τε τῶν ἄλλων ὑποθέσεων δηλοῦνται καὶ μάλιστα ἐκ τῶνδε· κόρη βιασθεῖσα θάνατον ἤρηται τοῦ βιασαμένου· μετὰ ταῦτα γέγονε παιδίον ἐκ τῆς βίας καὶ διαμιλλῶνται οἱ πάπποι, παρ' ὁποτέρῳ τρέφοιτο τὸ παιδίον. ἀγωνιζόμενος οὖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρὸς πατρός πάππου "ἀπόδος" ἔφη "τὸ παιδίον, ἀπόδος ἤδη, πρὶν γεύσῃται μητρῶον γάλακτος." ἡ δὲ ἕτερα ὑπόθεσις τοιαύτη· τύραννον καταθέμενον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκκελύσθαι ἀπέκτεινέ τις εὐνοῦχος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγωνῶς καὶ ἀπολογεῖται ὑπὲρ τοῦ φόνου. ἐνταῦθα τὸ μάλιστα ἐρρωμένον τῆς κατηγορίας τὸν περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν λόγον ἀπεώσατο περινοίαν ἐγκαταμίξας τῷ πάθει· "τίσι γὰρ" ἔφη "ταῦτα ὠμολόγησε; παισὶ γυναικοῖς μεираκίοις πρεσβύταις ἀνδράσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ ὄνομα ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις οὐκ ἔχω." ἄριστα δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν Κρητῶν ἀπολελόγηται τῶν κρινομένων ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς σήματι φυσιολογία τε καὶ θεολογία πάσῃ ἐναγωνισάμενος λαμπρῶς. τὰς μὲν οὖν μελέτας αὐτοσχεδίουσ ἐποιεῖτο, ἔμελε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ φροντισμάτων, ὡς ἕτερα τε δηλοῖ τῶν ἐκείνου καὶ μάλιστα ἡ ἱστορία, ἐπίδειξιν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ πεποιήται λέξεώς τε καὶ θεωρίας,<sup>1</sup> ἐσποῖων ἑαυτὸν καὶ τῷ φιλο-

<sup>1</sup> ῥητορίας Kayser, but suggests θεωρίας or ἱστορίας.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* she had the alternative of marrying him; for a dilemma arising out of a similar case *cf.* Hermogenes, *Περὶ στάσεων* iii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> The theme presented the arguments for the Cretan claim that the tomb of Zeus was in Crete.



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spin out long monodies or abject lamentations, but expressed them in a few words and adorned them with ideas better than I can describe, as is evident in other cases that he pleaded, but especially in the following. A girl has been ravished, and has chosen that her ravisher shall be put to death<sup>1</sup>; later a child is born of this rape, and the grandfathers dispute as to which one of them shall bring up the child. Antiochus was pleading on behalf of its paternal grandfather, and exclaimed: "Give up the child! Give it up this instant before it can taste its mother's milk!" The other theme is as follows. A tyrant abdicates on condition of immunity for himself. He is slain by one whom he has caused to be made a eunuch, and the latter is on his defence for the murder. In this case Antiochus refuted the strongest point made by the prosecution when they quoted the compact between the people and the tyrant; and threw in an ingenious argument while he set forth the eunuch's personal grievance: "With whom, pray," cried he, "did he make this agreement? With children, weak women, boys, old men, and men. But there is no description of me in that contract." Most skilful, too, was his defence of the Cretans, standing their trial in the matter of the tomb of Zeus<sup>2</sup>; when he made brilliant use of arguments drawn from natural philosophy and all that is taught concerning the gods. He delivered extempore declamations, but he also took pains with written compositions, as others of his works make evident, but above all, his *History*. For in this he has displayed to the full both his powers of language and of thought, and, moreover, he devotes himself to

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καλεῖν. περὶ δὲ τῆς τελευταίας τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἱ μὲν ἑβδομηκοντούτην τεθνάναι αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ οὐπω, καὶ οἱ μὲν οἴκοι, οἱ δὲ ἐτέρωθι.

ε'. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δέ, ὃν Πηλοπλάτωνα οἱ πολλοὶ ἐπωνόμαζον, πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Σελεύκεια πόλις οὐκ ἀφανῆς ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, πατὴρ δὲ ὁμώνυμος καὶ τοὺς ἀγοραίους λόγους ἰκανώτατος, μήτηρ δὲ περιττὴ τὸ εἶδος, ὡς αἱ γραφαὶ ἐρμηνεύουσι, καὶ προσφερῆς τῇ τοῦ Εὐμήλου Ἑλένη· Εὐμήλῳ γάρ τις Ἑλένη γέγραπται οἷα ἀνάθεμα εἶναι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀγορᾶς. ἐρασθῆναι τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης καὶ ἐτέρους μὲν, ἐπιδήλως δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον φασὶ τὸν Τυανέα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπαξιῶσαι, τῷ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ξυγγενέσθαι δι' ἔρωτα εὐπαιδίας, ἐπειδὴ θειώτερος ἀνθρώπων. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ὀπίσσοις τρόποις ἀπίθανον, εἴρηται σαφῶς ἐν τοῖς ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον. θεοειδῆς δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ περίβλεπτος ξὺν ὥρᾳ, γενειάς τε γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ βοστρυχώδης καὶ καθειμένη τὸ μέτριον ὄμμα τε ἄβρὸν καὶ μέγα καὶ ρῖς ξύμμετρος καὶ ὀδόντες λευκότατοι δάκτυλοί τε εὐμήκεις καὶ τῇ τοῦ λόγου ἡνία ἐπιπρέποντες. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πλοῦτος δαπανώμενος ἐς ἡδονὰς οὐ μεμπτάς.

Ἐς δὲ ἀνδρας ἡκων ἐπρέσβευε μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς Σελευκείας παρὰ τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον, διαβολαὶ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτόν ἐφοίτησαν, ὡς νεότητα ἐπιποιούντα τῷ εἶδει. ἦττον δὲ αὐτῷ προσέχειν δοκοῦντος τοῦ βασιλέως  
 571 ἐπάρας τὴν φωνὴν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος "πρόσεχέ μοι,"

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Apollonius* i. 13, vi. 42.

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the love of the beautiful. Concerning the end of Antiochus, some say that he died at the age of seventy, others that he was not so old; again, some say that he died at home, others abroad.

5. ALEXANDER, who was generally nicknamed "Clay-Plato," was born at Seleucia, a famous city in Cilicia. His father had the same name as himself and was very talented in forensic oratory, while his mother, as her portraits show, was extraordinarily beautiful, and in fact resembled the Helen of Eumelus. (Now Eumelus painted a picture of Helen that was thought worthy to be dedicated in the Roman Forum.) They say that among others who fell in love with her was Apollonius of Tyana, and that he made no secret of it; that she rejected the others, but gave herself to Apollonius because of her desire for noble offspring, since he more than ordinary men had in him something divine. In my work on Apollonius<sup>1</sup> I have stated clearly on how many grounds this story is incredible. But it is true that Alexander had a godlike appearance, and was conspicuous for his beauty and charm. For his beard was curly and of moderate length, his eyes large and melting, his nose well shaped, his teeth very white, his fingers long and slender, and well fitted to hold the reins of eloquence. He had, moreover, a large fortune, which he used to spend on pleasures that were above reproach.

After he had reached manhood he went on an embassy to Antoninus on behalf of Seleucia, and malicious gossip became current about him, that to make himself look younger he used artificial means. Now the Emperor seemed to be paying too little attention to him, whereupon Alexander raised his voice and said: "Pay attention to me, Caesar."

ἔφη " Καῖσαρ." καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ παροξυνθεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς θρασύτερα τῇ ἐπιστροφῇ χρησάμενον " προσέχω " ἔφη " καὶ ξυνημί σου· σύ γάρ " ἔφη " ὁ τὴν κόμην ἀσκῶν καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας λαμπρύνων καὶ τοὺς ὄνυχας ξέων καὶ τοῦ μύρου ἀεὶ πνέων."

Τὸν μὲν δὴ πλείστον τοῦ βίου τῇ τε Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐνεσπουδαῖζε καὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τοῖς Ταρσοῖς καὶ τῇ Δία Αἰγύπτῳ πάσῃ, ἀφίκετο γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὰ τῶν Γυμνῶν ἦθη. αἱ δὲ Ἀθήνησι διατριβαὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὀλίγαι μὲν, οὐκ ἄξια δὲ ἀγνοεῖσθαι. ἐβάδιζε μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὰ Παιονικὰ ἔθνη μετακληθεὶς ὑπὸ Μάρκου βασιλέως ἐκεῖ στρατεύοντος καὶ δεδωκότος αὐτῷ τὸ ἐπιστέλλειν Ἕλλησιν, ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὁδοῦ δὲ μῆκος τοῦτο οὐ μέτριον τῷ ἐκ τῆς ἐώας ἐλαύνοντι, " ἐνταῦθα " ἔφη " γόνυ κάμψωμεν." καὶ εἰπὼν τοῦτο ἐπήγγειλε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις αὐτοσχεδίου λόγους ἐρώσιν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀκροάσεως. ἀκούων δὲ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐν Μαραθῶνι διαιτώμενον καὶ τὴν νεότητά ἐπακολουθοῦσαν αὐτῷ πᾶσαν γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν αἰτῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης " ἀφίξομαι " ἔφη " μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ αὐτός." ξυνελέγοντο μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸ ἐν τῷ Κέραμεικῷ θέατρον, ὃ δὴ ἐπωνόμασται Ἀγριππεῖον, προϋούσης δὲ ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τοῦ Ἡρώδου βραδύνοντος ἤσχαλλον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐκλυομένης τῆς ἀκροάσεως καὶ τέχνην αὐτὸ ᾤοντο,

<sup>1</sup> For the Gymnosophists see *Life of Apollonius* vi. 6. This sect of naked ascetics and miracle-workers had migrated from India to Egypt and Ethiopia.

<sup>2</sup> For this phrase cf. Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vinculus* 32: in tragedy, as here, it means "sit," or "rest," but not "kneel."

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The Emperor, who was much irritated with him for using so unceremonious a form of address, retorted: "I am paying attention, and I know you well. You are the fellow who is always arranging his hair, cleaning his teeth, and polishing his nails, and always smells of myrrh."

For the greater part of his life he carried on his profession at Antioch, Rome, Tarsus, and, by Zeus, in the whole of Egypt, for he travelled even to the place where is the sect of the Naked Philosophers.<sup>1</sup> His visits to Athens were few, but it would not be proper to ignore them. He journeyed to the tribes of Pannonia at the summons of the Emperor Marcus, who was conducting the war there and bestowed on him the title of Imperial Secretary for the Greeks. When he reached Athens—and it is a journey of no ordinary length for one travelling from the East—"Here," said he, "let us bend the knee in repose."<sup>2</sup> After saying this he announced to the Athenians that he would deliver extempore speeches, since they were very eager to hear him. But when he was told that Herodes was living at Marathon, and that all the Athenian youth had followed him there, he wrote him a letter asking him for his Hellenes; to which Herodes replied: "I will come myself too with my Hellenes." They were accordingly assembled in the Cerameicus, in the theatre which has been called the Theatre of Agrippa,<sup>3</sup> and as the day was already far advanced and Herodes still tarried, the Athenians complained that the lecture was being given up, and they thought that it was a trick;

<sup>1</sup> For this theatre see below, p. 580. Dörpfeld conjectures that it was identical with the old Odeum of the market-place, and that Pausanias i. 8. 6 refers to it as "the theatre called the Odeum."

572 ὄθεν ἀνάγκη τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγένετο παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν διάλεξιν καὶ πρὶν ἦκειν τὸν Ἡρώδην. ἡ μὲν δὴ διάλεξις ἔπαινοι ἦσαν τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ ἀπολογία πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μήπω πρότερον παρ' αὐτοὺς ἀφίχθαι, εἶχε δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀποχρῶν μῆκος, Παναθηναικοῦ γὰρ λόγου ἐπιτομῆ εἴκαστο. εὐσταλῆς δὲ οὕτω τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔδοξεν, ὡς καὶ βόμβον διελθεῖν αὐτῶν ἔτι σιωπῶντος ἔπαινεσάντων αὐτοῦ τὸ εὐσχημον. ἡ μὲν δὴ νενικηκυῖα ὑπόθεσις ὁ τοὺς Σκύθας ἐπανάγων ἐς τὴν προτέραν πλάνην, ἐπειδὴ πόλιν οἰκοῦντες νοσοῦσι, καιρὸν δ' ἐπισχῶν βραχὺν ἀνεπήδησε τοῦ θρόνου φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ, καθάπερ εὐαγγέλια ἐπάγων τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις ὧν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι. προϊόντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου ἐπέστη ὁ Ἡρώδης Ἀρκάδι πάλω τὴν κεφαλὴν σκιάζων, ὡς ἐν ὥρᾳ θέρουσ εἰώθει Ἀθήνησιν, ἴσως δὲ που καὶ ἐνδεικνύμενος αὐτῷ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦκειν. καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔνθεν ἐλὼν διελέχθη μὲν ἐς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑποσέμνω τῇ λέξει καὶ ἠχούσῃ, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ ἔθετο, εἴτε βούλοιο τῆς ἡδὴ σπουδαζομένης ὑποθέσεως ἀκροᾶσθαι, εἴτε ἐτέραν αὐτὸς δοῦναι. τοῦ δὲ Ἡρώδου ἀναβλέψαντος ἐς τοὺς ἀκροωμένους καὶ εἰπόντος, ὡς ποιήσοι, ὅπερ ἂν ἐκείνοις δόξῃ, πάντες ξυνεπένευσαν ἐς τὴν τῶν Σκυθῶν ἀκρόασιν, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ λαμπρῶς διήει τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὡς δηλοῖ τὰ εἰρημένα. θαυμασίαν δὲ ἰσχὺν ἐνεδείξατο καὶ ἐν τοῖσδε· τὰς γὰρ διανοίας

<sup>1</sup> A favourite theme was the comparison of nomadic with city life, with the Scythians to point the moral; cf. below, pp. 575, 620; Apsines 228, 247.

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so that it became necessary for Alexander to come forward and make the introductory speech before the arrival of Herodes. Now his introductory speech was a panegyric of the city and an apology to the Athenians for not having visited them before, and it was of the appropriate length, for it was like an epitome of a Panathenaic oration. The Athenians thought his appearance and costume so exquisite that before he spoke a word a low buzz of approval went round as a tribute to his perfect elegance. Now the theme that they chose was this: "The speaker endeavours to recall the Scythians to their earlier nomadic life, since they are losing their health by dwelling in cities."<sup>1</sup> After pausing for a brief space he sprang from his seat with a look of gladness on his face, like one who brings good news to those who shall listen to what he has to tell them. While his speech was proceeding, Herodes made his appearance, wearing a shady Arcadian hat as was the fashion in the summer season at Athens, but perhaps also to show Alexander that he had just arrived from a journey. Thereupon Alexander adapted his speech so as to take note of the famous man's presence in impressive and sonorous language; and he put it to him whether he would prefer to listen to the argument that was already being discussed or to propose another himself. Herodes glanced towards the audience, saying that he would do whatever they decided, and they unanimously agreed that they would hear *The Scythians*; for indeed Alexander was making out his case with brilliant success, as the anecdote shows. But he made a further wonderful display of his marvellous powers in what now took place. For the sentiments that he had so brilliantly

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τὰς πρὶν ἤκειν τὸν Ἡρώδη λαμπρῶς αὐτῷ εἰρη-  
 μένας μετεχειρίσατο ἐπιστάντος οὕτω τι ἑτέρα λέξει  
 καὶ ἑτέροις ῥυθμοῖς, ὡς τοῖς δεύτερον ἀκρωμένοις  
 μὴ διλογεῖν δόξαι. τὸ γοῦν εὐδοκιμώτατα τῶν  
 πρὶν ἐπιστῆναι τὸν Ἡρώδη εἰρημένων “ ἐστὸς καὶ  
 τὸ ὕδωρ νοσεῖ ” μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιστάντος ἑτέρα  
 573 δυνάμει μεταλαβὼν “ καὶ ὑδάτων ” εἶπεν “ ἡδὶω τὰ  
 πλανώμενα.” κάκεινα τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου Σκυθῶν·  
 “ καὶ πηγνυμένου μὲν Ἰστρου πρὸς μεσημβρίαν  
 ἤλαυνον, λυομένου δὲ ἐχώρου πρὸς ἄρκτον ἀκέραιος  
 τὸ σῶμα καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ νυνὶ κείμενος. τί γὰρ ἂν  
 πάθοι δεινὸν ἄνθρωπος ταῖς ὥραις ἐπόμενος; ” ἐπὶ  
 τελευτῇ δὲ τοῦ λόγου διαβάλλων τὴν πόλιν ὡς  
 πνιγηρὸν οἰκητήριον τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσι ὧδε ἀνεφθέξατο·  
 “ ἀλλ’ ἀναπέτασον τὰς πύλας, ἀναπνεῦσαι θέλω.”  
 προσδραμὼν δὲ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ καὶ περισχῶν αὐτὸν  
 “ ἀντεφεστίασόν με ” ἔφη, καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης “ τί δὲ  
 οὐ μέλλω ” εἶπεν “ λαμπρῶς οὕτως ἐστίασαντα; ”  
 διαλυθείσης δὲ τῆς ἀκροάσεως καλέσας ὁ Ἡρώδης  
 τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γνωρίμων τοὺς ἐν ἐπιδόσει ἠρώτα,  
 ποῖός τις αὐτοῖς ὁ σοφιστῆς φαίνοιτο, Σκέπτου δὲ  
 τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Κορίνθου τὸν μὲν πηλὸν εὐρηκέναι  
 φήσαντος, τὸν δὲ Πλάτωνα ζητεῖν, ἐπικόπτων  
 αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡρώδης “ τουτὶ ” ἔφη “ πρὸς μηδένα  
 εἵπης ἕτερον, σεαυτὸν γὰρ ” ἔφη “ διαβαλεῖς ὡς  
 ἀμαθῶς κρίνοντα, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἔπου μᾶλλον ἠγουμένῳ  
 αὐτὸν Σκοπελιανὸν νήφοντα.” ταυτὶ δὲ ὁ Ἡρώδης  
 ἐχαρακτήριζε καθεωρακῶς τὸν ἄνδρα κεκραμένην

<sup>1</sup> See p. 619, where Hippodromus recasts his declamation, and, for Plato's scorn of this device, *Phaedrus* 235 v.

<sup>2</sup> Euripides, *Phoenician Women* 297; the phrase from tragedy, the iambic metre and ἀνα- repeated are marks of Asianism.



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expressed before Herodes came he now recast in his presence, but with such different words and different rhythms, that those who were hearing them for the second time could not feel that he was repeating himself.<sup>1</sup> For example, before Herodes appeared, the epigram that won the greatest applause was this : "When it is stagnant, even water goes bad." But after his arrival he gave it a different force, by saying : "Even those waters are sweeter that keep on the move." Here are some more quotations from *The Scythians* of Alexander. "When the Danube froze I would travel South, but when it thawed I would go North, always in perfect health, not as I am now, an invalid. For what harm can come to a man who follows the seasons in their course?" In the last part of his speech he denounced the city as a cramped and suffocating dwelling, and for the closing sentence he cried out very loud : "Come fling open the gates,<sup>2</sup> I must breathe the air!" Then he hastened up to Herodes, embraced him and said : "Pray regale me in return." "Why not indeed," said Herodes, "when you have regaled me so splendidly?" When the declamation was over, Herodes called together the more advanced of his own pupils and asked them what was their opinion of the sophist ; and when Sceptus of Corinth said that he had found the clay but had still to find the Plato, Herodes cut him short, and said : "Do not talk like that to anyone else, for," said he, "you will incriminate yourself as an illiterate critic. Nay rather follow me in thinking him a more sober Scopelian."<sup>3</sup> Herodes thus characterized him because he had observed that the sophist knew how to

<sup>3</sup> For Scopelian's style see above, pp. 518, 519.

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ἐρμηνείαν ἐφαρμόζοντα τῇ περὶ τὰς σοφιστικὰς ἐννοίας τόλμη. ἐπιδεικνύμενος δὲ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν τε ἡχὴ τῆς διαλέξεως προσήρην, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνγνωσκε τούτῳ καὶ μάλιστα χαίροντα αὐτὸν τῷ τόνῳ, ῥυθμούς τε ποικιλωτέρους αὐλοῦ καὶ λύρας ἐσηγάγετο ἐς τὸν λόγον, ἐπειδὴ πολὺς αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τὰς 574 ἐξαλλαγὰς ἔδοξεν. ἡ δὲ σπουδασθεῖσα ὑπόθεσις οἱ ἐν Σικελίᾳ τρωθέντες ἦσαν αἰτοῦντες τοὺς ἀπανισταμένους ἐκεῖθεν Ἀθηναίους τὸ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποθνήσκειν. ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθέσεως τὸ θρυλούμενον ἐκεῖνο ἰκέτευσεν ἐπιτέγξας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δακρῦοις “ναὶ Νικία, ναὶ πάτερ, οὕτως Ἀθήνας ἴδοις,” ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον φασὶν ἀναβοῆσαι. “ὦ Ἡρώδη, τεμάχιά σου ἐσμέν οἱ σοφισταὶ πάντες,” καὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ὑπερησθέντα τῷ ἐπαίνῳ καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως γενόμενον δοῦναί οἱ δέκα μὲν σκευοφόρα, δέκα δὲ ἵππους, δέκα δὲ οἰνοχόους, δέκα δὲ σημείων γραφέας, τάλαντα δὲ εἴκοσι χρυσοῦ, πλεῖστον δὲ ἄργυρον, δύο δὲ ἐκ Κολλυτοῦ παιδία ψελλιζόμενα, ἐπειδὴ ἤκουεν αὐτὸν χαίροντα νέαις φωναῖς. τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ τὰ Ἀθήνησιν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐτέρων σοφιστῶν ἀπομνημονεύματα παρεθέμην, δηλούσθω καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ πλειόνων, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐς πλήρῆς πω τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης ἀφίεται παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν. ὡς μὲν δὴ σεμνῶς τε καὶ ξὺν ἡδονῇ διελέγετο, δηλοῦσι τῶν διαλέξεων

<sup>1</sup> This is the technical term to describe the theme voted for by the audience when several had been proposed.

<sup>2</sup> This theme is based on the narrative of Thucydides vii. 75.

<sup>3</sup> An echo of the famous saying of Aeschylus that his plays were “slices,” τεμάχη, from Homer's splendid feasts.

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combine a sober and tempered eloquence with a bold use of sophistic modes of thought; and when he himself declaimed before Alexander he raised his eloquence to a higher pitch, because he knew that Alexander took the keenest pleasure in intensity and force; and he introduced into his speech rhythms more varied than those of the flute and the lyre, because he considered that Alexander was especially skilful in elaborate variations. The theme elected<sup>1</sup> by his audience was, "The wounded in Sicily implore the Athenians who are retreating thence to put them to death with their own hands."<sup>2</sup> In the course of this argument, with tears in his eyes, he uttered that famous and often quoted supplication: "Ah, Nicias! Ah, my father! As you hope to see Athens once more!" Whereupon they say that Alexander exclaimed: "O Hefodes, we sophists are all of us merely small slices of yourself!"<sup>3</sup> And that Herodes was delighted beyond measure by this eulogy, and yielding to his innate generosity presented him with ten pack-animals, ten horses, ten cup-bearers, ten shorthand writers, twenty talents of gold, a great quantity of silver, and two lisping children from the deme Collytus, since he was told that Alexander liked to hear childish voices. This, then, is what happened to Alexander at Athens.

Now since I have set before my readers certain memorable sayings of the other sophists, I must make Alexander also known to them by quoting several sayings of his. For among the Greeks he has never yet attained to the full measure of the renown that is his due. The following quotations from his discourses show how sublime and at the same time

αἶδε· “Μαρσύας ἦρα Ὀλύμπου καὶ Ὀλυμπος τοῦ αὐλεῖν” καὶ πάλιν “Ἀραβία γῆ δένδρα πολλά, πεδία κατάσκια, γυμνὸν οὐδέν, φυτὰ ἢ γῆ, τὰ ἄνθη. οὐδὲ φύλλον Ἀράβιον ἐκβαλεῖς, οὐδὲ κάρφος ἀπορρίψεις οὐδὲν ἐκεῖ φνέν, τοσοῦτον ἢ γῆ περὶ τοὺς ἰδρῶτας εὐτυχεῖ.” καὶ πάλιν “ἀνὴρ πένης ἀπ’ Ἰωνίας, ἢ δὲ Ἰωνία Ἕλληνές εἰσιν οἰκήσαντες ἐν τῇ βαρβάρων.” τὴν δὲ ἰδέαν ταύτην διατωθάζων ὁ Ἀντίοχος καὶ διαπτύων αὐτὸν ὡς τρυφῶντα ἐς τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ὥραν, παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν διελέχθη ὧδε· “Ἰωνία Λυδία Μαρσύαι μωρίαί, δότε προβλήματα.” τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ μελέτῃ  
 575 πλεονεκτῆματα δεδήλωται μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων, δηλοῦσθω δὲ καὶ ἐπ’ ἄλλων ὑποθέσεων· διεξιὼν μὲν γὰρ τὸν Περικλέα τὸν κελεύοντα ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρησμόν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ καλούμενος καὶ ἄκλητος ὁ Πύθιος ἔφη τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις συμμαχήσειν, ὧδε ἀπήντησε τῷ χρησμῷ· “ἀλλ’ ὑπισχνεῖται, φησι, τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις βοηθήσειν ὁ Πύθιος· ψεύδεται· οὕτως αὐτοῖς καὶ Τεγέαν ἐπηγγεῖλατο.” διεξιὼν δὲ τὸν συμβουλεύοντα τῷ Δαρείῳ ζεύξαι τὸν Ἰστρον· “ὑπορείτω σοι ὁ Σκυθῶν Ἰστρος, κἂν εὖρους τὴν

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Norden, p. 411, to illustrate the excessive use of rhythm in prose.

<sup>2</sup> The point lies in the magniloquent use of the plural and the hackneyed allusions.

<sup>3</sup> Thucydides i. 118 speaks of this oracle, but not in connexion with Pericles.

<sup>4</sup> Herodotus i. 66 describes the misleading oracle which refused the Spartans the conquest of Arcadia, but promised that they should take Tegea; they were defeated and captured by the Tegeans.

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how delightful was his style of eloquence. "Marsyas was in love with Olympus, and Olympus with flute-playing." And again: "Arabia is a land of abundant woods, well-shaded plains, there is no barren spot, her soil is all plants and flowers. Not a leaf that Arabia grows would one ever throw aside, no stem or stalk that grew there would one ever cast away; so happy is her soil in all that exudes therefrom."<sup>1</sup> And again: "I am a poor man from Ionia, yet Ionia consists of pure Hellenes who colonized the land of the barbarians." Antiochus made fun of this style, and despised Alexander for indulging too much in the luxury of fine-sounding words; and so when he came before the public at Antioch he began his speech with the words: "Ionias, Lydias, Marsyases, foolishness, propose me themes."<sup>2</sup>

In these quotations I have shown Alexander's peculiar talent for declamation, but I must go on to show it in themes of another kind. For instance, when his theme was this: "Pericles urges that they should keep up the war, even after the oracle in which the Pythian god declared that, whether summoned to their aid or not summoned, he would be the ally of the Lacedaemonians,"<sup>3</sup> he withstood the oracle with these words: "But the Pythian god, you say, promises to aid the Lacedaemonians. He is deceiving them. Even so did he promise them Tegea."<sup>4</sup> And again, when representing the man who advised Darius to throw a bridge over the Danube,<sup>5</sup> he said: "Let the Danube of the Scythians flow beneath your feet, and if he gives your army a

<sup>5</sup> In Herodotus iv. 89 is a passage which may have inspired this theme.

στρατιάν διαγάγη, τίμησον αὐτὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ πιών." τὸν δὲ Ἀρτάβαζον ἀγωνιζόμενος τὸν ἀπαγορεύοντα τῷ Ξέρξῃ μὴ τὸ δεύτερον στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὡδε ἐβραχυλόγησεν. "τὰ μὲν δὴ Περσῶν τε καὶ Μήδων τοιαῦτά σοι, βασιλεῦ, κατὰ χώραν μένουσι, τὰ δὲ Ἑλλήνων γῆ λεπτὴ θάλαττα στενὴ καὶ ἄνδρες ἀπονενοημένοι καὶ θεοὶ βάσκανοι." τοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις νοσοῦντας ἐς τὰ ὄρη ἀνοικίζεσθαι πείθων ὡδε ἐφυσιολόγησεν. "δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ ὁ τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργὸς τὰ μὲν πεδία, ὡσπερ ἀτιμοτέρας<sup>1</sup> ὕλης, ρύβαι κάτω, ἐπαίρειν δὲ τὰ ὄρη, 578 ὡσπερ ἀξιώματα. ταῦτα πρῶτα μὲν ἥλιος ἀσπάζεται, τελευταῖα δὲ ἀπολείπει. τίς οὐκ ἀγαπήσει τόπον μακροτέρας ἔχοντα τὰς ἡμέρας ;"

Διδάσκαλοι τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγένοντο Φαβωρίνος τε καὶ Διονύσιος· ἀλλὰ Διονυσίου μὲν ἡμιμαθῆς ἀπῆλθε μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς νοσοῦντος, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐτελεύτα, Φαβωρίνου δὲ γνησιώτατα ἠκροάσατο, παρ' οὗ μάλιστα καὶ τὴν ὥραν τοῦ λόγου ἔσπασεν. τελευτήσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οἱ μὲν ἐν Κελτοῖς φασιν ἔτι ἐπιστέλλοντα, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰταλία πεπαυμένον τοῦ ἐπιστέλλειν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξηκοντούτην, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὔπω, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ νύκτι, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ, ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδὲν εὖρον λόγου ἀξιόν.

5'. Ἀξιούσθω λόγον καὶ Οὐάρος ὁ ἐκ τῆς Πέργης. Οὐάρῳ πατὴρ μὲν Καλλικλῆς ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις τῶν Περγαίων, διδά-

<sup>1</sup> ἀτιμότερα Kayser ; ἀτιμοτέρας Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> cf. Herodotus vii. 10. In Philostratus, as in Hermogenes, *On the Types of Style* 396, the name should be Artabanus, not Artabazus.

<sup>2</sup> This is a variant of *The Scythians* ; see p. 572.

<sup>3</sup> Nothing more is known of this sophist.

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smooth crossing, do him the honour of drinking of his waters." Again, when he sustained the part of Artabazus trying to dissuade Xerxes from making a second expedition against Greece,<sup>1</sup> he summed up the argument as follows: "Now the condition of the Persians and Medes is as I have said, O King, if you stay where you are. But the soil of the Greeks is poor, their sea is narrow, their men are foolhardy, their gods are jealous gods." When he was trying to persuade those who had bad health in the plains to migrate to the mountains,<sup>2</sup> he thus discoursed on nature: "I believe the Creator of the universe hurled down the plains as being of less precious material, and raised up the mountains as worthy of regard. These the sun greets first and abandons last. Who would not love a place where the days are longer than elsewhere?"

Alexander's teachers were Favorinus and Dionysius. But he left Dionysius when his education was only half completed, because he had been summoned by his father who was ill. Then, when his father was dead, Alexander became the genuine disciple of Favorinus, and it was from him above all that he caught the charm and beauty of his eloquence. Some say that Alexander died in Gaul while he was still an Imperial Secretary, others that he died in Italy after he had ceased to be Secretary. Again some say that he was sixty, others that he had not reached that age. Some say that he left a son, others a daughter, but on these points I could discover nothing worth mentioning.

6. I must not omit to mention VARUS<sup>3</sup> who came from Perge. The father of Varus was Callicles, one of Perge's most important citizens. His teacher

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σκαλος δὲ Κοδρατίων ὁ ὕπατος ἀποσχεδιάζων τὰς  
θετικὰς ὑποθέσεις καὶ τὸν Φαβωρίνου τρόπον  
σοφιστεύων. πελαργὸν δὲ τὸν Οὐαρὸν οἱ πολλοὶ  
ἐπωνόμαζον διὰ τὸ πυρσὸν τῆς ρίνος καὶ ραμφῶδες,  
καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἀπὸ δόξης ἡστέιζοντο, ἔξεστι  
συμβαλεῖν ταῖς εἰκόσιν, αἱ ἀνάκεινται ἐν τῷ τῆς  
Περγαίας ἱερῷ. ὁ δὲ χαρακτήρ τοῦ λόγου τοιοῦτος·  
“ ἐφ’ Ἑλλήσποντον ἔλθων ἵππον αἰτεῖς; ἐπ’ Ἄθω  
δὲ ἔλθων πλεῦσαι θέλεις; οὐκ οἶδας, ἄνθρωπε, τὰς  
ὁδοὺς; ἀλλ’ Ἑλλησπόντῳ γῆν ὀλίγην ἐπιβαλὼν  
577 ταύτην οἶε σοι μενεῖν,<sup>1</sup> τῶν ὀρῶν μὴ μενόντων; ”  
ἐλέγετο δὲ ἀπαγγέλλειν ταῦτα λαμπρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ  
καὶ ἡσκημένη. ἐτελεύτα μὲν οὖν οἴκοι οὐπω  
γηράσκων καὶ ἐπὶ παισί, τὸ δὲ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ γένος  
εὐδόκιμοι πάντες ἐν τῇ Πέργῃ.

ζ’. Ἐρμογένης δέ, ὃν Ταρσοὶ ἤνεγκαν, πεντε-  
καίδεκα ἔτη γέγονὼς ἐφ’ οὕτω μέγα προὔβη τῆς  
τῶν σοφιστῶν δόξης, ὡς καὶ Μάρκῳ βασιλεῖ παρα-  
σχεῖν ἔρωτα ἀκροάσεως· ἐβάδιζε γοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν  
ἀκρόασιν αὐτοῦ ὁ Μάρκος καὶ ἡσθη μὲν διαλεγο-  
μένου, ἐθαύμαζε δὲ σχεδιάζοντος, δωρεὰς δὲ  
λαμπρὰς ἔδωκεν. ἐς δὲ ἄνδρας ἤκων ἀφηρέθη τὴν  
ἔξιν ὑπ’ οὐδεμιᾶς φανερᾶς νόσου, ὅθεν ἀστεισμού  
λόγον παρέδωκε τοῖς βασκάνοις, ἔφασαν γὰρ τοὺς  
λόγους ἀτεχνῶς καθ’ Ὀμηρον πτερόεντας εἶναι,  
ἀποβεβληκῆναι γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὸν Ἐρμογένην καθάπερ

<sup>1</sup> μενεῖν Kayser; μενεῖν Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> Quadratus was proconsul of Asia A.D. 165; Aristeides calls him a sophist.

<sup>2</sup> Artemis.

<sup>3</sup> This hackneyed antithesis was ridiculed by Luci



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was Quadratus<sup>1</sup> the consul, who used to argue extempore on abstract philosophical themes, and as a sophist followed the fashion set by Favorinus. Varus was commonly nicknamed "the stork," because of the fiery hue and beaked shape of his nose, and that this witticism was not far-fetched we may gather from the likenesses of him which are dedicated in the temple of the goddess<sup>2</sup> of Perge. The following is characteristic of his eloquence: "When you arrive at the Hellespont do you call for a horse? When you arrive at Athos do you wish to navigate it?<sup>3</sup> Man, do you not know the regular routes? You throw this handful of earth on the Hellespont, and think you that it will remain, when mountains do not remain?" It is said that he used to declaim these words in a magnificent and well-trained voice. For the rest, he died at home while still a young man, leaving children, and his descendants are all highly esteemed in Perge.

7. HERMOGENES, who was born at Tarsus, by the time he was fifteen had attained such a reputation as a sophist that even the Emperor Marcus became eager to hear him. At any rate Marcus made the journey to hear him declaim, and was delighted with his formal discourse, but marvelled at him when he declaimed extempore, and gave him splendid presents. But when Hermogenes arrived at manhood his powers suddenly deserted him, though this was not due to any apparent disease, and this provided the envious with an occasion for their wit. For they declared that his words were in very truth "winged," as Homer says, and that Hermogenes had moulted

*The Rhetorician's Guide* 18; cf. Cicero, *De finibus* ii. 34; Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* iii. 31 Arnim.

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πτερά. καὶ Ἀντίοχος δὲ ὁ σοφιστῆς ἀποσκώπτων ποτὲ ἐς αὐτὸν “ οὗτος ” ἔφη “ Ἐρμογένης, ὁ ἐν 578 παισὶ μὲν γέρων, ἐν δὲ γηράσκουσι παῖς.” ἡ δὲ ἰδέα τοῦ λόγου, ἦν ἐπετήδευε, τοιάδε τις ἦν· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ Μάρκου διαλεγόμενος “ ἰδὸν ἦκω σοι,” ἔφη “ βασιλεῦ, ῥήτωρ παιδαγωγοῦ δεόμενος, ῥήτωρ ἡλικίαν περιμένων ” καὶ πλείω ἕτερα διελέχθη καὶ ὤδε βωμόλοχα. -ἐτελεύτα μὲν οὖν ἐν βαθεί γήρα, εἰς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν νομιζόμενος, κατεφρονήθη γὰρ ἀπολιπούσης αὐτὸν τῆς τέχνης.

ἡ'. Φίλαγρος δὲ ὁ Κίλιξ Λολλιανοῦ μὲν ἀκροατῆς ἐγένετο, σοφιστῶν δὲ θερμότατος καὶ ἐπιχολώτατος, λέγεται γὰρ δὴ νυστάζοντά ποτε ἀκροατὴν καὶ ἐπὶ κόρρης πλήξαι, καὶ ὄρμη δὲ λαμπρῶ ἐκ μειρακίου χρησάμενος οὐκ ἀπελείφθη αὐτῆς οὐδ' ὅποτε ἐγήρασκεν, ἀλλ' οὕτω τι ἐπέδωκεν, ὡς καὶ σχῆμα τοῦ διδασκάλου νομισθῆναι. πλείστοις δὲ ἐπιμίξας ἔθνεσι καὶ δοκῶν ἄριστα μεταχειρίζεσθαι τὰς ὑποθέσεις οὐ μετεχειρίσατο Ἀθήνησιν εὖ τὴν αὐτοῦ χολήν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀπέχθειαν Ἡρώδη κατέστησεν ἑαυτὸν, καθάπερ τούτου ἀφιγμένος ἔνεκα. ἐβάδιζε μὲν γὰρ δειλῆς ἐν Κεραμεικῶ μετὰ τεττάρων, οἷοι Ἀθήνησιν οἱ τοὺς σοφιστὰς θηρεύοντες, ἰδὼν δὲ νεανίαν ἐκ δεξιᾶς ἀναστρέφοντα μετὰ πλειόνων σκώπτεσθαι τι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δόξας “ ἀλλ' ἦ σὺ ” ἔφη “ τίς; ” “ Ἀμφικλῆς ἐγώ,” ἔφη “ εἰ δὴ τὸν Χαλ-

<sup>1</sup> A parody of Pindar, *Nem.* iii. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing more is known of this sophist.

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them, like wing-feathers. And once Antiochus the sophist, jesting at his expense, said: "Lo, here is that fellow Hermogenes, who among boys was an old man, but among the old is a boy."<sup>1</sup> The following will show the kind of eloquence that he affected. In a speech that he was delivering before Marcus, he said, "You see before you, Emperor, an orator who still needs an attendant to take him to school, an orator who still looks to come of age." He said much more of this sort and in the same facetious vein. He died at a ripe old age, but accounted as one of the rank and file, for he became despised when his skill in his art deserted him.

8. PHILAGRUS OF CILICIA<sup>2</sup> was a pupil of Lollianus, and was the most excitable and hot-tempered of the sophists. For instance it is said that when someone in his audience began to go to sleep, he gave him a blow in the face with his open hand. After making a brilliant start in his career while still a mere boy, he did not fall short of it even when he began to grow old, but made such progress that he was regarded as the model of what a teacher should be. But though he lived among many peoples and won a great reputation among them for his dexterity in handling arguments, at Athens he showed no skill in handling his own hot temper, but picked a quarrel with Herodes just as though he had come there for that very purpose. For he was walking towards evening in the Cerameicus with four men of the sort that at Athens chase after the sophists, and saw a young man on his right, with several others, keep turning round, and imagining that he was making some jest at his expense he called out: "Well, and who may you be?" "I am Amphicles,"

κιδέα ἀκούεις." "ἀπέχου τοίνυν" ἔφη "τῶν ἐμῶν ἀκροάσεων, οὐ γὰρ μοι δοκεῖς ὑγιαίνειν." τοῦ δὲ ἐρομένου "τίς δέ ὢν ταῦτα κηρύττεις;" δεινὰ πάσχειν ἢ δ' ὁ Φιλάγρος, εἰ ἀγνοεῖται ποι. ἐκφύλου δὲ αὐτὸν ῥήματος ὡς ἐν ὀργῇ διαφυγόντος λαβόμενος ὁ Ἀμφικλῆς, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐτύγχανε τῶν Ἡρώδου γνωρίμων τὴν πρώτην φερόμενος, "παρὰ τίνι τῶν ἐλλογίμων" ἔφη "τοῦτο εἴρηται;" 579 καὶ ὅς "παρὰ Φιλάγρῳ" ἔφη. αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ παροιμία ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα προὔβη, τῆς δὲ ὑστεραίας μαθὼν τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ διαιτώμενον γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν καθαπτόμενος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὡς ἀμελοῦντος τοῦ τῶν ἀκροατῶν κόσμου. καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης "δοκεῖς μοι" ἔφη "οὐ καλῶς προοιμιάζεσθαι" ἐπιπλήττων αὐτῷ ὡς μὴ κτωμένῳ ἀκροατῶν εὐνοίαν, ἣν προοίμιον ἡγεῖσθαι χρῆ τῶν ἐπιδείξεων. ὁ δὲ ὡσπερ οὐ ξυνιείς τοῦ αἰνίγματος, ἢ ξυνιείς μὲν, ἐν γέλῳτι δὲ τὴν τοῦ Ἡρώδου γνώμην βελτίστην οὖσαν τιθέμενος ἐφεύσθη τῆς ἐπιδείξεως παρελθὼν ἐς ἀκροατὰς οὐκ εὖνους. ὡς γὰρ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἤκουον, προσέκρουσε μὲν ἢ διάλεξις νεαροῦς δόξασα καὶ διεσπασμένη<sup>1</sup> τὰς ἐννοίας, ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ μειρακιώδης, γυναικὸς γὰρ θρῆνος ἐγκατεμέμικτο τοῖς Ἀθηναίων ἐγκωμίοις τεθνώσης αὐτῷ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ, τὴν δὲ μελέτην οὕτως ἐπεβουλεύθη· ἡγῶνιστό τις αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν

<sup>1</sup> ἐσπασμένη Kayser; διεσπασμένη Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> The second-century sophists, when purists, carefully avoided "barbarisms" and Latinisms. The most striking instance of this is *Life of Apollonius* iv. 5. Aristeides in his panegyric of Rome used no Roman name. Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* xxi. 11, defends his allusions to the Emperor Nero and others who are "modern and despised."

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he replied, "if indeed you have heard of that citizen of Chalcis." "Then keep away from my lectures," said Philagrus, "for you do not appear to me to have any sense." "And who are you?" inquired the other, "to issue that edict?" Whereupon Philagrus said that it was an insult to him not to be recognized wherever he might be. An outlandish word<sup>1</sup> escaped him in the heat of his anger, and Amphicles pounced on it, for he was in fact the most distinguished of the pupils of Herodes, and asked: "In what classic is that word to be found?" "In Philagrus," was the answer. Now this foolish brawl went no further at the time; but on the next day he learned that Herodes was living in his suburban villa, and wrote him a letter accusing him of neglecting to teach his pupils decent manners. To this Herodes replied: "It seems to me that you are not very successful with your prooemium." This was to censure him for not trying to win the goodwill of his hearers, which one must regard as the true prooemium of a declamation. But Philagrus, as though he did not understand the conundrum, or understood, but regarded the advice of Herodes as absurd, though it was in fact excellent, was disappointed in his declamation because he came before an audience that was ill-disposed towards him. For as I have heard from men older than myself, his introductory speech gave offence, because they thought it had a new-fangled ring and was disconnected in its ideas; nay they even thought it childish. For into his encomium of the Athenians he inserted a lament for his wife who had died in Ionia. So when he came to deliver his declamation a plot was formed against him, as follows. In Asia he had already

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ὑπόθεσις οἱ παραιτούμενοι τὴν τῶν ἀκλήτων συμμαχίαν· ταύτης ἐκδεδομένης ἤδη τῆς ὑποθέσεως μνήμην ξυνελέξατο, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ εὐδοκιμηκῶς ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἐτύγχανε, λόγου δὲ ἤκοντος ἐς τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἡρώδη, ὡς ὁ Φίλαγρος τὰς μὲν πρῶτον ὀριζόμενας ὑποθέσεις αὐτοσχεδιάζοι, τὰς δὲ καὶ δεύτερον οὐκέτι ἀλλ' ἔωλα μελετῶη καὶ ἑαυτῷ προειρημένα προὔβαλον μὲν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀκλήτους τούτους, δοκοῦντι δὲ ἀποσχεδιάζειν ἀντανεγιγνώσκετο ἡ μελέτη. θορύβου δὲ πολλοῦ καὶ γέλωτος τὴν ἀκρόασιν κατασχόντος βοῶν ὁ Φίλαγρος καὶ κεκραγῶς, ὡς δεινὰ πάσχοι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εἰργόμενος οὐ διέφυγε τὴν ἤδη πεπιστευμένην αἰτίαν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ Ἀγριπείῳ ἐπράχθη, διαλιπὼν δὲ ἡμέρας ὡς τέτταρας 580 παρήλθεν ἐς τὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν βουλευτήριον, ὃ δὴ ὠκοδόμηται παρὰ τὰς τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ πύλας οὐ πόρρω τῶν ἰππέων. εὐδοκιμώτατα δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενος τὸν Ἀριστογείτονα τὸν ἀξιοῦντα κατηγορεῖν τοῦ μὲν Δημοσθένους Μηδισμόν,<sup>1</sup> τοῦ δὲ Αἰσχίνου Φιλιππισμόν, ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ γεγραμμένοι ἀλλήλους ἐτύγχανον, ἐσβέσθη τὸ φθέγμα ὑπὸ τῆς χολῆς ἐπισκοτοῦντος φύσει τοῖς ἐπιχόλοις τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ φωνητικοῦ πνεύματος. χρόνῳ μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐπ-

<sup>1</sup> Μηδισμοῦ . . . Φιλιππισμοῦ Kayser; Μηδισμόν . . . Φιλιππισμόν Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> This theme is probably derived from Thucydides viii. 86, where Alcibiades declines the aid of the Argives.

<sup>2</sup> There was a similar guild of *artifices scaenici* at Rome; see below, p. 596. This guild, one of the earliest instances of organized labour, had extraordinary power and even political influence.

<sup>3</sup> Diogenes Laertius vii. 182 mentions equestrian statues in the Cerameicus, but nothing more is known about them.

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argued a certain theme entitled: "They reject as allies those whom they have not invited to their aid."<sup>1</sup> This argument had already been published, and had attracted notice, in fact it had greatly enhanced his reputation. Now a rumour reached the pupils of Herodes that Philagrus, when a theme was proposed to him, used to improvise the first time, but did not do so on a second occasion, but would declaim stale arguments that he had used before. Accordingly they proposed to him this same theme "The Uninvited," and when he pretended to be improvising they retaliated by reading the declamation aloud. Then the lecture became the scene of uproar and laughter, with Philagrus shouting and vociferating that it was an outrage on him not to be allowed to use what was his own; but he failed to win acquittal of a charge that was so fully proven. Now all this took place in the theatre of Agrippa, and after an interval of about four days he came forward to declaim in the council-chamber of the theatrical artisans,<sup>2</sup> the building which stands near the gates of the Cerameicus not far from the equestrian statues.<sup>3</sup> But when he was winning universal approval in the character of Aristogeiton demanding the right to denounce Demosthenes for conspiring with Persia and Aeschines for conspiring with Philip—accusations which they had in fact brought against one another<sup>4</sup>—his very utterance was stifled by his wrath. For with choleric persons the breath on which the voice depends is apt to obscure and check the power of speech. It is true that, somewhat later, he was promoted to the chair

<sup>4</sup> For this obviously fictitious theme see Marcellinus iv. 472 Walz.

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εβάτευσε τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην θρόνου, Ἀθήνησι δὲ ἀπηνέχθη τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης δι' ἃς εἴρηκα αἰτίας.

Χαρακτήρ τῶν τοῦ Φιλάγρου λόγων ὁ μὲν ἐν ταῖς διαλέξεσι τοιοῦτος· “ εἶτα οἶει ἥλιον ἐσπέρω φθονεῖν ἢ μέλειν αὐτῷ, εἴ τίς ἐστὶν ἀστήρ ἄλλος ἐν οὐρανῷ; οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου τούτου πυρός. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ καὶ ποιητικῶς ἐκάστῳ διανέμειν, σοὶ μὲν ἄρκτον δίδωμι, λέγοντα, σοὶ δὲ μεσημβρίαν,<sup>1</sup> σοὶ δὲ ἐσπέραν, πάντες δὲ ἐν νυκτί, πάντες, ὅταν ἐγὼ μὴ βλέπωμαι·

Ἡέλιος δ' ἀνόρουσε λιπῶν περικαλλέα λίμνην καὶ ἀστέρες οὐδαμοῦ.” τίνες δὲ καὶ οἱ τῆς μελέτης αὐτῷ ῥυθμοὶ ἦσαν, δηλώσει τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀκλήτους εἰρημένα, καὶ γὰρ καὶ χαίρειν αὐτοῖς ἐλέγετο· “ φίλε, τήμερόν σε θετέαμαι καὶ τήμερον ἐν ὄπλοις καὶ μετὰ ξίφους μοι λαλεῖς ” καὶ “ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μόνην οἶδα φιλίαν. ἅπιτε οὖν, ἄνδρες φίλοι, τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν τηροῦμεν τοῦνομα, κἂν δεηθῶμέν ποτε συμμαχῶν, ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πέμψομεν, εἴ ποτε δήπου.”

Μέγεθος μὲν οὖν ὁ Φίλαγρος μετρίου μείων, τὴν δὲ ὄφρυν πικρὸς καὶ τὸ ὄμμα ἔτοιμος καὶ ἐς  
581 ὄργην ἐκκληθῆναι πρόθυμος, καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ δύστροπον οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἠγνῶει· ἐρομένου γοῦν αὐτὸν ἐνὸς τῶν ἐταίρων, τί παθῶν<sup>2</sup> παιδοτροφία οὐ χαίροι, “ ὅτι ” ἔφη “ οὐδ' ἐμαυτῷ χαίρω.” ἀπο-

<sup>1</sup> Cobet would insert σοὶ δὲ ἐφ' ἄν “ to thee the East ” for symmetry.

<sup>2</sup> μαθῶν Kayser ; παθῶν Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> An allusion to *Iliad* xv. 190 foll., where Poseidon describes the partition of the universe among Zeus, Hades  
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of rhetoric at Rome, nevertheless at Athens, for the reasons I have stated, he was deprived of the credit that was his due.

The following quotation shows the characteristic style of Philagrus' oratory in his introductory speeches: "And so you think that the sun is jealous of the evening-star, or that it matters to him what star beside is in the sky? Not thus is it with this mighty fire. For it seems to me that, like the poet,<sup>1</sup> he assigns his portion to each, saying: To thee I give the North and to thee the South, to thee the evening, but in the darkness of night are ye all, yea all, when I am invisible;

Then the sun rises leaving the fair waters of the sea,<sup>2</sup> and the stars are nowhere." The rhythms that he used in his declamations may be seen in his speech "The Uninvited"; and indeed he is said to have delighted in such rhythms: "Friend, to-day I have seen thee as thou art, to-day thou speakest to me in arms and sword in hand." And again: "The only friendship that I recognize springs from the assembly of the people. Therefore depart, friends, since for you we preserve this title, and if ever we need allies, we will send for you; if ever, that is to say!"

In height Philagrus was below the average, his brow was stern, his eye alert and easily roused to anger, and he was himself conscious of his morose temper. Hence when one of his friends asked him why he did not enjoy bringing up a family, he replied: "Because I do not even enjoy myself."

and himself; but possibly the meaning is "like a poet assigning their parts to the actors."

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey* iii. 1. This speech is quoted by Norden, p. 413, as an example of the metrical rhythms of Sophistic.

θανεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἰταλία περὶ πρῶτον γῆρας.

θ'. Ἀριστείδην δὲ τὸν εἶτε Εὐδαίμονος εἶτε Εὐδαίμονα Ἀδριανοὶ μὲν ἤνεγκαν, οἱ δὲ Ἀδριανοὶ πόλις οὐ μεγάλη ἐν Μυσοῖς, Ἀθηναὶ δὲ ἤσκησαν κατὰ τὴν Ἡρώδου ἀκμὴν καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Πέργαμον κατὰ τὴν Ἀριστοκλέους γλώτταν. νοσώδης δὲ ἐκ μειρακίου γενόμενος οὐκ ἠμέλησε τοῦ πονεῖν. τὴν μὲν οὖν ιδέαν τῆς νόσου καὶ ὅτι τὰ νεῦρα αὐτῷ ἐπεφρίκει, ἐν Ἱεροῖς βιβλίους αὐτὸς φράζει, τὰ δὲ βιβλία ταῦτα ἐφημερίδων ἐπέχει τινὰ αὐτῷ λογόν, αἱ δὲ ἐφημερίδες ἀγαθαὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῦ περὶ παντὸς εὖ διαλέγεσθαι. ἐπὶ δὲ 582 τὸ σχεδιάζειν μὴ ἐπομένης αὐτῷ τῆς φύσεως ἀκριβείας ἐπεμελήθη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παλαιούς ἔβλεψεν ἰκανῶς τε τῷ γονίμῳ ἴσχυσε κουφολογίαν ἐξελὼν τοῦ λόγου. ἀποδημίαι δὲ Ἀριστείδου οὐ πολλαί, οὔτε γὰρ ἐς χάριν τῶν πολλῶν διελέγετο οὔτε ἐκράτει χολῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ ἀκροωμένους, ἃ δέ γε ἐπῆλθεν ἔθνη, Ἰταλοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ Ἑλλὰς καὶ ἡ πρὸς τῷ Δέλτα κατωκλήμη Αἴγυπτος, οἱ χαλκοῦν ἔστησαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν ἀγορᾶς.

Οἰκιστὴν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀριστείδην τῆς Σμύρνης εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀλαζῶν ἔπαινος, ἀλλὰ δικαιοτάτος τε καὶ ἀληθέστατος· τὴν γὰρ πόλιν ταύτην ἀφανισθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σεισμῶν τε καὶ χασμάτων οὕτω τι ὠλοφύρατο πρὸς τὸν Μάρκον, ὡς τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ

<sup>1</sup> This is perhaps merely a foolish play on the word *εὐδαίμων*, "happy."

<sup>2</sup> *Aristeides* i. 514.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Synesius, *On Dreams* 155 v.

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Some say that he died at sea, others in Italy when he was on the eve of old age.

9. ARISTEIDES, whether he was the son of Eudaemon, or is himself to be so called,<sup>1</sup> was born at Hadriani, a town of no great size in Mysia. But he was educated at Athens when Herodes was at the height of his fame, and at Pergamon in Asia when Aristocles was teaching oratory there. Though he had poor health from his boyhood, he did not fail to work hard. The nature of his disease and the fact that he suffered from a palsy of the muscles he tells us himself in his *Sacred Discourses*.<sup>2</sup> These discourses served him in some sort as a diary, and such diaries are excellent teachers of the art of speaking well on any subject.<sup>3</sup> And since his natural talent was not in the line of extempore eloquence, he strove after extreme accuracy, and turned his attention to the ancient writers; he was well endowed with native ability and purified his style of any empty verbosity. Aristeides made few journeys, for he did not discourse with the aim of pleasing the crowd, and he could not control his anger against those who did not applaud his lectures. But the countries that he actually visited were Italy, Greece, and that part of Egypt which is situated near the Delta; and the people of this region set up a bronze statue<sup>4</sup> of him in the market-place of Smyrna.

To say that Aristeides founded Smyrna is no mere boastful eulogy but most just and true. For when this city had been blotted out by earthquakes and chasms that opened in the ground, he lamented its fate to Marcus in such moving words that the

<sup>4</sup> The inscription for this statue is preserved in the Museum at Verona.

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μονωδία θαμὰ ἐπιστενάξαι τὸν βασιλέα, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ “ ζέφυροι δὲ ἐρήμην καταπνέουσι.” καὶ δάκρυα τῷ βιβλίῳ ἐπιστάξαι τὸν βασιλέα ξυνοικίαν τε τῇ πόλει ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Ἀριστείδου ἐνδοσίμων νεύσαι. ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ ξυγγεγονῶς ἤδη τῷ Μάρκῳ ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἐν Ἰωνία, ὡς γὰρ τοῦ Ἐφεσίου Δαμιανοῦ ἤκουον, ἐπεδήμει μὲν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἤδη τῇ Σμύρνῃ τρίτην ἡμέραν, τὸν δὲ Ἀριστείδην οὐπω γιγνώσκων ἤρετο τοὺς Κυντιλίους, μὴ ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀσπαζομένων ὀμίλῳ παρεωραμένος αὐτῷ ὁ ἀνὴρ εἶη, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἔφασαν ἔωρακέναι αὐτόν, οὐ γὰρ ἂν παρεῖναι τὸ μὴ οὐ ξυστῆσαι, καὶ ἀφίκοντο τῆς ὑστεραίας τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἄμφω δορυφοροῦντες. προσειπὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ “ διὰ τί σε ” ἔφη “ βραδέως εἶδομεν; ” καὶ ὁ Ἀριστείδης “ θεώρημα,” ἔφη “ ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἡσχόλει, γνώμη δὲ θεωροῦσά τι μὴ ἀποκρεμαννύσθω οὐ ζητεῖ.” ὑπερησθεὶς δὲ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τῷ ἦθει τάνδρὸς ὡς ἀπλοικωτάτῳ τε καὶ σχολικωτάτῳ “ πότε ” ἔφη “ ἀκροάσομαί σου; ” καὶ ὁ Ἀριστείδης “ τήμερον ” εἶπεν “ πρόβαλε καὶ αὔριον ἀκροῶ· οὐ γὰρ ἐσμὲν τῶν ἐμούντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀκριβούντων. ἐξέστω δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τοὺς γνωρίμους παρεῖναι τῇ ἀκροάσει.” “ ἐξέστω ” ἦ δ’ ὁ Μάρκος, “ δημοτικὸν γάρ.” εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστείδου “ δεδόσθω δὲ

<sup>1</sup> This monody or lament is extant.

<sup>2</sup> Either the Emperor was easily moved, or the rhythmical effect of this sentence is lost on us.

<sup>3</sup> Literally “keynote.”

<sup>4</sup> See above p. 559 and Athenaeus xiv. 649 D.

<sup>5</sup> This saying was later echoed by other sophists; cf. Eunapius, *Life of Prohaeresius* p. 488; Synesius, *Dio* 56 c;

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Emperor frequently groaned at other passages in the monody,<sup>1</sup> but when he came to the words: "She is a desert through which the west winds blow"<sup>2</sup> the Emperor actually shed tears over the pages, and in accordance with the impulse<sup>3</sup> inspired by Aristeides, he consented to rebuild the city. Now Aristeides had, as it happened, met Marcus once at an earlier time in Ionia. For as I was told by Damianus of Ephesus, the Emperor was visiting Smyrna and when three days had gone by without his having as yet made the acquaintance of Aristeides, he asked the brothers Quintilii<sup>4</sup> whether he had by chance overlooked the man in the throng of those who came to welcome him. But they said that they too had not seen him, for otherwise they would not have failed to present him; and next day they both arrived to escort Aristeides in state. The Emperor addressed him, and inquired: "Why did we have to wait so long to see you?" To which Aristeides replied: "A subject on which I was meditating kept me busy, and when the mind is absorbed in meditation it must not be distracted from the object of its search." The Emperor was greatly pleased with the man's personality, so unaffected was it and so devoted to study, and he asked: "When shall I hear you declaim?" "Propose the theme to-day," he replied, "and to-morrow come and hear me, for I am one of those who do not vomit their speeches but try to make them perfect."<sup>5</sup> Permit my students also, O Emperor, to be in the audience."

"They have my permission," said Marcus, "for that is democratic." And when Aristeides added:

Aristeides perhaps echoed Cicero, *Epist. ad Div.* xii. 2 "omnibus est visus vomere suo more, non dicere."

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αὐτοῖς, ὧ βασιλεῦ, καὶ βοᾶν καὶ κροτεῖν, ὅποσον δύνανται,” μειδιάσας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ “τοῦτο” ἔφη “ἐπὶ σοὶ κεῖται.” οὐκ ἔγραψα τὴν μελετηθεῖσαν ὑπόθεσιν, ἐπειδὴ ἄλλοι ἄλλην φασίν, ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν πρὸς πάντων ὁμολογεῖται, τὸν Ἄριστείδην ἀρίστην φορᾶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Μάρκου χρήσασθαι πόρρωθεν τῇ Σμύρνῃ ἐτοιμαζούσης τῆς τύχης τὸ δι’ ἀνδρὸς τοιούτου δὴ ἀνοικισθῆναι. καὶ οὐ φημι ταῦτα, ὡς οὐχὶ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνοικισαντος ἂν ἀπολωλυῖαν πόλιν, ἣν οὖσαν ἐθαύμασεν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι αἱ βασιλαιοὶ τε καὶ θεσπέσιοι φύσεις, ἦν προσεγείρη αὐτὰς ξυμβουλία καὶ λόγος, ἀναλάμπουσι μᾶλλον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ ξὺν ὀρμῇ φέρονται.

Δαμιανοῦ κἀκεῖνα ἤκουον, τὸν σοφιστὴν τοῦτον διαβάλλειν μὲν τοὺς αὐτοσχεδίους ἐν ταῖς διαλέξεσι, θαυμάζειν δὲ οὕτω τὸ σχεδιάζειν, ὡς καὶ ἰδία ἐκπονεῖν αὐτὸ ἐν δωματίῳ ἑαυτὸν καθειργνύντα, ἐξεπώνει δὲ κῶλον ἐκ κώλου καὶ νόημα ἐκ νοήματος ἐπανακυκλῶν. τουτὶ δὲ ἡγώμεθα μασωμένου μᾶλλον ἢ ἐσθίοντος, αὐτοσχεδίος γὰρ γλώττης εὐροούσης ἀγώνισμα. κατηγοροῦσι δὲ τοῦ Ἄριστείδου τινὲς ὡς εὐτελὲς εἰπόντος προοίμιον ἐπὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων τῶν ἀπαιτουμένων τὴν γῆν, ἄρξασθαι γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸν τῆς ὑποθέσεως ταύτης ὧδε· “οὐ παύσονται οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι παρέχοντες ἡμῖν πράγματα.” ἐπιλαμβάνονται δὲ τινες καὶ ἀκμῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ παραιτου-

<sup>1</sup> A scholiast on Hermogenes explains that lands had been assigned instead of pay to certain mercenaries; after they had founded a city they were ordered to take their pay and give up the land.

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“Grant them leave, O Emperor, to shout and applaud as loud as they can,” the Emperor smiled and retorted: “That rests with you.” I have not given the theme of this declamation, because the accounts of its title vary, but in this at least all agree, that Aristeides in speaking before Marcus employed an admirable impetuosity of speech, and that far ahead fate was preparing for Smyrna to be rebuilt through the efforts of this gifted man. And when I say this I do not imply that the Emperor would not of his own accord have restored the ruined city which he had admired when it was still flourishing, but I say it because even dispositions that are truly royal and above the ordinary, when incited by good advice and by eloquence, shine out more brightly and press on with ardour to noble deeds.

This too I have heard from Damianus, that though in his discourses this sophist used to disparage extempore speakers, nevertheless he so greatly admired extempore eloquence that he used to shut himself up in a room and practise it in private. And he used to work it out by evolving it clause by clause and thought by thought. But this process we must regard as chewing rather than eating, for extempore eloquence is the crowning achievement of a fluent and facile tongue. There are some who accuse Aristeides of having made a weak and ineffective proemium when his theme was: “The mercenaries are ordered to give back their lands.”<sup>1</sup> They say that he began the argument with these words: “These persons will never cease to make trouble for us.” And some criticize the man’s vigorous language<sup>2</sup> when he spoke in the rôle of the Spartan

<sup>2</sup> For this technical term see Glossary.

584 μένου τὸν τειχισμὸν τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, εἶρηται δὲ ὧδε· “μὴ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τείχει ἐπιπητήξαιμεν ὀρτύγων ἐναψάμενοι<sup>1</sup> φύσω.” ἐπιλαμβάνονται καὶ παροιμίας ὡς ταπεινῶς προσερριμμένης, ἐπιδιαβάλλων γὰρ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς πατρώζοντα τὴν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι δεινότητα, τοῦ πατρὸς ἔφη τὸ παιδίον εἶναι. οἱ αὐτοὶ κατηγοροῦσι καὶ σκώμματος, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς Ἀριμασποὺς τοὺς μονομμάτους ἔφη ξυγγενεῖς εἶναι τοῦ Φιλίππου, καίτοι καὶ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀπολελογημένου τοῖς Ἑλλησιν πρὸς τὸν τραγικὸν Πίθηκον καὶ τὸν Ἄρουραϊὸν Οἰνόμαον. ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐκ τούτων τὸν Ἀριστείδην, δηλοῦτω δὲ αὐτὸν ὃ τε Ἰσοκράτης ὁ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐξάγων τῆς θαλάττης καὶ ὁ ἐπιτιμῶν τῷ Καλλιξείνῳ ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ θάπτειν τοὺς δέκα καὶ οἱ βουλευόμενοι περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ ὁ μὴ λαβῶν Αἰσχίνης παρὰ τοῦ Κερσοβλέπτου τὸν

585 σίτον, καὶ οἱ παραιτούμενοι τὰς σπονδὰς μετὰ τὸ κτείνειν τὰ γένη, ἐν ἧ μάλιστα ὑποθέσεων ἀναδιδάσκει ἡμᾶς, πῶς ἂν τις ἀσφαλῶς κεκινδυνευμένας τε καὶ τραγικὰς ἐννοίας μεταχειρίσασαιτο. καὶ πλείους ἐτέρας ὑποθέσεις οἶδα εὐπαιδευσίαν ἐνδεικνυμένας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἀναψάμενοι Kayser; ἐναψάμενοι Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> For this theme see above, p. 514.

<sup>2</sup> Philip had lost an eye at the siege of Methone 352 B.C. The fabulous Arismaspi are described by Herodotus iv. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *On the Crown* 242. “Tragic ape” was a proverbial phrase for an arrogant person. Oenomaus was the hero of a lost play of Sophocles, and these were sneering references to the career of Aeschines as a travelling actor.

<sup>4</sup> This theme is based on Isocrates, *On the Peace* 64.

<sup>5</sup> This favourite theme is based on a fictitious situation in



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who deprecated the fortifying of Lacedaemon.<sup>1</sup> What he said was this: "May we never take on the nature of quails and cower within walls." They also criticize a proverbial phrase of his, on the ground that he had thrown it in casually with an effect of vulgarity. I mean that, when attacking Alexander for merely imitating his father's energy in affairs, he said: "He is a chip of the old block." These same critics also condemn a jest of his when he said that the one-eyed Arimaspi were Philip's kinsmen.<sup>2</sup> And yet even Demosthenes defended his policy to the Greeks against one whom he called "the tragic ape," and "the rustic Oenomaus."<sup>3</sup> But do not judge of Aristeides from these extracts, but rather estimate his powers in such speeches as "Isocrates tries to wean the Athenians from their empire of the sea"<sup>4</sup>; or "The speaker upbraids Callixenus for not having granted burial to the Ten"<sup>5</sup>; or "The deliberations on the state of affairs in Sicily"<sup>6</sup>; or "Aeschines, when he had not received the corn from Cersobleptes"<sup>7</sup>; or "They reject the treaty of alliance after their children have been murdered."<sup>8</sup> It is in this last argument above all that he teaches us how, without making any slip, one may handle daring and tragic conceptions. And I know several other arguments of his that demonstrate the man's erudition, force and power of characterization, and it is by these that he ought

which Callixenus advises the Athenians not to bury the generals who were executed after the battle of Arginusae. It is quoted by Hermogenes and Syrianus.

<sup>6</sup> This theme is quoted by Hermogenes.

<sup>7</sup> Apsines states this theme rather differently; it is apparently based on Polyaeus vii. 32.

<sup>8</sup> This theme is described more fully below, p. 593.

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ἦθος, ἀφ' ὧν μᾶλλον αὐτὸν θεωρητέον, ἢ εἴ που καὶ παρέπτυσέ τι ἐς φιλοτιμίαν ἐκπεσῶν. καὶ τεχνικώτατος δὲ σοφιστῶν ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἐγένετο καὶ πολὺς ἐν θεωρήμασι, ὅθεν καὶ τοῦ σχεδιάζειν ἀπηνέχθη, τὸ γὰρ κατὰ θεωρίαν βούλεσθαι προάγειν πάντα ἀσχολεῖ τὴν γνώμην καὶ ἀπαλλάττει τοῦ ἐτοιμοῦ.

Ἀποθανεῖν δὲ τὸν Ἀριστείδην οἱ μὲν οἴκοι γράφουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ ἔτη βιώσαντα οἱ μὲν ἐξήκοντά φασι, οἱ δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα.

ι'. Ἀδριανὸν δὲ τὸν Φοίνικα Τύρος μὲν ἤνεγκεν, Ἀθῆναι δὲ ἤσκησαν. ὡς γὰρ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ διδασκάλων ἦκουον, ἀφίκετο μὲν ἐς αὐτὰς κατὰ Ἡρώδην, φύσεως δὲ ἰσχὺν σοφιστικωτάτην ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ οὐκ ἄδηλος ὧν ὡς ἐπὶ μέγα ἤξι· ἐφοίτησε μὲν γὰρ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα ἴσως γεγωνῶς ἔτη καὶ ταχέως ἀξιωθείς, ὧν Σκέπτος τε καὶ Ἀμφικλῆς ἤξιούντο, ἐνεγράφη καὶ τῇ τοῦ Κλειψυδρίου ἀκροάσει. τὸ δὲ Κλειψύδριον ὧδε εἶχεν· τῶν τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἀκροατῶν δέκα οἱ ἀρετῆς ἀξιούμενοι ἐπεσιτίζοντο τῇ ἐς πάντας ἀκροάσει κλειψύδραν ξυμμεμετρημένην<sup>1</sup> ἐς ἑκατὸν ἔτη, ἃ διήει ἀποτάδην ὁ Ἡρώδης παρητημένος τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀκροατῶν ἔπαινον καὶ μόνου γεγωνῶς τοῦ λέγειν. παραδεδωκότος δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῖς γνω-

<sup>1</sup> Schmid, *Atticismus* 194, suggests ξυμμεμετρημένοι δσον.

<sup>1</sup> Two brief declamations ascribed to Adrian are extant.

<sup>2</sup> "A lecture timed by the clock," cp. p. 594. Rohde thinks that the meal is figurative, and that it was a feast of reason.

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to be estimated rather than by passages in which he has drivelled somewhat and has fallen into affectation. Moreover, Aristeides was of all the sophists most deeply versed in his art, and his strength lay in the elaborate cogitation of a theme; for which reason he refrained from extempore speaking. For the desire not to produce anything except after long cogitation keeps the mind too busy and robs it of alertness.

Some writers record that Aristeides died at home, others say that it was in Ionia; again some say that he reached the age of sixty, others that he was nearly seventy.

10. ADRIAN<sup>1</sup> the Phoenician was born at Tyre, but he was trained in rhetoric at Athens. For, as I used to hear from my own teachers, he came to Athens in the time of Herodes and there displayed a great natural talent for sophistic, and it was generally held that he would rise to greatness in his profession. For he began to attend the school of Herodes when he was perhaps eighteen years old, was very soon admitted to the same privileges as Sceptus and Amphicles, and was enrolled among the pupils belonging to the Clepsydrion. Now the Clepsydrion was conducted in the following manner. After the general lecture which was open to all, ten of the pupils of Herodes, that is to say those who were proved worthy of a reward for excellence, used to dine for a period limited by a water-clock<sup>2</sup> timed to last through a hundred verses; and these verses Herodes used to expound with copious comments, nor would he allow any applause from his hearers, but was wholly intent on what he was saying. And since he had enjoined on his pupils not to be idle

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586 *ρίμοις τὸ μηδὲ τὸν τοῦ πότου καιρὸν ἀνιέναι, ἀλλὰ κάκει τι ἐπισπουδάζειν τῷ οἴνῳ ξυνέπινε μὲν ὁ Ἀδριανὸς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς κλεψύδρας ὡς κοινωνὸς μεγάλου ἀπορρήτου, λόγου δὲ αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς ἐκάστου τῶν σοφιστῶν ιδέας προβαίνοντος παρελθὼν ἐς μέσους ὁ Ἀδριανὸς “ ἐγὼ ” ἔφη “ ὑπογράψω τοὺς χαρακτῆρας οὐ κομματίων ἀπομνημονεύων ἢ νοιδίων ἢ κώλων ἢ ῥυθμῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐς μίμησιν ἑμαυτὸν καθιστὰς καὶ τὰς ἀπάντων ιδέας ἀποσχεδιάζων σὺν εὐροία καὶ ἐφίεις τῇ γλώττῃ.” παραλιπόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἡρώδη ὁ μὲν Ἀμφικλῆς ἤρετο τοῦ χάριν τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτῶν παρέλθοι αὐτός τε ἐρῶν τῆς ιδέας ἐκείνου τε ἰδὼν ἐρῶντας “ ὅτι ” ἔφη “ οὗτοι μὲν οἶοι καὶ μεθύοντι παραδοῦναι μίμησιν, Ἡρώδη δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν λόγων ἀγαπητὸν ἦν ἄοινός τε καὶ νήφων ὑποκρίνωμαι.” ταῦτα ἀπαγγελθέντα τῷ Ἡρώδῃ διέχεεν αὐτὸν ὄντα καὶ ἄλλως ἤττω εὐδοξίας. ἐπήγγειλε δὲ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ καὶ ἀκρόασιν σχεδίου λόγου νεάζων ἔτι, καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης οὐχ, ὡς διαβάλλουσί τινες, βασκαίνων τε καὶ τωθάζων, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ διακειμένου τε καὶ ἰλεῶ ἀκροασάμενος ἐπέρρωσε τὸν νεανίαν εἰπὼν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν “ κολοσσοῦ ταῦτα μεγάλα σπαράγματα’ ἂν εἴη,” ἅμα μὲν διορθούμενος αὐτὸν ὡς ὑφ’ ἡλικίας διεσπασμένον τε καὶ μὴ ξυγκείμενον, ἅμα δὲ ἐπαινῶν ὡς μεγαλόφωνόν τε καὶ μεγαλογνώμονα.*

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even when it was the hour for drinking, but at that time also to pursue some sort of study over their wine, Adrian used to drink with the pupils of the clepsydra as their partner in a great and mysterious rite. Now a discussion was once going on about the style of all the sophists, when Adrian came forward in their midst, and said: "I will now give a sketch of their types of style, not by quoting from memory brief phrases of theirs or smart sayings, or clauses or rhythmical effects. But I will undertake to imitate them, and will reproduce extempore the style of every one of them, with an easy flow of words and giving the rein to my tongue." But in doing this he left out Herodes, and Amphicles asked him to explain why he had omitted their own teacher, seeing that he himself was enamoured of his style of eloquence, and saw that they were likewise enamoured. "Because," said he, "these fellows are the sort that lend themselves to imitation, even when one is drunk. But as for Herodes, the prince of eloquence, I should be thankful if I could mimic him when I have had no wine and am sober." When this was reported to Herodes it gave him the keenest pleasure, naturally, since he never could resist his longing for approbation. When he was still a mere youth Adrian invited Herodes to hear him make a speech extempore. Herodes listened to him, not as some people unjustly accuse him, in an envious or scoffing spirit, but with his usual calm and kindly bearing, and afterwards he encouraged the youth, and ended by saying: "These might well be great fragments of a colossus." Thus while he tried to correct his disjointed and ill-constructed style as a fault of youth, he applauded the grandeur both of his words and

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καὶ λόγον τῷ Ἡρώδῃ ἀποθανόντι ἐπεφθέγγατο ἐπάξιον τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς ἐς δάκρυα ἐκκληθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐν τῇ τοῦ λόγου ἀκροάσει.

Μεστὸς δὲ οὕτω παρρησίας ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον παρήλθε τὸν Ἀθήνησι, ὡς προοίμιόν οἱ γενέσθαι τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαλέξεως μὴ τὴν ἐκείνων σοφίαν, 587 ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ἤρξατο γὰρ δὴ ὧδε· “ πάλιν ἐκ Φοινίκης γράμματα.” τὸ μὲν δὴ προοίμιον τοῦτο ὑπερπνέοντος ἦν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ διδόντος τι αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὸν μᾶλλον ἢ λαμβάνοντος, μεγαλοπρεπέστατα δὲ τοῦ Ἀθήνησι θρόνου ἐπεμελήθη ἐσθῆτα μὲν πλείστου ἀξίαν ἀμπεχόμενος, ἐξηρηγμένους δὲ τὰς θαυμασιωτέρας τῶν λίθων καὶ κατιῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς σπουδάς ἐπ’ ἀργυροχαλίνου ὀχήματος, ἐπεὶ δὲ σπουδάσειε, ζηλωτὸς αὐ ἐπανιῶν ξὺν πομπῇ τοῦ πανταχόθεν Ἑλληνικοῦ. ἤδη<sup>1</sup> γὰρ ἐθεράπευον αὐτόν, ὡσπερ τὰ γένη τῆς Ἐλευσίνος ἱεροφάντην λαμπρῶς ἱεουργοῦντα. ὑπεποιεῖτο δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ παιδιαῖς καὶ πότοις καὶ θήραις καὶ κοινωνίᾳ πανηγύρεων Ἑλληνικῶν, ἀλλὰ ἄλλω ξυννεάζων, ὅθεν διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτόν ὡς πρὸς πατέρα παῖδες ἠδύν τε καὶ πρᾶον καὶ ξυνδιαφέροντα αὐτοῖς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σκίρτημα. ἐγὼ τοι καὶ δακρύνοντας αὐτῶν ἐνίους οἶδα, ὅποτε ἐς μνήμην τοῦ ἀνδρός τούτου καθίσταιντο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τὸ φθέγμα ὑποκοριζομένους, τοὺς δὲ τὸ βάδισμα, τοὺς δὲ τὸ εὐσχημον τῆς στολῆς.

<sup>1</sup> ὡδε Kayser; ἤδη Jahn.

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<sup>1</sup> “Letters” in a double sense; the Greek alphabet was supposed to have come from Phoenicia.

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his ideas. When Herodes died Adrian delivered a funeral oration which did full justice to the man, so that the Athenians were moved to tears while they listened to his speech.

So full of self-confidence was Adrian when he ascended the chair of rhetoric at Athens, that in the proemium of his address to the Athenians he dilated not on their wisdom but on his own, for he began by announcing: "Once again letters have come from Phoenicia."<sup>1</sup> In fact his proemium was in the tone of one who breathed on a higher plane than the Athenians and bestowed a benefit on them rather than received it. He performed the duties of the chair at Athens with the greatest ostentation, wore very expensive clothes, bedecked himself with precious gems, and used to go down to his lectures in a carriage with silver-mounted bridles; and always after the lecture he would go home envied of all, escorted by those who loved Hellenic culture, from all parts of the world. They went so far as to reverence him just as the tribes of Eleusis reverence the initiating priest when he is ceremoniously performing the rites. Then, too, he won them over by giving games and wine-parties and hunts, and by sharing with them the Hellenic festivals; thus adapting himself to their youthfulness and all its varied interests, so that they felt towards him as sons feel towards a father who is amiable and indulgent, and with them keeps up the most boisterous Greek dance. Indeed I myself know that some of them used actually to shed tears when they remembered this sophist, and that some would try to imitate his accent, others his walk, or the elegance of his attire.

Ἐπαχθείσαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ φονικὴν αἰτίαν ὠδε ἀπέφυγεν· ἦν Ἀθήνησι ἀνθρώπιον οὐκ ἀγύμναστον τοῦ περὶ τοὺς σοφιστὰς δρόμον· τούτῳ ἀμφορέα μὲν τις οἴνου προσάγων ἢ ὄψα ἢ ἐσθῆτα ἢ ἀργύριον εὐμεταχειρίστῳ ἐχρήτο, καθάπερ οἱ τὰ πεινῶντα τῶν θρεμμάτων τῷ θαλλῷ ἄγοντες, εἰ δὲ ἀμελοῖτο, φιλολοιδόρως εἶχε καὶ ὑλάκτει.

588 τῷ μὲν οὖν Ἀδριανῷ προσκεκρούκει διὰ τὴν εὐχέριαν τοῦ ἡθους, Χρῆστον δὲ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου σοφιστὴν ἐθερόπευεν, καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀδριανὸς ἐκαρτέρει τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντα, δῆγματα κόρευον τὰς ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων λοιδορίας καλῶν, οἱ γνώριμοι δὲ οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες παρεκελεύσαντο τοῖς ἐσθῶν οἰκέταις παίειν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀνοιδησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν σπλάγχχνων ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τριακοστῇ ἀπέθανε παρασχῶν τινα καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ θανάτῳ λόγον, ἐπειδὴ ἀκράτου νοσῶν ἔσπασεν. οἱ δὲ προσήκοντες τῷ τεθνεῶτι γράφονται τὸν σοφιστὴν φόνου παρὰ τῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχοντι ὡς ἓνα Ἀθηναίων, ἐπειδὴ φυλὴ τε ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ δῆμος Ἀθήνησι, ὁ δὲ ἀπέγνω τὴν αἰτίαν ὡς μήτε ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ χερσὶ μήτε ταῖς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δούλων τετυπτηκότος τὸν τεθνάναι λεγόμενον. ζυνήρατο δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἀπολογίας πρῶτον μὲν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν τίνας οὐχὶ ἀφιέντες ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φωνὰς δακρύοις ἄμα, ἔπειτα ἢ τοῦ ἱατροῦ μαρτυρία ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ οἴῳ.

Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Μάρ-

<sup>1</sup> An echo of Plato, *Phaedrus* 230 D. Socrates says that Phaedrus has enticed him into the country by the promise of hearing a discourse read, as men wave branches to entice hungry animals to follow them.



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A charge of murder was brought against him, but he escaped it in the following way. There was in Athens a fellow of no account who had had some training in the curriculum of the sophists. One could easily keep him in a good humour by bestowing on him a jar of wine or a dainty dish, or clothes, or silver, just as men entice hungry animals by waving a branch<sup>1</sup> before them; but if he was ignored he would indulge in abuse and bark like a dog. He had fallen foul of Adrian who disliked him for the levity of his manners, but he was the devoted disciple of Chrestus the sophist, of Byzantium. Adrian used to put up with all his insults, and would call the slanders of such men "flea-bites"; but his pupils could not tolerate the behaviour of the man and gave orders to their own slaves to thrash him. This brought on a swelling of the intestines, and thirty days later he died, but not without having himself contributed to cause his own death, since during his illness he drank greedily of undiluted wine. But the relatives of the dead man charged the sophist with murder in the court of the proconsul of Greece, as being an Athenian citizen, since both his tribe and his deme were at Athens. He however denied the charge, alleging that neither with his own hands or the hands of any of his slaves had he struck the man who was said to have died. He was assisted in his defence, first by the whole crowd of Hellenes who made every possible plea<sup>2</sup> in his behalf, weeping the while, and secondly by the evidence of the doctor about the wine.

Now at the time when the Emperor Marcus

<sup>2</sup> An echo of Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 195.

κος Ἀθήναζε ὑπὲρ μυστηρίων ἐστάλη, ἐκράτει μὲν ἤδη τοῦ τῶν σοφιστῶν θρόνου ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος, ἐν μέρει δὲ ὁ Μάρκος τῆς τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἱστορίας ἔθετο μηδὲ τὴν ἐκείνου σοφίαν ἀγνοῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐπέταξεν αὐτὸν τοῖς νέοις οὐκ ἀκροάσει βασανίσας, ἀλλὰ ξυνθέμενος τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ φήμῃ. Σεβήρου δὲ ἀνδρὸς ὑπάτου διαβάλλοντος αὐτὸν ὡς τὰς σοφιστικὰς ὑποθέσεις ἐκβακχεύοντα διὰ τὸ ἐρρῶσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἔλεγχον τούτου ποιούμενος ὁ Μάρκος προὔβαλε μὲν αὐτῷ τὸν Ὑπερεῖδην τὸν ἐς μόνας ἐπιστρέφοντα τὰς  
 589 Δημοσθένους γνώμας, ὅτε δὴ ἐν Ἐλατεία Φίλιππος ἦν, ὁ δὲ οὕτως τὸν ἀγῶνα εὐηνίως διέθετο, ὡς μηδὲ τοῦ Πολέμωνος ροίζου λειπεσθαι δόξαι. ἀγασθεῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ μέγα ἤρε δωρεαῖς τε καὶ δώροις. καλῶ δὲ δωρεὰς μὲν τὰς τε σιτήσεις καὶ τὰς προεδρίας καὶ τὰς ἀτελείας καὶ τὸ ἱεραῖσθαι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα λαμπρύνει ἀνδρας, δῶρα δὲ χρυσὸν ἄργυρον ἵππους ἀνδράποδα καὶ ὅσα ἐρμηνεύει πλοῦτον, ὧν αὐτὸν τε ἐνέπλησε καὶ γένος τὸ ἐκείνου πάντας.

Κατασχὼν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄνω θρόνον οὕτως τὴν Ῥώμην ἐς ἑαυτὸν ἐπέστρεψεν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἀξυνέτοις γλώττης Ἑλλάδος ἔρωτα παρασχεῖν ἀκροάσεως. ἠκροῶντο δὲ ὥσπερ εὐστομούσης ἀηδόνας, τὴν

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 563.

<sup>2</sup> This was probably Claudius Severus the teacher of Marcus Aurelius, consul in 163.

<sup>3</sup> A similar theme is mentioned by Apsines 219; it has no historical basis; cf. Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 169-179, for this political crisis.

<sup>4</sup> This phrase always means the chair at Rome.

<sup>5</sup> An echo of Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 18.

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travelled to Athens to be initiated into the Mysteries,<sup>1</sup> this sophist was already in possession of the chair of rhetoric at Athens, and among the things that Marcus wished to investigate at Athens he counted this, that he would inform himself as to the professional skill of Adrian. For he had indeed appointed him to lecture to the Athenian youth without testing him by hearing him lecture, but in acquiescence with the general rumour about him. Now the consul Severus<sup>2</sup> was attacking Adrian for putting too much passion and frenzy into his purely sophistic arguments, because his real strength lay in forensic pleading. Therefore Marcus, who wished to put this to the proof, proposed as the theme for declamation "Hypereides, when Philip is at Elatea, pays heed only to the counsels of Demosthenes."<sup>3</sup> Whereupon Adrian guided the reins of the argument so skilfully that he proved himself fully equal to Polemo in force and vigour. The Emperor admired him greatly, and exalted him to the skies by grants and gifts. By grants, I mean the right to dine at the expense of the state, a seat of honour at the public games, immunity from taxes, priestly offices, and all else that sheds a lustre on men; and by gifts I mean gold and silver, horses, slaves, and all the outward signs of wealth with which he lavishly endowed not only Adrian but his family also, one and all.

When he was promoted to the higher chair<sup>4</sup> of rhetoric he so successfully drew the attention of all Rome to himself that he inspired even those who did not know the Greek language with an ardent desire to hear him declaim. And they listened to him as to a sweet-voiced nightingale,<sup>5</sup> struck with

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εὐγλωττίαν ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὸ εὐστροφον τοῦ φθέγματος καὶ τοὺς πεζῆ τε καὶ ξὺν ᾧδῃ ρυθμούς. ὁπότε οὖν σπουδάζοιεν περὶ τὰς ἐγκυκλίους θεάς, ὀρχηστῶν δὲ αὐταὶ τὸ ἐπίπαν, φανέντος ἂν περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ τῆς ἀκροάσεως ἀγγέλου ἐξανίσταντο μὲν οἱ<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς, ἐξανίσταντο δὲ τῶν δημοσίου ἱππευόντων οὐχ οἱ τὰ Ἑλλήνων σπουδάζοντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅποσοι τὴν ἑτέραν γλῶτταν ἐπαιδεύοντο ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ δρόμῳ ἐχώρου ἐς τὸ Ἀθήναιον ὀρμῆς μεστοὶ καὶ τοὺς βάδην πορευομένους κακίζοντες.

590 Νοσοῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐτελεύτα, ἐψηφίσατο μὲν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ὁ Κόμμοδος ξὺν ἀπολογία τοῦ μὴ καὶ θάττον, ὁ δὲ ἐπιθειάσας μὲν ταῖς Μούσαις, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, προσκυνήσας δὲ τὰς βασιλείους δέλτους τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς αὐταῖς ἀφήκεν ἐνταφίῳ τῇ τιμῇ χρησάμενος· ἐτελεύτα δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη, οὕτω τι εὐδόκιμος, ὡς καὶ πολλοῖς γόης δόξαι· ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἀνὴρ πεπαιδευμένος οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐς γοήτων ὑπαχθεῖν τέχνας, ἱκανῶς ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Διονυσίου λόγοις εἶρηκα, ὁ δέ, οἶμαι, τερατευόμενος ἐν ταῖς ὑποθέσεσι περὶ τὰ τῶν μάγων ἦθη τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην παρ' αὐτῶν ἔσπασεν. διαβάλλουσι δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ ἀναιδῆ τὸ ἦθος; πέμψαι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ τινα τῶν γνωρίμων ἰχθύς διακειμένους ἐπὶ δίσκου ἀργυροῦ

<sup>1</sup> oi Cobet adds.

<sup>1</sup> For this *canticum* at the close of a speech see Glossary, s.v. ᾧδή.

<sup>2</sup> Latin; the Athenaeum at Rome was a school founded by the Emperor Hadrian.

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admiration of his facile tongue, his well-modulated and flexible voice, and his rhythms, whether in prose or when he sang in recitative.<sup>1</sup> So much so, that, when they were attending shows in which the vulgar delight—these were, generally speaking, performances of dancers—a messenger had only to appear in the theatre to announce that Adrian was going to declaim, when even the members of the Senate would rise from their sitting, and the members of the equestrian order would rise, not only those who were devoted to Hellenic culture, but also those who were studying the other language<sup>2</sup> at Rome; and they would set out on the run to the Athenæum, overflowing with enthusiasm, and upbraiding those who were going there at a walking pace.

When he lay ill at Rome and was in fact dying, Commodus appointed him Imperial Secretary, and made excuses for not having done so sooner, whereupon Adrian invoked the Muses, as was his wont, saluted reverently the Emperor's rescript, and breathed out his soul over it, thus making of that honour his funeral shroud. He was about eighty when he died, and had attained to such high honour that many actually believed him to be a magician. But in my account of Dionysius I have said enough to show that a well-educated man would never be led astray into the practice of magic arts. But I suppose it was because he used to tell marvellous tales in his declamations about the customs of the magicians that he drew down on himself from his hearers this sort of appellation. They slander him too in saying that he had shameless manners because, when one of his pupils sent him a present of fish lying on a silver plate embossed with gold, he was

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πεποικιλμένου χρυσῷ, τὸν δὲ ὑπερησθέντα τῷ δίσκῳ μήτε ἀποδοῦναι καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι τῷ πέμψαντι “ εὖγε, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἰχθύς.” τουτὶ δὲ διατριβῆς μὲν ἔνεκα παῖξαι λέγεται πρὸς τινὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γνωρίμων, ὃν ἤκουε μικροπρεπῶς τῷ πλούτῳ χρώμενον, τὸν δὲ ἄργυρον ἀποδοῦναι σωφρονίσας τὸν ἀκροατὴν τῷ ἀστεισμῷ.

Ὁ δὲ σοφιστὴς οὗτος πολὺς μὲν περὶ τὰς ἐννοίας καὶ λαμπρὸς καὶ τὰς διασκευὰς τῶν ὑποθέσεων ποικιλώτατος ἐκ τῆς τραγωδίας τοῦτο ἤρηκώς, οὐ μὴν τεταγμένος γε, οὐδὲ τῇ τέχνῃ ἐπόμενος, τὴν δὲ παρασκευὴν τῆς λέξεως ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων σοφιστῶν περιεβάλλετο ἤχῳ προσάγων μᾶλλον ἢ κρότῳ. πολυλαχοῦ δὲ τῆς μεγαλοφωνίας ἐξέπεσεν ἀταμιεύτως τῇ τραγωδίᾳ χρησάμενος.

591 *ια*. Τὸν δὲ Βυζάντιον σοφιστὴν Χρῆστον ἀδικεῖ ἢ Ἑλλὰς ἀμελοῦντες ἀνδρὸς, ὃς ἄριστα μὲν Ἑλλήνων ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου ἐπαιδεύθη, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐπαίδευσε καὶ θαυμασίους ἀνδρας, ὧν ἐγένετο Ἰππόδρομὸς τε ὁ σοφιστὴς καὶ Φιλίσκος καὶ Ἰσαγόρας ὁ τῆς τραγωδίας ποιητὴς ῥήτορές τε εὐδόκιμοι Νικομήδης ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Περγάμου καὶ Ἀκύλας ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἐξοῦ Γαλατίας καὶ Ἀρισταίνετος ὁ Βυζάντιος καὶ τῶν ἐλλογίμως φιλοσοφησάντων Κάλλαισχρὸς τε ὁ Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ βωμῷ Σῶσις καὶ πλείους ἕτεροι λόγου ἄξιοι. παιδεύοντι δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ καιροὺς ἑκατὸν ἑμμισθοὶ ἀκροαταὶ ἦσαν καὶ ἄριστοι τούτων, οὓς εἶπον., Ἀδριανοῦ δὲ καθιδρυθέντος

<sup>1</sup> Nothing more is known of this sophist.

<sup>2</sup> He was priest at the sacrifices, perhaps at the public games.

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enchanted with the plate and so did not return it, and in acknowledging the present to the sender, he said: "It was indeed kind of you to send the fish as well." But it is said that he made this jest as a sarcasm against one of his pupils who had been reported to him as using his wealth in a miserly fashion, and that he gave back the piece of silver after he had castigated the student in this witty manner.

This sophist had a copious flow of ideas and handled them brilliantly, and also in the disposition of his themes he showed the utmost variety, which he had acquired from his study of tragedy. He did not observe the conventional arrangement or follow the rules of the art, but he furnished himself with the diction of the ancient sophists and clothed his style therewith as with a garment, with sonorousness rather than striking effects. But in the grand style he often failed, because he employed tragedy with too prodigal a hand.

11. To **CHRESTUS**<sup>1</sup> OF **BYZANTIUM**, the sophist, Greece does less than justice, since it neglects a man who received from Herodes the best education of any Hellene, and himself educated many remarkable men. Among these were Hippodromus the sophist, Philiscus, Isagoras the tragic poet, famous rhetoricians, namely Nicomedes of Pergamon, Acylas from Eastern Galatia, and Aristaenetus of Byzantium; and among well-known philosophers, Callaeschrus the Athenian, Sospis the curator of the altar,<sup>2</sup> and several others worthy of mention. He taught in the days of the sophist Adrian and had then a hundred pupils who paid fees, the best of them those whom I have mentioned. After Adrian had been installed in the

ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐψηφίζοντο μὲν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρεσβεύεσθαι ὑπὲρ Χρήστου τὸν Ἀθήνησιν αὐτῷ θρόνον ἐκ βασιλέως αἰτοῦντες, ὁ δὲ παρελθὼν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκκλησιάζοντας διέλυσε τὴν πρέσβευσιν ἄλλα τε διαλεχθεὶς ἀξιόλογα καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν εἰπὼν  
 “ οὐχ αἱ μύριαι τὸν ἄνδρα.”

Οἶνον δὲ ἠττώμενος παροιρίας ἐκράτει καὶ εὐχερείας καὶ ἀγερωχίας, ἣν ὁ οἶνος ἐπὶ τὰς γνώμας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐσάγει, τοσοῦτον δὲ αὐτῷ περιῆν τοῦ νήφειν, ὡς καὶ ἐς ἀλεκτρύωνων ὠδὰς προβάντος τοῦ πότου σπουδῆς αὐτὸν ἄπτέσθαι, πρὶν ὑπνου σπάσαι. διεβέβλητο δὲ μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς ἀλαζόνας τῶν νέων καίτοι χρησιμωτέρους τῶν ἄλλων ὄντας ἐς τὰς ξυμβολὰς τοῦ μισθοῦ. Διογένη γοῦν  
 592 τὸν Ἀμαστριανὸν ὄρων τετυφωμένον ἐκ μεираκίου καὶ περινοοῦντα μὲν σατραπείας, περινοοῦντα δὲ αὐτὰς καὶ τὸ ἀγχοῦ βασιλέων ἐστήξειν, λέγοντα δέ, ὡς ὁ δεῖνα Αἰγύπτιος προειρήκοι αὐτῷ ταῦτα, ὁ Χρῆστος ἐνουθέτει<sup>1</sup> μηδὲ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ σιωπῶν.

Τὴν δὲ ἰδέαν τῶν λόγων πεποίκιλται μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἡρώδου πλεονεκτημάτων, λείπεται δὲ αὐτῶν τοῦ ἐτοίμου, καθάπερ ἐν ζωγραφίᾳ ἢ ἄνευ χρωμάτων ἐσκιαγραφημένη μίμησις, προὔβη δὲ ἂν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἴσον τῆς ἀρετῆς, εἰ μὴ πεντηκοντούτης ἀπέθανεν.

ιβ'. Πολυδεύκη δὲ τὸν Ναυκρατίτην οὐκ οἶδα, εἴτε ἀπαίδευτον δεῖ καλεῖν εἴτε πεπαιδευμένον, εἴθ', ὅπερ εὐήθες δόξει, καὶ ἀπαίδευτον καὶ πεπαιδευμένον· ἐνθυμουμένῳ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀνόματα

<sup>1</sup> For the lacuna after ὁ Kayser suggests Χρῆστος ἐνουθέτει

<sup>1</sup> This was the salary of the chair.



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chair at Rome, the Athenians voted to send an embassy on behalf of Chrestus to ask for him from the Emperor the chair at Athens. But he came before them in the assembly and broke up the embassy, saying many memorable things in his discourse, and he ended with these words: "The ten thousand drachmae<sup>1</sup> do not make a man."

He had a weakness for wine, but he kept in check the drunken insolence, levity, and arrogance which wine induces in the minds of men; and his ability to keep sober was so extraordinary that, though his potations went on till cockcrow, he would then attack his studies before he had snatched any sleep. He made himself especially obnoxious to youths of the foolish boasting sort, in spite of the fact that they are more profitable than the rest for the payment of fees. At any rate, when he perceived that Diogenes of Amastris was from his earliest youth puffed up with pride, dreaming ever of satrapies and courts and of being one day the right hand of emperors, and moreover that he asserted that a certain Egyptian had foretold all this to him, Chrestus admonished him and told his own story.

He varied and enriched the style of his oratory with the peculiar excellences of Herodes, but he falls short of these in alertness of mind, just as in the painter's art a likeness falls short that is done in outline without colours.<sup>2</sup> But he would have progressed even to an equal level of merit, had he not died at the age of fifty.

12. I am not sure whether one ought to call POLLUX of Naucratis unlearned or learned, or, absurd as it will seem, both learned and unlearned. For when one

<sup>2</sup> An echo of Plato, *Politicus* 277 c.

ικανῶς ἐγεγύμναστο τὴν γλῶτταν τῆς ἀττικιζούσης λέξεως, διορῶντι δὲ τὸ ἐν ταῖς μελέταις εἶδος οὐδὲν βέλτιον ἐτέρου ἠττίκισεν. τὰδε οὖν χρῆ περι αὐτοῦ εἰδέναι. Πολυδεύκης τὰ μὲν κριτικὰ ἱκανῶς ἥσκητο, πατρὶ συγγενόμενος τοὺς κριτικούς λόγους εἰδῶτι, τοὺς δὲ σοφιστικούς τῶν λόγων τόλμη μᾶλλον ἢ τέχνη ξυνέβαλλε θαρρήσας τῇ φύσει, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄριστα ἐπεφύκει. Ἀδριανοῦ δὲ ἀκροατῆς γενόμενος ἴσον ἀφέστηκεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν πλεονεκτημάτων καὶ τῶν ἐλαττωμάτων, ἥκιστα μὲν γὰρ πίπτει, ἥκιστα δὲ αἴρεται, πλὴν ἄλλ' εἰσὶ τινες ἡδονῶν λιβάδες διακεκραμέναι τοῦ λόγου. ἰδέα δὲ αὐτοῦ διαλεγομένου μὲν ἦδε. "ὁ Πρωτεύς ὁ 593 Φάριος τὸ θαῦμα τὸ Ὀμηρικὸν πολλαὶ μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ πολυειδεῖς αἱ μορφαί, καὶ γὰρ ἐς ὕδωρ αἴρεται καὶ ἐς πῦρ ἄπτεται καὶ ἐς λέοντα θυμοῦται καὶ ἐς σὺν ὄρμῃ καὶ ἐς δράκοντα χωρεῖ καὶ ἐς πάρδαλιν πηδᾷ καὶ δένδρον ἦν γένηται, κομᾷ." μελετῶντος δὲ αὐτοῦ χαρακτῆρα ποιῶμεθα τοὺς νησιώτας τοὺς τὰ γένη πιπράσκοντας ἐς τὴν ἀπαγωγὴν τῶν φόρων, ἐπειδὴ βούλονται καὶ ἄριστα εἰρησθαι τήνδε τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ἧς τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ᾧδε εἴρηται. "παῖς ἠπειρώτης ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος πατρὶ νησιώτῃ γράφει δουλεύω βασιλεῖ δῶρον ἐκ σατραποῦ δοθεῖς, οὔτε δὲ ἵππον ἀναβαίνω Μηδικὸν οὔτε τόξον λαμβάνω Περσικόν, ἀλλ' οὔδε ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἢ θήραν, ὡς ἀνὴρ, ἐξέρχομαι, ἐν γυναικωνίτιδι δὲ κάθημαι καὶ τὰς βασιλέως θεραπεύω παλλακάς, καὶ βασιλεύς

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* iv. 456 foll. Pollux seems to have been declaiming on the versatility of the sophists. Note the short balanced clauses and the similar endings in the Greek. Himerius, *Oration* xxi. 9, imitates this passage of Philostratus and calls Proteus a sophist.

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considers his studies in words it seems that his tongue had been well trained in the Attic dialect, yet, when one observes closely the type of his style in his declamations, he was as an Atticist no more skilful than the average. In his case, then, we must take into account the following facts. Pollux had been sufficiently well trained in the science of criticism, because he was the pupil of his father, who was an expert in the art of criticism; but he composed his purely sophistic speeches with the aid of audacity rather than art, relying on his natural talents, for he was indeed very highly endowed by nature. He was a pupil of Adrian, and represents the mean between that sophist's excellences and defects. For while he never sinks too low, he never soars, except that rivulets, so to speak, of sweetness permeate his oratory. Here is an example of his style in a discourse: "Proteus of Pharos, that marvel in Homer<sup>1</sup> puts on many and manifold shapes, for he rises up into water, blazes into fire, rages into a lion, makes a rush into a boar, crawls into a serpent, springs into a panther, and when he turns into a tree, grows leaves for hair." To show the characteristics of his style in declamation, let me quote the theme "The islanders who sell their children in order to pay their taxes"; for they claim that this is his most successful argument. The words of the epilogue are as follows: "A boy on the mainland writes from Babylon to his father on an island: 'I am a king's slave; I was given to him as a present from a satrap; yet I never mount a horse of the Medes or handle a Persian bow, nay I never even go forth to war or the chase like a man, but I sit in the women's quarters and wait on the king's concubines. Nor does the king

οὐκ ὀργίζεται, εὐνοῦχος γάρ εἰμι. εὐδοκιμῶ δὲ παρ' αὐταῖς θάλατταν Ἑλληνικὴν διηγουμένους καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μυθολογῶν καλά, πῶς Ἡλείοι πανηγυρίζουσι, πῶς Δελφοὶ θεσπίζουσι, τίς ὁ παρ' Ἀθηναίους Ἐλέου βωμός. ἀλλὰ καὶ σύ, πάτερ, μοι γράφε, πότε παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις Ἰακίνθια καὶ παρὰ Κορινθίοις Ἴσθμια καὶ παρὰ Δελφοῖς Πύθια καὶ εἰ νικῶσιν Ἀθηναῖοι ναυμαχοῦντες. ἔρρωσο καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν μοι προσαγόρευσον, εἰ μήπω πέπραται." ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὅποια τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου σκοπεῖν ἔξεστι τοῖς ἀδεκάστως ἀκροωμένοις. ἀδεκάστους δὲ ἀκροατὰς καλῶ τοὺς μήτε εὐνοὺς μήτε δύσνοους. ἐλέγετο δὲ ταῦτα καὶ μελιχρᾶ τῇ φωνῇ ἀπαγγέλλειν, ἧ καὶ βασιλέα Κόμμοδον θέλξας τὸν Ἀθήνησι θρόνον παρ' αὐτοῦ εὔρετο. ἐβίω μὲν οὖν ἐς ὀκτῶ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτη, ἐτελεύτα δὲ ἐπὶ παιδί γνησίῳ μὲν, ἀπαιδευτῷ δέ.

594 ἰγ'. Καισάρεια δὲ ἡ Καππαδοκῶν ὄρει Ἀργαίῳ πρόσοικος Πausανίου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ οἶκος. ὁ δὲ Πausανίας ἐπαιδεύθη μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου καὶ τῶν τοῦ Κλεψυδρίου μετεχόντων εἰς ἐγένετο, οὓς ἐκάλουν οἱ πολλοὶ διψῶντας, ἐς πολλὰ δὲ ἀναφέρων τῶν Ἡρώδου πλεονεκτημάτων καὶ μάλιστα τὸ αὐτοσχεδιάζειν ἀπήγγελλε δὲ αὐτὰ παχειά τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ ὡς Καππαδόκαις ξύνηθες, ξυγκρούων μὲν τὰ σύμφωνα τῶν στοιχείων, συστέλλων δὲ τὰ μηχυνόμενα καὶ μηχύνων τὰ βραχέα, ὅθεν ἐκάλουν αὐτὸν οἱ πολλοὶ μάγειρον πολυτελεῆ ὄψα πονήρως

<sup>1</sup> i. e. thirsty for knowledge; cf. *Life of Apollonius* iv. 24, for the same metaphor.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian, *Epigram* 43, says that it would be easier to find white crows and flying tortoises than a Cappadocian who

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resent this, for I am a eunuch. And I win their favour by describing to them the seas of Greece, and telling them tales of all the fine things that the Greeks do; how they hold the festivals at Elis, how oracles are given at Delphi, and which is the altar of Pity at Athens. But pray, father, write back to me and say when the Lacedaemonians celebrate the Hyacinthia and the Corinthians the Isthmian games; when are the Pythian games held at Delphi, and whether the Athenians are winning their naval battles. Farewell, and greet my brother for me, if he has not yet been sold.'” Impartial hearers may estimate the quality of this man's speeches as here quoted. And by impartial I mean hearers who are prejudiced neither for nor against. It is said that he used to deliver these declamations in a mellifluous voice, with which he so charmed the Emperor Commodus that he won from him the chair at Athens. He lived to the age of fifty-eight, and died leaving a son who was legitimate but uneducated.

13. Caesarea in Cappadocia, near neighbour to Mount Argaeus, was the birthplace of PAUSANIAS the sophist. He was educated by Herodes, and was one of the members of the Clepsydrium, who were vulgarly called “the thirsty ones.”<sup>1</sup> But though he inherited many of the peculiar excellences of Herodes, and especially his skill in extempore oratory, yet he used to deliver his declamations with a coarse and heavy accent, as is the way with the Cappadocians.<sup>2</sup> He would make his consonants collide, would shorten the long syllables and lengthen the short. Hence he was commonly spoken of as a cook who spoiled expensive was a reputable orator. For the bad accent of the Cappadocians *cf. Life of Apollonius* i. 7.

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ἀρτύοντα. ἡ δὲ ἰδέα τῆς μελέτης ὑπτιωτέρα, ἔρρωται δὲ ὅμως καὶ οὐχ ἀμαρτάνει τοῦ ἀρχαίου, ὡς ὑπάρχει ταῖς μελέταις ξυμβαλεῖν, πολλαὶ γὰρ τοῦ Πausανίου κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην, οἱ δὲ καὶ καταβίους ἀπέθανε γηράσκων ἤδη, τοῦ θρόνου μετέχων, μετεῖχε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἀπιὼν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, οἷς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διεξῆλθε, καιριώτατα τὸ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ἐπεφθέγγατο

Θησεῦ, πάλιν με στρέψον, ὡς ἴδω πόλιν.

ιδ'. Ἀθηνόδωρος δὲ ὁ σοφιστῆς τὸ μὲν ἐς πατέρας<sup>1</sup> ἦκον ἐπιφανέστατος ἦν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴνον, τὸ δὲ ἐς διδασκάλους καὶ παιδευσιν φανερώτατος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ. Ἀριστοκλέους μὲν γὰρ ἤκουσε παῖς ἔτι, Χρήστου δὲ ἤδη ξυνιείς, ὅθεν ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν ἐκράθη τὴν γλῶτταν ἀττικίζων τε καὶ περιβολῆς ἐρμηνεύων. παιδεύων δὲ Ἀθήνησι κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς καὶ Πολυδεύκης ἐπαίδευσεν, ἐπέσκωπτεν αὐτὸν ταῖς διαλέξεσιν ὡς μειρακιώδη  
595 λέγων "οἱ Ταντάλου κῆποι" δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ τὸ κούφον τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἐπιπόλαιον φαντασίᾳ προσεικάζων οὔση τε καὶ οὐκ οὔση. ἐμβριθῆς δὲ καὶ τὸ ἦθος γενόμενος ἐτελεύτα ἡβῶν ἔτι ἀφαιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ καὶ πρόσω ἐλάσαι δόξης.

<sup>1</sup> πατέρα Kayser ; πατέρας Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Phaedrus*, 265 E.

<sup>2</sup> *Mad Heraacles*, 1406 ; Pausanias substituted "city" for the "children" of the original.

<sup>3</sup> Nothing more is known of this sophist.

<sup>4</sup> A town in Thrace ; cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, iii. 18.

<sup>5</sup> He reached a compromise between the Attic and Asianic types of rhetorical prose.

<sup>6</sup> This proverb for the unsubstantial is based on the

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delicacies in the preparation.<sup>1</sup> His style in declamation was somewhat sluggish, nevertheless it has force, and succeeds in giving a flavour of antiquity, as we may gather from the declamations that are extant. For there are many of these by Pausanias, delivered at Rome where he spent the latter part of his life; and there he died when he was already growing old and was still holding the chair of rhetoric. He also held the chair at Athens, and on the occasion of his leaving it he concluded his address to the Athenians by quoting very appropriately the verse of Euripides :

Theseus, turn me round that I may behold the city.<sup>2</sup>

14. ATHENODORUS<sup>3</sup> the sophist was, by virtue of his ancestors, the most illustrious of the citizens of Aenus,<sup>4</sup> and by virtue of his teachers and his education the most notable of all the educated Greeks in that city. For he was educated by Aristocles while still a mere boy, and by Chrestus when his intelligence began to mature; and from these two he derived his well-tempered dialect, for he both Atticized and employed an ornate style of eloquence.<sup>5</sup> He taught at Athens at the time when Pollux also was teaching there, and in his discourses he used to ridicule him as puerile and would quote "The gardens of Tantalus,"<sup>6</sup> by which I think he meant to compare his light and superficial style of eloquence with some visionary image which both is and is not. He was a man of great weight and seriousness of character, but he died in the flower of early manhood, robbed by fate of the chance to push on to still greater fame.

description of the vanishing fruits which mocked Tantalus in *Odyssey*, xi. 588.

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ιε'. Λαμπρόν ἐν σοφισταῖς καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ναυκρατίτης ἤχησεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ τῶν μετεχόντων τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ περὶ Ναύκρατιν ὀλίγοις Ναυκρατιτῶν ὑπάρχον, Ἡρώδου δὲ ἀκροατῆς μὲν, οὐ μὴν ζηλωτῆς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Πολέμωνα μᾶλλον ὑπηρέχθη, τὸν γὰρ ῥοῖζον τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ἐκ περιβολῆς φράζειν ἐκ τῆς Πολέμωνος σκηνῆς ἐσηγάγετο, λέγεται δὲ καὶ αὐτοσχεδιάσαι σὺν εὐροία ἀμηχάνῳ. δικῶν τε καὶ δικαστηρίων παρέτραγε μὲν, οὐ μὴν, ὡς ὄνομα ἐντεῦθεν ἄρασθαι. Μαραθῶνα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπωνόμαζον, ὡς μὲν τινες, ἐπειδὴ τῷ Μαραθῶνι δῆμῳ ἐνεγράφη Ἀθήνησιν, ὡς δὲ ἐνίων ἤκουον, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς τῶν ὑποθέσεων τῶν Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνευσάντων θαμὰ ἐμνημόνευεν.

Κατηγοροῦσι δὲ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τινὲς ὡς μὴ διορῶντος τὰς ὑποθέσεις, μηδὲ ὄπη ξυνεστᾶσί τε καὶ μὴ, τεκμήριον τόδε τιθέμενοι τῆς κατηγορίας ταύτης· τοὺς Μεσσηνίους οἱ Θηβαῖοι γράφονται τὴν  
 598 τῶν ἀχαριστησάντων, ἐπεὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας αὐτῶν μὴ ἐδέξαντο, ὅτε καὶ αἱ Θῆβαι ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἤλωσαν. ταύτην γὰρ ἐπιφανῶς αὐτῷ εἰρημένην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ σοφῶς, ὡς οἶόν τε, συκοφαντοῦσι λέγοντες, ὡς εἰ μὲν ζῶντος Ἀλεξάνδρου κρίνονται, τίς οὕτω θρασύς, ὡς καταψηφίσασθαι Μεσσηνίων; εἰ δὲ τεθνεώτος, τίς οὕτω πρᾶος, ὡς ἀπογνῶναι τὴν

<sup>1</sup> Nothing more is known of this sophist.

<sup>2</sup> An echo of Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 208.

<sup>3</sup> This theme seems to be based on Diodorus xv. 66, though it is nowhere stated that the Messenians acted as it



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15. PTOLEMY<sup>1</sup> OF NAUCRATIS also had a brilliant reputation among sophists. For he was one of those who were admitted to dine at the public expense in the temple of Naucratis, an honour paid to few of her citizens. Moreover, he was a pupil of Herodes, but he did not desire to imitate him, but came rather under the influence of Polemo. For the impetus and force of his style and the ample use of rhetorical ornament he borrowed from the equipment of Polemo. Also it is said that he spoke extempore with marvellous ease and fluency. He nibbled at legal cases and the courts, but not enough to win fame for himself thereby. They used to call him "Marathon." Some say that this was because he was enrolled in the deme Marathon at Athens, but I have been told by others that it was because in his Attic themes he so often mentioned those who were forward to brave death at Marathon.<sup>2</sup>

Ptolemy is sometimes accused of having failed to comprehend clearly his controversial themes so as to see where they were consistent and where not; and as evidence for this accusation they quote the following instance: "The Thebans accuse the Messenians of ingratitude because they refused to receive the Theban refugees when Thebes was taken by Alexander."<sup>3</sup> For though he handled this argument brilliantly, and with the greatest possible skill, they make out an unfair case against it by saying: If the Messenians were being tried while Alexander was still alive, who would be so foolhardy as to give a verdict against them? But if it was after his death, who would be so lenient as to acquit them of the

assumed; it is mentioned by Marcellinus iv. 249; Sopater viii. 239 quotes a similar theme; cf. Schmid, *Atticismus* 65.

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αἰτίαν; οὐ γὰρ ξυνιασιν οἱ ταῦτα διαβάλλοντες, ὅτι ἡ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἀπολογία κατὰ ξυγγνώμην ἴσταται τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον προῖσχομένων καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου φόβον, οὐ μὴδὲ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς ἀπείρως εἶχεν. ταῦτά μοι ἀπολελογήσθω ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς παραιτουμένῳ αὐτὸν ἀδίκου καὶ πεπανουργημένης αἰτίας· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ εὐφημότατος σοφιστῶν οὗτος. πλείστα δὲ ἐπελθὼν ἔθνη καὶ πλείσταῖς ἐνομιλήσας πόλεσιν οὐδαμοῦ διέβαλε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ κλέος, οὐδὲ ἡττων ἢ προσεδοκήθη ἔδοξεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐπὶ λαμπροῦ ὀχήματος τῆς φήμης πορευόμενος διῆει τὰ ἄσθη. ἐτελεύτα δὲ γηραιὸς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οὐκ ἀφαιρεθεὶς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς ρεύματος, ἐπικοπεῖς δέ.

ἰς'. Εὐδοϊανὸν δὲ τὸν Σμυρναῖον τὸ μὲν γένος ἐς Νικήτην τὸν σοφιστὴν ἀνήγεν, αἱ δὲ οἴκοι τιμαὶ ἐς τοὺς ἀρχιερέας τε καὶ στεφανουμένους τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων, τὰ δὲ τῆς φωνῆς ἄθλα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τὸν ἐκείνη θρόνον. ἐπιταχθεὶς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις, τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἀγέρωχοι καὶ χαλεποὶ ἀρχθῆναι, ἐπιτηδειότατος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔδοξε καὶ κρείττων ἢ λαβεῖν αἰτίαν. υἱοῦ δὲ αὐτῷ τελευτήσαντος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ οὐδὲν θῆλυ οὐδὲ ἀγεννὲς ἀνεφθέγγατο, ἀλλ' "ὦ τέκνον" 597 τρεῖς ἀνακαλέσας ἔθαιψεν. ἀποθνήσκοντι δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην παρήσαν μὲν οἱ ἐπιτηδαιοὶ πάντες, βουλήν δὲ αὐτῶν ποιουμένων ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος, εἴτε χρῆ καταθάπτειν αὐτόθι, εἴτε ταριχεύσαντας πορθμεύειν ἐς τὴν Σμύρναν ἀναβοήσας ὁ Εὐδοϊανὸς

<sup>1</sup> Nothing more is known of this sophist.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 580; and, for the bad character of these *thymelici*, Aulus Gellius xx. 4.

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charge? For those who make these severe criticisms do not understand that the defence made by the Messenians is framed as a plea for pardon, since they shield themselves by making Alexander their excuse, and that dread of him from which the rest of Greece also was not immune. So much let me say in defence of Ptolemy, that I may ward off from him an unfair and maliciously manufactured accusation; for indeed this man was of all the sophists the most moderate and temperate in his speech and though he visited very many nations and was conversant with many cities, nowhere did he bring reproach on his own fame or fall below their expectations of him; but he passed on from one city to another, borne as it were on the shining car of his own renown. He died in Egypt, well on in years; a catarrh of the head had not indeed destroyed his eyesight, but had seriously impaired it.

16. EUODIANUS OF SMYRNA<sup>1</sup> by birth ranked as a descendant of Nicetes the sophist, but the honours won by his house ranked him with high-priests and controllers of supplies, and the achievements of his oratory carried him to Rome and the chair of rhetoric in that city. He was appointed also to supervise the artisans of Dionysus,<sup>2</sup> a very arrogant class of men and hard to keep in order; but he proved himself most capable in this office, and above all criticism. When his son died at Rome he gave vent to no womanish or ignoble laments, but thrice cried aloud, "O my child!" and then laid him in the grave. When he was at the point of death in Rome, all his most intimate friends were by his bedside and were consulting about his body, whether they ought to bury it there or embalm it and ship it to Smyrna, when Euodius exclaimed

“οὐ καταλείπω” ἔφη “τὸν υἱὸν μόνον.” ὦδε μὲν δὴ σαφῶς<sup>1</sup> ἐπέσκηψε τὸ τῷ παιδί ξυνταφῆναι. ἀκροατῆς δὲ Ἀριστοκλέους γενόμενος πανηγυρικῆς ιδέας ἤψατο ἐν στρυφνῷ κρατῆρι συγκεράσας οἶον νᾶμα πότιμον. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ φασι καὶ Πολέμωνος ἠκροᾶσθαι αὐτόν.

ἰζ'. Ροῦφον δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Περίου σοφιστὴν μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας, μηδὲ εἰ πολλοὶ ὕπατοι τὸ ἐκείνου γένος, μηδὲ εἰ τῆν τῶν Πανελληνίων Ἀθήνησιν εὐκλεῶς ἤρξεν, ταυτὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ πλείω λέγοιτο, οὐπω τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς παραβεβλήσθαι ἄξια, ἀλλ' ἢ γλῶττα δηλοῦτω αὐτόν καὶ ἡ ξύνεσις, ἢ περὶ τὰς ἐσχηματισμένας μάλιστα τῶν ὑποθέσεων ἐχρήσατο. τὴν δὲ ιδέαν ταύτην ἐθανμάσθη πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι χαλεπὴ ἐρμηνεύσαι, δεῖ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς κατὰ σχῆμα ξυγκειμέναις τῶν ὑποθέσεων τοῖς μὲν λεγομένοις ἡνίας, τοῖς δὲ σιωπαιμένοις κέντρον, ἔπειτα, οἶμαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, ἐκκειμένους γὰρ τοῦ ἠθους καὶ ἀπανούργως ἔχων ὑπεκρίνετο εὖ, καὶ ἂ μὴ ἐπεφύκει. πλουσιώτατος δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸν

598 Ἑλλησποντον καὶ Προποντίδα γενόμενος καὶ δόξης αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῷ σχεδιάζειν πολλῆς μὲν ὑπαρχούσης Ἀθήνησι, πολλῆς δὲ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ τε καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ, οὐδαμοῦ κατέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ἐς ἀπέχθειαν ἢ πόλεως ἢ ἀνδρὸς, ἀλλὰ πραότητος ἦν χρηματιστής.

<sup>1</sup> σαφῶς Kayser; σαφῶς Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> This is a commonplace in sophistic prose and the Christian Fathers. Three Platonic passages seem to be echoed; *Phaedrus* 235 c, *Timaeus* 75 e, but especially *Phaedrus* 243 d ἐπιθυμῶ ποτίμῳ λόγῳ οἶον ἀλμυρὰν ἀκοῆν ἀποκλύσασθαι; cf. Libanius, *Oration*, xiii. 67 Foerster; Himerius, *Eclogues*, x. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing more is known of this sophist.

<sup>3</sup> See Glossary s.v. σχηματίζειν and above, pp. 542, 561.

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in a loud voice: "I will not leave my son behind alone." Thus did he clearly enjoin on them that he should be buried in the same grave as his son. Having been a pupil of Aristocles he devoted himself to the panegyrical type of oratory, but he poured as it were sweet spring water into that bitter bowl.<sup>1</sup> Some say that he studied with Polemo also.

17. It is not for his wealth that I shall hand down to fame the name of RUFUS OF PERINTHUS,<sup>2</sup> the sophist, or because his family produced many men of consular rank, or because he presided over the Pan-Hellenic festival at Athens with great distinction. For though I might recount even more honours of this sort, they would yet not be worthy of comparison with the man's skill and learning. But rather let his eloquent tongue be his passport to fame, and that keen intelligence which he employed by preference in simulated arguments.<sup>3</sup> For this type of eloquence he was much admired; in the first place because it is a difficult kind of oratory, since in themes that are composed as simulated arguments one needs to put a curb on what one actually says, but to apply the spur to what one leaves unsaid. Then too I think he was admired because his own natural disposition was taken into account. For though his character was naturally open and without guile, he was clever in portraying characters that were not at all suited to his natural bent. And though he became the wealthiest man in the region of the Hellespont and the Propontis, though he won a great reputation at Athens for extempore eloquence and in Ionia and Italy also, yet he nowhere incurred the enmity of any city or individual, but made money out of his benevolent disposition. It is said

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ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ γυμναστικῇ κρατύνειν τὸ σῶμα ἀναγκοφαγῶν ἀεὶ καὶ διαπονῶν αὐτὸ παραπλησίως τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις. ἀκροατῆς δὲ Ἡρώδου μὲν ἐν παισίν, Ἀριστοκλέους δὲ ἐν μειρακίοις γενόμενος, καὶ μεγάλων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀξιωθεὶς ἐλαμπρύνετο τῷ Ἡρώδῃ μᾶλλον δεσπότην τε αὐτὸν καλῶν καὶ Ἑλλήνων γλῶτταν καὶ λόγων βασιλέα καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα. ἐτελεύτα δὲ οἴκοι ἐν καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη γενόμενος καὶ ἐπὶ παισίν, ὑπὲρ ὧν γε μέγα οὐδὲν ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ἀπ' ἐκείνου.

ιη'. Ὀνόμαρχος δὲ ὁ ἐκ τῆς Ἄνδρου σοφιστῆς οὐκ ἐθαυμάζετο μὲν, οὐ μεμπτὸς δὲ ἐφαίνετο. ἐπαίδευσε μὲν γὰρ κατὰ χρόνους, οὓς Ἀδριανὸς τε καὶ Χρῆστος Ἀθήνησι, πρόσοικος δὲ ὧν τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς Ἰωνικῆς ἰδέας οἷον ὀφθαλμίας ἔσπασε, σπουδαζομένης μάλιστα τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, ὅθεν ἐδόκει τισὶν οὐδ' ἠκροᾶσθαι Ἡρώδου καταψευδομένοις τοῦ ἀνδρός· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἐρμηνείας παρέφθορεν ἔσθ' ὅπη δι' ἦν εἴρηκα αἰτίαν, αἱ δὲ ἐπιβολαὶ τῶν νοημάτων Ἡρώδειοί τε καὶ ἀπορρήτως γλυκεῖαι. ἔξεστι δὲ αὐτὸν θεωρεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς εἰκόνας ἐρῶντος, εἰ μὴ μειρακιεύεσθαι δόξω. εἴρηται δὲ ὦδε· “ὦ κάλλος ἔμφυχον ἐν ἀψύχῳ σώματι, τίς ἄρα σε δαιμόνων ἐδημιούργησεν; πειθῶ τις ἢ χάρις ἢ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἔρως, ὁ τοῦ κάλλους πατήρ; ὡς πάντα σοι πρόσεστιν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ προσώπου στάσις χροᾶς ἄνθος βλέμματος κέντρον μειδίαμα κεχαρισμένον

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<sup>1</sup> Nothing more is known of this sophist.

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of him that he used to harden his body by athletics, that he always followed a rigid diet, and exercised himself like a regular athlete. As a boy he studied with Herodes, with Aristocles when he was a strippling, and he was greatly esteemed by the latter; but he took more pride in Herodes, and used to call him the master, the tongue of the Hellenes, the prince of eloquence, and much more of the same sort. He died at home aged sixty-one years, and left sons about whom I have nothing important to relate, except indeed that they were his offspring.

18. ONOMARCHUS<sup>1</sup> OF ANDROS, the sophist, was not greatly admired, yet he was evidently not to be despised. He taught in the days when Adrian and Chrestus were lecturing at Athens, and living as he did so near to the coast of Asia, he contracted, as one might ophthalmia, the Ionian manner of oratory, which flourished especially at Ephesus. On this account there were some who did not believe that he had ever so much as attended a lecture by Herodes, but in this they did him an injustice. For though he did debase his style to some extent, from the cause that I have mentioned, nevertheless his abundant use of synonyms was like Herodes, and they were pleasing beyond words. If I shall not be thought too frivolous, we can observe his style in his speech. "The man who fell in love with a statue." Here is a quotation from it: "O living loveliness in a lifeless body, what deity fashioned thee? Was some goddess of Persuasion, or a Grace, or Eros himself the parent of thy loveliness? For truly nothing is lacking in thee, the expression of the face, the bloom on the skin, the sting in the glance, the charming smile, the blush on the cheeks,

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παρειῶν ἔρευθος ἀκοῆς ἔχνος. ἔχεις δὲ καὶ φωνὴν μέλλουσαν αἰεὶ. τάχα τι καὶ λαλεῖς, ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ μὴ παρόντος, ἀνέραστε καὶ βάσκανε, πρὸς πιστὸν ἔραστὴν ἄπιστε. οὐδενός μοι μετέδωκας ῥήματος· τοιγαροῦν τὴν φρικωδεστάτην ἄπασιν αἰεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἀρὰν ἐπὶ σοὶ θήσομαι· εὐχομαί σοι γηρᾶσαι."

Τελευτήσαι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν Ἀθήνησι, οἱ δὲ οἴκοι, μεσαιπόλιόν τε καὶ παριόντα ἐς γῆρας, γενέσθαι δὲ ἀγροικότερον τὸ εἶδος καὶ κατὰ τὸν Μάρκου τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀρχμόν.

ιβ'. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ὁ Ναυκρατίτης Ἡρακλείδη μὲν ἐναντία ἐπαίδευσε τὸν Ἀθήνησι θρόνον κατειληφότεν, λόγου δὲ ἐπεμελήθη πολιτικοῦ καὶ εὖ κεκολασμένου, ἤττον δὲ ἀγωνιζομένου, περιβολὴ γὰρ ἄπεστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ πνεῦμα. ὄντι δὲ αὐτῷ κακῷ τὰ ἐρωτικά γίγνεται παῖς ἐξ ἀδίκων γάμων Ῥουφίνος ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῷ σοφιστεύσας οὐδὲν γόνιμον, οὐδὲ ἐκ καρδίας, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐκείνου κομματίων τε καὶ νοιδίων ἐχόμενος, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ λαβῶν αἰτίαν ἐξ ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ "οἱ νόμοι" ἔφη "διδόασί μοι χρῆσθαι τοῖς πατρώοις," καὶ ὅς "διδόασι μὲν," εἶπεν "ἀλλὰ τοῖς κατὰ νόμους γεγυνοῦσι." καθάπτονται δὲ αὐτοῦ τινες καὶ τὸ σταλῆναι ἐς  
 600 Μακεδονίαν μισθωτὸν οἰκίας οὐδὲ εὖ πραττούσης. ἀλλ' ἀφείσθω τῶν τοιούτων· εὐροῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄν καὶ τῶν πολὺ<sup>1</sup> σοφῶν ἐνίους πολλὰ καὶ ἀνελεύθερα ὑπὲρ χρημάτων πράξαντας, οὐ μὴν τὸν γε

<sup>1</sup> Valckenaer suggests πάλαι, "the wise men of old."

<sup>1</sup> Nothing more is known of this sophist.



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signs that thou canst hear me. Yea and thou hast a voice ever about to speak. And one day it may be that thou wilt even speak, but I shall be far away. O unloving and unkind! O faithless to thy faithful lover! To me thou hast granted not one word. Therefore I will lay on thee that curse at which all fair ones always shudder most: I pray that thou mayest grow old."

Some say that he died at Athens, others at home, when his hair was beginning to grow grey and he was on the verge of old age; they say too that he was somewhat rustic in appearance and squalid and unkempt, like Marcus of Byzantium.

19. APOLLONIUS<sup>1</sup> OF NAUCRATIS taught rhetoric as the rival of Heracleides, when the latter held the chair at Athens. He devoted himself to political oratory of a type restrained and moderate, but little suited to controversy; for it lacks rhetorical amplitude and force. He was a libertine in love, and from one of his lawless intrigues he had a son named Rufinus who succeeded him as a sophist, but produced nothing that was his own or from the heart, but always clung to his father's phrases and epigrams. When he was criticized for this by a learned man, he said: "The laws allow me to use my patrimony." "The laws allow it, certainly," said the other, "but only to those that are born within the law." Some people blame him for going to Macedonia as the hireling of a certain family that was not even in good circumstances. But let us acquit him of any such charge. For though even among the most learned men you would easily find those who for the sake of gain have done much that is unworthy of a free-born man, yet this is not true of our Apollonius

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Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦτον, κοινήν τε γὰρ παρέσχε τὴν οὐσίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῖς δεομένοις, καὶ οὐ βαρὺς ἦν ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ ξυμβῆναι. ἐτελεύτα δὲ ἑβδομηκοντούτης Ἀθήνησιν ἔχων ἐντάφιον τὴν ἐξ ἀπάντων Ἀθηναίων εὐνοίαν. Ἀδριανοῦ μὲν καὶ Χρήστου τῶν σοφιστῶν ἀκροατῆς ἐγένετο, ἀμφοῖν δὲ ἀφέστηκεν, ὅσον οἱ μὴ ἀκούσαντες. ἐφεώρα δὲ τὰς ὑποθέσεις ὑπεξίων μὲν τοῦ κοινοῦ, καιρὸν δὲ πλείω τοῦ ξυμμέτρου.

κ'. Ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὀνόματος μὲν ἤξιώθη καθ' Ἑλληνας, ὡς ἱκανὸς τὰ δικανικὰ καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ μελέτην οὐ μεμπτός, ἐπαίδευσεν δὲ Ἀθήνησι καθ' Ἡρακλείδην τε καὶ τὸν ὁμώνυμον τοῦ πολιτικοῦ θρόνου προεστῶς ἐπὶ ταλάντῳ. διαπρεπῆς δὲ καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ γενόμενος ἔν τε πρεσβείαις ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἐπρέσβευσεν ἔν τε λειτουργίαις, ἃς μεγίστας Ἀθηναῖοι νομίζουσι, τὴν τε ἐπώνυμον καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων ἐπετράπη καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἀνακτόρου φωνὰς ἤδη γηράσκων, 601 Ἡρακλείδου μὲν καὶ Λογίμου καὶ Γλαύκου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἱεροφαντῶν εὐφωνίᾳ μὲν ἀποδέων, σεμνότητι δὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ καὶ κόσμῳ παρὰ πολλοὺς δοκῶν τῶν ἄνω.

Πρεσβεύων δὲ παρὰ Σεβήρον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀπεδύσατο πρὸς Ἡρακλείδην τὸν σοφιστὴν τὸν ὑπὲρ μελέτης ἀγῶνα, καὶ ἀπήλθεν

<sup>1</sup> For this metaphor cf. pp. 502, 590.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing more is known of this sophist.

<sup>3</sup> Apollonius of Naucratis.

<sup>4</sup> Or "the municipal chair" as opposed to the imperial; but there is no clear evidence that Athens maintained a second salaried chair of rhetoric.

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at any rate. For he shared his estate with any Hellenes that were in need, nor was he hard to deal with in the matter of lecture fees. He died at Athens, aged seventy, and for his winding-sheet<sup>1</sup> he had the goodwill of all the Athenians. He was a pupil of the sophists Adrian and Chrestus, but he was as different from them both as any who had not studied with them. He used to retire from the public view to meditate on the themes of his declamations, and would spend an inordinate length of time on this.

20. APOLLONIUS OF ATHENS<sup>2</sup> won a name for himself among the Greeks as an able speaker in the legal branch of oratory, and as a declaimer he was not to be despised. He taught at Athens at the same time as Heracleides and his own namesake,<sup>3</sup> and held the chair of political oratory<sup>4</sup> at a salary of one talent. He also won distinction in public affairs, and not only was he sent as ambassador on missions of the greatest importance, but also performed the public functions which the Athenians rank highest, being appointed both archon and food controller, and when already well on in years hierophant<sup>5</sup> of the temple of Demeter. In beauty of enunciation he fell short of Heracleides, Logimus, Glaucus, and other hierophants of that sort, but in dignity, magnificence, and in his attire he showed himself superior to many of his predecessors.

While he was on an embassy to the Emperor Severus at Rome,<sup>6</sup> he entered the lists against the sophist Heracleides to compete in declamation, and Heracleides came out of the encounter with the loss

<sup>5</sup> The hierophant delivered the mystic utterances at the Eleusinian rites, and was often a sophist.

<sup>6</sup> In A. D. 196 or 197.

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ὁ μὲν τὴν ἀτέλειαν ἀφαιρεθεῖς, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος δῶρα ἔχων. διαδόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου λόγον οὐκ ἀληθῆ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, ὡς ἀντίκα δὴ βαδιουμένου ἐς Λιβύην, ἠνίκα ἦν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἀπάσης γῆς ἀρετὰς συνῆγεν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος “ ὦρα σοι ἀναγιγνώσκειν τὸν πρὸς Λεπτίνην ” “ σοὶ μὲν οὖν, ” ἦ δ’ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀτελείας γέγραπται.”

Βαλβίδα μὲν δὴ τοῦ λόγου ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐκ τῆς Ἀδριανουῦ ιδέας βέβληται ἅτε δὴ καὶ ἀκροατῆς γενόμενος, παραλλάττει δὲ ὁμως ἐς ῥυθμούς ἐμμέτρους τε καὶ ἀναπαίοντας, οὓς εἰ φυλάξαιτο, σεμνοπρεπῆς τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν δοκεῖ καὶ βεβηκῶς. τουτὶ δὲ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν καὶ ἐπ’ ἄλλων μὲν ὑποθέσεων, μάλιστα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Καλλίου, ὃς ἀπαγορεύει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πυρὶ μὴ θάπτειν. “ ὑψηλὴν ἄρον, ἀν-  
 802 θρωπε, τὴν δᾶδα. τί βιάζῃ καὶ κατάγεις κάτω καὶ βασανίζεις τὸ πῦρ; οὐράνιον ἔστιν, αἰθέριον ἔστιν, πρὸς τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἔρχεται τὸ πῦρ. οὐ κατάγει νεκρούς, ἀλλ’ ἀνάγει θεούς. ἰὼ Προμηθεῦ δαδοῦχε καὶ πυρφόρε, οἶά σου τὸ δῶρον ὑβρίζεται. νεκροῖς ἀναισθήτοις ἀναμίγνυται. ἐπάρηξον βοήθησον κλέψον, εἰ δυνατόν, κἀκεῖθεν τὸ πῦρ.”

Παρεθέμην δὲ ταῦτα οὐ παραιτούμενος αὐτὸν τῶν ἀκολάστων ῥυθμῶν, ἀλλὰ διδάσκων, ὅτι μηδὲ τοὺς σωφρονεστέρους ῥυθμούς ἠγνόει. ἔτε-

<sup>1</sup> From certain taxes and expensive public services, i. e. “liturgies.”

<sup>2</sup> The law of Leptines abolished all exemptions from public charges. In 355 B.C. Demosthenes by his speech *Against Leptines* secured the repeal of the law. Heracleides may be punning on the word Leptis where the  
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of his privileges of exemption,<sup>1</sup> while Apollonius carried off gifts. Heracleides spread a false report about Apollonius that he was to set out forthwith to Libya, when the Emperor was staying there and was gathering about him the talented from all parts, and he said to Apollonius: "It is a good time for you to read the speech *Against Leptines*."<sup>2</sup> "Nay for you rather," retorted Apollonius, "for indeed it also was written on behalf of exemptions."

Apollonius took as the starting-point and basis of his eloquence the style of Adrian, whose pupil he had in fact been. But in spite of this he slips into rhythms that belong to verse, and anapaestic effects; but whenever he avoided these his style has great impressiveness and a stately march. This may be observed in others also of his arguments, but especially in that called "Callias tries to dissuade the Athenians from burning the dead": "Lift the torch on high, man! Why do you do violence to its fire and abase it to the earth and torment it? Fire belongs to the sky, it is ethereal, it tends towards that which is akin to itself. It does not lead the dead down below, but leads the gods up to the skies. Alas, Prometheus, torch-bearer and fire-bringer, see how thy gift is insulted! It is polluted by the senseless corpse. Come to its help, give it aid, and, if thou canst, even from where thou art steal this fire!"<sup>3</sup>

I have not quoted this passage in order to excuse him for his licence in the use of rhythms, but to show that he also knew how to use the more sober

Emperor was born. Philostratus here includes Egypt under the word Libya and refers to the visit of Severus to Egypt.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Norden, p. 414, for its dochmiac rhythm which was one of the marks of Asianism.

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λεύτα μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη πολὺς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀθηναίων δήμῳ πνεύσας, ἐτάφη δὲ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ τῆς Ἐλευσινιάδε λεωφόρου. ὄνομα μὲν δὴ τῷ προαστείῳ Ἱερὰ συκῆ, τὰ δὲ Ἐλευσινόθεν ἱερά, ἐπειδὴν ἐς ἄστὺ ἄγῳσιν, ἐκεῖ ἀναπαύουσιν.

κα'. Ἀναγράψω καὶ Πρόκλον τὸν Ναυκρατίτην εἰδὼς εὖ τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν διδασκάλων εἰς οὗτος. Πρόκλος τοίνυν ἦν μὲν 603 τῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον, στασιάζουσαν δὲ ἰδὼν τὴν Ναύκρατιν καὶ παρὰ τὰ ἦθη πολιτεύοντας τὴν Ἀθήνησιν ἡσυχίαν ἡσπάσατο καὶ ὑπεκπεύσας ἐκεῖ ἔζη πολλὰ μὲν ἀγαθῶν χρήματα, πολλοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν μεγαλοπρεπῶς κεκοσμημένην. εὖ δὲ ἀκούων Ἀθήνησι καὶ τὸν ἐν μειρακίῳ χρόνον ἠυδοκίμησε πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου αἰρέσει, ἔπειτα, οἶμαι, καὶ ἐπὶ εὐεργετήματι γενομένῳ μὲν περὶ ἓνα Ἀθηναῖον, δήλωσιν δὲ παρασχομένῳ χρηστοῦ ἠθους· ἐς γὰρ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἐσπλεύσας ἤρετό τινα τῶν αὐτόθεν, εἰ ὁ δεῖνα καλῶς Ἀθήνησι ζῆ καὶ εὖ πράττει, ἠρώτα δὲ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τοῦ ξένου, ᾧ προσέμιξεν Ἀθήνησι νέος ὢν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ Ἀδριανῶ ἐφοίτα. μαθὼν δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναί τε καὶ ζῆν, ἐκπε-

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias i. 37; Athenaeus 74 D.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing more is known of this sophist.

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sort. For the rest he died aged about seventy-five, after a career of great energy as a speaker at Athens, and was buried in the suburbs near the highway that leads to Eleusis. This suburb is called the "Sacred Fig-tree,"<sup>1</sup> and when the sacred emblems from Eleusis are carried in procession to the city they halt here to rest.

21. I will proceed to record the life of PROCLUS OF NAUCRATIS<sup>2</sup> also, for I knew the man well, indeed he was one of my own teachers. Proclus, then, was a person of some importance in Egypt, but since he saw that Naucratis was rent by factions and that the State was administered with no regard to law and order, he desired to embrace the peace and quiet of Athens. So he sailed away secretly, and spent his life in that city. He brought with him a large sum of money, many slaves and other household gear, all splendid and ornate. Even while yet a stripling he was well thought of at Athens, but after he had attained to manhood he became far more renowned. This was due in the first place to the manner of life that he elected, but also I think it was because of a beneficent act of his, which, though it concerned only one Athenian citizen, yet furnished clear proof of a noble and generous disposition. For when he had arrived by ship at the Piraeus, he inquired of one of the inhabitants of that place whether a certain person still lived at Athens, and whether his affairs were going well. Now these inquiries concerned a friend and host of his with whom he had been intimate as a young man at Athens, at the time, that is, when he was attending the lectures of Adrian. He was told that he still survived and lived there, but that he was on the point of being evicted from

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σεισθαι δὲ αὐτίκα τῆς οἰκίας διακηρυττομένης ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς πρὸς δραχμὰς μυρίας, ἃς ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἐδεδά- νειστο, ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ τὰς μυρίας μηδὲ ἀνελθῶν πω ἔς τὸ ἄστυ εἰπὼν “ ἐλευθέρωσον τὴν οἰκίαν, ἵνα μὴ σε κατηφῆ ἴδω.” ταῦτα μὴ πλουσίου μόνον ἠγγόμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ καλῶς χρωμένου πεπαιδευμένου τε ἱκανῶς καὶ τὰ φιλικὰ ἀκριβοῦντος.

Ἐκτῆσατο δὲ καὶ οἰκίας δ',<sup>1</sup> δύο μὲν ἐν ἄστει, μίαν δὲ ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ ἄλλην Ἐλευσίनि. ἐφοίτα δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου λιβανωτὸς ἐλέφας μύρον βίβλος βιβλία καὶ πᾶσα ἢ τοιάδε ἀγορά, καὶ ἀποδιδόμενος αὐτὰ τοῖς διατιθεμένοις τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐδαμοῦ φιλοχρήματος ἔδοξεν οὐδὲ ἀνελεύθερος, οὐδὲ ἐραστής τοῦ πλείονος, οὐδὲ ἐπικέρδειαν<sup>2</sup> μαστεύων ἢ τόκους, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ ἀγαπῶν τὸ ἀρχαῖον. υἱῷ τε ἀσώτῳ περὶ ἀλεκτρυόνων τροφήν περὶ τε ὀρτύγων κυνῶν τε καὶ κυνιδίων καὶ ἵππων ξυννεάζων μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιπλήττων καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔχων αἰτίαν “ θάπτον ” ἔφη “ μεταβαλεῖ τὸ μετὰ γερόντων παίζειν ἢ μετὰ ἠλίκων.” ἀποθανόντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπὶ παλλακῇ ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ καὶ  
604 γηράσκοντας ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπάγεσθαι, θηλυτάτη δὲ αὐτῇ γενομένη πᾶσαν ἐφίεις ἠνίαν οὐκ ἀγαθὸς ἔδοξε προστάτης τοῦ οἴκου.

Τὰ δὲ τῆς μελέτης πάτρια τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ διέκειτο ὧδε· ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ἅπαξ καταβαλόντι

<sup>1</sup> δ' Richards adds, cf. p. 510.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπικέρδια Kayser; ἐπικέρδειαν Valckenaer, Cobet; so correct *Heroicus* 740.

<sup>1</sup> The book trade has passed from Athens to Alexandria and Rome.



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his house, and that it was being advertised for sale in the market-place, for ten thousand drachmae, for which sum he had mortgaged it. Thereupon, before he himself even went up to the city, he sent the man the sum named, with this message ; "Free your house, that I may not see you depressed." We are to consider this the act not of a rich man merely, but of one who knew how to use his riches to good purpose, one whom education had made truly humane, and who had an exact understanding of the claims of friendship.

He bought four houses, two in Athens itself, one at the Piraeus, and another at Eleusis. He used to receive direct from Egypt regular supplies of incense, ivory, myrrh, papyrus, books,<sup>1</sup> and all such merchandise, and would sell them to those who traded in such things, but on no occasion did he show himself avaricious or illiberal or a lover of gain ; for he did not seek after profits or usury, but was content with his actual principal. He had a son who dissipated his fortune in breeding fighting-cocks, quails, dogs, puppies, and horses, but instead of rebuking him he used to join him in these youthful pursuits. And when many people blamed him for this, he said : "He will stop playing with old men sooner than he will with those of his own age." When his son died and then his wife, he became attached to a mistress, since even eyes that are growing old can be captivated, and as she had all the feminine vices he gave her the rein in all matters, and showed himself a very poor guardian of his own estate.

Proclus laid down the following rules for attendance at his school of declamation. One hundred

ἔξῃν ἀκροᾶσθαι τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ θήκη βιβλίων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, ὧν μετῆν τοῖς ξυλλεγομένοις ἐς τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς ἀκροάσεως. ὡς δὲ μὴ συρίττοιμεν ἀλλήλους, μηδὲ σκώπτοιμεν, ἃ ἐν ταῖς τῶν σοφιστῶν ξυνουσίαις φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, ἀθροοὶ ἐσεκαλούμεθα καὶ ἐκαθήμεθα ἐσκληθέντες οἱ μὲν παῖδες καὶ οἱ παιδαγωγοὶ μέσοι, τὰ μειράκια δὲ αὐτοί. τὸ μὲν οὖν διαλεχθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν σπανιστοῖς ἔκειτο, ὅτε δὲ ὀρμήσειεν ἐς διάλεξιν, ἰππιάζοντί τε ἑώκει καὶ γοργιάζοντι. ἡ μελέτη δὲ τῆς προτεραίας προεωραμένη ἐσεκυκλείτο. τὸ δὲ μνημονικὸν ἐνενηκοντούτης ἤδη γηράσκων καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἔρωτο, καὶ ἐρμήνευε μὲν κατὰ φύσιν, Ἀδριάνειοι δὲ ἦσαν αἱ ἐπιβολαὶ τῶν νοημάτων.

κβ'. Φοῖνιξ δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς οὐδὲ θαυμάσαι ἀξίος, οὐδὲ αὖ διαβαλεῖν πάντα. ἦν μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φιλάγρῳ πεφοιτηκότων, γνῶναι δὲ ἀμείνων ἢ ἐρμηνεύσαι, τάξιν τε γὰρ τὸ νοηθὲν εἶχε καὶ οὐθὲν ἔξω καιροῦ ἐνοεῖτο, ἢ δὲ ἐρμηνεία διεσπᾶσθαι τε ἐδόκει καὶ ῥυθμοῦ ἀφεστηκέναι. ἐδόκει δὲ ἐπιτηδειότερος γεγονέναι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις τῶν νέων ἢ τοῖς ἔξω τινὰ ἤδη κεκτημένοις, τὰ γὰρ πράγματα γυμνὰ ἐξέκειτο καὶ οὐ περιήμπισχεν αὐτὰ ἢ λέξις. ἐβδομηκοντούτης δὲ ἀποθανὼν Ἀθήνησιν ἐτάφη οὐκ ἀφανῶς, κεῖται γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the attendants who had brought the boys to the school.

<sup>2</sup> In his *Life of Apollonius* Philostratus says precisely the same of Apollonius of Tyana at the age of one hundred. Simonides the fifth-century lyric poet was famous for his good memory.

<sup>3</sup> Nothing more is known of this sophist.

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drachmae paid down gave one the right to attend his lectures at all times. Moreover, he had a library at his own house which was open to his pupils and supplemented the teaching in his lectures. And to prevent us from hissing or jeering at one another, as so often happens in the schools of the sophists, we were summoned to come in all together, and when we had obeyed the summons we sat down, first the boys, then the pedagogues<sup>1</sup> in the middle, and the youths by themselves. It was the rarest thing for him to deliver a formal prooemium, but whenever he did embark on such an address, Hippias and Gorgias were the men whom he resembled. He used to review his declamations on the day before he delivered them in public. Even when he was an old man, aged ninety years, in his powers of memory he surpassed even Simonides.<sup>2</sup> The style of his eloquence was natural, but in his abundant use of synonyms he imitated Adrian.

22. PHOENIX<sup>3</sup> THE THESSALIAN deserves neither to be admired, nor on the other hand to be wholly slighted. He was one of the pupils of Philagrus, but he had more talent for oratorical invention than for eloquence. For though his ideas were disposed in the proper order, and he never uttered any that were unsuited to the occasion, yet his style of eloquence seemed disjointed and destitute of rhythm. He was thought to be better suited to teach youths who were beginners than those who had already acquired some grasp of their studies; for his subject matter was displayed in the barest terms, and his diction failed to clothe it with rhetoric. He died at Athens at the age of seventy, and was buried in no obscure place, for he lies near the graves of

ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς Ἀκαδημίανδε καθόδου.

605 κγ'. Ἄγει με ὁ λόγος ἐπ' ἄνδρα ἐλλογιμώτατον Δαμιανὸν τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἐφέσου, ὅθεν ἐξηρήσθων Σώτηροί τε καὶ Σώσοι καὶ Νίκανδροι καὶ Φαῖδροι Κῦροί τε καὶ Φύλακες, ἀθύρματα γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μᾶλλον οὗτοι προσρηθεῖεν ἂν ἢ σοφισταὶ λόγου ἄξιοι. Δαμιανῶ τοίνυν ἐλλογιμώτατον μὲν καὶ τὸ ἄνω γένος καὶ πλείστου ἄξιον τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, εὐδοκιμώτατοι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φύντες, ξυγκλήτου γὰρ βουλῆς ἀξιοῦνται πάντες ἐπ' εὐδοξία θαυμαζόμενοι καὶ ὑπεροψία χρημάτων, αὐτὸς τε πλούτῳ ποικίλῳ καὶ πολυπρεπεῖ κατεσκευασμένος ἐπήρκει μὲν καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις τῶν Ἐφεσίων, πλείστα δὲ ὠφέλει τὸ κοινὸν χρήματά τε ἐπιδιδούς καὶ τὰ ὑποδεωκότα τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων ἀνακτώμενος. συνῆψε δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ κατατείνας ἐς αὐτὸ τὴν διὰ τῶν Μαγνητικῶν κάθοδον. ἔστι δὲ αὕτη στοὰ ἐπὶ στάδιον λίθου πάσα, νοῦς δὲ τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος μὴ ἀπειναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας,<sup>1</sup> ὁπότε ὕοι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοῦργον ἀπὸ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀποτελεσθὲν ἐπέγραψεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικός, τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐστιατήριον αὐτὸς ἀνέθηκε μεγέθει τε ἐξάρας ὑπὲρ πάνθ' ὁμοῦ τὰ παρ' ἐτέροις καὶ λόγου κρείττω περιβαλὼν κό-

<sup>1</sup> θεραπεύοντας Richards suggests.

<sup>1</sup> Nothing more is known of this sophist.

<sup>2</sup> Soter was an Athenian by birth, though he was educated at Ephesus. We have the inscription found there, in which he is made to boast that the Ephesians twice honoured him with the title of "leading sophist"; this was probably set

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those who died in the wars, on the right of the road that goes down to the Academy.

23. In the course of my narrative I now come to a man who became most illustrious, DAMIANUS<sup>1</sup> OF EPHEBUS. But let me omit from it such persons as Soter,<sup>2</sup> Sosus, Nicander, Phaedrus, Cyrus, and Phylax, since these men would more properly be called the playthings of the Greeks than sophists worthy of mention. Damianus, then, was descended from the most distinguished ancestors who were highly esteemed at Ephesus, and his offspring likewise were held in high repute, for they are all honoured with seats in the Senate, and are admired both for their distinguished renown and because they do not set too much store by their money. Damianus was himself magnificently endowed with wealth of various sorts, and not only maintained the poor of Ephesus, but also gave most generous aid to the State by contributing large sums of money and by restoring any public buildings that were in need of repair. Moreover, he connected the temple<sup>3</sup> with Ephesus by making an approach to it along the road that runs through the Magnesian gate. This work is a portico a stade in length, all of marble, and the idea of this structure is that the worshippers need not stay away from the temple in case of rain. When this work was completed at great expense, he inscribed it with a dedication to his wife, but the banqueting-hall in the temple he dedicated in his own name, and in size he built it to surpass all that exist elsewhere put together. He decorated it with an elegance beyond words, for it is adorned

up by the eleven pupils whose names precede the inscription ;  
Kaibel, 877a. <sup>3</sup> The celebrated temple of Artemis.

σμον, ὠραίσται γὰρ Φρυγίῳ λίθῳ, οἶος οὐπω  
 ἐτμήθη. πλούτῳ δὲ χρῆσθαι καλῶς ἐκ μειρα-  
 κίου ἤρξατο· Ἀριστείδου γὰρ δὴ καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ  
 κατειληφότοις τοῦ μὲν τὴν Σμύρναν, τοῦ δὲ τὴν  
 Ἔφεσον, ἠκροάσατο ἀμφοῖν ἐπὶ μυρίαῖς εἰπὼν  
 πολλῶ ἥδιον ἐς τοιαῦτα δαπανᾶν παιδικὰ ἢ ἐς  
 καλοῦς τε καὶ καλᾶς, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι. καὶ ὅποσα  
 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἀναγέγραφα Δαμιανοῦ  
 μαθὼν εἶρηκα εἶ τα ἀμφοῖν εἰδότες. πλούτου δὲ  
 806 ἐπίδειξιν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ κάκεινα εἶχεν· πρῶτα  
 μὲν ἢ γῆ πᾶσα, ὅποσῃν ἐκέκτητο, ἐκπεφυτευμένη  
 δένδρεσι καρπίμοις τε καὶ εὐσκίοις, ἐν δὲ τοῖς  
 ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ νῆσοι χειροποίητοι καὶ λιμένων  
 προσχώσεις<sup>1</sup> βεβαιοῦσαι τοὺς ὄρμους καταιρού-  
 σαις τε καὶ ἀφιεῖσαις ὀλκάσιν, οἰκίαι τε ἐν προ-  
 αστείοις αἱ μὲν κατεσκευασμένοι τὸν ἐν ἄστει  
 τρόπον, αἱ δὲ ἀνθρώδεις, ἔπειτα αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς  
 τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἦθος οὐ πᾶν ἀσπαζομένου κέρδος,  
 οὐδὲ ἐπαινοῦντος τὸ ἐξ ἅπαντος λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ'  
 οὐς αἰσθοῖτο ἀποροῦντας προῖκα τούτοις τὴν  
 ἑαυτοῦ φωνὴν διδόντος. παραπλήσιον δὲ ἦν καὶ  
 τοῖς σοφιστικοῖς τῶν λόγων, οὐς γὰρ αἰσθοῖτο  
 ἀποροῦντας ἐξ ὑπερορίων ἔθνων ἦκοντας, ἠφίει  
 τούτοις τὸν μισθὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως, μὴ λάθοιεν  
 δαπανώμενοι.

<sup>1</sup> προσχώσεις Kayser; προσχώσεις Cobet.

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with Phrygian marble such as had never before been quarried. Even when a stripling he began to spend his wealth to good purpose. For when Aristеides and Adrian held sway, the former at Smyrna, the latter at Ephesus, he attended the lectures of both men, and paid them fees of ten thousand drachmae, declaring that he found it more agreeable to spend money on favourites of that sort than on handsome boys and girls, as some prefer to do. And in fact all that I have recorded above about those sophists I stated on the authority of Damianus, who was well acquainted with the careers of both. The wealth of Damianus was displayed also in what I shall now describe. In the first place all the land that he had acquired was planted with trees, both to bear fruit and to give abundant shade. And for his estate by the sea-shore he made artificial islands and moles for harbours to secure safe anchorage for cargo-boats when they put in or set sail; then his residences in the suburbs were in some cases furnished and equipped like town houses, while others were more like grottoes. In the next place the man's own disposition, as he showed it in legal affairs, was that of one who did not embrace every chance of making a profit or approve of taking what he could get from any and every one. On the contrary, whenever he saw that people were in difficulties, he would offer to speak for them himself without payment. It was much the same with his sophistic lectures; for whenever he saw that pupils who had come from remote peoples were embarrassed for money, he used to remit the fee for his lectures, that they might not be led unawares into spending too much.

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Ἦν δὲ δικανικοῦ μὲν σοφιστικώτερος, σοφιστικοῦ δὲ δικανικώτερος. προΐων δὲ ἐς γῆρας μεθήκεν ἄμφω τὰς σπουδὰς τὸ σῶμα καταλυθεὶς μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν γνώμην· τοῖς γοῦν κατὰ κλέος αὐτοῦ φοιτῶσιν ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον παρέχων ἑαυτὸν ἀνέθηκε κάμοι τινα ξυνουσίαν πρώτην τε καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην, καὶ εἶδον ἄνδρα παραπλήσιον τῷ Σοφοκλείῳ ἵππῳ, νωθρὸς γὰρ ὑφ' ἡλικίας δοκῶν νεάζουσαν ὄρμην ἐν ταῖς σπουδαῖς ἀνεκτάτο. ἐτελεύτα δὲ οἴκοι ἔτη βιούς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν προαστείῳ τινι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, ᾧ μάλιστα ἐνεβίωσεν.

κδ'. Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ τῷ σοφιστῇ πατρὶς μὲν ἦν Ἱεράπολις, ἐγκαταλεκτέα δὲ αὕτη ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν εὐπραπτούσαις, πατὴρ δὲ Ζευξίδημος τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἐκείνη, Ἀδριανῷ δὲ καὶ  
 607 Πολυδεύκει φοιτήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ Πολυδεύκου μᾶλλον ἤρμοσται, τὰς ὀρμὰς τῶν νοημάτων ἐκλύων τοῖς τῆς ἐρμηνείας ῥυθμοῖς. ἀκροασάμενος δὲ καὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἀθηναίου τὸ περὶ τὴν τέχνην ἀκριβὲς ἐκείνου ἔμαθεν. αὐτοσχέδιος δὲ ὢν οὐδὲ φροντισμάτων ἡμέλει, ἀλλ' Ὀλυμπικούς τε ἡμῖν διήκει καὶ Παναθηναίους καὶ ἐς ἱστορίαν ἔβαλε<sup>1</sup> τὰ Σεβήρου τοῦ βασιλέως ἔργα, ὑφ' οὗ μάλιστα ταῖς βασιλείοις ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπιταχθεὶς λαμπρόν τι ἐν αὐταῖς ἤχησεν. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἀποπεφάνθω μελετῆσαι μὲν καὶ ξυγγράφαι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου

<sup>1</sup> ἔλαβε Kayser; ἔβαλε Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 511, 569, where the same is said of Nicetes and Antiochus.

<sup>2</sup> *Electra* 25.

<sup>3</sup> He was appointed by Severus independently of his son and consort, Caracalla.



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His style was more sophistic than is usual in a legal orator, and more judicial than is usual in a sophist.<sup>1</sup> As old age came on he gave up both these pursuits, from weakness of body rather than of mind. At any rate when students were attracted to Ephesus by his renown he still allowed them access to himself, and so it was that he honoured me also with one interview, then with a second and a third. And so I beheld a man who resembled the horse in Sophocles.<sup>2</sup> For though he seemed sluggish from old age, nevertheless in our discussions he recovered the vigour of youth. He died at home aged seventy years, and was buried in one of his own suburban villas in which he had spent most of his life.

24. The birthplace of ANTIPATER the sophist was Hierapolis, which must be reckoned among the flourishing cities of Asia, and his father was Zeuxidemus, one of the most distinguished men in that place. Though he studied under Adrian and Pollux, he modelled himself rather on Pollux, and hence he weakened the force of his ideas by the rhythmical effects of his style. He also attended the lectures of Zeno of Athens, and from him learned the subtleties of his art. Though he had a talent for speaking extempore, he nevertheless did not neglect written work, but used to recite to us Olympic and Panathenaic orations and wrote an historical account of the achievements of the Emperor Severus. For it was by the latter's independent<sup>3</sup> appointment that he was made Imperial Secretary, a post in which he was brilliantly successful. For my part let me here openly express my opinion that, though there were many men who both declaimed and wrote historical narrative better than Antipater,

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πολλοὺς βέλτιον, ἐπιστεῖλαι δὲ μηδένα ἄμεινον, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ τραγωδίας λαμπρὸν ὑποκριτὴν τοῦ δράματος εὖ ξυνιέντα ἐπάξια τοῦ βασιλείου προσώπου φθέγγασθαι. σαφήνειάν τε γὰρ τὰ λεγόμενα εἶχε καὶ γνώμης μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἔρμηνείαν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων καὶ ξὺν ἡδονῇ τὸ ἀσύνδετον, ὃ δὴ μάλιστα ἐπιστολὴν λαμπρύνει.

Ἰπάτοις δὲ ἐγγραφεῖς ἤρξε μὲν τοῦ τῶν Βιθυνῶν ἔθνος, δόξας δὲ ἐτοιμότερον χρῆσθαι τῷ ξίφει τὴν ἀρχὴν παρελύθη. βίου μὲν δὴ ὀκτῶ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐτάφη οἴκοι, λέγεται δὲ ἀποθανεῖν καρτερία μᾶλλον ἢ νόσῳ· διδάσκαλος μὲν γὰρ τῶν Σεβήρου παίδων ἐνομίσθη καὶ θεῶν διδάσκαλον ἐκαλοῦμεν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τῆς ἀκροάσεως, ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ νεωτέρου σφῶν ἐπ' αἰτία, ὡς τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐπιβουλεύει, γράφει πρὸς τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἐπιστολὴν μονωδίαν περιέχουσαν<sup>1</sup> καὶ θρήνον, ὡς εἰς μὲν αὐτῷ ὀφθαλμὸς ἐκ δυοῖν, χεὶρ δὲ μία, καὶ οὖς ἐπαίδευσεν ὄπλα ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων αἵρεσθαι, τούτους ἀκούει κατ' ἀλλήλων ἡρμένους. ὑφ' ὧν παροξυνθῆναι τὸν βασιλέα μὴ ἀπιστῶμεν, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἰδιώτην ταῦτα παρώξυνε βουλόμενόν γε τὸ δοκεῖν ἐπιβεβουλεῦσθαι μὴ ἀπιστεῖσθαι.

608 κέ'. Πολὺς ἐν σοφιστῶν κύκλῳ καὶ Ἑρμοκρά-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπέχουσαν Kayser; περιέχουσαν Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> Secretaries were appointed by the Roman emperors to write their letters, under which title rescripts and other public documents were included. The secretary's title was *ab epistulis*, or ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, and sophists were often appointed; cf. p. 590, and Eunapius, *Nymphidianus* 497.

<sup>2</sup> For this device see what is said of Critias, p. 503.

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yet no one composed letters<sup>1</sup> better than he, but like a brilliant tragic actor who has a thorough knowledge of his profession, his utterances were always in keeping with the Imperial rôle. For what he said was always clear, the sentiments were elevated, the style was always well adapted to the occasion, and he secured a pleasing effect by the use of *asyndeton*,<sup>2</sup> a device that, in a letter above all, enhances the brilliance of the style.

He was elevated to the rank of consul, and governed the people of Bithynia, but as he showed himself too ready with the sword he was relieved of the office. Antipater lived to be sixty-eight, and was buried in his native place. It is said that he died of voluntary fasting rather than of any disease. For he had been appointed as tutor to the sons of Severus—in fact we used to call him “Tutor of the Gods” when we applauded his lectures—and when the younger of the two<sup>3</sup> was put to death on the charge that he was plotting against his brother, he wrote to the elder a letter which contained a monody and a dirge, lamenting that Caracalla now had but one eye left and one hand, and that those whom he had taught to take up arms for one another had now, he heard, taken them up against one another. We may well believe that the Emperor<sup>4</sup> was greatly incensed by this, and indeed these remarks would have incensed even a private person, at any rate if he were anxious to gain credence for an alleged plot against himself.

25. HERMOCRATES<sup>5</sup> OF PHOCIS was a member of the

<sup>3</sup> Geta; he was assassinated by Caracalla A.D. 212.

<sup>4</sup> Caracalla.

<sup>5</sup> Nothing more is known of this sophist.

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της ὁ Φωκαεὺς ἄδεται φύσεως ἰσχὴν δηλώσας  
 παρὰ πάντα, οὗς ἔρμηνεύω, οὐδενὶ γὰρ θαυμα-  
 σίῳ σοφιστῇ συγγενόμενος, ἀλλὰ Ῥουφίνου τοῦ  
 Σμυρναίου ἀκηκοὺς τὰ σοφιστικὰ τολμῶντος  
 609 Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἔγνω καὶ ἔταξεν, οὐ τὰς μὲν τῶν  
 ὑποθέσεων, τὰς δὲ οὐχί, ἅπαξ δ' ἀπάσας<sup>1</sup> τὰς  
 μελετωμένας, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὰς ἐσχηματισμένας  
 εὖ διέθετο ἀμφιβολίας τε πλείστας ἐπινοήσας καὶ  
 τὸ σημαινόμενον ἐγκαταμίξας τῷ ὑφειμένῳ.

Πάππος μὲν δὴ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο Ἄτταλος ὁ Πολέ-  
 μωνος τοῦ σοφιστοῦ παῖς, πατὴρ δὲ Ῥουφινιανὸς  
 ὁ ἐκ Φωκαίας, ἀνὴρ ὑπάτος Καλλιστῶ γήμας τὴν  
 610 Ἄττάλου. τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς  
 διαφορὰν κατέστη πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα οὕτω τι  
 ἀπαραίτητον, ὡς μηδὲ δάκρυον ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὴν Καλ-  
 λιστῶ ἀφεῖναι ἐν μεираκίῳ ἀποθανόντι, ὅτε δὴ καὶ  
 τοῖς πολεμιωτάτοις ἔλεεινὰ τὰ τῆς ἡλικίας φαίνεται.  
 καὶ τοῦτο οὕτως μὲν ἀκούσαντι κακίᾳ τοῦ μεира-  
 κίου προσκείσεται μᾶλλον, εἰ μηδὲ μήτηρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
 τι ἔπαθεν, λογιζομένῳ δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ ὅτι τὴν  
 μητέρα ἀπέστερξεν ἐπὶ δούλου ἔρωτι, ὁ μὲν ξυμ-  
 βαίνων τοῖς νόμοις φαίνοιτο ἄν, οἱ δεδώκασι τὸ  
 ἐπὶ ταῖς τοιαῖσδε αἰτίαις καὶ ἀποκτείνειν, ἡ δὲ ἀξία  
 μισεῖν καὶ τοῖς οὐ προσήκουσιν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἑαυτὴν τε  
 καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἥσχυεν.

Ἵσπερ δὲ ταύτην ὁ Ἑρμοκράτης διαφεύγει τὴν

<sup>1</sup> δὲ πάσας Kayser; δ' ἀπάσας Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> See Glossary and p. 597.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 543.

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sophistic circle who became very celebrated and showed greater natural powers than any whom I describe here. For though he was not trained by any sophist of great repute, but was a pupil of Rufinus of Smyrna who in the sophistic art displayed more audacity than felicity, he easily surpassed all the Greeks of his day in variety, whether of eloquence or invention or arrangement; and it was not that he excelled thus in some kinds of arguments and not in others, but in all, without exception, to which he devoted his attention. For indeed he was very skilful also in handling speeches with simulated arguments,<sup>1</sup> devised many ambiguous expressions, and inserted among his veiled allusions a hint of the true meaning. His grandfather was Attalus, son of Polemo<sup>2</sup> the sophist, and his father was Rufinianus of Phocis, a man of consular rank who had married Callisto, the daughter of Attalus. After his father's death he quarrelled with his own mother so irrevocably that Callisto did not even shed a tear for him when he died in the flower of his youth, though on such an occasion even to the bitterest enemies it seems piteous to die at that age. One who hears this and only this, will be inclined to impute it to the youth's own evil disposition that not even his mother felt any grief for his loss. But if one takes into account the real reason, and that he ceased to love his mother because of her low passion for a slave, it will appear that the son conformed to the laws, which actually give him the right to put a woman to death for a reason of that sort; whereas the woman deserves to be detested even by those outside the family for the disgrace that she brought upon herself and her son.

But while we acquit Hermocrates of this charge, it

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αίτιαν, οὕτως ἐκείνην οὐκ ἂν διαφύγοι· τὸν γὰρ πατρῶον οἶκον βαθὺν αὐτῷ παραδοθέντα κατεδ-  
πάνησεν οὐκ ἐς ἵπποτροφίας οὐδὲ ἐς λειτουργίας,  
ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἄρασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐς ἄκρατον  
καὶ ἐταίρους οἴους παρασχεῖν καὶ κωμωδία λόγον,  
οἷον παρέσχον λόγον οἱ Καλλίαν ποτὲ τὸν Ἴππονί-  
κου κολακεύσαντες.

Ἀντιπάτρου δὲ παρεληλυθότος ἐς τὰς βασιλείους  
ἐπιστολὰς ἤδη ἀσπαζομένου τε ἀρμόσαι οἱ τὴν ἑαυ-  
τοῦ θυγατέρα πονήρως ἔχουσιν τοῦ εἴδους οὐκ  
ἐπήδησε πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου εὐπραγίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς  
προμνηστρίας ἀναγούσης ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου  
ἰσχύν, ἣν εἶχε τότε, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἔφη δουλεῦσαι  
προικὶ μακρᾷ καὶ πενθεροῦ τύφῳ. ἐξωθούτων δὲ  
611 αὐτὸν τῶν συγγενῶν ἐς τὸν γάμον καὶ Διὸς Κόριν-  
θον ἡγουμένων τὸν Ἀντίπατρον οὐ πρότερον εἶξεν  
ἢ Σεβήρῳ αὐτοκράτορα μεταπέμψαντα αὐτὸν ἐς  
τὴν ἑῴαν δοῦναί οἱ τὴν κόρην, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τῶν ἐπι-  
τηδείων ἐρομένου τινὸς αὐτόν, πότε ἄγοι τὰ ἀνα-  
καλυπτῆρια, ἀστειότατα ὁ Ἑρμοκράτης “ἐγκαλυ-  
πτῆρια μὲν οὖν” ἔφη “τοιαύτην λαμβάνων.” καὶ  
διέλυσε μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὸν γάμον ὀρών οὔτε ἰδεῖν  
ἠδεῖαν οὔτε ἐπιτηδεῖαν τὸ ἦθος.

Καὶ ἀκροατῆς δὲ τοῦ Ἑρμοκράτους ὁ αὐτοκρά-  
τωρ γενόμενος ἠγάσθη αὐτὸν ἴσα τῷ πάππῳ δω-  
ρεάς τε αἰτεῖν ἀνῆκεν· καὶ ὁ Ἑρμοκράτης “στε-

<sup>1</sup> This probably refers to the *Flatterers* of Eupolis; cf. Athenaeus 506 E; Callias was a rich patron of Sophists.

<sup>2</sup> This popular proverb was used in two ways: of empty boasting, because the Corinthians boasted that their eponymous hero was Corinthus, son of Zeus; and to express aimless iteration as in Pindar, *Nemean* vii. 105; but here it merely implies exaggerated respect for Antipater.

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is not so easy to acquit him of another. For he had inherited from his father a very handsome property, but he squandered it, not on breeding horses, or on public services from which one may win a great reputation, but on strong drink and boon companions of the sort that furnish a theme for Comedy, such a theme, I mean, as was once furnished by the flatterers of Callias, the son of Hipponicus.<sup>1</sup> After Antipater had been promoted to be Imperial Secretary he desired to arrange a marriage between Hermocrates and his daughter who was very unattractive in appearance. But Hermocrates did not jump at the chance to share Antipater's prosperity, but when the woman who was arranging the affair called his attention to the great resources of which Antipater was then possessed, he replied that he could never become the slave of a large dowry and a father-in-law's swollen pride. And though his relatives tried to push him into this marriage, and regarded Antipater as "Corinthus, son of Zeus,"<sup>2</sup> he did not give way until the Emperor Severus summoned him to the East and gave him the girl in marriage. Then, when one of his friends asked him when he was going to celebrate the unveiling of the bride, Hermocrates replied with ready wit: "Say rather the veiling, when I am taking a wife like that." And it was not long before he dissolved the marriage, on finding that she had neither a pleasing appearance nor an agreeable disposition.

When the Emperor had heard Hermocrates declaim he admired him as much as his great-grandfather,<sup>3</sup> and gave him the privilege of asking for presents. Whereupon Hermocrates said: "Crowns

<sup>3</sup> Polemo; see p. 610.

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φάνους μὲν” ἔφη “καὶ ἀτελείας καὶ σιτήσεις καὶ πορφύραν καὶ τὸ ἱεῖσθαι ὁ πάππος ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ παρέδωκεν, καὶ τί ἂν αἰτιοῖην παρὰ σοῦ τήμερον, ἃ ἐκ τοσούτου ἔχω; ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐστὶ μοι προστεταγμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ Πέργαμον Ἀσκληπιοῦ πέρδικα σιτεῖσθαι λιβανωτῶ θυμιώμενον, τὸ δὲ ἄρωμα τοῦτο οὕτω τι σπανιστὸν καθ’ ἡμᾶς νῦν, ὡς ψαιστὸν καὶ δάφνης φύλλα τοῖς θεοῖς θυμιᾶσθαι, δέομαι λιβανωτοῦ ταλάντων πεντήκοντα, ἵνα θεραπεύοιμι μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς, θεραπευοίμην δὲ αὐτός.” ἔδωκε τὸν λιβανωτὸν ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐρυθριᾶν εἰπών, ἐπειδὴ μικρὰ ἠτήθη.

Ξυνελάμβανε δὲ τῷ Ἑρμοκράτει τῶν ἐπιδείξεων πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τοῦ πάππου κλέος, ἡ γὰρ φύσις ἡ ἀνθρωπεῖα τὰς ἀρετὰς ἀσπάζεται μᾶλλον τὰς ἐκ πατέρων ἐς παῖδας διαδοθείσας, ὅθεν εὐκλεέστερος μὲν Ὀλυμπιονίκης ὁ ἐξ Ὀλυμπιονικῶν οἴκου, γεν-  
 612 ναϊότερος δὲ στρατιώτης ὁ μὴ ἀστρατεύτων ἡδίου τε τῶν ἐπιτηδεύσεων αἱ πατέρων τε καὶ προγόνων, καὶ που καὶ<sup>1</sup> τέχνη βελτίους αἱ κληρονομούμεναι, ξυνελάμβανε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ὥρα ἡ περὶ τῷ εἶδει, καὶ γὰρ ἐπίχαρις καὶ ἀγαλματίας, οἷα ἔφηβοι, καὶ τὸ θάρσος δὲ τοῦ μειρακίου τὸ ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἔκπληξιν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔφερεν, ἦν ἐκπλήττονται ἀνθρωποὶ τοὺς τὰ μεγάλα μὴ ξὺν ἀγωνία πράττοντας. ἐδίδου τι καὶ ἡ εὐροια καὶ ὁ τῆς γλώττης κρότος καὶ τὸ ἐν στιγμῇ τοῦ καιροῦ

<sup>1</sup> οἴκου Kayser ; suggests καὶ που καὶ.



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and immunities and meals at the public expense, and the consular purple and the high-priesthood our great-grandfather bequeathed to his descendants. Why then should I ask from you to-day what I have so long possessed? However, I have been ordered by Asclepius at Pergamon to eat partridge stuffed with frankincense, and this seasoning is now so scarce in our country that we have to use barley meal and laurel leaves for incense to the gods. I therefore ask for fifty talents' worth of frankincense, that I may treat the gods properly and get proper treatment myself." Then the Emperor gave him the frankincense with approving words, and said that he blushed for shame at having been asked for so trifling a gift.

In his public declamations Hermocrates was aided in the first place by his great-grandfather's renown, since it is human nature to set a higher value on abilities that have been handed down from father to son; and for this reason more glory is won by an Olympic victor who comes of a family of Olympic victors; more honourable is that soldier who comes from a fighting stock; there is a keener pleasure in pursuits that have been followed by one's fathers and forefathers; and in fact arts that have been inherited have an advantage over the rest. But he was also aided by the beauty of his personal appearance, and he was indeed possessed of great charm and looked like a statue with the bloom of early youth. Then, too, the courage of this stripling, when facing a crowded audience, produced in most of his hearers that thrill of admiration which human beings feel for those who achieve great things without intense effort. Moreover his easy flow of words and the striking effects of his voice contributed to his success, and

ξυνορᾶν τὰς ὑποθέσεις καὶ τὰ ἀναγιγνωσκόμενά τε καὶ λεγόμενα πολιώτερα<sup>1</sup> ὄντα ἢ νέω γε ἐνθυμηθῆναι καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι. αἱ μὲν δὴ μελέται τοῦ Ἑρμοκράτους ὀκτώ που ἴσως ἢ δέκα καὶ τις λόγος οὐ μακρός, ὃν ἐν Φωκαίᾳ διήλθεν ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup> τῷ Πανιωνίῳ κρατῆρι. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀποπεφάνθω μὴ ἂν τινα ὑπερφωνῆσαι τὴν μειρακίου τούτου γλῶτταν, εἰ μὴ ἀφηρέθη τὸ παρελθεῖν ἐς ἄνδρας φθόνῳ ἁλούς. ἐτελεύτα δὲ κατ' ἐπίους μὲν ὀκτώ καὶ εἴκοσι γεγονώς, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ ἐδέξατο αὐτὸν ἢ πατρώα γῆ καὶ αἱ πατρώαι θῆκαι.

κς'. Ἄνῆρ ἔλλογιμώτατος καὶ Ἑρακλείδης ὁ Λυκίος καὶ τὰ οἴκοι μὲν, ἐπειδὴ πατέρων τε ἀγαθῶν ἔφυ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς Λυκίων ἐγένετο, τὴν δὲ  
618 λειτουργησίαν οὖσαν οὐ μεγάλου ἔθνους Ῥωμαῖοι<sup>3</sup> μεγάλων ἀξιοῦσιν ὑπὲρ ξυμμαχίας, οἶμαι, παλαιᾶς, ἔλλογιμώτερος δὲ ὁ Ἑρακλείδης τὰ σοφιστικά, ἀποχρῶν μὲν γὰρ ξυνεῖναι, ἀποχρῶν δὲ ἐρμηνεύσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀπέριττος καὶ τὰς πανηγυρικὰς ἐννοίας οὐχ ὑπερβακχεύων.

Ἐκπεσῶν δὲ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ Ἀθήνησι ξυστάντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ναυκρατίτου ἐταίρων, ὧν πρῶτος καὶ μέσος καὶ τελευταῖος Μαρκιανὸς ὁ ἐκ Δολίχης ἐγένετο, ἐπὶ τὴν Σμύρναν

<sup>1</sup> παλαιότερα Kayser; suggests πολιώτερα.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν Kayser; ἐπὶ Cobet.

<sup>3</sup> Ῥωμαίων mss., Kayser; Ῥωμαῖοι Valckenaer and others.

<sup>1</sup> For this festival at Smyrna and for the ceremony of the loving-cup from which the assembled Ionians drank as a sign of their friendship, see *Life of Apollonius*, iv. 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing more is known of this sophist.

<sup>3</sup> This phrase, here meaninglessly applied, elsewhere expresses extreme respect; cf. Theocritus xvii. 4; Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis* 1125; and *Paradise Lost*, "Him first, him last, him midst and without end."

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the fact that he could review his themes in the twinkling of an eye, and that what he recited from a manuscript or declaimed was more what one expects from hoary old age than from a mere youth to invent and deliver. There are extant perhaps eight or ten declamations by Hermocrates and a sort of short address which he delivered at Phocaea over the Pan-Ionian loving-cup.<sup>1</sup> But let me here record my judgement that the eloquence of this stripling would have been such that no one could surpass it, had he not been cut off by an envious deity and prevented from attaining to mature manhood. He died, as some say, at the age of twenty-eight, though according to others he was only twenty-five, and the land of his fathers and the sepulchres of his fathers received him.

26. HERACLEIDES<sup>2</sup> THE LYCIAN was also a very notable person, in the first place as regards his family, since he was descended from distinguished ancestors and so became high-priest of Lycia, an office which, though it concerns a small nation, is highly considered by the Romans, I suppose on account of their long-standing alliance with Lycia. But Heracleides was still more notable as a sophist, because of his great abilities both in invention and oratorical expression; in judicial arguments also he was simple and direct, and in speeches composed for public gatherings he never revelled in a mere frenzy of rhetoric.

When he had been turned out of the chair of rhetoric at Athens in consequence of a conspiracy against him got up by the followers of Apollonius of Naucratis, in which Marcianus of Doliche was first, middle, and last,<sup>3</sup> he betook himself to Smyrna,<sup>4</sup> which

<sup>4</sup> For Smyrna as a centre of sophistic eloquence see p. 516.

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ἐτράπετο θύουσαν μάλιστα δὴ πόλεων ταῖς τῶν σοφιστῶν Μούσαις. νεότητα μὲν οὖν Ἰωνικὴν τε καὶ Λύδιον καὶ τὴν ἐκ Φρυγῶν καὶ Καρίας ξυνδραμεῖν εἰς Ἰωνίαν κατὰ ξυνουσίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὕτω μέγα, ἐπειδὴ ἀγχίθυρος ἀπάσαις ἢ Σμύρνα, ὃ δὲ ἦγε μὲν καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης Ἑλληνικόν, ἦγε δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐξῆς νέους, πολλοὺς δὲ ἦγεν Αἰγυπτίων οὐκ ἀνηκόους αὐτοῦ ὄντας, ἐπειδὴ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Ναυκρατίτῃ κατὰ Αἴγυπτον περὶ σοφίας ἤρισεν. ἐνέπλησε μὲν δὴ τὴν Σμύρναν ὀμίλου λαμπροῦ, ὤνησε δὲ καὶ πλείω ἕτερα, ἃ ἐγὼ δηλώσω· πόλις εἰς ξένους πολλοὺς ἐπεστραμμένη ἄλλως τε καὶ σοφίας ἐρῶντας σωφρόνως μὲν βουλευσεῖ, σωφρόνως δὲ ἐκκλησιάσει φυλαττομένη δῆπου τὸ ἐν πολλοῖς τε καὶ σπουδαίοις κακῇ ἀλίσκεσθαι, ἱερῶν τε ἐπιμελήσεται καὶ γυμνασίων καὶ κρηνῶν καὶ στοῶν, ἵνα ἀποχρῶσα τῷ ὀμίλῳ φαίνοιτο. εἰ δὲ καὶ ναύκληρος ἢ πόλις εἴη καθάπερ ἢ Σμύρνα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄφθονα αὐτοῖς ἢ θάλασσα δώσει. ξυνήρατο δὲ τῇ Σμύρνῃ καὶ τοῦ εἴδους ἐλαίου κρήνην ἐπισκευάσας ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ γυμνασίῳ χρυσὴν τοῦ ὀρόφου, καὶ τὴν στεφανηφόρον ἀρχὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἤρξεν, ἀφ' ὧν τοῖς ἐνιαυτοῖς τίθενται Σμυρναῖοι τὰ ὀνόματα.

- 614 Ἐπὶ Σεβήρου δὲ αὐτοκράτορός φασιν αὐτὸν σχεδίου λόγου ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτὴν καὶ δορυφόρους δείσαντα. τουτὶ δὲ ἀγοραῖος μὲν τις παθῶν κἄν αἰτίαν λάβοι, τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀγοραίων ἔθνος ἰταμοὶ
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more than any other city sacrificed to the sophistic Muses. Now the fact that the youth of Ionia, Lydia, Phrygia, and Caria flocked to Ionia to study with him is not so wonderful, seeing that Smyrna is next door to all these countries, but he attracted thither the Hellenes from Europe, he attracted the youth of the Orient, and he attracted many from Egypt who had already heard him, because in Egypt he had contended for the prize of learning against Ptolemy of Naucratis. Thus, then, he filled Smyrna with a brilliant throng, and he benefited her in several other ways too, as I shall show. A city which is much frequented by foreigners, especially if they are lovers of learning, will be prudent and moderate in its councils, and prudent and moderate in its citizen assemblies, because it will be on its guard against being convicted of wrongdoing in the presence of so many eminent persons; and it will take good care of its temples, gymnasia, fountains and porticoes, so that it may appear to meet the needs of that multitude. And should the city have a sea trade, as Smyrna in fact has, the sea will supply them with many things in abundance. He also contributed to the beauty of Smyrna by constructing in the gymnasium of Asclepius a fountain for olive oil with a golden roof, and he held in that city the office of the priest who wears the crown; the people of Smyrna designate the years by the names of these priests.

They say that in the presence of the Emperor Severus he broke down in an extempore speech, because he was abashed by the court and the Imperial bodyguard. Now if this misfortune were to happen to a forensic orator, he might well be criticized; for forensic orators as a tribe are audacious

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καὶ θρασεῖς, σοφιστῆς δὲ ξυσπουδάζων μεираκίοις τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἡμέρας πῶς ἂν ἀντίσχοι ἐκπλήξει; ἐκκρούει γὰρ σχεδίου λόγου καὶ ἀκροατῆς σεμνῶ προσώπῳ καὶ βραδύς ἔπαινος καὶ τὸ μὴ κροτεῖσθαι συνήθως, εἰ δὲ καὶ φθόνου ὑποκαθημένου ἑαυτὸν αἰσθοῖτο, ὡσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλείδης τὸν τοῦ Ἄντιπάτρου τότε ὑφεωρᾶτο, ἦττον μὲν ἐνθυμηθήσεται, ἦττον δὲ εὐροήσει, αἱ γὰρ τοιαῖδε ὑποψίαι γνώμης ἀχλὺς καὶ δεσμὰ γλώττης.

Ἱερὰς δὲ λέγεται κέδρους ἐκτεμῶν δημευθῆναι τὸ πολὺ τῆς οὐσίας, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἀπύοντι αὐτῷ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἐπηκολούθουν μὲν οἱ γνώριμοι παραμυθούμενοί τε καὶ ἀνέχοντες τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐνὸς δὲ αὐτῶν εἰπόντος “ ἀλλ’ οὐ μελέτην ἀφαιρήσεται τις, ὦ Ἡρακλείδη, οὐδὲ τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ κλέος,” καὶ ἐπιρραψωδήσαντος αὐτῷ τὸ “ εἰς δὴ που λοιπὸς κατερύκεται εὐρέϊ ” — “ φίσκῳ ” ἔφη, ἀστείότατα δὴ ἐπιπαίξας τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ κακοῖς.

Δοκεῖ δὲ μάλιστα σοφιστῶν οὗτος τὴν ἐπιστήμην πόνῳ κατακτήσασθαι μὴ ξυγχωρούσης αὐτῷ τῆς φύσεως, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῷ φρόντισμα οὐκ ἀηδές, βιβλίον ξύμμετρον, ὃ ἐπιγέγραπται Πόνου ἐγκώ-  
 615 μιον, τὸ δὲ βιβλίον τοῦτο πρὸ χειρῶν ἔχων ἐνέτυχε Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ σοφιστῇ κατὰ τὴν Ναύκρατιν, ὃ δὲ ἤρετο αὐτόν, ὃ τι σπουδάζοι, τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, ὅτι πόνου εἶη ἐγκώμιον, αἰτήσας ὁ Πτολεμαῖος τὸ βι-

<sup>1</sup> For this quotation, which was popular because it was easily parodied, see p. 558; here the pupil means that Heracleides and his fame survive, but the sophist by his allusion to the confiscation of his property to the Emperor, alters the sense of the verb to mean “is checked by,” and changes the last word from “sea” to “privy purse.”

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and self-confident; but a sophist spends the greater part of his day in teaching mere boys, and how should he resist being easily flustered? For an extempore speaker is disconcerted by a single hearer whose features have a supercilious expression, or by tardy applause, or by not being clapped in the way to which he is accustomed; but if in addition he is aware that malice is lying in wait for him, as on that occasion Heracleides was subtly conscious of the malice of Antipater, his ideas will not come so readily, his words will not flow so easily, for suspicions of that sort cloud the mind and tie the tongue.

It is said that for cutting down sacred cedars he was punished by the confiscation of a great part of his estate. On that occasion, as he was leaving the law-court, his pupils were in attendance to comfort and sustain him, and one of them said: "But your ability to declaim no one will ever take from you, Heracleides, nor the fame you have won thereby." And he went on to recite over him the verse: "One methinks is still detained in a wide" — "privy purse,"<sup>1</sup> interrupted Heracleides, thus wittily jesting at his own misfortunes.

This sophist, more than any of the others, seems to have acquired his proficiency by means of hard work, since it was denied to him by nature. And there is extant a rather pleasing composition of his, a book of moderate size, called *In Praise of Work*. Once, when he was carrying this book in his hands, he met Ptolemy the sophist in Naucratis, and the latter asked him what he was studying. When he replied that it was an encomium on work, Ptolemy asked for the book, crossed out the letter

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βλίον καὶ ἀπαλείψας τὸ πῖ “ ὦρα σοι ” ἔφη “ ἀναγι-  
γνώσκειν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἐγκωμίου.” καὶ αἱ διαλέ-  
ξεις δέ, ὡς Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Ναυκρατίτης κατ’ αὐτοῦ  
διελέγετο, ὡς νωθροῦ καθάπτονται καὶ μοχθοῦντος.

Ἡρακλείδου διδάσκαλοι Ἡρώδης μὲν τῶν οὐκ  
ἀληθῶς πεπιστευμένων, Ἀδριανὸς δὲ καὶ Χρῆστος  
ἐν γνησίοις, καὶ Ἀριστοκλέους δὲ ἠκροᾶσθαι αὐτὸν  
μὴ ἀπιστῶμεν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ γαστρὶ κοίλῃ χρή-  
σασθαι καὶ πλεῖστα ὀψοφαγῆσαι, καὶ ἡ πολυφαγία  
αὕτη ἐς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἀποσκῆψαι. ἐτελεύτα γοῦν  
ὑπὲρ τὰ ὄγδοῆκοντα ἔτη ἄρτιος τὸ σῶμα καὶ τάφος  
μὲν αὐτῷ Λυκία λέγεται, ἐτελεύτα δὲ ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ  
καὶ ἀπελευθέροις οὐ σπουδαίοις, ὑφ’ ὧν καὶ τὴν  
Ῥητορικὴν ἐκληρονομήθη· ἡ δὲ Ῥητορικὴ γῆδιον  
δεκατάλαντον ἦν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν ἑωνη-  
μένον ἐκ τῶν ἀκροάσεων.

κζ’. Μὴ δεῦτερα τῶν προειρημένων σοφιστῶν  
μηδὲ Ἰππόδρομόν τις ἠγγείσθω τὸν Θετταλόν,  
τῶν μὲν γὰρ βελτίων φαίνεται, τῶν δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ὅ  
τι λείπεται. Ἰπποδρόμῳ τοίνυν πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Λά-  
ρισσα πόλις εὐ πράττουσα ἐν Θετταλοῖς, πατὴρ δὲ  
Ὀλυμπιόδωρος· παρελθὼν ἵπποτροφία Θετταλοῦς  
πάντας.

Μεγάλου δὲ ἐν Θετταλία δοκοῦντος τοῦ καὶ  
ἅπαξ προστῆναι τῶν Πυθίων ὁ Ἰππόδρομος προέ-  
στη δὲ τῶν Πυθικῶν ἄθλων, πλούτῳ τε ὑπερήνευ-  
κε τοὺς ἄνω καὶ κόσμῳ τῷ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ  
μεγέθει γνώμης καὶ δικαιοσύνη βραβεύουση τὸ

<sup>1</sup> By dropping the first letter *πόνος*, “work,” is altered to *δνος*, “ass.”

<sup>2</sup> Nothing more is known of this sophist.



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“p,”<sup>1</sup> and said: “Now you must read the title of your encomium.” Furthermore, the discourses which Apollonius of Naucratis delivered against Heracleides reproach him with being slow-witted and plodding.

As for the teachers of Heracleides, Herodes is one as to whom we have no sure evidence, whereas among those who were certainly his teachers are Adrian and Chrestus; and we may believe that he attended the school of Aristocles besides. It is said of him that he had an endless appetite, and gorged himself with rich food, but this gluttony had no ill effects on his health. At any rate he was over eighty and physically sound when he died. He is said to be buried in Lycia, and he left a daughter and some freedmen who were none too honest, to whom he bequeathed “Rhetoric”; now “Rhetoric” was a small estate of his near Smyrna, worth ten talents, and he had bought it with the fees that he earned by his lectures.

27. Let none rate HIPPODROMUS<sup>2</sup> THE THESSALIAN lower than the sophists whom I have described above; for to some of them he is evidently superior, while I am not aware that he falls short of the others in any respect. Now the birthplace of Hippodromus was Larissa, a flourishing city in Thessaly, and his father was Olympiodorus, who had a greater reputation as a breeder of horses than any other man in Thessaly.

Though in Thessaly it was thought a great thing to have been president at the Pythia even once, Hippodromus twice presided over the Pythian games, and he outdid his predecessors in wealth and in the elegance with which he ordered the games, and also in the magnanimity and justice which he showed as

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εὐθύ. τὸ γοῦν περὶ τὸν τῆς τραγωδίας ὑποκριτὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραχθὲν οὐδὲ ὑπερβολὴν ἐτέρω καταλέλοιπε δικαιοτήτος τε καὶ γνώμης· Κλήμης γὰρ ὁ Βυζάντιος τραγωδίας ὑποκριτὴς ἦν μὲν οἷος οὕτω τις τὴν τέχνην, νικῶν δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐπολιορκεῖτο, ἀπήει ἀμαρτάνων τῆς νίκης, ὡς μὴ δοκοίη δι' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς κηρύττεσθαι πόλις ὅπλα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἡρμένη. ἄριστα δὲ αὐτὸν ἀγωνισάμενον κὰν τοῖς Ἀμφικτυονικοῖς ἄθλοις οἱ μὲν Ἀμφικτύονες ἀπειψηφίζοντο τῆς νίκης δέει τῆς προειρημένης αἰτίας, ἀναπηδήσας δὲ ξὺν ὄρμηϊ ὁ Ἰππόδρομος “οὗτοι μὲν” εἶπεν “ἐρρώσθων ἐπιорκοῦντές τε καὶ παραγιγνώσκοντες τοῦ δικαίου, ἐγὼ δὲ Κλήμεντι τὴν νικῶσαν δίδωμι.” ἐφέντος δὲ θατέρου τῶν ὑποκριτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα, ἠὺδοκίμησε πάλιν ἢ τοῦ Ἰπποδρόμου ψῆφος, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐνίκα ὁ Βυζάντιος.

Τοιοῦτος δὲ ὢν ἐς τὰ πλήθη θαυμασία πραότητι ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπιδείξεις ἐχρήτο· παραλαβὼν γὰρ τὴν τέχνην φίλαυτὸν τε καὶ ἀλαζόνα οὔτε ἐς ἔπαινον ἑαυτοῦ κατέστη ποτὲ καὶ ἐπέκοπτε τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τῶν ἐπαίνων· βοώντων γοῦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποτε τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολλὰ καὶ εὐφημα καὶ που καὶ τῷ Πολέμωνι ὁμοιούντων αὐτὸν “τί μ' ἀθανάτοισιν εἰσκέεις;” ἔφη, οὔτε τὸν Πολέμωνα ἀφελόμενος τὸ νομίζεσθαι θεῖον ἄνδρα, οὔτε ἑαυτῷ διδοὺς τὸ

<sup>1</sup> The siege of Byzantium lasted A.D. 193-196 when it was taken by Severus. See Cassius Dio lxxv. 10 for the story of its courageous defence by the Byzantines.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey* xvi. 187.

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umpire. At any rate, his conduct in the affair of the tragic actor has left no one else a chance to surpass him in justice and good judgement. The facts are these. Clemens of Byzantium was a tragic actor whose like has never yet been seen for artistic skill. But since he was winning his victories at a time when Byzantium was being besieged,<sup>1</sup> he used to be sent away without the reward of victory, lest it should appear that a city that had taken up arms against the Romans was being proclaimed victor in the person of one of her citizens. Accordingly, after he had performed brilliantly in the Amphictyonic games, the Amphictyons were on the point of voting that he should not receive the prize, because for the reason that I have mentioned they were afraid. Whereupon Hippodromus sprang up with great energy and cried: "Let these others go on and prosper by breaking their oath and giving unjust decisions, but by my vote I award the victory to Clemens." And when another of the actors appealed to the Emperor against the award, the vote of Hippodromus was again approved; for at Rome also the Byzantine actor carried off the prize.

But though he was so firm in the face of assembled crowds, in his public declamations he displayed an admirable mildness. For though he had adopted a profession that is prone to egotism and arrogance, he never resorted to self-praise, but used to check those who praised him to excess. At any rate, on one occasion when the Greeks were acclaiming him with flatteries, and even compared him with Polemo, "Why," said he, "do you liken me to immortals?"<sup>2</sup> This answer, while it did not rob Polemo of his reputation for being divinely inspired, was also a

στράτῳ γὰρ τῷ Λημνίῳ γνωρίμῳ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ ὄντι, δύο δὲ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονότι ἀναρριπτοῦντί τινα αὐτοσχέδιον πλείστα μὲν ἐνέδωκε τῇ τέχνῃ τῶν ἐπαίνων, ὧν τε εἰπεῖν ἔδει καὶ μῆ, ἀξιούσης δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰππόδρομον τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτίκα παριέναι, “οὐκ ἐπαποδύσομαι” ἔφη “τοῖς ἑμαυτοῦ σπλάγχκοις.” καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἀνεβάλετο τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς θυσίας ἡμέραν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐχέτω μοι δῆλωσιν ἀνδρὸς πεπαιδευμένου φιλανθρώπου τε καὶ πρᾶου τὸ ἦθος.

- 618 Τὸν δὲ Ἀθήνησι τῶν σοφιστῶν θρόνον κατασχὼν ἐτῶν που τεττάρων ἀπηνέχθη αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τοῦ πλοῦτου, ἐκείνη γὰρ ἐνεργοτάτῃ γυναικῶν ἐγένετο καὶ φύλαξ ἀγαθὴ χρημάτων, ἀμφοῖν τε ἀπόντων ἢ οὐσία ὑπεδίδου. τοῦ γε μὴν φοιτᾶν ἐς τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πανηγύρεις οὐκ ἡμέλει, ἀλλ' ἐθάμιζεν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐπιδείξεων ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀγνοεῖσθαι. βελτίων δὲ κἀκεῖνα ἐφαίνετο ὑπὸ τοῦ καὶ μετὰ τὸ πεπαῦσθαι τοῦ παιδεύειν αἰεὶ σπουδάζειν. Ἰππόδρομος μὲν γὰρ δὴ πλείστα μὲν ἐξέμαθεν Ἑλλήνων τῶν γε μετὰ τὸν Καππαδόκην Ἀλέξανδρον μνήμην εὐτυχησάντων, πλείστα δὲ ἀνέγνω μετὰ γε Ἀμμώνιον τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Περιπάτου, ἐκείνου γὰρ πολυγραμματώτερον ἀνδρα οὐπω ἔγνω. μελέτης δὲ ὁ Ἰππόδρομος οὔτε ἐν ἀγρῷ διατῶμενος ἡμέλει οὔτε ὁδοιπορῶν οὔτε ἐν θαλάττῃ,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ κρεῖττον ὄλβου κτῆμα ἐκάλει αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν Εὐριπίδου τε ὕμνων καὶ Ἀμφίονος.

<sup>1</sup> Θετταλίᾳ Kayser; θαλάττῃ Jahn.

<sup>1</sup> The biographer's son-in-law, the author of the *Imagines*.

<sup>1</sup> The last day of the festival.

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Lemnos,<sup>1</sup> his own pupil, aged twenty-two, was about to try his chances in an extempore oration, Hippodromus gave him many useful hints for the art of panegyric, namely what one ought and ought not to say. And when all Greece called on Hippodromus to come forward himself without delay, he replied: "I will not strip for a fight with my own entrails." Having said this, he put off the declamation till the day of the sacrifice.<sup>2</sup> I have said enough to show that he was a man truly well-educated, with a benevolent and humane disposition.

When he had held the chair of rhetoric at Athens for about four years, he resigned it at the instance of his wife, and also on account of his property; for she was a most energetic woman and an excellent guardian of his money, but in the absence of both the property was beginning to deteriorate. Nevertheless he did not fail to attend regularly the public festivals of Greece, but frequented them partly in order to declaim in public, partly that he might not be forgotten. And on these occasions also he showed himself superior by always keeping up his regular studies even after he had ceased to teach. For indeed Hippodromus, among those who ranked after Alexander the Capadocian as blessed with a good memory, learned more by heart than any of the Greeks, and he was the most widely read, with the exception, that is, of Ammonius the Peripatetic; for a more erudite man than Ammonius I have never known. Moreover, Hippodromus never neglected his study of the art of declamation, either when he was living on his country estate or when travelling by road, or at sea, but he used to call it a possession even greater than wealth, quoting from the hymns of Euripides and Amphion.

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Ἄγροικότερός τε ὢν τὸ εἶδος ὁμως ἀμήχανον εὐγένειαν ἐπεδήλου τοῖς ὄμμασι γοργόν τε καὶ φαιδρὸν βλέπων. τουτὶ δὲ καὶ Μεγιστίας ὁ Σμυρναῖος ἐν αὐτῷ καθεωρακέναι φησὶν οὐ τὰ δευτέρα τῶν φυσιογνωμονούντων νομισθεῖς· ἀφίκετο μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὴν Σμύρναν μετὰ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ὁ Ἰππόδρομος οὕτω πρὸ τούτου ἦκων, ἀποβὰς δὲ τῆς νεῶς ἀπήει ἐς ἀγοράν, εἴ τω ἐντύχοι πεπαιδευμένῳ τὰ ἐγχώρια. ἱερὸν δὲ κατιδὼν καὶ παιδαγωγούς τε προσκαθημένους ἀκολουθούς τε παίδας ἄχθη βιβλίων ἐν πήραις ἀνημμένους, ξυνῆκεν ὅτι παιδεύοι τις ἔνδον τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, καὶ ἔσω παρήει καὶ προσειπὼν τὸν Μεγιστίαν ἐκάθητο ἐρωτῶν οὐδέν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μεγιστίας ᾤετο ὑπὲρ μαθητῶν αὐτὸν διαλέξεσθαι οἱ, πατέρα ἴσως ἢ τροφέα παίδων ὄντα, καὶ ἤρετο, ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἦκοι, 619 ὁ δὲ “ πεύση ” ἔφη “ ἐπειδὰν αὐτοὶ γενώμεθα.” διακωδωνίσας οὖν ὁ Μεγιστίας τὰ μειράκια “ λέγε,” ἔφη “ ὅ τι βούλει.” καὶ ὁ Ἰππόδρομος “ ἀντιδῶμεν ἀλλήλοις τὴν ἐσθῆτα ” εἶπεν, ἦν δὲ ἄρα τῷ μὲν Ἰπποδρόμῳ χλαμύς, τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ δημηγορικὸν ἱμάτιον. “ καὶ τίνα σοι νοῦν ἔχει τοῦτο; ” ἦ δ' ὁ Μεγιστίας. “ ἐπίδειξιν ” ἔφη “ σοι μελέτης ποιήσασθαι βούλομαι.” δαιμονῶν μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ᾤηθη ταῦτα ἐπαγγείλαντα καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐλαύνεσθαι, τὰς βολὰς δὲ ἀνασκοπῶν τῶν ὀμμάτων καὶ ὀρῶν αὐτὸν ἔννου καὶ καθεστηκότα ἀντέδωκε τὴν ἐσθῆτα ὑπόθεσιν τε αἰτήσαντι προὔβαλε τὸν μάγον τὸν ἀποθνήσκειν ἀξιούντα,

<sup>1</sup> The Ionian type.

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Though he was somewhat rustic in appearance, yet an extraordinary nobility shone out of his eyes, and his glance was at once keen and good-natured. Megistias of Smyrna also says that he noticed this characteristic of his, and he was considered second to none as a physiognomist. For Hippodromus came to Smyrna after the death of Heracleides—he had never been there before—and on leaving the ship he went to the market-place in the hope of meeting someone who was proficient in the local style<sup>1</sup> of eloquence. And when he saw a temple with attendants sitting near it, and slaves in waiting carrying loads of books in satchels, he understood that someone of importance was holding his school inside. So he entered, and after greeting Megistias, sat down without making any inquiry. Now Megistias thought that he was going to talk to him about pupils, and that he was some father or guardian of boys, and asked him why he had come. "You shall learn that," he replied, "when we are alone." Accordingly when Megistias had finished examining his pupils, he said: "Tell me what you want." "Let us exchange garments," said Hippodromus. He was in fact wearing a travelling-cloak, while Megistias wore a gown suitable for public speaking. "And what do you mean by that?" asked Megistias. "I wish," he replied, "to give you a display of declamation." Now Megistias really thought that he was mad in making this announcement and that his wits were wandering. But when he observed the keenness of his glance and saw that he seemed sane and sober, he changed clothes with him. When he asked him to suggest a theme, Megistias proposed "The magician who wished to die because he was

ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἐδυνήθη ἀποκτεῖναι μάγον μοιχόν. ὡς δὲ ἰζήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ σμικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ἀνεπήδησεν, μᾶλλον ἐσήει τὸν Μεγιστίαν ὁ τῆς μανίας λόγος καὶ τὰ πλεονεκτήματα ἐμβροντησίαν ᾤετο, ἀρξαμένου δὲ τῆς ὑποθέσεως καὶ εἰπόντος “ ἄλλ’ ἐμαυτὸν γε δύναμαι ” ἐξέπεσεν ἑαυτοῦ ὑπὸ θαύματος καὶ προσδραμῶν αὐτῷ ἰκέτευε μαθεῖν, ὅστις εἶη. “ εἰμὶ μὲν ” ἔφη “ Ἴππόδρομος ὁ Θετταλός, ἦκω δὲ σοι ἐγγυμνασόμενος, ἵν’ ἐκμάθοιμι δι’ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς οὕτω πεπαιδευμένου τὸ ἦθος τῆς Ἰωνικῆς ἀκροάσεως. ἄλλ’ ὄρα με δι’ ὅλης τῆς ὑποθέσεως.” περὶ τέρμα δὲ τοῦ λόγου δρόμος ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν πεπαιδευμένων ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ Μεγιστίου θύρας ἐγένετο, ταχείας τῆς φήμης διαδοθείσης ἐς πάντας ἐπιχωριάζειν αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἴππόδρομον, ὁ δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἑτέρα δυνάμει μετεχειρίσατο τὰς ἤδη εἰρημένας ἐννοίας, παρελθὼν τε ἐς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σμυρναίων ἀνὴρ ἔδοξε θαυμάσιος καὶ οἶος ἐν τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ γράφεσθαι.

620 Ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν τῆς διαλέξεως Πλάτωνος ἀνημμένα καὶ Δίωνος, τὰ δὲ τῆς μελέτης κατὰ τὸν Πολέμωνα ἐρρωμένα καὶ πού καὶ ποτιμώτερα, τὰ δὲ τῆς εὐροίας οἷα τοῖς ἀλύπως ἀναγιγνώσκουσι τὰ σφόδρα αὐτοῖς καθωμιλημένα. Νικαγόρου δὲ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ μητέρα σοφιστῶν τὴν τραγωδίαν προσειπόντος διορθούμενος ὁ Ἴππόδρομος τὸν λόγον “ ἐγὼ δὲ ” ἔφη “ πατέρα Ὀμηρον.” ἐσπούδαζε δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀρχιλόχου καλῶν

<sup>1</sup> An echo of Plato, *Phaedrus* 228 E.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, *Life of Alexander*, p. 572.



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unable to kill another magician, an adulterer." And when he took his seat on the lecturer's chair, and after a moment's pause sprang to his feet, the theory that he was mad occurred still more forcibly to Megistias, and he thought that these signs of proficiency were mere delirium. But when he had begun to argue the theme and had come to the words: "But myself at least I can kill," Megistias could not contain himself for admiration, but ran to him and implored to be told who he was. "I am," said he, "Hippodromus the Thessalian, and I have come to practise my art on you<sup>1</sup> in order that I may learn from one man so proficient as you are the Ionian manner of declaiming. But observe me through the whole of the argument." Towards the end of the speech a rush was made by all lovers of learning in Smyrna to the door of Megistias, for the tidings had soon spread abroad that Hippodromus was visiting their city. Thereupon he took up his theme afresh, but gave a wholly different force to the ideas that he had already expressed.<sup>2</sup> And when later on he made his appearance before the public of Smyrna, they thought him truly marvellous, and worthy of being enrolled among men of former days.

His style in introductory discourse was wholly dependent on Plato and Dio, while his declamations had Polemo's vigour and an even greater suavity and freshness; and in his easy flow of words he resembled one who reads aloud, without effort, a work with which he is perfectly familiar. Once when Nicagoras had called tragedy "the mother of sophists," Hippodromus improved on this remark, and said: "But I should rather call Homer their father." He was, moreover, a devoted student of Archilochus, and used

τὸν μὲν Ὀμηρον φωνῆν σοφιστῶν, τὸν δὲ Ἀρχίλοχον πνεῦμα. μελέται μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου τριάκοντα ἴσως, ἀρισται δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ Καταναῖοι καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι καὶ ὁ Δημάδης ὁ μὴ ξυγχωρῶν ἀφίστασθαι Ἀλεξάνδρον ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ὄντος. ἄδονται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ λυρικοὶ νόμοι, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῆς νομικῆς λύρας ἤπτετο. ἐτελεύτα δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ οἴκοι καὶ ἐπὶ υἷῳ ἀγροῦ μὲν προστῆναι καὶ οἰκίας ἱκανῶ, παραπλήγι δὲ καὶ ἔκφρονι, τὰ δὲ τῶν σοφιστῶν οὐ πεπαιδευμένῳ.

κῆ'. Οἱ τὸν Λαοδικέα Οὔραρον λόγου ἀξιούντες αὐτοὶ μὴ ἀξιούσθων λόγου,<sup>1</sup> καὶ γὰρ εὐτελής καὶ διακεχρηνῶς καὶ ἐνήθης καὶ ἦν εἶχεν εὐφωνίαν αἰσχύνων καμπαῖς ἀσμάτων, αἷς κἂν ὑπορχήσαιτο τις τῶν ἀσελγεστέρων· οὐ διδάσκαλον ἢ ἀκροατὴν τί ἂν γράφομι, τί δ' ἂν φράζομι, εὐ γιγνώσκων, ὅτι μῆτ' ἂν τοιαῦτα διδάξειέ τις καὶ τοῖς μεμαθηκόσιν ὄνειδος τὸ τοιούτων ἠκροᾶσθαι;

κθ'. Κυρίνῳ δὲ τῷ σοφιστῇ πατρίς μὲν Νικομήδεια ἐγένετο, γένος δὲ οὔτε εὐδόκιμον οὔτε αὐ κατεγνωσμένον, ἀλλὰ φύσις ἀγαθὴ παραλαβεῖν 621 μαθήματα καὶ παραδοῦναι βελτίων, οὐ γὰρ μνήμην μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφήνειαν ἤσκει. κομματίας ὁ σοφιστῆς οὗτος καὶ περὶ μὲν τὰ θετικὰ

<sup>1</sup> λόγων . . . λόγων Kayser; λόγου . . . λόγου Cobet; cf. p. 576 ἀξιούσθω λόγου.

<sup>1</sup> This theme was inspired by the eruption of Etna in 425 B.C., mentioned by Thucydides iii. 116. From other references to this theme in Hermogenes it seems that the citizens of Catania are supposed to debate whether they shall migrate.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 572.

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to say that Homer was indeed the voice of the sophists, but Archilochus was their very breath. There are extant perhaps thirty declamations by this man, and of these the best are: "The citizens of Catania,"<sup>1</sup> "The Scythians,"<sup>2</sup> and "Demades argues against revolting from Alexander while he is in India."<sup>3</sup> His lyric nomes<sup>4</sup> are still sung, for he was skilful also in composing nomes for the lyre. He died at home aged about seventy, and left a son who, though he was well enough able to take charge of the country estate and the household, was crack-brained and foolish, and had not been educated for the sophistic profession.

28. Let those who think VARUS<sup>5</sup> OF LAODICEA worthy of mention receive no mention themselves. For he was trivial, vain, and fatuous, and such charm of voice as he had he degraded by uttering snatches of song which might serve as dance music for some shameless person. Why then should I record or describe any teacher or pupil of his, since I am well aware that one would not be likely to teach such arts, and that it would be disgraceful for his pupils to admit that they had listened to such teaching?

29. The birthplace of QUIRINUS<sup>5</sup> the sophist was Nicomedia. His family was neither distinguished nor altogether obscure, but he had a natural talent for receiving instruction and a still greater talent for handing it on, for he carefully trained not only his memory, but also his faculty for lucid expression. This sophist's sentences were very short, and when he was maintaining an abstract thesis he was

<sup>2</sup> Demades is supposed to oppose the advice of Demosthenes.

<sup>4</sup> These were hymns in honour of the gods.

<sup>5</sup> Nothing more is known of this sophist.

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τῶν χωρίων οὐ πολὺς, ἐρρωμένος μὴν καὶ σφοδρὸς καὶ κατασεῖσαι δεινὸς ἀκροατοῦ ὦτα, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀπεσχεδιάζεν, προσφυέστερος δὲ ταῖς κατηγορίαις δοκῶν ἐπιστεύθη ἐκ βασιλέως τὴν τοῦ ταμείου γλῶτταν, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ δυνηθῆναι τι οὔτε βαρὺς οὔτε ἀλαζῶν ἔδοξεν, ἀλλὰ πρῶός τε καὶ ἑαυτῷ ὅμοιος, οὔτε ἐρασιχρήματος, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ τὸν Ἀριστείδην Ἀθηναῖοι ἄδουσι μετὰ τὴν ἐπίταξιν τῶν φόρων καὶ τὰς νήσους ἐπανελθεῖν σφισιν ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ τρίβωνι, οὔτω καὶ ὁ Κυρῖνος ἀφίκετο ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἦθη πενία σεμνυνόμενος. αἰτιωμένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐνδεικτῶν, ὡς πρῶτερον περὶ τὰς κατηγορίας ἢ αὐτοὶ διδάσκουσιν “ καὶ μὴν καὶ πολλῶ βέλτιον ” εἶπεν “ ὑμᾶς λαβεῖν τὴν ἐμὴν πράοτητα ἢ ἐμὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν ὠμότητα. ” ἐνδείξαντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πόλιν οὐ μεγάλην ἐπὶ πολλαῖς μυριάσιν ἐκράτει μὲν ὁ Κυρῖνος τὴν δίκην ἄκων μάλα, προσιόντες δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ἐνδείκται “ αὕτη σε ” ἔφασαν “ ἡ δίκη ἀρεῖ μέγαν παρελθοῦσα ἐς τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ὦτα. ” καὶ ὁ Κυρῖνος “ οὐκ ἐμοὶ πρόπον, ” ἔφη “ ἀλλ' ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τῷ πόλιν ἀοίκητον εἰργάσθαι τιμᾶσθαι. ” ἐπὶ δὲ υἱῷ τελευτήσαντι παραμυθουμένων αὐτὸν τῶν προσηκόντων “ πότε ” εἶπεν “ ἀνὴρ ἢ νῦν δόξω ; ” Ἀδριανοῦ δὲ ἀκροατῆς γενόμενος οὐ πᾶσιν ὠμολόγει τοῖς ἐκείνου, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἂ καὶ διέγραφεν οὐκ ὀρθῶς εἰρημένα. τέρμα

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not very successful. Nevertheless he was vigorous and energetic, and was skilled in startling into attention the ears of his audience. For indeed he used to speak extempore, but since he seemed better adapted by nature for making speeches for the prosecution in the courts, he was entrusted by the Emperor with the post of advocate for the treasury. Though he thereby attained to considerable power, he showed himself neither aggressive nor insolent but mild and unchanged in character, never greedy of gain but, like Aristeides in the story that the Athenians recite about him—how after he had arranged the amount of the tribute and the affairs of the islands, he came back to them wearing the same shabby cloak as before—so too Quirinus returned to his native place dignified by poverty. When the informers in Asia found fault with him for being more lenient in his prosecutions than accorded with the evidence furnished by them, he said: "Nay it were far better that you should adopt my clemency than I your ruthlessness." And when they cited a small town for the payment of many myriads of drachmae, Quirinus did indeed win the case, though much against his will, but when the informers came to him and said: "This case when it comes to the Emperor's ears will greatly enhance your reputation," he retorted: "It suits you but not me to win rewards for making a town desolate." When his relatives tried to console him for the death of his son, he said: "When, if not now, shall I prove myself a man?" He had been a pupil of Adrian, but he did not approve of all his writings, and even expunged some passages that had been incorrectly expressed. His life came to a close

δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ βίου ἔτος ἑβδομηκοστὸν καὶ τὸ σῆμα οἴκοι.

λ'. Φιλίσκος δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς Ἰπποδρόμῳ μὲν  
 622 συνῆπται γένος, τοῦ δὲ Ἀθήνησι θρόνου προὔστη  
 ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ τὴν ἀτέλειαν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀφαιρεθείς,  
 τουτὶ δὲ πῶς συνέβη, δηλῶσαι ἀνάγκη· Ἑορδαῖοι  
 Μακεδόνες ἀνειπόντες ἐς τὰς οἰκείας λειτουργίας  
 τὸν Φιλίσκον, ὡς δὴ ὑπάρχον αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πάντας  
 τοὺς ἀπὸ μητέρων, ὡς δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδέξατο<sup>1</sup> ἐφίεσαν  
 τῆς δίκης τοίνυν γενομένης ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοκρότορα,  
 Ἀντωνίνος δὲ ἦν ὁ τῆς φιλοσόφου παῖς Ἰουλίας,  
 ἐστάλη ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὡς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ θησόμενος,  
 καὶ προσρueῖς τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἰουλίαν γεωμέτραις  
 τε καὶ φιλοσόφοις εὔρετο παρ' αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦ  
 βασιλέως τὸν Ἀθήνησι θρόνον. ὁ δ', ὥσπερ οἱ  
 θεοὶ Ὀμήρῳ πεποιήνται οὐ πάντα ἐκόντες ἀλλή-  
 λους<sup>2</sup> διδόντες, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἅ καὶ ἄκοντες, οὕτω δὴ  
 ἠγρίαυε καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν ὡς περιδραμόντι, ὡς δὲ  
 ἤκουσεν εἶναι τινὰ αὐτῷ καὶ δίκην, ἧς αὐτὸς  
 ἀκροατῆς ἔσοιτο, κελεύει τὸν ἐπιτεταγμένον ταῖς  
 623 δίκαις προειπεῖν οἱ τὸ μὴ δι' ἑτέρον, δι' ἑαυτοῦ δὲ  
 ἀγωνίσασθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον,  
 προσέκρουσε μὲν τὸ βᾶδισμα, προσέκρουσε δὲ ἡ  
 στάσις, καὶ τὴν στολὴν οὐκ εὐσχήμων ἔδοξε καὶ  
 τὴν φωνὴν μιξόθηλος καὶ τὴν γλώτταν ὑπτίως καὶ

<sup>1</sup> For the lacuna after μητέρων Kayser suggests ὡς δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδέξατο. <sup>2</sup> Valckenaer suggests ἀνθρώποις.

<sup>1</sup> Nothing more is known of this sophist.

<sup>2</sup> This Macedonian clan, mentioned by Herodotus vii. 185, had the privilege of reckoning the *materna origo*; i.e. they reckoned their descent by the mother, not the father, and could call on one whose mother was a Heordaeon to perform his duties as a citizen.

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with his seventieth year; his tomb is in his native place.

30. PHILISCUS<sup>1</sup> THE THESSALIAN was a kinsman of Hippodromus and held the chair of rhetoric at Athens for seven years, but was deprived of the immunity that was attached to it. How this came about I must now relate. The Heordaeans<sup>2</sup> had summoned Philiscus to perform public services in their city, as was their right in the case of all who on the mother's side were Heordaeans, and since he did not undertake them they referred the matter to the courts. Accordingly the suit came before the Emperor (this was Antoninus<sup>3</sup> the son of the philosophic Julia); and Philiscus travelled to Rome to protect his own interests. There he attached himself closely to Julia's circle of mathematicians<sup>4</sup> and philosophers, and obtained from her with the Emperor's consent the chair of rhetoric at Athens. But the Emperor, like the gods in Homer who are portrayed as granting favours to one another, but sometimes against their will, nourished the same sort of resentment, and was ill-disposed to Philiscus because he thought that the latter had stolen a march on him. So when he heard that there was a suit brought against him and that he was to hear it tried, he ordered the official in charge of lawsuits to give notice to Philiscus that he must make his defence himself and not through another. And when Philiscus appeared in court he gave offence by his gait, he gave offence by the way in which he stood, his attire seemed far from suitable to the occasion, his voice effeminate, his language indolent

<sup>3</sup> Antoninus Caracalla.

<sup>4</sup> This is the regular word for astrologers.

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βλέπων ἐτέρωσέ ποι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς τὰ νοούμενα· ἐκ τούτων ἀποστραφεὶς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐς τὸν Φιλίσκον ἐπεστομίξεν αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον διείρων ἑαυτὸν<sup>1</sup> τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ ἐρωτήσεις ἐν αὐτῷ στενὰς ποιούμενος, ὡς δὲ οὐ πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτώμενα αἱ ἀποκρίσεις ἐγένοντο Φιλίσκου “ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ” ἔφη “ δείκνυσιν ἢ κόμη, τὸν δὲ ῥήτορα ἢ φωνή,” καὶ μετὰ πολλὰς τοιαύτας ἐπικοπὰς ἐπήγαγεν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς Ἑορδαίοις. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλίσκου “ σύ μοι λειτουργιῶν ἀτέλειαν δέδωκας δούς τὸν Ἀθήνησι θρόνον ” ἀναβοήσας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ “ οὔτε σύ ” εἶπεν “ ἀτελής οὔτε ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν παιδευόντων· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε διὰ μικρὰ καὶ δύστηνα λογάρια τὰς πόλεις ἀφελοίμην τῶν λειτουργησόντων.” ἄλλ’ ὅμως καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Φιλοστράτῳ τῷ Λημνίῳ λειτουργιῶν ἀτέλειαν ἐπὶ μελέτῃ ἐψηφίσατο τέτταρα καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονότι. αἱ μὲν δὴ προφάσεις, δι’ ἧς ὁ Φιλίσκος ἀφηρέθη τὸ εἶναι ἀτελής, αἶδε ἐγένοντο, μὴ ἀφαιρείσθω δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ περὶ τῷ βλέμματι καὶ τῷ φθέγματι καὶ σχήματι ἐλαττώματα τὸ μὴ οὐ κράτιστα ῥητόρων ἐλληνίσαι τε καὶ συνθεῖναι. ἡ δὲ ἰδέα τοῦ λόγου λάλος μᾶλλον ἢ ἐναγώνιος, διεφαίνετο δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ καθαρὰ ὀνόματα καὶ καινοπρεπῆς ἤχος. ἐτελεύτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ οὐδενὸς ἀξίῳ, μέτρον δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ βίου ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα. κεκτημένος δὲ Ἀθήνησι χωρίον οὐκ ἀηδὲς οὐκ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐτάφη, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ, οὐ τίθησι τὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἐς αὐτὸν Kayser ; ἑαυτὸν Jahn.

<sup>1</sup> i. e. it was curled and effeminate ; cf. p. 571.

<sup>2</sup> An echo of Demosthenes, *On the False Embassy* 421.



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and directed to any subject rather than to the matter in hand. All this made the Emperor hostile to Philiscus, so that he kept pulling him up throughout the whole speech, both by interjecting his own remarks in the other's allotted time, and by interrupting with abrupt questions. And since the replies of Philiscus were beside the mark, the Emperor exclaimed: "His hair shows what sort of man he is,<sup>1</sup> his voice what sort of orator!" And after cutting him short like this many times, he ranged himself on the side of the Heordaeans. And when Philiscus said: "You have given me exemption from public services by giving me the chair at Athens," the Emperor cried at the top of his voice: "Neither you nor any other teacher is exempt! Never would I, for the sake of a few miserable speeches,<sup>2</sup> rob the cities of men who ought to perform public services." Nevertheless he did, even after this incident, decree for Philostratus of Lemnos, then aged twenty-four, exemption from public service as a reward for a declamation. These then were the reasons why Philiscus was deprived of the privilege of exemption. But we must not, on account of the shortcomings of his facial expression, his voice and his dress deprive him of that high place among rhetoricians which is due to his Hellenic culture and his ability to compose speeches. The style of his eloquence was colloquial rather than forensic, but it was illumined by a pure Attic vocabulary and had effects of sound that were original. He died leaving a daughter and a worthless son, and the measure of his life was sixty-seven years. Though he had acquired a charming little estate at Athens, he was not buried on it but in the Academy where the commander-in-chief

ἀγῶνα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων θαπτομένοις<sup>1</sup> ὁ πολέμαρχος.

624 λα'. Αἰλιανὸς δὲ Ῥωμαῖος μὲν ἦν, ἠττίκιζε δέ, ὡς περ οἱ ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐπαίνου μοι δοκεῖ ἄξιος ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος, πρῶτον μὲν, ἐπειδὴ καθαρὰν φωνὴν ἐξεπόνθησε πόλιν οἰκῶν ἑτέρα φωνῇ χρωμένην, ἔπειθ', ὅτι προσηθείς σοφιστῆς ὑπὸ τῶν χαριζομένων τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν, οὐδὲ ἐκολάκευσε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην, οὐδὲ ἐπήρθη ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος οὕτω μεγάλου ὄντος, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν εὖ διασκεψάμενος ὡς μελέτη οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον τῷ ξυγγράφῳ ἐπέθετο καὶ ἐθαυμάσθη ἐκ τούτου. ἡ μὲν ἐπίπαν ἰδέα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀφέλεια προσβάλλουσα τι τῆς Νικοστράτου ὥρας, ἡ δὲ ἐνίοτε πρὸς Δίωνα ὄρα καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου τόνον.

625 Ἐντυχῶν δέ ποτε αὐτῷ Φιλόστρατος ὁ Λήμνιος βιβλίον ἐτι πρόχειρον ἔχοντι καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντι αὐτὸ σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ ἐπιτάσει τοῦ φθέγματος ἤρετο αὐτόν, ὃ τι σπουδάζοι, καὶ ὅς "ἐκπεπόνθηταί μοι" ἔφη "κατηγορία τοῦ Γύνιδος, καλῶ γὰρ οὕτω τὸν ἄρτι καθηρημένον τύραννον, ἐπειδὴ ἀσελγεία πάση τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἤσχυνε." καὶ ὁ Φιλόστρατος "ἐγώ σε" εἶπεν "ἐθαύμαζον ἂν, εἰ ζῶντος κατηγορήσας." εἶναι γὰρ δὴ τὸ μὲν ζῶντα τύραννον ἐπικόπτειν ἀνδρὸς, τὸ δὲ ἐπεμβαίνειν κειμένῳ παντός.

<sup>1</sup> Cobet would omit *θαπτομένοις* as too literal an echo of Thucydides ii. 35 where the participle is appropriate.

<sup>1</sup> These were ceremonies in honour of the famous dead of classical times and were held yearly. This type of speech is called a polemarchic oration. Fictitious polemarchic declamations were a favourite exercise of the sophists.

<sup>2</sup> For the purity of speech of the interior of Attica see p. 553.

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holds the funeral games in honour of those buried there who have fallen in war.<sup>1</sup>

31. AELIAN was a Roman, but he wrote Attic as correctly as the Athenians in the interior of Attica.<sup>2</sup> This man in my opinion is worthy of all praise, in the first place because by hard work he achieved purity of speech though he lived in a city which employed another language; secondly because, though he received the title of sophist at the hands of those who award that honour, he did not trust to their decision, but neither flattered his own intelligence nor was puffed up by this appellation, exalted though it was, but after taking careful stock of his own abilities, he saw that they were not suited to declamation, and so he applied himself to writing history and won admiration in this field. Simplicity was the prevailing note of his style, and it has something of the charm of Nicostratus, but at times he imitates the vigorous style of Dio.

Philostratus of Lemnos once met him when he was holding a book in his hands and reading it aloud in an indignant and emphatic voice, and he asked him what he was studying. He replied: "I have composed an indictment of Gynnis,<sup>3</sup> for by that name I call the tyrant who has just been put to death, because by every sort of wanton wickedness he disgraced the Roman Empire." On which Philostratus retorted: "I should admire you for it, if you had indicted him while he was alive." For he said that while it takes a real man to try to curb a living tyrant, anyone can trample on him when he is down.

<sup>3</sup> The "womanish man," applied to Heliogabalus, who was put to death in 222. This diatribe is lost.

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Ἐφασκε δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος μὴδ' ἀποδεδημηκένας ποι τῆς γῆς ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἰταλῶν χώραν, μὴδὲ ἐμβῆναι ναῦν, μὴδὲ γινῶναι θάλατταν, ὅθεν καὶ λόγου πλείονος κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἠξιούτο ὡς τιμῶν τὰ ἦθη. Πausανίου μὲν οὖν ἀκροατῆς ἐγένετο, ἐθαύμαζε δὲ τὸν Ἡρώδην ὡς ποικιλώτατον ῥητόρων. ἐβίω δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη καὶ ἐτελεύτα οὐκ ἐπὶ παισίν, παιδοποιίαν γὰρ παρητήσατο τῷ μὴ γῆμαί ποτε. τοῦτο δὲ εἴτε εὐδαίμων εἴτε ἄθλιον οὐ τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ φιλοσοφῆσαι.

λβ'. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τύχη κράτιστον ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, μὴδὲ Ἡλιόδωρος ἀπαξιούσθω σοφιστῶν κύκλου παράδοξον ἀγώνισμα τύχης γενόμενος· ἐχειροτονήθη μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος πρόδικος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος ἐς τὰ Κελτικά ἔθνη ξὺν ἐτέρω, νοσοῦντος δὲ θατέρου καὶ λεγομένου τοῦ βασιλέως διαγράφειν πολλὰς τῶν δικῶν διέδραμεν ὁ Ἡλιόδωρος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον δείσας περὶ τῆ δίκη, ἐσκαλούμενος δὲ θάπτον ἢ ᾤετο ἐς τὸν νοσοῦντα ἀνεβάλλετο, ὑβριστῆς δὲ ὢν ὁ τὰς δίκας ἐσκαλῶν οὐ  
 628 συνεχώρει ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ παρήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ δικαστήρια ἄκοντά τε καὶ τοῦ γενείου ἔλκων. ὡς δὲ ἔσω παρήλθε καὶ θαρραλέον μὲν ἐς τὸν βασιλέα εἶδεν, καιρὸν δὲ ἤτησεν ὕδατος, αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν παραίτησιν ἐντρεχῶς διέθετο εἰπὼν “ καινὸν σοι δόξει, μέγιστε αὐτοκράτορ, ἑαυτὸν τις παραγραφόμενος τῷ<sup>1</sup> μόνος ἀγωνίσασθαι τὴν δίκην ἐντολὰς

<sup>1</sup> τῷ Kayser suggests.

<sup>1</sup> A favourite sophistic theme for epideictic orations was “Should a man marry?”

<sup>2</sup> Otherwise unknown.

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This man used to say that he had never travelled to any part of the world beyond the confines of Italy, and had never set foot on a ship, or become acquainted with the sea ; and on these grounds he was all the more highly esteemed in Rome as one who prized their mode of life. He was a pupil of Pausanias, but he admired Herodes as the most various of orators. He lived to be over sixty years of age and died leaving no children ; for by never marrying he evaded begetting children. However this is not the right time to speculate as to whether this brings happiness or misery.<sup>1</sup>

32. Since Fortune plays the most important part in all human affairs, HELIODORUS<sup>2</sup> must not be deemed unworthy of the sophistic circle ; for he was a marvellous instance of her triumphs. He was elected advocate of his own country among the Celtic tribes, with a colleague. And when his colleague was ill, and it was reported that the Emperor<sup>3</sup> was cancelling many of the suits, Heliodorus hastened to the military headquarters in anxiety about his own suit. On being summoned into court sooner than he expected, he tried to postpone the case till the sick man could be present ; but the official who gave the notifications of the suits was an overbearing fellow and would not allow this, but haled him into court against his will, and even dragged him by the beard. But when he had entered he actually looked boldly at the Emperor, asked for time to be allotted to him in which to plead, and then with ready skill delivered his protest, saying : “ It will seem strange to you, most mighty Emperor, that one should nullify his own suit by pleading it alone, without

<sup>3</sup> Caracalla.

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οὐκ ἔχων," ἀναπηδήσας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἄνδρα τε " οἷον οὐπω ἔγνωκα, τῶν ἔμαυτοῦ καιρῶν εὐρημα " καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκάλει τὸν Ἡλιόδωρον ἀνασειῶν τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τὸν κόλπον τῆς χλαμύδος. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ἐνέπεσέ τις καὶ ἡμῶν ὄρμη γέλωτος οἰομένοις ὅτι διαπτύοι αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἵππεύειν αὐτῷ τε δημοσίᾳ ἔδωκε καὶ παισίν, ὁπόσους ἔχοι, ἐθαυμάζετο ἢ τύχη ὡς τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἰσχὺν ἐνδεικνυμένη διὰ τῶν οὕτω παραλόγων, καὶ πολλῶ πλέον τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἐδηλοῦτο· ὡς γὰρ ξυνῆκεν ὁ Ἀράβιος, ὅτι κατὰ δαίμονα ἀγαθὸν τὰ πράγματα αὐτῷ προὔβαιεν, ἀπεχρήσατο τῇ φορᾷ τοῦ βασιλέως, καθάπερ τῶν ναυκλήρων οἱ τὰ ἰστία πλήρη ἀνασειόντες ἐν ταῖς εὐπλοίαις καὶ " ὦ βασιλεῦ," ἔφη " ἀνάθες μοι καιρὸν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν μελέτης," καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς " ἀκροῶμαι," εἶπε " καὶ λέγε ἐς τόδε· ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐπὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου ἐκπεσῶν καὶ δειλίας φεύγων." μελετῶντι δὲ οὐ μόνον ἑαυτὸν εὖνον παρεῖχεν, ἀλλ' ἠτοίμαζε καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἄλλων ἔπαινον φοβερόν βλέπων ἐς τοὺς μὴ ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ ἀκούοντας. καὶ μὴν καὶ προστήσατο αὐτὸν τῆς μεγίστης τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην συνηγοριῶν ὡς ἐπιτηδειότερον δικαστηρίοις καὶ δίκαις. ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως προσετάχθη μὲν τις αὐτῷ νῆσος, λαβὼν δὲ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ φονικὴν αἰτίαν ἀνεπέμφθη ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὡς ἀπολογησόμενος τοῖς 627 τῶν στρατοπέδων ἡγεμόσι, δόξαντι δὲ αὐτῷ καθαρῷ

<sup>1</sup> A sign of approval; cf. Eunapius, *Life of the Sophist Julian*.

<sup>2</sup> For this theme, based on Aeschines, *On the False Embassy*, 34, cf. Maximus Planudes v. 309 Walz.

<sup>3</sup> Like Quirinus, he was made an advocate of the Treasury, *advocatus fisci*.

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having your commands to do so." At this the Emperor sprang from his seat and called Heliodorus "a man such as I have never yet known, a new phenomenon such as has appeared only in my own time," and other epithets of this sort, and raising his hand he shook back the fold of his cloak.<sup>1</sup> Now at first we felt an impulse to laugh, because we thought that the Emperor was really making fun of him. But when he bestowed on him the public honour of equestrian rank and also on all his children, men marvelled at the goddess Fortune who showed her power by events so incredible. And this power was illustrated still more clearly in what followed. For when the Arab comprehended that things were going well for him, he profited by the Emperor's impulsive mood, like a navigator who crowds on all sail when the wind is fair for sailing: "O Emperor," said he, "appoint a time for me to give a display of declamation." "I give you a hearing now, and speak on the following theme," said the Emperor: 'Demosthenes, after breaking down before Philip, defends himself from the charge of cowardice.'<sup>2</sup> And while Heliodorus was declaiming he not only showed himself in a friendly mood, but also secured applause from the others present by looking sternly at those of the audience who failed to applaud. What is more, he placed him at the head of the most important body of public advocates<sup>3</sup> in Rome, as being peculiarly fitted for the courts and for conducting legal cases. But when the Emperor died he was deported to a certain island, and having incurred a charge of murder in the island he was sent to Rome to make his defence before the military prefects. And since he proved himself

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εἶναι τῆς αἰτίας ἐπανεῖθη καὶ ἡ νῆσος. καὶ γηράσκει ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μῆτε σπουδαζόμενος μῆτε ἀμελούμενος.

λγ'. Ἀσπασίον δὲ τὸν σοφιστὴν Ῥάβεννα μὲν ἤνεγκεν, ἡ δὲ Ῥάβεννα Ἴταλοί, Δημητριάδης δὲ ὁ πατὴρ ἐπαίδευσεν εὖ γιγνώσκων τοὺς κριτικούς τῶν λόγων. πολυμαθῆς δὲ ὁ Ἀσπασίος καὶ πολυήκοος καὶ τὸ μὲν καινοπρεπὲς ἐπαιῶν, ἐς ἀπειροκαλίαν δὲ οὐδαμοῦ ἐκπίπτων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν καιρῷ χρῆσθαι οἷς γιγνώσκει. τουτὶ δὲ που καὶ ἐν μουσικῇ κράτιστον, οἱ γὰρ καιροὶ τῶν τόνων λύρα τε φωνὴν ἔδωκαν καὶ αὐλῶ καὶ μελωδίαν ἐπαίδευσαν. ἐπιμεληθεῖς δὲ τοῦ δοκίμως τε καὶ σὺν ἀφελείᾳ ἐρμηνεύειν πνεύματός τε καὶ περιβολῆς ἡμέλησε, τὸ σχεδιάζειν τε ἐκ φύσεως οὐκ ἔχων πόνῳ παρεστήσατο.

Ἦλθε δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ τῆς γῆς μέρη βασιλεῖ τε ξυνῶν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν μεταβαίνων. προὔστη δὲ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην θρόνου νεάζων μὲν εὐδοκίμωτατος, γηράσκων δὲ ξὺν αἰτία τοῦ μὴ ἑτέρῳ ἀποστήναι βούλεσθαι. ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Λήμνιον Φιλόστρατον τῷ Ἀσπασίῳ διαφορὰ ἤρξατο μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης, ἐπέδωκε δὲ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ ὑπὸ Κασσιανοῦ τε καὶ Αὐρηλίου τῶν σοφιστῶν αὐξηθεῖσα. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖν ὁ μὲν Αὐρήλιος οἷος καὶ ἐν καπηλείοις μελετᾶν πρὸς τὸν ἐκεῖ οἶνον, ὁ δ' οἷος θρασύνεσθαι

<sup>1</sup> This sophist is occasionally cited by the scholiasts on Hermogenes.

<sup>2</sup> On oratory as a kind of musical science see Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Literary Composition*.

<sup>3</sup> Kayser thinks that Alexander Severus is meant, but there are good reasons for supposing that it was Caracalla.



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innocent of the charge he was also released from his exile on the island. He is spending his old age in Rome, neither greatly admired nor altogether neglected.

33. Ravenna was the birthplace of ASPASIUS<sup>1</sup> the sophist—now Ravenna is an Italian city—and he was educated by his father Demetrianus who was skilled in the art of criticism. Aspasius was an industrious student and was diligent in attending the rhetorical schools. He used to praise novelty, but he never lapsed into bad taste, because what he invented he employed with a due sense of proportion. This is, of course, of the greatest importance in music also,<sup>2</sup> for it is the time measures of the notes that have given a voice to the lyre and the flute and taught us melody. But though he took great pains to express himself appropriately and with simplicity, he gave too little thought to vigour and rhetorical amplification. Though he had no natural ability for extempore speaking, he made good the deficiency by hard work.

He visited many parts of the earth, both in the train of the Emperor<sup>3</sup> and travelling independently. He held the chair of rhetoric at Rome with great credit to himself, so long as he was young, but as he grew old he was criticized for not being willing to resign it in another's favour. The quarrel between Aspasius and Philostratus of Lemnos began in Rome, but became more serious in Ionia, where it was fomented by the sophists Cassianus and Aurelius. Of these two men Aurelius was the sort of person who would declaim even in low wine-shops while the drinking was going on; while Cassianus was a man of such impudence of character that he aspired

μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀθήνησι θρόνον διὰ καιροῦς, οἷς ἀπεχρήσατο, παιδεύσαι δὲ μηδένα, πλὴν Περίγητος<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Λυδοῦ. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ τρόπου τῆς διαφορᾶς εἴρηται μοι καὶ τί ἂν αὐτῆς ἐρμηνεύοιμι τὰ ἀποχρώντως δεδηλωμένα; τὸ δὲ εἶναι τι χρηστὸν καὶ  
 628 παρ' ἐχθροῦ εὐρέσθαι ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων διεφάνη, μάλιστα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων· διενεχθέντε γὰρ ὁ μὲν Ἀσπάσιος προσεποίησεν αὐτῷ τὸ σχεδιάζειν ξὺν εὐροία, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Φιλόστρατος καὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους ἐλλογίμως εἶχεν, ὁ δ' αὖ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον τέως ὑλομανοῦντα πρὸς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τὴν ἐκείνου ἐκόλασεν.

Ἡ δὲ ξυγγεγραμμένη ἐπιστολὴ τῷ Φιλοστράτῳ περὶ τοῦ πῶς χρῆ ἐπιστέλλειν πρὸς τὸν Ἀσπάσιον τείνει, ἐπειδὴ παρελθὼν ἐς βασιλείους ἐπιστολὰς τὰς μὲν ἀγωνιστικώτερον τοῦ δέοντος ἐπέστελλε, τὰς δὲ οὐ σαφῶς, ὧν οὐδέτερον βασιλεῖ πρέπον· αὐτοκράτωρ γὰρ δὴ ὅποτε ἐπιστέλλοι, οὐ δεῖ ἐνθυμημάτων οὐδ' ἐπιχειρημάτων, ἀλλὰ δόξης, οὐδ' αὖ ἀσαφείας, ἐπειδὴ νόμους φθέγγεται, σαφήνεια δὲ ἐρμηνεύς νόμου.

Παυσανίου μὲν οὖν μαθητῆς ὁ Ἀσπάσιος, Ἴπποδρόμου δὲ οὐκ ἀνήκοος, ἐπαίδευε δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἱκανῶς γηράσκων, ὅποτε μαι ταῦτα ἐγράφετο.

Τοσαῦτα περὶ Ἀσπασίου. περὶ δὲ Φιλοστράτου Λημνίου καὶ τίς μὲν ἐν δικαστηρίοις ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος,

<sup>1</sup> Valckenaer would read Πίγητος, because Pigres is a name often occurring in Asia.

<sup>1</sup> Aristophanes, *Birds* 375.

## LIVES OF THE SOPHISTS

to the chair at Athens, seizing on opportunities of which he made full use, and this though he had taught no one except Periges the Lydian. However since I have described the manner of their quarrel, why should I relate again what has been made sufficiently plain? The saying that even from an enemy one can learn something worth while<sup>1</sup> has often been illustrated in human affairs, but never more clearly than in the case of these men. For while their controversy lasted Aspasius achieved for himself the art of speaking extempore with ease and fluency, because Philostratus already had a great reputation in this branch of eloquence; while the latter in his turn pruned down his own style of oratory which was running to riot before, till it matched his opponent's accuracy and terseness.

The epistle composed by Philostratus called *How to Write Letters* is aimed at Aspasius, who on being appointed Imperial Secretary wrote certain letters in a style more controversial than is suitable; and others he wrote in obscure language, though neither of these qualities is becoming to an Emperor. For an Emperor when he writes a letter ought not to use rhetorical syllogisms or trains of reasoning, but ought to express only his own will; nor again should he be obscure, since he is the voice of the law, and lucidity is the interpreter of the law. Aspasius was a pupil of Pausanias, but he also attended the school of Hippodromus, and he was teaching in Rome, well advanced in years, when I was writing this narrative.

So much for Aspasius. But of Philostratus of Lemnos and his ability in the law courts, in political

## PHILOSTRATUS

*τίς δὲ ἐν δημηγορίαις, τίς δὲ ἐν συγγράμμασι, τίς δὲ ἐν μελέταις, ὅσος δὲ ἐν σχεδίῳ λόγῳ, καὶ περὶ Νικαγόρου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, ὃς καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου ἱεροῦ κήρυξ ἐστέφθη, καὶ Ἀψίνης ὁ Φοῖνιξ ἐφ' ὅσον προὔβη μνήμης τε καὶ ἀκριβείας, οὐκ ἐμὲ δεῖ γράφειν, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἀπιστηθεῖην ὡς χαρισάμενος, ἐπειδὴ φιλία μοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἦν.*

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<sup>1</sup> From Suidas we learn that the father of Nicagoras was Mnesaius, and his son Minucianus; the latter lived under Gallienus, 253-268. Nicagoras taught at Athens during the latter part of the life of our Philostratus.

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harangues, in writing treatises, in declamation, and lastly of his talent for speaking extempore, it is not for me to write. Nay, nor must I write about Nicagoras<sup>1</sup> of Athens, who was appointed herald of the temple at Eleusis; nor of Apsines<sup>2</sup> the Phoenician and his great achievements of memory and precision. For I should be distrusted as favouring them unduly, since they were connected with me by the tie of friendship.

<sup>2</sup> Apsines of Gadara taught rhetoric at Athens about A.D. 235. We have two of his critical works, but his declamations have perished. He gives many examples of themes and was a devout student of Demosthenes.



# EUNAPIUS





## INTRODUCTION

For the main facts of the life of Eunapius we depend on the allusions to himself in the following *Lives*. He was born in 346 at Sardis, and was related by marriage to Chrysanthius. In his sixteenth year he went to Athens and studied with a Christian sophist, the Armenian Prohaeresius. To him Eunapius gave a loyalty that was unaffected by his teacher's religion, though otherwise he is consistent in hating and fearing the steadily growing influence of Christianity. After five years in Athens, Eunapius was preparing to go to Egypt, but his parents recalled him to Lydia in 367, and for the rest of his life, for all we know to the contrary, he taught at Sardis. There, as he tells us, he devoted himself to the venerable Chrysanthius until the latter's death. His own death occurred about 414. He lived to see the decline of Greek studies so lamented by Libanius; the proscription of sacrifices to the gods, and the official abolition of paganism in 391; the invasion of Greece by Alaric, and the destruction of Eleusis in 395. His forebodings and his distress at all this colour the *Lives*.

His chief work was a *Universal History*, in which he continued the *Chronicle* of Dexippus, taking up the narrative at the year A.D. 270. In fourteen

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Books he brought it down to the reign of Arcadius at the opening of the fifth century, when it was probably cut short by his own death. Some fragments of this chronicle have been preserved in the *Lexicon* of Suidas, and from these and from his own frequent references to it we can see that it was written in considerable detail. It would be a valuable document for the times, for though Eunapius was a bitter partisan and the book was partly a polemic against Christianity, he knew personally the leading men of the Eastern Empire, and was an eyewitness of much that he related. The real hero of the work, however, seems to have been the Emperor Julian, and Photius says that it amounts as a whole to an encomium on that last hope of the pagan world. For his career Eunapius could derive much information from his friend the physician Oribasius, who had been with Julian in Gaul. In the fifth century Zosimus the pagan historian borrowed from Eunapius for his account of Julian's life.

In the *Lives* Eunapius refers to himself modestly in the third person, and never by name. Though he regarded the title of sophist as the most honourable possible, he actually devotes more space to those who were philosophers rather than sophists, such as Iamblichus and Maximus. The *Life* of Libanius, who was a typical sophist, is short and superficial, and he gives only a few lines to Himerius. At the beginning of the work there are strange omissions, for example of Diogenes Laertius, when he is speaking of the historians of philosophy and cites only Sotion and Porphyry. But no less capricious is his avoidance of any mention of the sophist and philosopher Themistius, his own con-

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temporary and one of the most distinguished. In describing the intellectual life of the fourth Christian century he is naturally one-sided. His interests all centre in the East, and he has nothing to say about Rome or the men for whom Rome was still the capital of the world. Nor is it likely that in his *History* he wrote of certain fourth-century men, whose names are household words, where Libanius, Prohaeresius, and Himerius are unknown. Augustine, Jerome, Basil, and Gregory, the poets Prudentius and Ausonius are but a few of his celebrated contemporaries; but he ignores them, along with the historian Ammianus Marcellinus, to whom we must so often turn to supplement the *Lives*. Yet Ammianus went with the "divine Julian" to Persia, and we have no better guide for the history of that time.

Eunapius admires even absurd charlatans, such as Zeno and his successors the "iatrosophists," *healing sophists*,<sup>1</sup> partly because anything that could be called a sophist was sacred to him, partly because he was something of an iatrosophist himself, since he boasts of the knowledge of medicine that enabled him to treat Chrysanthius. Success in declamation is in his eyes the highest possible achievement, and in this he is akin to Philostratus. But intellectually he is greatly his inferior; he was not so well educated, and his Greek is less crowded with reminiscences of the classical authors. One author at least he knew well, and frequently echoes; this is Plutarch, but he does not always quote him correctly.

His style is difficult and often obscure, and he was

<sup>1</sup> For these sophists, who professed an art of healing, had sometimes studied medicine, and competed with regular physicians, see below, *Life of Magnus*, p. 498.

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by no means an Atticist. He exaggerates on all occasions, and uses poetical and grandiloquent words for the simplest actions, such as eating and drinking. At every step one has to discount his passion for superlatives. He was, as far as we can judge, among the least erudite of the fourth-century sophists. During his lifetime Nicomedia, Antioch, Smyrna, and Caesarea had almost superseded Athens, Alexandria, and Constantinople as intellectual centres, and Libanius of Antioch could boast that his school had supplied with rhetoricians "three continents and all the islands as far as the Pillars of Heracles." But, on the whole, the fourth-century sophists lack the distinction and brilliance of their predecessors in the second century, probably because they were allowed less brilliant opportunities under the Christian Emperors. The renaissance of Hellenism under Julian lasted less than two years, and his death in 363 blasted the hopes of the whole tribe of pagan sophists, philosophers, and theurgists. It is true that Christian Emperors such as Constantius had to some extent patronized Sophistic, but they gave it a divided attention, and under less cultured Emperors, such as Theodosius, the study of Latin, and, still more, of Roman law replaced Hellenic studies, so that professors of law had a better standing than professors of rhetoric.

The following notices in the order of the *Lives* are intended to supplement Eunapius with dates and certain facts omitted by him. He takes more interest in the historical background and gives more dates than Philostratus, but is so discursive that, by contrast, Philostratus seems systematic.

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PLOTINUS OF LYCOPOLIS in Egypt (A.D. 204-270) may be called the founder of Neo-Platonism. For the facts of his life we depend on Porphyry's biography of him and the meagre notice by Eunapius. He studied at Alexandria with Ammonius, of whom little is known, and accompanied the Emperor Gordian on his disastrous expedition against Ctesiphon in 243. Then he came to Rome, where he spent the rest of his life in teaching; he died at his villa in Campania in 270. We have his *Enneads* (*Nines*), so called because each of the six sections contains nine discussions, fifty-four in all. They are the written monument of Neo-Platonism. He cared nothing for style and never revised, but left to his pupil Porphyry the arrangement of the work and even the correction of the spelling, which was a weak point in his acquired Greek. In the *Enneads* he expounded one by one, as they arose in his school, questions of ethics, psychology, metaphysics, cosmology, and aesthetics. In spite of Porphyry's editing there is no regular sequence in the work. The discipline of Plotinus is meant to detach the soul from material things and to enable it to attain to spiritual ecstasy, "the flight of the Alone to the Alone."<sup>1</sup> Plotinus himself is said to have achieved a vision of the Absolute four times in the five years of his association with Porphyry. Mystical asceticism has never been carried further, but it is usually more sombre and self-tormenting. Contemplation, rather than the worship of the gods, was the means by which Plotinus himself attained to union with the Absolute as he conceived it. But he accepted the theory of daemons and thus accounted for the existence of evil in the world. Thus he

<sup>1</sup> *Ennead* vi. 9.

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opened the door to superstition and imposture, and his followers were frequently mere theurgists and charlatans, like the fourth-century Maximus. Perhaps Eunapius, when he says that in his time Plotinus was more read than Plato, exaggerates after his fashion, but the influence of the *Enneads* can be clearly traced in the religion and ethics of the fourth century, especially in the teaching of the popular "Syrian" school of Neo-Platonism. In fact, the terminology of mysticism and ascetism has always been derived from Plotinus. Porphyry received from a fellow-disciple, Amelius, and preserved in his *Life of Plotinus*, an oracle of Apollo which described the blessed state of the soul of Plotinus.<sup>1</sup>

PORPHYRY (233-301?), called "the Tyrian," was brought up at Tyre, though that was not certainly his birthplace. He studied at Athens with several professors, but especially with Longinus. Rome was still the centre of philosophic activity, and he left Athens in 263 to become the disciple of Plotinus at Rome, wrote his *Life*, and many years after his master's death, probably later than 298, edited and published the *Enneads*; but for him Plotinus might now be little more than a name. After he had spent six years in Rome he withdrew to Sicily, as Eunapius relates, but there is no evidence that Plotinus followed him thither. After the death of Plotinus he returned to Rome, married Marcella, the widow of a friend, and became the head of the Neo-Platonic school. He was a prolific writer on a great variety of subjects—grammar, chronology, history, mathematics, Homeric criticism, vegetarianism, psychology, and metaphysics; he is the savant

<sup>1</sup> Well translated by Myers in his *Classical Essays*.

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among the Neo-Platonists. His treatise, *Against the Christians*, in fifteen Books, of which fragments survive, was the most serious and thorough document, as well as the fairest, in which Christianity has ever been attacked, and was free from the scorn and bitterness of Julian's work of the same name. It was burned in 448 by the edict of the Emperors Valentinian III. and Theodosius II. In his *Letter to Anebo*, the Egyptian priest, on divination, he speaks with astonishing frankness of the frauds of polytheism as it was practised in his day in the Mysteries, and appeals to all intellectuals to turn to philosophy; hence he has been called the Modernist of Paganism. As Plotinus had been the metaphysician, Porphyry was the moralist of the Neo-Platonic school. Several of his works, including the *Letter to Marcella* and the *Life of Plotinus*, survive. Of himself we have no such trustworthy biography as he wrote of Plotinus. Eunapius, however, though incorrect in minor details, is a fairly good authority, and he had access to reliable documents, such as the lost works of Porphyry himself.

The notice of Porphyry in Suidas is hardly more than a bibliography, and that not complete, of his writings.

IAMBlichus was the leading figure of the Syrian school of Neo-Platonism in the early fourth Christian century. He would have called himself a philosopher of all the schools, but his eclecticism was arbitrary and superficial. His metaphysics followed and developed the teaching of Plotinus. But his final appeal was to divination, and in his practice of theurgy he represents the decadence of Neo-Platonism. His disciples Maximus and Chrysanthius

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were professed miracle-workers, and the Emperor Julian's fanatical admiration for him and constant reference to him as inspired is the most striking evidence of the Apostate's easy credulity. The writings of Iamblichus are full of allegorical interpretations and intermediary gods, and Julian's attempt to co-ordinate all the cults and to bring the Oriental deities into the Hellenic Pantheon is due to the influence of Iamblichus.

He died in the reign of Constantine, about 330, so that Julian cannot have known him personally, and the six *Letters* addressed to Iamblichus and once ascribed to Julian are now generally recognized as spurious. Iamblichus studied at Athens and returned to teach at his native Chalcis, where Eunapius describes him as surrounded by adoring and exacting disciples. The treatise *On the Mysteries*, an answer to Porphyry's *Letter to Anebo* and a defence of theurgy, is no longer ascribed by the majority of scholars to Iamblichus, but it reflects the teachings of his school. We have his works on Pythagoreanism and his mathematical treatises, but the treatise *On the Gods*, which Julian in his *Hymns* seems to have followed closely, is lost. For him, as for Julian, Mithras was the central deity. He was indifferent to style, and his writings, though useful to the historian of Neo-Platonism, have small literary merit.

AEDESUS is badly treated by Eunapius, who in the so-called *Life* soon digresses from him to Sopater the pupil of Iamblichus. Sopater was put to death by Constantine, and must not be confused with the younger man of the same name, the correspondent of Libanius whom Julian met in Syria. Then comes an account of the corrupt official, Ablabius, of

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Eustathius, and his more distinguished wife Sosipatra, and her career as a philosopher, theurgist, and clairvoyant, an amazing tale which illustrates the decadence of philosophy in the fourth century, and the strange things that were done in its name. Aedesius himself, to whom his biographer returns at the close of the *Life*, was about seventy and teaching at Pergamon, when, as Eunapius relates in his *Life of Maximus*, he kept at arm's length the future Emperor Julian, a dangerous and exacting pupil, and finally got rid of him by hints of more complete revelations to be had from his pupils and especially from Maximus the theurgist, at Ephesus. This must have occurred about 350. Perhaps Aedesius, who carried on the teachings of the Syrian school of his master Iamblichus, was more intelligent or more honest than his younger contemporaries. He died before the Hellenic reaction under Julian.

MAXIMUS OF EPHEBUS, the most famous theurgist or miracle-working philosopher of the century, was said by Theodoret to look like a philosopher, though he was really a magician. From all sources we gather that he was unworthy to be called a Neo-Platonist, and that he was the most unscrupulous as well as the most successful of the followers of Iamblichus. His chief title to fame is the influence, plainly mischievous, that he gained over the Emperor Julian. When the latter became Emperor he summoned Maximus to Constantinople, and Ammianus describes how Julian interrupted a sitting of the Senate in order to greet and publicly embrace the newly arrived Maximus. According to Ammianus, Julian on his deathbed in Persia discussed the immortality of the soul with

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**Maximus and Priscus.** The Romans, for political rather than religious reasons, feared the influence of the practice of magic, and, under Valens, Maximus was executed in 371. Libanius was no theurgist, but he congratulates Maximus in *Letter* 606 on his influence over Julian.

PRISCUS the Thesprotian or Molossian, was the last of a long line of professors who made the reputation of the school at Athens in the fourth century. He was the friend and adviser of the Emperor Julian whom he accompanied to Persia. We know very little about him apart from the *Life* of Eunapius, in which he appears as morose and aloof, sceptical and disdainful of popularity. In an extant letter Julian invites him to Gaul and calls him a genuine philosopher, but the Emperor would have said as much of Maximus the charlatan. After Julian's death Priscus returned to Antioch, and was there in the autumn of 363. Both he and Maximus were arrested by the Emperors Valens and Valentinian on a charge of magic which was supposed to have been employed to give them a fever from which they suffered. But Priscus was allowed to go to Greece, where he taught for many years. He survived as late as the invasion of Alaric, and died in 395, aged over ninety. He was a frequent correspondent of Libanius. Priscus was probably a Neo-Platonist, and less devoted to theurgy than was Maximus; hence he was regarded as less dangerous to the imperial government. His wife was named Hippias, and he had several children as we learn from a letter of the Emperor Julian.

JULIAN OF CAESAREA in Cappadocia was born about 275, and was a successful teacher of rhetoric at  
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Athens about 330. There he died about 340, and the succession to his chair was hotly contested by his pupils. Photius says that he wrote on the vocabulary of the Ten Attic Orators, but no work of his survives.<sup>1</sup> Eunapius does not make it clear why Julian and his contemporaries were obliged to teach in private, but probably this was due, not to the opposition of the Christians, since there were famous Christian sophists, notably Prohaeresius, but rather to the factions of the rival sophists, which had never been so violent as when Julian was at the height of his fame. We do not know how it happened that he had more than one official successor, but it is possible that the chair of philosophy was suppressed in favour of rhetoric, which was held to be less antagonistic to Christianity. In his later years the supremacy of Julian was challenged by the success of his pupils, Prohaeresius and Diophantus the Arab.

PROHAERESIUS the Christian sophist, when other Christian professors were hastening to enrol themselves as pagans and true Hellenes to win favour with the new Emperor Julian, seems to have said to himself, like the great bishop of Alexandria, Athanasius, "It is but a little cloud, and will pass." Eunapius says that in 362, when he went to Athens to study with Prohaeresius, the latter was eighty; but as this would make him about the same age as the sophist Julian whose chair he inherited, it seems

<sup>1</sup> Cumont believes that Julian of Caesarea wrote the six fulsome and foolish *Letters* to Iamblichus which the ms. tradition assigns to the Emperor Julian. They are certainly not the Emperor's, but there is no evidence that Julian the sophist had the slightest interest in Iamblichus and his doctrines; on the contrary he seems to have been wholly devoted to rhetoric.

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likely that Eunapius exaggerated his age by about ten years. At any rate he was a well established rival of Julian when in 340 the latter died, and Prohaeresius succeeded to his position as leading sophist at Athens, though perhaps not to all the official emoluments, as Julian seems to have had no less than six nominal successors. In 345 Anatolius of Berytus came to Athens, and confirmed Prohaeresius in his office of "stratopedarch," which had been bestowed on him by Constans when he visited Gaul, so that he, like Lollianus in the second century, was a Food Controller.

After Julian's accession in 361 he enacted that the Christian sophists should no longer be allowed to teach Hellenic literature, a decree that shut them out of the field of education. He exempted Prohaeresius, but the sophist resigned his chair. Eunapius says only that Prohaeresius was barred from teaching because he was reputed to be a Christian, yet he was teaching at Athens when Eunapius came there as a student in 362, and it is unlikely that the decree was ever carried out with any thoroughness in the few months that elapsed before the Emperor's death. Prohaeresius died in 367 and his epitaph was written by Gregory Nazianzen. It is to be observed that all the rivals of Prohaeresius at Athens were foreigners, and that the city had ceased to produce great sophists. Prohaeresius himself was an Armenian, which perhaps accounts for his religion; for Armenia was early converted to Christianity. There was a certain coolness between the Emperor Julian and Prohaeresius, apart from the incident of the exemption, for the sophist resented the Emperor's admiration of Libanius. However, in an extant letter

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Julian writes in a friendly tone to suggest that Prohaeresius may intend to write an account of the Emperor's return from Gaul, in which case he will provide him with documents. Prohaeresius was then, according to Eunapius, eighty-seven! It is possible that Julian in his student days at Athens had attended the lectures of Prohaeresius. Anatolius of Berytus, the Phoenician of whom Eunapius speaks in the *Life of Prohaeresius*, was a frequent correspondent of Libanius, and we have a number of letters addressed to him by that sophist. Though Anatolius was a devout pagan and Hellene, he held many offices under the Christian Emperors, and was a distinguished prefect of Egypt and also of Illyricum, entering on the latter office in 356. His relations with Libanius were somewhat strained by his refusal to give to Libanius one of the many offices at his disposal. Anatolius died in 360.<sup>1</sup>

EPIPHANIUS OF SYRIA, sometimes called the Arab, was a poet as well as a sophist. He taught rhetoric at Laodicea before he moved to Athens. He is mentioned by Sozomenus, and was a correspondent of Libanius. Though he died young he left several technical treatises on rhetoric, which are all lost.

DIOPHANTUS the Arab was a pupil and one of the successors of the sophist Julian, and was teaching at Athens when Libanius came there as a student in 336. Libanius was forcibly enrolled as a pupil of Diophantus by the sophist's pupils, but avoided his lectures; he himself does not mention the name of Diophantus though he relates the incident. Students who came from Arabia were expected to study with

<sup>1</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus xxi. 6.

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a sophist of their nationality, but the pupils of Diophantus had no right to kidnap Libanius of Antioch. Eunapius, in his *Life of Diophantus*, expresses the dislike that he would naturally feel for a successor to his admired Prohaeresius.

SOPOLIS was teaching at Athens when Eunapius lived there (362-367). In the *Life of Prohaeresius* he is referred to with scorn as only nominally a professor of rhetoric. He was one of the most insignificant successors of Julian the sophist, and secured his election by some manœuvre that Eunapius leaves obscure.

HIMERIUS in a speech delivered in 362 says that his hair is turning grey, so his birth may be dated about 315. Like other Bithynians he studied at Athens with Prohaeresius, and there he taught for about fifteen years, until the patronage of the Emperor Julian drew him into the main current of the life of the Empire in the East. He joined Julian at Antioch in 362, after delivering declamations at every important town on the way. Whether, like Maximus and Priscus, he went with Julian on the expedition against Persia we do not know, but after its disastrous ending he seems to have stayed at Antioch or in Bithynia until the death of Prohaeresius. He returned to Greece about 368, and for the rest of his life taught rhetoric at Athens. Probably he died before the Goths invaded Greece in 395. He had married an Athenian of noble family and acquired Athenian citizenship. In his *Oration 23*, a monody, he boasts of the ancestry, on the maternal side, of his only son Rufinus, who died, aged fourteen, at the time when his father was in temporary exile in Boeotia, driven away by the intrigues of rival sophists.

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Himerius was wounded in an encounter with the pupils of a rival sophist, and thereafter lectured in his own house. In *Oration* 22 he announces his recovery and the beginning of a new course of lectures.

Eunapius in his *Life* gives us no idea of the importance for our knowledge of the fourth century of this sophist, whose works have in great part survived. No doubt professional jealousy explains this neglect. In his *Orations*, of which thirty-four are extant, nine in a very imperfect and mutilated condition, are all the marks of Asiatic oratory. He calls himself a swan, a cicada, a swallow, and his speeches hymns, odes, and songs. In fact it was only fashion that kept him from writing verse. We have the analyses by Photius of thirty-six other *Orations* which have survived as *Eclogues* or *Extracts*. Some of these are not only fictitious but falsely conceived; for example *Eclogue* 5, in which Themistocles spurns the peace terms offered by Xerxes. Himerius is all allegory, poetical allusion, and flowers of speech. In his work may be conveniently surveyed the characteristic weaknesses of fourth-century rhetoric, its lack of logical argument and of a literary or historical conscience, its dependence on commonplaces from the past, its shameless adulation of the great,<sup>1</sup> and even its occasional, surprising charm. With Priscus he represents the last days of the Athenian school of sophistic eloquence.

LIBANIUS OF ANTIOCH was born in 314, so that

<sup>1</sup> Himerius seized on every chance, and they were many, to deliver a flattering address of welcome to a new proconsul.

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he was nearly fifty when Julian became Emperor and raised high hopes in the breasts of all the Hellenic sophists. Though formally enrolled as a pupil of Diophantus when he arrived at Athens in 336, Libanius had already educated himself at Antioch, and so he continued to do at Athens for some years. Then, for about a decade, he taught, first at Constantinople, where his success aroused such enmity that he was driven to migrate to Nicaea, then at Nicomedia where he was contented and popular. Eunapius, who is inclined to disparage Libanius, omits to say that, as his fame increased, the citizens of Constantinople demanded his return, and he was recalled by an Imperial edict. But in 354 he was once more in Antioch, and on the plea of ill-health was allowed to remain in his native city. There for the next forty years his school was the most famous and the most frequented of the day. We are peculiarly well-informed as to this school, thanks to his autobiography and the numerous *Oration*s in which he describes the conditions of teaching rhetoric in the fourth century. Though he openly mourned the Emperor, he weathered the storms that followed naturally on the death of Julian and the restoration of Christianity as the State religion. He was the official orator and mediator for Antioch on important occasions, such as the bakers' strike, or the revolt of the city under Theodosius. His last years were saddened by the fact that Greek studies were being neglected in favour of Latin, and that the Emperors had ceased to patronize Hellenism; moreover he was constantly embroiled with oppressive officials and jealous rivals. He became partly blind, and lost his only son, and, one by one, his friends. It is possible



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that he lived as late as 395, but the date of his death is uncertain.

Of all this Eunapius relates little, and he gives no account of the numerous works of Libanius with which he must have been familiar. His criticism of his style is not borne out by anything in the extant works, and this makes us hesitate to accept the judgements of Eunapius on sophists whose writings do not survive. Like Aristeides, Libanius repels the reader by the very mass of what remains of his eloquence. The new edition of his works by Foerster already amounts to eight Teubner volumes, and the *Letters*, of which we have more than 1600, are still to come. The 65 *Orationes* are a valuable document for the life, manners, and education of the time; when Libanius narrates, his style is spirited and clear. He admired Aristeides the imitator of Demosthenes, but it would be unjust to Libanius to imply that his knowledge of Greek letters was at second hand. His pages are crowded with illustrations and echoes, rather than quotations, from Greek authors. He had a talent for declamation, and his formal sophistic compositions are strictly conventional, according to the types prescribed by the theorists. His *Monodies*, for instance that on Nicomedia when the city was destroyed by an earthquake, are in the most florid style. In *Oration 25* he draws a gloomy picture of the slavery of a sophist to his pupils and their parents, a companion piece to Lucian's *Dependent Scholar* in the second century. It is interesting to see that in the later days of Libanius a sophist is no longer sure of his position and a tyrant in society, as Philostratus describes him. Eunapius is both spiteful and untrustworthy for

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Libanius, but the latter has been more fortunate in his biographer Sievers<sup>1</sup> whose book is a valuable guide to the whole period; he has done more than any other writer to keep the name of Libanius alive.

ACACIUS OF CAESAREA was a frequent correspondent of Libanius, and from the *Letters* of that sophist we learn far more about him than Eunapius tells us in his *Life*. He was rather older than Libanius, and came of a family in which the sophistic profession was hereditary. He taught first in his native Phoenicia, then at Antioch, and finally settled in Palestine. At Antioch he was the rival of Libanius and not so friendly with him as the account of Eunapius makes him appear. Libanius triumphed, and Acacius left Antioch about 361 when the correspondence begins. There was a sort of reconciliation, and Libanius writes to Acacius sympathetically on the death of a son. It is hard to reconcile the statement of Eunapius that Acacius died young with the evidence that we can glean from Libanius as to the duration of the other's activities.

ZENO OF CYPRUS is identified by Boissonade with the physician and teacher of medicine at Alexandria to whom the Emperor Julian addressed an extant letter. If Eunapius is right in saying, in his *Life of Oribasius*, that Oribasius had been a pupil of Zeno, the latter must have been very old in 362, when Julian's letter *To Zeno* was written. It seems more likely that had Julian been addressing a talented orator, he would have mentioned this in his complimentary letter, whereas he only speaks of Zeno's teaching of medicine. At any rate the Zeno of Eunapius is an

<sup>1</sup> *Das Leben des Libanius*, Berlin, 1868.

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“iatrosophist,” a healing sophist. This seems to us a most unhappy combination of professions, and that the name inevitably became a synonym for charlatan we might assume, even if Eunapius had not, in his biography, shown us the absurd figure of Magnus talking down his fellow-practitioners and using his rhetorical talent for his own ends.

MAGNUS, the healing sophist, born at Nisibis, was a pupil of Zeno and taught medicine at Alexandria, that centre of the medical profession. Libanius mentions him in a letter written in 364. On his death Palladas wrote the well-known epigram in the *Palatine Anthology*:

“When Magnus went down to Hades, Aidoneus trembled, and said: ‘Here comes one who will raise up even the dead.’”<sup>1</sup>

This was not intended as a satire, nor did Eunapius think Magnus absurd, and it is clear that, though visibly declining, rhetoric could still charm the Graeco-Roman world. Magnus was alive in 388, when Libanius wrote to him *Letter* 763.<sup>2</sup>

ORIBASIOS according to Suidas was born at Sardis, but we may suppose that his friend Eunapius when he gave Pergamon as his birthplace was better informed. Julian evidently refers to Oribasius in his *Letter to the Athenians* 277c where he speaks of a “certain physician” who had been allowed by Constantius to accompany him to Milan when he was summoned there to be made Caesar. Oribasius went with Julian to Gaul, and there is preserved by Photius a letter from him to Julian mentioning their sojourn

<sup>1</sup> xi. 281. Magnus is mentioned by Philostorgius viii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> So Seeck, *Die Briefe des Libanius*; but Sievers thinks that this is another Magnus.

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there together; but we do not know whether he went on the expedition to Persia. When Eunapius says that Oribasius "made Julian Emperor," he probably means not so much that Oribasius was an accomplice in the plot to put Julian on the throne, though he does in fact, in his *Life of Maximus*, speak of Oribasius as the Caesar's "accomplice," but rather that the physician, by his virtuous teachings, had fitted Julian for the position. The historians at any rate are silent as to the connivance of Oribasius. It was probably in 358 that Julian wrote his extant letter to Oribasius, when the latter was editing an epitome of Galen. Oribasius was with him in Antioch on the way to Persia, and is no doubt one of the seven persons whom Julian mentions in *Misopogon* 354 c as newcomers to Antioch, and out of sympathy with its frivolous and ungodly citizens.

CHRYSANTHIUS, the pupil of Aedesius, whom he seems to have closely resembled in character, is the only rival of Prohaeresius in the affection and loyalty of Eunapius. But apart from this biography he is practically unknown. Julian, who must have been offended by his refusal of his pressing invitation to the court, never mentions him, and Libanius, who corresponded with nearly all the leading pagans of his day, ignores Chrysanthius. His refusal to join the Emperor Julian was perhaps due to a conviction, which must have been shared by many persons more cautious and better balanced than the headlong Maximus, that the pagan renaissance would be short-lived. His tolerant and tactful dealings with the Christians during Julian's brief reign may have preserved him from the harsh treatment that was suffered by Maximus.

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HELLESPONTIUS, the aged pupil of Chrysanthius in Sardis, whose sudden death is here described, was a native of Galatia, a sophist and philosopher. We have a letter<sup>1</sup> addressed to him by Libanius as early as 355, in which his son is mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> *Letter 1259.*

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<sup>1</sup> The text of the present edition is that of Boissonade, revised; the marginal numbers refer to his pages.

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# ΕΥΝΑΠΙΟΥ

## ΒΙΟΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΟΦΙΣΤΩΝ

### ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ

Ξενοφῶν ὁ φιλόσοφος, ἀνὴρ μόνος ἐξ ἀπάντων φιλοσόφων ἐν λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις φιλοσοφίαν 453 κοσμήσας (τὰ μὲν, ἐν λόγοις, ἔστι τε καὶ ἐν γράμμασι, τὴν ἠθικὴν ἀρετὴν γράφει, τὰ δέ, ἐν πράξεσι τε ἦν ἄριστος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγέννα στρατηγούς τοῖς ὑποδείγμασιν· ὁ γοῦν μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος οὐκ ἂν ἐγένετο μέγας, εἰ μὴ Ξενοφῶν<sup>1</sup>), καὶ τὰ πάρεργά φησι δεῖν τῶν σπουδαίων ἀνδρῶν ἀναγράφειν. ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ εἰς τὰ πάρεργα τῶν σπουδαίων ὁ λόγος φέρει τὴν γραφήν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰ ἔργα. εἰ γὰρ τὸ παίγνιον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄξιον λόγου, ἀσεβοῖτο ἂν πάντως τὸ σπουδαζόμενον σιωπώμενον. διαλεχθήσεται δὲ ὁ λόγος τοῖς ἐντυγχάνειν βουλομένοις, οὔτε περὶ πάντων ἀσφαλῶς (οὐ γὰρ πάντα ἀκριβῶς ἦν ἀναλέγεσθαι), οὔτε ἀποκρίνων ἀλλήλων φιλοσόφους ἀρίστους καὶ ῥήτορας, ἀλλὰ παρα-

<sup>1</sup> Wyttēbach and Cobet think that after Ξενοφῶν a clause has been lost. In the translation ἐγένετο is understood.



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## LIVES OF THE PHILOSOPHERS AND SOPHISTS

### INTRODUCTION

XENOPHON the philosopher, who is unique among all philosophers in that he adorned philosophy not only with words but with deeds as well (for on the one hand he writes of the moral virtues both in discourses and historical commentaries, while he excelled also in actual achievement; nay more, by means of the examples that he gave he begat leaders of armies; for instance great Alexander never would have become great had Xenophon never been)—he, I say, asserts that we ought to record even the casual doings of distinguished men. But the aim of my narrative is not to write of the casual doings of distinguished men, but their main achievements. For if even the playful moods of virtue are worth recording, then it would be absolutely impious to be silent about her serious aims. To those who desire to read this narrative it will tell its tale, not indeed with complete certainty as to all matters—for it was impossible to collect all the evidence with accuracy—nor shall I separate out from the rest the most illustrious philosophers and orators, but I shall

τιβείς ἐκάστω τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα. ὅτι ἄριστος<sup>1</sup> ἦν εἰς ἄκρον ὁ γραφόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου, τῷ βουλομένῳ ταῦτα δικάζειν ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων σημείων καταλιμπάνει (βούλεται μὲν γάρ) ὁ ταῦτα γράφων. καὶ ὑπομνήμασιν ἀκριβέσιν ἐντετύχηκε, δι' ὧν, ἢ διαμαρτάνων τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐφ' ἑτέρουσ ἀναφέρουσι τὸ ἀμάρτημα, ὡσπερ ἀγαθός τις μαθητῆς κακῶν τετυχηκῶς διδασκάλων, ἢ κατηγοριῶν ἀλήθειαν ἔχοι καὶ τοὺς ἡγουμένους ἀξίους θαύματος, καὶ τό γε ἴδιον ἔργον αὐτοῦ καθαρὸν εἶη καὶ ἀμώμητον, ἀκολουθήσαντος οἷς ἀκολουθεῖν προσῆκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀλίγοι τε ἢ παντελῶς ἐλάχιστοί τινες ἦσαν οἱ περὶ τούτων γράφοντες, ἵνα τοῦτο εἶπη τις μόνον, οὔτε τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν πρότερον γραφέντα<sup>2</sup> λήσεται τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, οὔτε τὰ ἐξ ἀκοῆς ἐς τόνδε καθήκοντα τὸν χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέροις ἀποδοθήσεται τὸ πρέπον, τῶν μὲν γεγραμμένων τῷ<sup>3</sup> κινήθηαι μηδέν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκοῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου κατασειόμενα καὶ μεταβάλλοντα διαπῆξαι καὶ στηρίξαι τῇ γραφῇ πρὸς τὸ στάσιμον καὶ μονιμώτερον.

ΟΤΤΙΝΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΝ ΑΝΕΛΕΞΑΝΤΟ

- 454 Τὴν φιλόσοφον ἱστορίαν καὶ τοὺς τῶν φιλοσόφων ἀνδρῶν βίους Πορφύριος καὶ Σωτίων ἀνελέξαντο. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Πορφύριος (οὕτω συμβάν) εἰς Πλάτωνα

<sup>1</sup> τὸ δὲ ἄριστος ὅτι Boissonade; ὅτι ἄριστος Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ . . . γραφέντων Boissonade; ὑπὸ . . . γραφέντα Cobet. <sup>3</sup> τῷ Wyttenbach adds.

<sup>1</sup> Eunapius ignores Diogenes Laertius. Sotion, the Peripatetic philosopher at the close of the third century B.C., wrote an account of the successive heads of the schools of philosophy; he was used by Diogenes Laertius.

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set down for each one his profession and mode of life. That in every case he whom this narrative describes attained to real distinction, the author—for that is what he aims at—leaves to the judgement of any who may please to decide from the proofs here presented. He has read precise and detailed commentaries, and therefore, if he misses the truth, he may refer his error to others, like a diligent pupil who has fallen into the hands of inferior teachers; or, if he does go right, may have the truth on his side when he utters criticisms and be guided by those who are worthy of respect; that thus his own work may be perfectly blameless and secure from criticism, seeing that he followed those in whose steps it was his duty to follow. And inasmuch as there were few, or to say the truth, hardly any writers on this subject, nothing that has been composed by earlier authors will be concealed from my readers, nor what has come down by oral tradition to the present day, but the proper weight will be assigned to both sources; I mean that in written documents nothing has been altered, while what depends on hearsay, and hence is liable to become chaotic and confused by the lapse of time, has now been fixed and given stability by being written down, so that it is for the future a settled and abiding tradition.

### THE WRITERS WHO HAVE COMPILED A HISTORY OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

Porphyry and Sotion<sup>1</sup> compiled a history of philosophy and the *Lives* of the philosophers. But Porphyry, as it happened, ended with Plato and his

ἔτελεύτα καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου χρόνους· Σωτίων δὲ καὶ καταβάς φαίνεται, καίτοι γε ὁ Πορφύριος ἦν νεώτερος. τῆς δὲ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ φορᾶς φιλοσόφων τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ σοφιστῶν ἀδιηγήτου γενομένης κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ ποικίλον τῆς ἀρετῆς, Φιλόστρατος μὲν ὁ Λήμνιος τοὺς τῶν ἀρίστων σοφιστῶν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς μετὰ χάριτος παρέπτυσσε βίους, φιλοσόφων δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀκριβῶς ἀνέγραψεν ἐν οἷς Ἀμμωνίος τε ἦν ὁ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, Πλουτάρχου τοῦ θειοτάτου γενοῦς διδάσκαλος, Πλουτάρχος τε αὐτός, ἡ φιλοσοφίας ἀπάσης ἀφροδίτη καὶ λύρα, Εὐφράτης τε ὁ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ Δίων ὁ ἐκ Βιθυνίας ὃν ἐπεκάλουν Χρυσόστομον, Ἀπολλωνίος τε ὁ ἐκ Τυάνων, οὐκέτι φιλόσοφος· ἀλλ' ἦν τι θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπου μέσον. τὴν γὰρ Πυθαγόρειον φιλοσοφίαν ζηλώσας, πολὺ τὸ θεϊότερον καὶ ἐνεργὸν κατ' αὐτὴν ἐπεδείξατο. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐς τοῦτον ὁ Λήμνιος ἐπετέλεσε Φιλόστρατος, βίον ἐπιγράφας Ἀπολλωνίου τὰ βιβλία, δεόν Ἐπιδημίαν ἐς ἀνθρώπους θεοῦ καλεῖν. Καρνεάδης δὲ ἦν κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους, καὶ τῶν κατὰ κνισμὸν οὐκ ἀφανῆς, εἴ τινα καὶ κνισμοῦ χρήλογον ποιῆσαι, παρ' οἷς ἦν Μουσώνιος, καὶ Δημήτριος καὶ Μένιππος, καὶ ἕτεροὶ γέ τινες πλείους· οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν ἐπιφανέστεροι. τούτων δὲ σαφεῖς μὲν καὶ ἀκριβεῖς οὐκ ἦν ἀνευρεῖν τοὺς βίους, ἅτε μηδεὸς συγγεγραφότος, ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι· ἱκανοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἦσαν τε καὶ εἰσι βίοι τὰ

<sup>1</sup> For this metaphor cf. Philostratus, *Aristeides*, p. 585.

<sup>2</sup> For Euphrates see Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, p. 488, note.

<sup>3</sup> The philosophers of other schools in the fourth century,

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times, while Sotion, though he lived before Porphyry, carried on his narrative, as we see, to later times also. But the crop of philosophers and sophists who came between Sotion and Porphyry was not described as their importance and many-sidedness deserved; and therefore Philostratus of Lemnos in a superficial and agreeable style spat forth<sup>1</sup> the *Lives* of the most distinguished sophists; but the lives of the philosophers no one has recorded accurately. Among these latter were Ammonius of Egypt, who was the teacher of the divine Plutarch, and Plutarch himself, the charm and lyre of all philosophy; Euphrates<sup>2</sup> of Egypt and Dio of Bithynia, whom men surnamed the "Golden-mouthed"; and Apollonius of Tyana, who was not merely a philosopher but a demigod, half god, half man. For he was a follower of the Pythagorean doctrine, and he did much to publish to the world the divine and vivifying character of that philosophy. But Philostratus of Lemnos wrote a full account of Apollonius, and entitled his book *The Life of Apollonius*, though he ought to have called it *The Visit of God to Mankind*. Carneades also lived about this time, a celebrated figure among the Cynics, if indeed we ought to take any account of the Cynic school,<sup>3</sup> among whom were Musonius, Demetrius, and Menippus, and several others also; but these were the more celebrated. Clear and accurate accounts of the lives of these men it was impossible to discover, since, so far as I know, no one has written them. But their own writings were and especially the Neo-Platonists, despised and disliked the Cynics, partly because in some respects their mode of life resembled that of the Christians. This later Carneades is not otherwise known; some identify him with Carneius (Cynulcus) in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*.

γράμματα, τσαύτης ανάμεσα παιδείας και θεωρίας ἔς τε ἠθικὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ ὄση πρὸς τῶν ὄντων διήρατο καὶ ἀνέβλεψε φύσιν, τὴν ἄγνοιαν τῶν δυναμένων ἀκολουθεῖν, ὡς ἀχλὺν τινα, σκεδάσασα. αὐτίκα οὖν ὁ θεσπέσιος Πλούταρχος τὸν τε ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἀναγράφει τοῖς βιβλίοις ἐνδιδασκαλίας καὶ τὸν τοῦ διδασκάλου, καὶ ὅτι γε Ἀμμώνιος Ἀθήνησιν ἔτελεύτα, οὐ βίον προσειπών. καίτοι γε τὸ κάλλιστον αὐτοῦ τῶν συγγραμμάτων εἰσὶν οἱ καλούμενοι παράλληλοι βίοι τῶν ἀρίστων κατὰ ἔργα καὶ πράξεις ἀνδρῶν· ἀλλὰ τὸν ἴδιον καὶ τὸν τοῦ<sup>1</sup> διδασκάλου καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν βιβλίων ἐγκατέσπειρεν, ὥστε, εἴ τις ὀξυδορκίῃ περὶ ταῦτα, καὶ ἀνιχνεύοι κατὰ τὸ προσπίπτον καὶ φαινόμενον, καὶ σωφρόνως τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναλέγοιτο, δύνασθαι τὰ πλείιστα τῶν βεβιωμένων αὐτοῖς εἰδέναι. Λουκιανὸς δὲ ὁ ἐκ Σαμοσάτων, ἀνὴρ σπουδαῖος ἔς τὸ γελασθῆναι, Δημώνακτος φιλοσόφου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους βίον ἀνέγραψεν, ἐν ἐκείνῳ τε τῷ βιβλίῳ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐλαχίστοις δι' ὅλου σπουδάσας.

Καὶ ταῦτά γε εἰς μνήμην ἐγὼ τίθεμαι, τοῦτο συνορῶν, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἔλαθεν ἴσως ἡμᾶς, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἔλαθεν. ἐκείνου δὲ καίπερ πολλὴν ποιούμενος φροντίδα καὶ σπουδὴν, τοῦ συνεχῆ καὶ περιγεγραμμένην εἰς ἀκρίβειαν ἱστορίαν τινὰ λαβεῖν τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ ῥητορικοῦ βίου τῶν ἀρίστων  
 455 ἀνδρῶν, εἶτα οὐ τυγχάνων τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, ταῦτόν τι τοῖς ἑρώσιν ἐμμανῶς καὶ περιφλέκτως ἔπαθον. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι, τὴν μὲν ἑρωμένην αὐτὴν ὀρῶντες καὶ τὸ περιψυκτον ἐν τῷ φαινομένῳ κάλλος, κάτω

<sup>1</sup> τὸ ἴδιον καὶ τοῦ Boissonade ; τὸν ἴδιον καὶ τὸν τοῦ Cobet.

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still are sufficient records of their lives, filled as they are with such erudition and thorough research in the field of ethics and also that research which aspires to investigate the nature of things and disperses like a mist the ignorance of such as are able to follow. Thus, for example, the inspired Plutarch records in statements scattered here and there in his books, both his own life and that of his teacher; and he says that Ammonius died at Athens. But he does not entitle these records a *Life*, though he might well have done so, since his most successful work is that entitled *The Parallel Lives* of men most celebrated for their deeds and achievements. But his own life and that of his teacher he scattered piecemeal throughout every one of his books; so that if one should keep a sharp look-out for these references and track them as they occur and appear, and read them intelligently one after another, one would know most of the events of their lives. Lucian of Samosata, who usually took serious pains to raise a laugh, wrote a life of Demonax, a philosopher of his own time, and in that book and a very few others was wholly serious throughout.

This much, then, I place on record, and am aware that some things have perhaps escaped me, but other things have not. And in that, after expending much thought and pains so that the result might be a continuous and definite account of the lives of the most celebrated philosophers and rhetoricians, I fell short of my ambition, I have had the same experience as those who are madly and feverishly in love. For they, when they behold the beloved and the adored beauty of her visible countenance, bow

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νεύουσιν, ὁ ζητοῦσιν ἰδεῖν ἐξασθενοῦντες, καὶ περιλαμπόμενοι· ἐὰν δὲ πέδιλον αὐτῆς ἢ πλόκιον ἢ ἐλλόβιον ἰδῶσιν, ἐκείνοις καταθαρροῦντες, τὴν ψυχὴν τε τῇ ὄψει προσαφιᾶσι καὶ κατατήκονται πρὸς τῷ θεάματι, τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ κάλλους μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ κάλλος ὄραν ἀνεχόμενοι καὶ στέργοντες. καὶ γὰρ πρὸς ταύτην ἐξώρμησα τὴν γραφήν, ὅσα ἢ κατὰ ἀκοήν, ἢ κατὰ ἀνάγνωσιν, ἢ κατὰ ἱστορίαν τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων μὴ παρελθεῖν σιωπῇ καὶ βασκάνως, ἀλλ', εἰς ὅσον οἶόν τε ἦν ἀληθείας πρόθυρα καὶ πύλας προσκυνήσαντα, παραδοῦναι τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα ἢ βουλομένοις ἀκούειν ἢ δυναμένοις ἀκολουθεῖν πρὸς τὸ κάλλιστον. ἔσχε μὲν οὖν διακοπὴν τινα καὶ ῥῆξιν ὁ χρόνος διὰ τὰς κοινὰς συμφοράς· τρίτη δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐγένετο φορὰ (ἢ μὲν γὰρ δευτέρα μετὰ τὴν Πλάτωνος πᾶσιν ἐμφανῆς ἀνακεκέρυκται) κατὰ τοὺς Κλαυδίου καὶ Νέρωνος· τοὺς γὰρ ἀθλίους καὶ ἐνιαυσίους οὐ χρὴ γράφειν (οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Γάλβαν, Βιτέλλιον, Ὀθωνα· Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ Τίτος καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ τούτους ἤρξαν), ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο σπουδάζειν δόξωμεν· πλὴν ἐπιτρέχοντί γε καὶ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, τὸ τῶν ἀρίστων φιλοσόφων γένος καὶ εἰς Σεβῆρον διέτεινεν. ἀλλὰ εὐτυχές γε ὑπάρχει τοῖς βασιλεῦσι κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν, ὅτι τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν ὑπερέχον ἀριθμεῖται τῷ κατὰ τὴν τύχην. νεμεσάτω δὲ μηδὲ εἰς, εἴ γε καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Eunapius seems to distinguish three groups of philosophers, i.e. those up to Plato, those after Plato, and those from Claudius A.D. 41 to Severus, died A.D. 211. He deals with none of these, and begins his own narrative with a brief mention of the Neoplatonist Plotinus! who was born not long before the death of Severus.



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their heads, too weak to fix their gaze on that which they desire, and dazzled by its rays. But if they see her sandal or chain or ear-ring, they take heart from these and pour their souls into the sight and melt at the vision, since they can endure to see and love the symbols of beauty more easily than the beauty itself; thus too I have set out to write this narrative in such a way as not to omit in silence and through envy anything that I learned by hearsay, or by reading, or by inquiry from men of my own time, but, as far as in me lay, I revered the entrance and gates of truth and have handed it down to future generations who may either wish to hear thereof or have power to follow with a view to the fairest achievement. Now the period I describe is somewhat interrupted and broken up by reason of the calamities of the State. Still a third crop of men began with the days of Claudius and Nero (for the second which came next after Plato has been commemorated and made clear to all). As for those unlucky Emperors who lasted for a year only, they are not worthy of record; I mean, for example, Galba, Vitellius, Otho, and, following them, Vespasian, Titus and those who ruled after these men; and no one must suppose that I pay serious attention to them. Anyhow, to speak cursorily and in brief, the tribe of the best philosophers lasted on even into the reign of Severus.<sup>1</sup> And surely this is part of the felicity that belongs to emperors, that in history the date which marks the superlative virtue of a philosopher is that which dates the superlative luck of an emperor.<sup>2</sup> Therefore let no

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* the lives of philosophers are dated by the reigns of emperors.

ἡμεῖς οὕτως ἀναγράφοντες τοὺς χρόνους, ἀφ' ὧν γε ἦν δυνατόν συντεκμηριώσασθαι ἢ παραλαβεῖν τὴν προσήκουσαν ἀρχήν, ἀπὸ τούτων εἰς τὸν λόγον ἐπιβησόμεθα.

Πλωτῖνος ἦν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου φιλόσοφος. τὸ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου νῦν γράφων, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα προσθήσω. Λυκῶ ταύτην ὀνομάζουσι· καίτοι γε ὁ θεσπέσιος φιλόσοφος Πορφύριος τοῦτο οὐκ ἀνέγραψε, μαθητὴς τε αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι λέγων, καὶ συνεσχολακέναι τὸν βίον ἅπαντα ἢ τὸν πλείστον τούτου. Πλωτῖνου θερμοὶ βωμοὶ νῦν, καὶ τὰ βιβλία οὐ μόνον τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις διὰ χειρὸς ὑπὲρ τοὺς Πλατωνικοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πολὺ πλῆθος, εἴαν τι παρακούσῃ δογμάτων, ἐς αὐτὰ κάμπτεται. τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ πάντα Πορφύριος ἐξήνεγκεν, ὡς οὐδένα οἶόν τε ἦν πλέον εἰσφέρειν· ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν βιβλίων ἐρμηνεύσας αὐτοῦ φαίνεται. αὐτοῦ δὲ Πορφυρίου βίον ἀνέγραψεν οὐδὲ εἰς, ὅσα γε καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰδέναί· ἀναλεγομένῳ δὲ ἐκ τῶν δοθέντων<sup>1</sup> κατὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν σημείων τοιαῦτα ὑπῆρχε τὰ περὶ αὐτόν.

Πορφυρίῳ Τύρος μὲν ἦν πατρίς, ἡ πρώτη τῶν ἀρχαίων Φοινίκων πόλις, καὶ πατέρες δὲ οὐκ ἄσημοι. τυχῶν δὲ τῆς προσηκούσης παιδείας, ἀνά τε ἔδραμε τοσοῦτον καὶ ἐπέδωκεν, ὡς Λογγίνου  
456 μὲν ἦν ἀκροατῆς, καὶ ἐκόσμηε τὸν διδάσκαλον ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου. Λογγίνος δὲ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον βιβλιοθήκη τις ἦν ἔμφυχος καὶ περιπατοῦν μουσεῖον, καὶ κρίνειν γε τοὺς παλαιούς

<sup>1</sup> τεθέντων Cobet suggests for δοθέντων.

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one take it amiss if I, recording as I do the period for which it was possible for me to obtain evidence, or with which I could make an appropriate beginning, embark on my narrative at this point.

Plotinus was a philosopher of Egyptian birth. But though I just now called him an Egyptian, I will add his native place also; Lycos they call it. Yet the divine philosopher Porphyry did not record this, though he said that he was his pupil and studied with him during the whole of his life, or the greater part of it. Altars in honour of Plotinus are still warm, and his books are in the hands of educated men, more so than the dialogues of Plato. Nay, even great numbers of the vulgar herd, though they in part fail to understand his doctrines, nevertheless are swayed by them. Porphyry set forth his whole life so fully that no one could bring forward more evidence. Moreover, he is known to have interpreted many of his books. But a life of Porphyry himself no one has written, so far as I know. However, from what I have gathered in my reading of the evidence that has been handed down, I have learned the following facts concerning him.

Tyre was Porphyry's birthplace, the capital city of the ancient Phoenicians, and his ancestors were distinguished men. He was given a liberal education, and advanced so rapidly and made such progress that he became a pupil of Longinus, and in a short time was an ornament to his teacher. At that time Longinus was a living library and a walking museum; and moreover he had been entrusted with the function of critic of the ancient writers, like many

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ἐπετέτραπτο,<sup>1</sup> καθάπερ πρὸ ἐκείνου πολλοὶ τινες ἕτεροι, καὶ ὁ ἐκ Καρίας Διονύσιος πάντων ἀριδηλότερος. Μάλχος δὲ κατὰ τὴν Σύρων πόλιν ὁ Πορφύριος ἐκαλεῖτο τὰ πρῶτα (τοῦτο δὲ δύναται βασιλέα λέγειν). Πορφύριον δὲ αὐτὸν ὠνόμασε Λογγίνος, ἐς τὸ βασιλικὸν τῆς ἐσθῆτος παράσημον τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀποτρέψας. παρ' ἐκείνῳ δὴ τὴν ἄκραν ἐπαιδεύετο παιδείαν, γραμματικῆς τε εἰς ἄκρον ἀπάσης, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, ἀφικόμενος καὶ ῥητορικῆς· πλὴν ὅσον οὐκ ἐπ' ἐκείνην ἔνευσε, φιλοσοφίας γε πᾶν εἶδος ἐκματτόμενος. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Λογγίνος μακρῶ τῶν τότε ἀνδρῶν τὰ πάντα ἄριστος, καὶ τῶν βιβλίων τε αὐτοῦ πολὺ πλῆθος φέρεται, καὶ τὸ φερόμενον θαυμάζεται. καὶ εἴ τις κατέγνω τινὸς τῶν παλαιῶν, οὐ τὸ δοξασθὲν ἐκράτει πρότερον, ἀλλ' ἢ Λογγίνου πάντως ἐκράτει κρίσις. οὕτω δὲ ἀχθεῖς τὴν πρώτην παιδείαν καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀποβλεπόμενος, τὴν μεγίστην Ῥώμην ἰδεῖν ἐπιθυμήσας, ἵνα κατὰσχη διὰ σοφίας τὴν πόλιν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα εἰς αὐτὴν ἀφίκετο καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ Πλωτίνῳ συνῆλθεν εἰς ὁμιλίαν, πάντων ἐπελάθετο τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ προσέθετο φέρων ἑαυτὸν ἐκείνῳ. ἀκορέστως δὲ τῆς παιδείας ἐμφορούμενος καὶ τῶν πηγαίων ἐκείνων καὶ τεθειασμένων λόγων, χρόνον μὲν τινα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἤρκεσεν, ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν, εἶτα ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν λόγων νικώμενος, τό τε σῶμα καὶ τὸ ἄνθρωπος εἶναι ἐμίσησε, καὶ διαπλεύσας εἰς Σικελίαν τὸν πορθμὸν καὶ τὴν Χάρυβδιν, ἥπερ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀναπλεύσαι λέγεται, πόλιν μὲν οὔτε ἰδεῖν ὑπέμεινεν, οὔτε ἀνθρώπων ἀκοῦσαι φωνῆς

<sup>1</sup> ἐπετέτακτο Boissonade ; ἐπετέτραπτο Cobet.

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others before him, such as the most famous of them all, Dionysius of Caria. Porphyry's name in the Syrian town was originally Malchus (this word means "king"), but Longinus gave him the name of Porphyry, thus making it indicate the colour of imperial attire.<sup>1</sup> With Longinus he attained to the highest culture, and like him advanced to a perfect knowledge of grammar and rhetoric, though he did not incline to that study exclusively, since he took on the impress from every type of philosophy. For Longinus was in all branches of study by far the most distinguished of the men of his time, and a great number of his books are in circulation and are greatly admired. Whenever any critic condemned some ancient author, his opinion did not win approval until the verdict of Longinus wholly confirmed it. After Porphyry's early education had thus been carried on and he was looked up to by all, he longed to see Rome, the mistress of the world, so that he might enchain the city by his wisdom. But directly he arrived there and became intimate with that great man Plotinus, he forgot all else and devoted himself wholly to him. And since with an insatiable appetite he devoured his teaching and his original and inspired discourses, for some time he was content to be his pupil, as he himself says. Then overcome by the force of his teachings he conceived a hatred of his own body and of being human, and sailed to Sicily across the straits and Charybdis, along the route where Odysseus is said to have sailed;<sup>2</sup> and he would not endure either to see a city or to hear

<sup>1</sup> i.e. purple; for Porphyry's account of this cf. his *Life of Plotinus* xvii.

<sup>2</sup> An echo of Thucydides iv. 24.

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(οὕτω τὸ λυπούμενον αὐτῷ<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἠδόμενον ἀπέθετο), συντείνας δὲ ἐπὶ Λιλύβαιον ἑαυτὸν (τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀκρωτηριῶν τῆς Σικελίας τὸ πρὸς Λιβύην ἀνατείνον καὶ ὄρων), ἔκειτο καταστένων καὶ ἀποκαρτερῶν, τροφήν τε οὐ προσιέμενος, καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων πάτον. οὐδ' ἀλαοσκοπιὴν ὁ μέγας εἶχε Πλωτῖνος ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πόδας ἐπόμενος,<sup>2</sup> . . . . . ἢ τὸν ἀποπεφευγότα νεανίσκον ἀναζητῶν, ἐπιτυγχάνει κειμένῳ, καὶ λόγων τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠνύπορησε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνακαλουμένων ἄρτι ἐξίπτασθαι<sup>3</sup> τοῦ σώματος μέλλουσαν, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔρρωσεν ἐς κατοχὴν τῆς ψυχῆς. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔμπρους τε ἦν καὶ διανίστατο, ὁ δὲ τοὺς ῥηθέντας λόγους εἰς βιβλίον κατέθετο τῶν γεγραμμένων. τῶν δὲ φιλοσόφων τὰ ἀπόρρητα καλυπτόντων ἀσαφεία, καθάπερ τῶν ποιητῶν τοῖς μύθοις, ὁ Πορφύριος τὸ φάρμακον τῆς σαφηνείας ἐπαυέσας καὶ διαπέρας γευσάμενος, ὑπόμνημα γράψας εἰς φῶς ἤγαγεν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπονῆλθε, καὶ τῆς περὶ λόγους εἶχετο σπουδῆς, ὥστε παρῆει καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον κατ' ἐπίδειξιν. τὸ δὲ Πορφυρίου κλέος εἰς Πλωτῖνον πᾶσα μὲν ἀγορά, πᾶσα δὲ πληθὺς ἀνέφερον. ὁ μὲν

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ *Laurentianus*, Boissonade; αὐτῷ *Wright*.

<sup>2</sup> After ἐπόμενος *Laurentianus* has a lacuna of about twelve letters, not indicated by Boissonade. Before ἢ τὸν *Lundström* would supply ἢ παρατίκα αὐτῷ.

<sup>3</sup> εἰπτασθαι *Boissonade*; ἐξίπτασθαι *Cobet*.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* vi. 202.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* x. 515.

<sup>3</sup> *Eunapius* quotes incorrectly the account of this incident given by *Porphyry* himself in his *Life of Plotinus* xi. 113. When *Plotinus* found that he was contemplating suicide, he persuaded him that his depression was due to ill-health, and

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the voice of man, thus putting away from himself both pain and pleasure, but kept on to Lilybaeum; this is that one of Sicily's three promontories that stretches out and looks towards Libya. There he lay groaning and mortifying the flesh, and he would take no nourishment and "avoided the path of men."<sup>1</sup> But great Plotinus "kept no vain watch"<sup>2</sup> on these things, and either followed in his footsteps or inquired for the youth who had fled, and so found him lying there; then he found abundance of words that recalled to life his soul, as it was just about to speed forth from the body. Moreover he gave strength to his body so that it might contain his soul.<sup>3</sup>

So Porphyry breathed again and arose, but Plotinus in one of the books<sup>4</sup> that he wrote, recorded the arguments then uttered by him. And while some philosophers hide their esoteric teachings in obscurity, as poets conceal theirs in myths,<sup>5</sup> Porphyry praised clear knowledge as a sovereign remedy, and since he had tasted it by experience he recorded this in writing and brought it to the light of day.

Now Porphyry returned to Rome and continued to study philosophical disputation, so that he even appeared in public to make a display of his powers; but every forum and every crowd attributed to Plotinus the credit of Porphyry's renown. For

sent him to Sicily to rest; Plotinus did not follow him, and later Porphyry returned to Rome, after the death of Plotinus.

<sup>1</sup> This is not extant. Eunapius may refer to the advice given by Plotinus, *Enneads* iii. 2, against succumbing to adversity, but possibly his source is a commentary on the *Enneads* by Porphyry himself, not now extant.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Julian, *Orations*, v. 170, vii. 217 c.

γὰρ Πλωτῖνος τῷ τε τῆς ψυχῆς οὐρανίῳ καὶ τῷ  
 λοξῷ καὶ αἰνιγματώδει τῶν λόγων, βαρὺς ἐδόκει  
 457 καὶ δυσήκοος· ὁ δὲ Πορφύριος, ὡσπερ Ἑρμαικῆ  
 τις σειρά καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἐπινεύουσα, διὰ  
 ποικίλης παιδείας πάντα εἰς τὸ εὐγνωστον καὶ  
 καθαρὸν ἐξήγγελλεν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν φησὶ (νέος  
 δὲ ὢν ἴσως ταῦτα ἔγραφεν, ὡς ἔοικεν), ἐπιτυχεῖν  
 χρηστηρίῳ μηδενὶ τῶν δημοσίων· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ  
 βιβλίῳ καταγράφει, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἄλλα πραγ-  
 ματεύεται πολλά, ὅπως χρῆ τούτων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν  
 ἐπιμέλειαν. φησὶ δὲ καὶ δαιμόνιον τινα φύσιν ἀπὸ  
 λουτροῦ τινὸς ἐκδιῶξαι καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν· Κανσάθαν  
 τοῦτον ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι.

Συμφοιτητὰί μὲν οὖν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἀναγράφει,  
 κράτιστοί τιες ὑπήρχον, Ὠρυγένης τε καὶ Ἀμέριος  
 καὶ Ἀκυλῖνος, καὶ συγγράμματά γε αὐτῶν περι-  
 σάξεται, λόγος δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς· πολὺ γὰρ τὸ  
 ἀκύθηρον, εἰ καὶ τὰ δόγματα ἔχει καλῶς, καὶ  
 ἐπιτρέχει τοῖς λόγοις. ἀλλ' ὁ γε Πορφύριος  
 ἐπαινεῖ τοὺς ἀνδρας τῆς δεινότητος, πᾶσαν μὲν  
 αὐτὸς ἀνατρέχων χάρι, μόνος δὲ ἀναδεικνύς καὶ  
 ἀνακηρύττων τὸν διδάσκαλον, οὐδὲν ποιείας εἶδος  
 παραλελοιπώς. ἔστι γοῦν ἀπορῆσαι καθ' ἑαυτὸν  
 καὶ θαυμάσαι, τί πλείον ἔστι τῶν ἐσπουδασμένων·  
 πότερον τὰ εἰς ὕλην ῥητορικὴν τείνοντα, ἢ τὰ εἰς

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* viii. 19. The golden chain there described symbolized for the Neo-Platonists the succession of the philosophers of their school as in Marinus, *Life of Proclus* xxvi. 53, though here Eunapius strangely applies it to one philosopher; cf. Eunapius, *Fragments of History*, xxii. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. G. A. Barton suggests that this word may be the Syriac *K<sup>c</sup>nesthā*, which means both "cleansing" and  
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Plotinus, because of the celestial quality of his soul and the oblique and enigmatic character of his discourses, seemed austere and hard to listen to. But Porphyry, like a chain of Hermes let down to mortals,<sup>1</sup> by reason of his many-sided culture expounded all subjects so as to be clear and easy of comprehension. He himself says (but perhaps as seems likely he wrote this while he was still young), that he was granted an oracle different from the vulgar sort; and in the same book he wrote it down, and then went on to expound at considerable length how men ought to pay attention to these oracles. And he says too that he cast out and expelled some sort of daemon from a certain bath; the inhabitants called this daemon Kausatha.<sup>2</sup>

As he himself records, he had for fellow-disciples certain very famous men, Origen, Amerius, and Aquilinus,<sup>3</sup> whose writings are still preserved, though not one of their discourses; for though their doctrines are admirable, their style is wholly unpleasing, and it pervades their discourses. Nevertheless Porphyry praises these men for their oratorical talent, though he himself runs through the whole scale of charm, and alone advertises and celebrates his teacher, inasmuch as there was no branch of learning that he neglected. One may well be at a loss and wonder within oneself which branch he studied more than another; whether it was that which concerns the subject matter of rhetoric, or that which tends to

“filth”; in any case the incident probably occurred in Syria rather than at Rome.

<sup>3</sup> Porphyry, *Life of Plotinus*, xvi., does not call him a fellow-disciple, but says he was a Christian Gnostic who led others astray by his doctrines. The Origen here mentioned is not the famous Christian teacher.

γραμματικὴν ἀκρίβειαν φέροντα, ἢ ὅσα τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἤρτηται, ἢ ὅσα νεύει πρὸς γεωμετρίαν, ἢ ὅσα πρὸς μουσικὴν ῥέπει. τὰ δὲ εἰς φιλοσοφίαν, οὐδὲ τὰ περὶ λόγου καταληπτόν,<sup>1</sup> οὔτε τὸ ἠθικὸν ἐφικτὸν λόγῳ· τὸ δὲ φυσικὸν καὶ θεουργὸν τελεταῖς ἀφείσθω καὶ μυστηρίοις· οὕτω παντομιγῆς πρὸς ἅπασαν ἀρετὴν ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτὸς χρήματι γέγονεν. καὶ τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ δόγματα περὶ τοῦτο σπουδάζων, καὶ πάλιν αὖ τὰ δόγματα ὁ πλεόν εἰς αὐτὰ ἀπιδῶν ἢ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ λόγου.<sup>2</sup> γάμοις τε ὀμιλήσας φαίνεται, καὶ πρὸς Μάρκελλαν γε αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα γενομένην βιβλίον φέρεται, ἣν φησὶ ἀγαγέσθαι καὶ ταῦτα οὖσαν πέντε μητέρα τέκνων, οὐχ ἵνα παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς ποιήσῃται, ἀλλ' ἵνα οἱ γεγονότες παιδείας τύχωσιν· ἐκ φίλου γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ τέκνα προϋπάρξαντα. φαίνεται δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς γῆρας βαθύ· πολλὰς γοῦν τοῖς ἤδη προπεπραγματευμένοις βιβλίοις θεωρίας ἐνουτίας κατέλιπε, περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερόν τι δοξάζειν,<sup>3</sup> ἢ ὅτι προῖων ἕτερα ἐδόξασεν. ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ λέγεται μετῆλλαχέναι τὸν βίον.

Κατὰ τούτους ἦσαν τοὺς χρόνους καὶ τῶν ῥητορικῶν οἱ ἐν<sup>4</sup> Ἀθήνησι προεστῶτες Παῦλός τε καὶ Ἀνδρόμαχος ἐκ Συρίας. τοὺς δὲ χρόνους ἐς Γαλλίηνόν τε<sup>5</sup> καὶ Κλαύδιον ἀκμάζειν<sup>6</sup> συνέβαινεν,

<sup>1</sup> After καταληπτόν Bidez would read οὔτε τὸ ἠθικὸν ἐφικτὸν λόγῳ; Boissonade τὸν οἰκείον . . . λόγον.

<sup>2</sup> I give Cobet's reconstruction of a very corrupt passage: Boissonade λόγων ἂν τις μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ δόγματα, πλεόν.

<sup>3</sup> For δοξάζειν Cumont suggests εἰκάζειν.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπ' Boissonade; ἐν Wyttenbach.

<sup>5</sup> δὲ Laurentianus, Boissonade; τε Bidez.

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precise accuracy in grammar, or that which depends on numbers, or inclines to geometry, or leans to music. As for philosophy, I cannot describe in words his genius for discourse, or for moral philosophy. As for natural philosophy and the art of divination, let that be left to sacred rites and mysteries. So true is it that the man was a being who combined in himself all the talents for every sort of excellence. One who cares most for this would naturally praise the beauty of the style of his discourse more than his doctrines, or again would prefer his doctrines, if one paid closer attention to these than to the force of his oratory. It seems that he entered the married state, and a book of his is extant addressed to his wife Marcella; he says that he married her, although she was already the mother of five<sup>1</sup> children, and this was not that he might have children by her, but that those she had might be educated; for the father of his wife's children had been a friend of his own. It seems that he attained to an advanced old age. At any rate he left behind him many speculations that conflict with the books that he had previously published; with regard to which we can only suppose that he changed his opinions as he grew older. He is said to have departed this life in Rome.

At this time those who were most distinguished for rhetoric at Athens were Paulus and the Syrian Andromachus. But Porphyry actually was at the height of his powers as late as the time of Gallienus,

<sup>1</sup> Marcella had five daughters and two sons.

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<sup>6</sup> *εικάζειν* Laurentianus, Diels defends; *βιβάζειν* Ottonianus, Boissonade; *ἀκμάζειν* Wytttenbach; *προβιβάζειν* Busse.

## EUNAPIUS

Τάκιτόν τε καὶ Αὐρηλιανὸν καὶ Πρόβον, καθ' οὓς ἦν καὶ Δέξιππος ὁ τὴν χρονικὴν ἱστορίαν συγγράψας, ἀνὴρ ἀπόσης παιδείας τε καὶ δυνάμεως λογικῆς ἀνάπλευς.

Μετὰ τούτους ὀνομαστότατος ἐπιγίνεται φιλόσοφος Ἰάμβλιχος, ὃς ἦν καὶ κατὰ γένος μὲν ἐπιφανῆς καὶ τῶν ἀβρώων καὶ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων· πατρίς δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ Χαλκίς· κατὰ τὴν Κοίλην Συρίαν<sup>1</sup> προσαγορευομένην ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις. οὗτος Ἀνατολίῳ τῷ μετὰ Πορφύριον τὰ δεύτερα φερομένῳ συγγενόμενος, πολὺ γε ἐπέδωκε καὶ  
 458 εἰς ἄκρον φιλοσοφίας ἤλασεν.<sup>2</sup> εἶτα μετ' Ἀνατόλιον Πορφυρίῳ προσθεὶς ἑαυτόν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι καὶ Πορφυρίου διήνεγκεν, πλὴν ὅσον κατὰ τὴν συνθήκην καὶ δύναμιν τοῦ λόγου. οὔτε γὰρ εἰς ἀφροδίτην αὐτοῦ καὶ χάριν τὰ λεγόμενα βέβαπται, οὔτε ἔχει λευκότητά τινα καὶ τῷ καθαρῷ καλλωπίζεται· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀσαφῆ παντελῶς τυγχάνει, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν λέξιν ἡμαρτημένα, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἔλεγε περὶ Ξενοκράτους ὁ Πλάτων, ταῖς Ἑρμαϊκαῖς οὐ τέθνυται Χάρισιν. οὐκ οὖν κατέχει τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ γοητεύει πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, ἀλλ' ἀποστρέφειν καὶ ἀποκναίειν τὴν ἀκοὴν ἔοικεν. δικαιοσύνην δὲ ἀσκήσας, εὐηκοίας ἔτυχε θεῶν τοσαύτης, ὥστε πλήθος μὲν ἦσαν οἱ ὀμιλοῦντες, πανταχόθεν δὲ ἐφοίτων οἱ παιδείας ἐπιθυμοῦντες· ἦν δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς

<sup>1</sup> Συρίαν Cobet addis.

<sup>2</sup> ἤμασεν Boissonade; ἤλασεν Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> We have a few fragments of the *Universal History* of Dexippus, which came down to Probus A.D. 269 and was continued by Eunapius; he was a famous general who when 362

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Claudius, Tacitus, Aurelian, and Probus. In those days there lived also Dexippus,<sup>1</sup> who composed historical annals, a man overflowing with erudition and logical power.

After these men comes a very celebrated philosopher, IAMBlichus, who was of illustrious ancestry and belonged to an opulent and prosperous family. His birthplace was Chalcis, a city in the region called Coele Syria.<sup>2</sup> As a pupil of Anatolius, who ranks next after Porphyry, he made great progress and attained to the highest distinction in philosophy. Then leaving Anatolius he attached himself to Porphyry, and in no respect was he inferior to Porphyry except in harmonious structure and force of style. For his utterances are not imbued with charm and grace, they are not lucid, and they lack the beauty of simplicity. Nevertheless they are not altogether obscure, nor have they faults of diction, but as Plato used to say of Xenocrates, "he has not sacrificed to the Graces" of Hermes.<sup>3</sup> Therefore he does not hold and enchant the reader into continuing to read, but is more likely to repel him and irritate his ears. But because he practised justice he gained an easy access to the ears of the gods; so much so that he had a multitude of disciples, and those who desired learning flocked to him from all parts. And it is hard to decide who among them

the Goths occupied Athens in 267 collected a small force and inflicted severe losses on the invaders.

<sup>2</sup> The district between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon was called "Syria in the Hollow."

<sup>3</sup> Quoted from Diogenes Laertius iv. 6, or more probably from Plutarch, *Conjugal Precepts* 141 f. Eunapius adds the words "of Hermes" to the original passage; Hermes was the god of eloquence.

## EUNAPIUS

τό κάλλιστον δύσκριτον. Σώπατρος γάρ ἦν ὁ ἐκ Συρίας, ἀνὴρ εἰπεῖν τε καὶ γράφαι δεινότατος, Αἰδέσιός τε καὶ Εὐστάθιος ἐκ Καππαδοκίας, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Θεόδωρός τε καὶ Εὐφράσιος, οἱ κατ' ἀρετὴν ὑπερέχοντες, ἄλλοι τε πλῆθος, οὐ πολὺ λειπόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἐν λόγοις δύναμιν, ὥστε θαυμαστὸν ἦν ὅτι πᾶσι ἐπήρκει· καὶ γὰρ ἦν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀφθονος. ὀλίγα μὲν οὖν χωρὶς τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ ὁμιλητῶν ἔπραττεν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, τό θεῖον σεβαζόμενος· τὰ δὲ πλείοστα τοῖς ἐταίροις συνῆν, τὴν μὲν δίαίταν ὧν εὐκόλος καὶ ἀρχαῖος, τῇ δὲ παρὰ πότον ὁμιλία τοὺς παρόντας καθηδύνων καὶ διαπυμπλᾶς ὥσπερ νέκταρος. οἱ δέ, ἀλήκτως ἔχοντες καὶ ἀκορέστως τῆς ἀπολαύσεως, ἠνώχλουν αὐτῷ συνεχῶς, καὶ προστησάμενοί γε τοὺς ἀξίους λόγου, πρὸς αὐτόν ἔφασκον· “τί δῆτα μόνος, ὦ διδάσκαλε θεϊότατε, καθ' ἑαυτόν τινα πράττεις, οὐ μεταδιδούς τῆς τελεωτέρας σοφίας ἡμῖν; καίτοι γε ἐκφέρεται πρὸς ἡμᾶς λόγος ὑπὸ τῶν σῶν ἀνδροπόδων, ὡς εὐχόμενος τοῖς θεοῖς μετεωρίζῃ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πλέον ἢ δέκα πήχεις εἰκάζεσθαι· τὸ σῶμα δὲ σοι καὶ ἡ ἐσθῆς εἰς χρυσοειδές τι κάλλος ἀμείβεται, πανομένῳ δὲ τῆς εὐχῆς σῶμά τε γίνεται τῷ<sup>1</sup> πρὶν εὐχεσθαι ὁμοιον, καὶ κατελθὼν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ποιῆ συνουσίαν.” οὐ τι μάλα γελασείων,

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῷ Boissonade; καὶ Cobet deletes.

<sup>1</sup> This is the elder Sopater who was put to death by Constantine; his son and namesake was a correspondent of Libanius and a friend of the Emperor Julian.

<sup>2</sup> Theodorus of Asine wrote a commentary on the *Timaeus* of Plato; it is possible that he is to be identified with the

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was the most distinguished, for Sopater<sup>1</sup> the Syrian was of their number, a man who was most eloquent both in his speeches and writings; and Aedesius and Eustathius from Cappadocia; while from Greece came Theodorus<sup>2</sup> and Euphrasius, men of superlative virtue, and a crowd of other men not inferior in their powers of oratory, so that it seemed marvellous that he could satisfy them all; and indeed in his devotion to them all he never spared himself. Occasionally, however, he did perform certain rites alone, apart from his friends and disciples, when he worshipped the Divine Being. But for the most part he conversed with his pupils and was unexact-ing in his mode of life and of an ancient simplicity. As they drank their wine he used to charm those present by his conversation and filled them as with nectar. And they never ceased to desire this pleasure and never could have too much of it, so that they never gave him any peace; and they appointed the most eloquent among them to represent them, and asked: "O master, most inspired, why do you thus occupy yourself in solitude, instead of sharing with us your more perfect wisdom? Nevertheless a rumour has reached us through your slaves that when you pray to the gods you soar aloft from the earth more than ten cubits to all appearance;<sup>3</sup> that your body and your garments change to a beautiful golden hue; and presently when your prayer is ended your body becomes as it was before you prayed, and then you come down to earth and associate with us." Iamblichus was not at all inclined Theodorus who in a letter of Julian (Papadopoulos 4\*) is said to have attacked the doctrines of Iamblichus.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* iii. 15, where the same powers of levitation are ascribed to the Brahmans.

## EUNAPIUS

ἐγέλασεν ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις Ἰάμβλιχος.  
 ἀλλ' εἰπὼν πρὸς αὐτούς, ὡς “ὁ μὲν ἀπατήσας  
 ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἦν ἄχαρις, ταῦτα δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει·  
 τοῦ λοιποῦ δὲ οὐδὲν χωρὶς ὑμῶν πεπραγέται.”  
 τοιαῦτα ἐπεδείξατο· εἰς δὲ τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα  
 ἦλθε παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου Χρυσανθίου τοῦ ἐκ  
 Σάρδεων. ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἦν Αἰδεσίου μαθητής, Αἰδέ-  
 σιος δὲ ἀνὰ τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ Ἰαμβλίχου, καὶ  
 τῶν ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρηκότων. ἔλεγεν οὖν  
 ἐπιδείξεις αὐτοῦ μεγάλας τῆς θειότητος γεγενῆσθαι  
 τάσδε. ἥλιος μὲν ἐφέρετο πρὸς τοῦ Λέοντος  
 ὄρια, ἠνίκα συνανατέλλει τῷ καλουμένῳ Κυνί,  
 καὶ θυσίας καιρὸς ἦν· ἡ δὲ εὐτρέπιστο ἔν τινι τῶν  
 ἐκείνου προαστείων. ὡς δὲ τὰ πάντα εἶχε καλῶς,  
 καὶ<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστρεφον, βάδην καὶ σχολαίως  
 προϊόντες· καὶ γὰρ διάλεξις ἦν αὐτοῖς περὶ θεῶν  
 τῇ θυσίᾳ πρέπουσα· τὸν νοῦν ἐπιστήσας ὁ Ἰάμ-  
 βλιχος μεταξὺ διαλεγόμενος, ὥσπερ ἕποκοπεῖς  
 459 τὴν φωνήν, καὶ τὰ ὄμματα εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀτρεμίζοντα  
 χρόνον τινὰ ἐρείσας, ἀνά τε ἔβλεψεν εἰς τοὺς  
 ἐταίρους, καὶ πρὸς αὐτούς ἐξεβόησεν· “ἄλλην  
 ὁδὸν πορευώμεθα· νεκρὸς γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν ἔναγχος  
 παρακεκόμισται.” ὁ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα εἰπὼν, ἄλλην  
 ἐβάδιζε καὶ ἧτις ἐφαίνετο καθαρωτέρα, καὶ σὺν  
 αὐτῷ τινὲς ὑπέστρεφον, ὅσοις τὸ καταλείπειν τὸν  
 διδάσκαλον αἰσχύνῃς ἄξιον ἔδοξεν· οἱ δὲ πλείους  
 καὶ φιλονεικότεροι τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ Wyttenbach adds.

<sup>1</sup> An echo of Plato, *Phaedo* 64 b.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to imitate Plutarch, *On the Familiar Spirit of Socrates* 580.



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to laughter, but he laughed at these remarks.<sup>1</sup> And he answered them thus: "He who thus deluded you was a witty fellow; but the facts are otherwise. For the future however you shall be present at all that goes on." This was the sort of display that he made; and the report of it reached the author of this work from his teacher Chrysanthius of Sardis. He was a pupil of Aedesius, and Aedesius was one of the leading disciples of Iamblichus, and one of those who spoke to him as I have said. He said that there occurred the following sure manifestations of his divine nature. The sun was travelling towards the limits of the Lion at the time when it rises along with the constellation called the Dog. It was the hour for sacrifice, and this had been made ready in one of the suburban villas belonging to Iamblichus. Presently when the rites had been duly performed and they were returning to the city, walking slowly and at their leisure,—for indeed their conversation was about the gods as was in keeping with the sacrifice—suddenly Iamblichus even while conversing was lost in thought, as though his voice were cut off, and for some moments he fixed his eyes steadily on the ground<sup>2</sup> and then looked up at his friends and called to them in a loud voice: "Let us go by another road, for a dead body has lately been carried along this way." After saying this he turned into another road which seemed to be less impure,<sup>3</sup> and some of them turned aside with him, who thought it was a shame to desert their teacher. But the greater number and the more obstinate of his disciples, among

<sup>3</sup> It was a Pythagorean doctrine that a funeral contaminates the bystander.

Αἰδέσιος ἦν, ἔμειναν αὐτοῦ, τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπὶ τερατείαν φέροντες, καὶ τὸν ἔλεγχον ὡσπερ κύνες ἀνιχνεύοντες. καὶ μετὰ<sup>1</sup> μικρὸν ἐπανήσαν οἱ θάψαντες τὸν τετελευτηκότα· οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀπέστησαν, ἀλλ' ἠρώτησαν εἰ ταύτην εἶεν παρεληλυθότες τὴν ὁδόν· οἱ δέ, “ἀναγκαῖον ἦν.” ἔφασαν· ἄλλην γὰρ οὐκ ἔχειν.<sup>2</sup>

Ἐπι δὲ τούτου θειωδέστερον συνεμαρτύρουν, ὡς ἐνοχλοῖεν αὐτῷ πολλάκις, μικρὸν τοῦτο εἶναι φάσκοντες καὶ ὀσφρήσεως ἴσως που πλεονέκτημα, βούλεσθαι δὲ διάπειραν λαβεῖν ἐτέρου μείζονος· ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς “ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἐμοί γε τοῦτο” ἔλεγεν, “ἀλλ' ὅταν καιρὸς ᾖ,” μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τινὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ Γάδαρα· θερμὰ δὲ ἐστὶ λουτρά τῆς Συρίας, τῶν γε κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐν Βαταῖς δεύτερα, ἐκείνοις δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἕτερα παραβάλλεσθαι· πορεύονται δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὥραν<sup>3</sup> τοῦ ἔτους. ὁ μὲν ἐτύγγανε λούμενος, οἱ δὲ συνελούντο, καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐνέκειντο. μειδιάσας δὲ ὁ Ἰάμβλιχος, “ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐσεβὲς μὲν,” ἔφη “ταῦτα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, ὑμῶν δὲ ἔνεκα πεπράζεται.” τῶν θερμῶν κρηνῶν δύο, τὰς μὲν μικροτέρας, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων χαριεστέρας, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκπυθάνεσθαι τοὺς ὀμιλητὰς παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὅπως ἐκ παλαιοῦ προσωνομάζοντο. οἱ δὲ τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐπιτελέσαντες, “ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐστὶ γε πρόφασις.” εἶπον, “ἀλλ' αὕτη μὲν Ἔρωσ καλεῖται, τῇ παρακειμένη δὲ Ἀντέρωσ ὄνομα.” ὁ δὲ εὐθύς

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ Boissonade; μετὰ Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> ἔφασαν εἶναι Boissonade; ἔφασαν· ἄλλην . . . εἶναι Cobet.

<sup>3</sup> After ὥραν Cobet deletes εἰς τὰ Γάδαρα retained by Boissonade.

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whom was Aedesius, stayed where they were, ascribing the occurrence to a portent and scenting like hounds for the proof.<sup>1</sup> And very soon those who had buried the dead man came back. But even so the disciples did not desist but inquired whether they had passed along this road. "We had to," they replied, for there was no other road.

But they testified also to a still more marvellous incident. When they kept pestering Iamblichus and saying that this that I have just related was a trifle, and perhaps due to a superior sense of smell, and that they wished to test him in something more important, his reply to them was: "Nay, that does not rest with me, but wait for the appointed hour." Some time after, they decided to go to Gadara, a place which has warm baths in Syria, inferior only to those at Baiæ in Italy, with which no other baths can be compared.<sup>2</sup> So they set out in the summer season. Now he happened to be bathing and the others were bathing with him, and they were using the same insistence, whereupon Iamblichus smiled and said: "It is irreverent to the gods to give you this demonstration, but for your sakes it shall be done." There were two hot springs smaller than the others but prettier, and he bade his disciples ask the natives of the place by what names they used to be called in former times. When they had done his bidding they said: "There is no pretence about it, this spring is called Eros, and the name of the one next to it is Anteros." He at once touched the

<sup>1</sup> A favourite Platonic simile, frequently echoed by the sophists.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Horace, *Epistles* i. 1. 85 "nullus in orbe locus Baiis praelucet amoenis."

ἐπιφάσας τοῦ ὕδατος (ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κρηπίδος κατὰ τὴν ὑπέρκλυσιν καθήμενος), καὶ βραχέα τινὰ προσειπὼν, ἐξεκάλεσεν ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης κάτωθεν παιδίον. λευκὸν ἦν τὸ παιδίον καὶ μετρίως εὐμέγεθες, καὶ χρυσοειδεῖς αὐτῷ κόμαι καὶ<sup>1</sup> τὰ μετάφρενα καὶ τὰ στέρνα περιέστιλβον, καὶ ὄλον ἐώκει λουομένῳ τε καὶ λελουμένῳ. καταπλαγέντων δὲ τῶν ἐταίρων, “ἐπὶ τὴν ἐχομένην” εἶπε “κρήνην ἴωμεν,” καὶ ἠγείτο ἀπιῶν, καὶ σύννοους ἦν. εἶτα κάκει τὰ αὐτὰ δράσας, ἐξεκάλεσεν ἕτερον Ἐρωτα τῷ προτέρῳ παραπλήσιον ἅπαντα, πλὴν ὅσον αἱ κόμαι μελάντεραί τε καὶ ἠλιῶσαι κατεκέχυντο. καὶ περιεπλέκετό γε ἀμφοτέρα αὐτῷ τὰ παιδιά, καί, καθάπερ γνησίου τινὸς πατρὸς ἐκφύντα,<sup>2</sup> περιείχετο. ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖνά τε ταῖς οἰκείαις ἀπέδωκε λήξεσι, καί, σεβαζομένων τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐξήει λουσάμενος. οὐδὲν μετὰ τοῦτο ἐζήτησεν ἢ τῶν ὀμιλητῶν πληθὺς, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν φανέντων δειγμάτων, ὥσπερ ὑπ’ ἀρρήκτου<sup>3</sup> ῥυτῆρος εἴλκοντο, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπίστευον. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ παραδοξότερα καὶ τερατωδέστερα, ἐγὼ δὲ τούτων ἀνέγραφον οὐδέν, σφαλερόν τι καὶ

460 θεομισῆς πρᾶγμα ἠγούμενος εἰς συγγραφὴν στάσιμον καὶ πεπηγυῖαν ἐπεισάγειν ἀκοὴν διεφθαρμένην καὶ ρέουσαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα γράφω δεδοικῶς ἀκοὴν οὐοαν, πλὴν ὅσα γε ἔπομαι ἀνδράσιν, οἷ, τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπιστοῦντες, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ φανέντος αἰσθησιν συνεκάμφθησαν. οὐδεὶς δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐταίρων ἀνέγραψεν, ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι· τοῦτο

<sup>1</sup> After κόμαι Cobet adds καί.

<sup>2</sup> ἐμφύντα *Laurentianus*; Cobet and Wytttenbach would restore, but the genitive is against this.

<sup>3</sup> ἀρρήκτου *Boissonade*; ἀρρήκτου *Cobet*.

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water with his hand—he happened to be sitting on the ledge of the spring where the overflow runs off—and uttering a brief summons<sup>1</sup> he called forth a boy from the depth of the spring. He was white-skinned and of medium height, his locks were golden and his back and breast shone; and he exactly resembled one who was bathing or had just bathed. His disciples were overwhelmed with amazement, but Iamblichus said, “Let us go to the next spring,” and he rose and led the way, with a thoughtful air. Then he went through the same performance there also, and summoned another Eros like the first in all respects, except that his hair was darker and fell loose in the sun. Both the boys embraced Iamblichus and clung to him as though he were genuinely their father. He restored them to their proper places and went away after his bath, revered by his pupils. After this the crowd of his disciples sought no further evidence, but believed everything from the proofs that had been revealed to them, and hung on to him as though by an unbreakable chain. Even more astonishing and marvellous things were related of him, but I wrote down none of these since I thought it a hazardous and sacrilegious thing to introduce a spurious and fluid tradition into a stable and well-founded narrative. Nay even this I record not without hesitation, as being mere hearsay, except that I follow the lead of men who, though they distrusted other signs, were converted by the experience of the actual revelation. Yet no one of his followers recorded it, as far as I

<sup>1</sup> No doubt a magic formula. Note the use of *δρᾶν* below, a verb regularly used for magic rites. For the fable of Eros and Anteros cf. Themistius 304 n.

δὲ εἶπον μετρίως, Αἰδεσίου φήσαντος μήτε αὐτὸν γεγραφέναι, μήτε ἄλλον τινὰ τετολμηκέναι.

Κατὰ τοὺς Ἰαμβλίχου καιροὺς ἦν καὶ ὁ διαλεκτικώτατος Ἀλύπιος, ὃς ἔτυχε μὲν σώματος μικροτάτου, καὶ τὸ σῶμα πυγμαῖον παρέβαινεν ἐλάχιστον, ἐκινδύνευε δὲ καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον σῶμα ψυχῇ καὶ νοῦς εἶναι· οὕτω τὸ φθειρόμενον οὐκ ἐπέδωκεν εἰς μέγεθος, δαπανηθὲν εἰς τὸ θεοειδέστερον. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ μέγας Πλάτων φησὶ τὰ θεῖα σώματα τὸ ἀνάπαλιν ἔχειν ἐγκείμενα ταῖς ψυχαῖς, οὕτως ἂν τις εἴποι κάκεινον ἐμβεβηκέναι τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ συνεχέσθαι καὶ κρατεῖσθαι παρά<sup>1</sup> του κρείττονος. ζηλωτὰς μὲν οὖν εἶχε πολλοὺς ὁ Ἀλύπιος, ἀλλ' ἡ παιδείουσις ἦν μέχρι συνουσίας μόνης, βιβλίον δὲ προέφερεν οὐδὲ εἰς· ὥστε μάλα ἀσμένως πρὸς τὸν Ἰάμβλιχον ἀπέτρεχον, ὡς ἐκ πηγῆς ὑπερβλυζούσης, οὐ μενούσης καθ' ἑαυτήν, ἐμφορησόμενοι. κατὰ δὲ τὸ κλέος ἀμφοῖν αὐξόμενον ἅμα,<sup>2</sup> καὶ συνέτυχόν ποτε ἀλλήλοις ἢ συνήντησαν ὥσπερ ἀστέρες, καὶ περιεκαθέσθη γε αὐτοὺς θέατρον οἶον εἰκάσαι μεγάλου μουσείου. Ἰαμβλίχου δὲ τὸ ἐπερωτηθῆναι μᾶλλον ὑπομείναντος ἢ τὸ ἐπερωτᾶν, ὁ Ἀλύπιος παρὰ πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν ἀφείδ' ἅπασαν φιλόσοφον ἐρώτησιν, τοῦ δὲ θεάτρου γενόμενος, “Εἰπέ μοι, φιλόσοφε,” πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη “ὁ πλούσιος ἢ ἀδικος ἢ ἀδίκου κληρονόμος, ναὶ ἢ οὐ; τούτων γὰρ μέσον οὐδέν.” ὁ δὲ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἢ παρά Boissonade; παρά Wytttenbach.

<sup>2</sup> ἄνω Boissonade; ἅμα Wytttenbach.

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be a rather confused reference to *Timaeus* 36 where the world-soul is said to envelop the body of the universe.

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know. And this I say with good reason, since Aedesius himself asserted that he had not written about it, nor had any other ventured to do so.

At the same time as Iamblichus, lived ALYPIUS, who was especially skilled in dialectic. He was of very small stature and his body was very little larger than a pigmy's, but even the body that he seemed to have was really all soul and intelligence; to such a degree did the corruptible element in him fail to increase, since it was absorbed into his diviner nature. Therefore, just as the great Plato says,<sup>1</sup> that in contradistinction to human bodies, divine bodies dwell within souls, thus also of him one might say that he had migrated into a soul, and that he was confined and dominated there by some supernatural power. Now Alypius had many followers, but his teaching was limited to conversation, and no one ever published a book by him. On this account they very eagerly betook themselves to Iamblichus, to fill themselves full as though from a spring that bubbles over and does not stay within its limits. Now as the renown of both men increased and kept pace they encountered one another by chance or met in their courses like planets, and round them in a circle sat an audience as though in some great seat of the Muses. Now Iamblichus was waiting to have questions put to him rather than to ask them, but Alypius, contrary to all expectation, postponed all questioning about philosophy and giving himself up to making an effect with his audience<sup>2</sup> said to Iamblichus: "Tell me, philosopher, is a rich man either unjust or the heir of the unjust, yes or no? For there is no middle course."

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps an echo of Plato, *Symposium* 194 b.

πληγὴν τοῦ λόγου μισήσας, “ἀλλ’ οὐχ οὗτός γε,” ἔφη “θαυμασιώτατε πάντων ἀνδρῶν, ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἡμετέρας διαλέξεως, εἴ τῷ τι περιττόν ἐστι κατὰ τὰ ἑκτός, ἀλλ’ εἴ τι πλεονάζει κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀρετὴν φιλοσόφῳ καὶ πρέπουσαν.” ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπεχώρησε, καί, διαναστάτος, οὐκ ἦν σύλλογος. ἀπελθὼν δὲ καὶ γενόμενος ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα θαυμάσας, πολλάκις τε ἰδίᾳ συνέτυχεν αὐτῷ, καὶ οὕτως ὑπερηγάσθη τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ συνέσεως, ὥστε καὶ ἀπελθόντος βίον συνέγραψε. καὶ ἐνέτυχεν ὁ ταῦτα γράφων τοῖς γεγραμμένοις· τὰ γεγραμμένα δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς συνθήκης ἐμελαίνετο, καὶ νέφος αὐτοῖς ἐπέτρεχε βαθύ, οὐ τι δι’ ἀσάφειαν τῶν γενομένων, ἀλλὰ διδασκαλικὸν εἶχε τὸν Ἀλυπίου λόγον μακρόν τινα, καὶ διαλέξεων οὐ προσὴν μνήμη λόγον ἔχουσῶν. ἀποδημίας τε εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔφραζε τὸ βιβλίον, αἷς οὔτε αἰτία προσὴν, οὔτε τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνεφαίνετο<sup>1</sup> μέγεθος. ἀλλ’ ὅτι μὲν εἶποντο πολλοὶ τεθηπότες τὸν ἄνδρα παραδηλοῦται· ὃ τι δὲ εἶπεν ἢ ἔπραξεν ἀξιόλογον, οὐκ ἐπιφαίνεται· ἀλλ’ ἔοικεν ὁ θαυμάσιος Ἰάμβλικος ταῦτόν πεπονθέναι τοῖς γραφικοῖς, οἱ τοὺς ἐν ᾧρα γράφοντες, ὅταν χαρίσασθαι τι παρ’ ἑαυτῶν εἰς τὴν γραφὴν βουληθῶσι, τὸ πᾶν εἶδος τῆς ὁμοιώσεως διαφθείρουσιν, ὥστε ἅμα τε τοῦ

461 παραδείγματος ἡμαρτηκέναι καὶ τοῦ κάλλους. οὕτω κακεῖνος ἐπαινέσαι προελόμενος διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τὸ μὲν μέγεθος ἐμφαίνει τῶν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις κολάσεων καὶ ἀτυχημάτων, αἰτίας δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἢ προφάσεις οὔτε

<sup>1</sup> συνεφαίνετο Boissonade; ἐνεφαίνετο Cobet.



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Iamblichus disliked the catch in the question and replied, "Nay, most admired of men, this is not our method, to discuss anyone who more than other men possesses external things, but rather only one who excels in the virtue that is peculiar and appropriate to a philosopher." So saying he went away, and after he had risen the meeting broke up. But after he had left them and collected his thoughts, he admired the acuteness of the question, and often met Alypius privately; and he was so profoundly impressed by the subtlety and sagacity of the man, that when he died he wrote his biography. Indeed the author of this work once saw the book. The narrative was obscured by its style and it was hidden by a thick cloud, though not because of any lack of clearness in the subject matter, for his authority was a long discourse of Alypius; moreover, there was no mention of discourses that maintained an argument. The book told of journeys to Rome for which no reason was given, and it did not make manifest the greatness of his soul on those occasions, and though he insinuates that Alypius had many admiring followers it is not shown that he either did or said anything remarkable. No, the renowned Iamblichus seems to have made the same error as painters who are painting youths in their bloom and wish to add to the painting some charm of their own invention, whereby they destroy the whole character of the likeness, so that they fail to achieve either a resemblance or the beauty at which they aim. So it was with Iamblichus when he set out to praise by telling the exact truth; for though he clearly shows how severe were the punishments and sufferings in the law courts in his day, yet the causes of these things and their purposes he was

πεφυκῶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι πολιτικῶς, οὔτε προελόμενος, τὸν πάντα χαρακτῆρα συνέχει τοῦ βίου, μόλις τοῦτο καταλιπὼν τοῖς ὀξυδορκοῦσι ξυλλαβεῖν, ὅτι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐθαύμαζε, καὶ διαφερόντως αὐτοῦ τὴν τε παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καρτερίαν καὶ τὸ ἀνέκπληκτον, τὴν τε ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὀξύτητα καὶ τόλμαν<sup>1</sup> κατεσεβάζετο. ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας δὲ οὗτος ἦν. καὶ τὰ μὲν εἰς Ἀλύπιον ταῦτα. καὶ ἐτελεύτα γε ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ γηραιός, Ἰαμβλίχος τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ, πολλὰς ρίζας τε καὶ πηγὰς φιλοσοφίας ἀφείδ. ταύτης ὁ ταῦτα γράφων τῆς φορᾶς εὐτύχησεν. ἄλλοι μὲν γὰρ ἀλλαχοῦ τῶν εἰρημένων ὀμιλητῶν διεκρίθησαν εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐπικράτειαν. Αἰδέσιος δὲ κατέλαβε τὸ Μύσιον Πέργαμον.

Ἐκδέχεται δὲ τὴν Ἰαμβλίχου διατριβὴν καὶ ὀμιλίαν ἐς τοὺς ἐταίρους Αἰδέσιος ὁ ἐκ Καππαδοκίας. ἦν δὲ τῶν εὐγεγονότων εἰς ἄκρον, πλοῦτος δὲ οὐχ ὑπὴν τῷ γένει πολὺς, καὶ ὁ γε πατὴρ αὐτὸν ἐκπέμψας ἐπὶ παιδείαν χρηματιστικὴν ἐκ Καππαδοκίας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἶτα ἐκδεχόμενος, ὡς θησαυρὸν ἐπὶ τῷ παιδί εὐρήσων, ἐπειδὴ ποτε, ἐπανελθόντος, φιλοσοφοῦντα ἤσθετο, τῆς οἰκίας ὡς ἀχρεῖον ἀπήλαυε. καὶ ἐκδιώκων "τί γάρ" ἔφη "φιλοσοφία ὠφελεῖ;" ὁ δὲ ὑποστραφεῖς "οὐ μικρά, πάτερ," ἔφη, "πατέρα καὶ διώκοντα προσκυνεῖν."<sup>2</sup> καὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὁ πατὴρ, ἀνά τε ἐκαλέσατο τὸν παῖδα, καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἐθαύμασε. καὶ ὄλον ἐπιδούς ἑαυτὸν ἀνέθηκε φέρων ἐς τὴν ἐπι

<sup>1</sup> τομὴν Boissonade; τόλμαν Wyttenbach.

<sup>2</sup> προσκυρῶν Boissonade; προσκυνεῖν Wyttenbach.

<sup>3</sup> A similar story is told of an unnamed youth by Aelian, *Frag.* 1038, and it may be imitated here by Eunapius.

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neither fitted by nature to expound like one versed in politics, nor was that his purpose; hence he confused the whole outline and significance of the man's life, and he hardly even left it open to the most keensighted to grasp the fact that he admired Alypius, and above all revered his fortitude and constancy amid dangers, and the keenness and daring of his style in his discourses. Alypius was by birth an Alexandrian. This is all I have to say about him. He died an old man, in Alexandria, and after him died Iamblichus after putting forth many roots and springs of philosophy. The author of this narrative had the good fortune to benefit by the crop that sprang therefrom. For others of his disciples who have been mentioned were scattered in all directions over the whole Roman Empire, but Aedesius chose to settle at Pergamon in Mysia.

ÆDESIIUS the Cappadocian succeeded to the school of Iamblichus and his circle of disciples. He was extremely well born, but his family was not possessed of great wealth, and therefore his father sent him away from Cappadocia to Greece to educate himself with a view to making money, thinking that he would find a treasure in his son. But on his return, when he discovered that he was inclined to philosophy he drove him out of his house as useless.<sup>1</sup> And as he drove him forth he asked: "Why, what good does philosophy do you?" Whereupon his son turned round and replied: "It is no small thing, father, to have learned to revere one's father even when he is driving one forth." When his father heard this, he called his son back and expressed his approval of his virtuous character. And for the future Aedesius devoted himself entirely to finishing his interrupted

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λειπομένην παιδείαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὸν παῖδα προπέμψας εὐθυμος ἦν, καὶ περιέχαιρεν, ὡς θεοῦ γεγονὼς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώπου πατῆρ.

Ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας παραδραμῶν, ὅσοι τῶν τότε ἦσαν εὐκλεέστεροι καὶ ὧν ἐτύγγχανεν ἀκηκοώς, καὶ πείρα τὴν σοφίαν συλλεξάμενος, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐρικυδέστατον Ἰαμβλίχον μακρὰν<sup>1</sup> ὁδὸν ἐκ Καππαδοκίας εἰς Συρίαν συνέτεινε καὶ διήνυεν. ὡς δὲ εἶδέ τε τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἤκουσε λέγοντος, ἐξεκρέματο τῶν λόγων, καὶ τῆς ἀκροάσεως οὐκ ἐνεπίμπλατο. ἐς ὃ τελευτῶν Αἰδέσιός τε ἐγένετο καὶ μικρὸν ἀποδέων Ἰαμβλίχου, πλὴν ὅσα γε εἰς θείασμὸν Ἰαμβλίχου φέρει. τούτων γὰρ οὐδὲν εἶχομεν ἀναγράφειν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐπέκρυπτεν ἴσως Αἰδέσιος αὐτὸς διὰ τοὺς χρόνους (Κωνσταντῖνος γὰρ ἐβασίλευε, τά τε τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιφανέστατα καταστρέφων καὶ τὰ τῶν χριστιανῶν ἀνεγείρων οἰκήματα), τὰ δὲ ἴσως καὶ τὸ τῶν ὀμιλητῶν ἄριστον πρὸς μυστηριώδη τιὰ σιωπὴν καὶ ἱεροφαντικὴν ἐχεμυθίαν ἐπιρρεπὲς ἦν καὶ συνεκέκλιτο. ὁ γοῦν ταῦτα γράφων ἐκ παιδὸς ἀκροατῆς Χρυσανθίου γενόμενος, μόλις εἰς εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἤξιοῦτο τῶν ἀληθεστέρων, οὕτω μέγα τι χρῆμα εἰς ἡμᾶς τῆς Ἰαμβλίχου φιλοσοφίας διετάθη καὶ συμπαρέτεινε τῷ χρόνῳ.

Ἰαμβλίχου δὲ καταλιπόντος τὸ ἀνθρώπειον, 462 ἄλλοι μὲν ἀλλαγῇ διεσπάρησαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἦν ἕξω φήμης καὶ ἄγνωστος. Σώπατρος δὲ ὁ πάντων δεινότερος, διὰ τε φύσεως ὕψος καὶ ψυχῆς μέγεθος,

<sup>1</sup> Before μακρὰν Cobet deletes οὐ; Boissonade retains.

<sup>1</sup> Iamblichus died in the reign of Constantine the Great, 378

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education. Moreover his father eagerly encouraged his son to go, and rejoiced exceedingly as though he were the father of a god rather than of a mere man.

When Aedesius had outstripped all the more notable men of his time, and all who had taught him, and by experience had gathered a store of wisdom, he made and completed a long journey from Cappadocia to Syria, to see the far-famed Iamblichus. And when he beheld the man and heard him discourse, he hung on his words and never could have enough of hearing him, till finally Aedesius himself became renowned and little inferior to Iamblichus, except as regards the latter's divine inspiration. On this head I had nothing to record, partly perhaps because Aedesius himself kept it secret owing to the times (for Constantine was emperor and was pulling down the most celebrated temples and building Christian churches); but perhaps it was partly because all his most distinguished disciples leaned towards and inclined to a silence appropriate to the mysteries, and a reserve worthy of a hierophant. At any rate, the present writer, though he became a pupil of Chrysanthius from boyhood, was scarcely in the twentieth year [of pupilage] deemed worthy of a share in the truer doctrines, so wondrous a thing was the philosophy of Iamblichus, extending and reaching down from that time even to our own day.<sup>1</sup>

When Iamblichus had departed from this world, his disciples were dispersed in different directions, and not one of them failed to win fame and reputation.

SOPATER,<sup>2</sup> more eloquent than the rest because of his lofty nature and greatness of soul, would not

and probably before A.D. 333; Eunapius is writing about fifty years later.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 458.

οὐκ ἐνεγκῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὀμιλεῖν, ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς αὐλὰς ἔδραμεν ὀξύς, ὡς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πρόφασιν τε καὶ φορὰν τυραννήσων καὶ μεταστήσων τῷ λόγῳ. καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτόν γε ἐξίκετο σοφίας καὶ δυνάμεως, ὡς ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐαλώκει τε ὑπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ δημοσία συνέδρον εἶχεν, εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν καθίζων τόπον, ὃ καὶ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ἰδεῖν ἄπιστον. οἱ δὲ παραδυναστεύοντες ῥηγνύμενοι τῷ φθόνῳ πρὸς βασιλείαν ἄρτι φιλοσοφεῖν μεταμανθάνουσαν, τὸν Κερκώπων ἐπετήρουν καιρόν, οὐ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καθεύδοντα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἄλογον ἐγρηγορυῖαν Τύχην, καὶ συλλόγους τε λαθραίους ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι καθ' ὃ τι μέρος τῆς κακοδαίμονος ἐπιβουλῆς ἡμέλουν. ὡσπερ οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ μεγάλου Σωκράτους, ἀπάντων Ἀθηναίων (εἰ καὶ δῆμος ἦσαν) οὐκ ἂν τις ἐτόλμησε κατηγορίαν καὶ γραφήν, ὃν γε ὦντο πάντες Ἀθηναῖοι περιπατοῦν ἄγαλμα σοφίας τυγχάνειν, εἰ μὴ μέθη καὶ παραφροσύνη καὶ τῷ τῶν Διονυσίων τῆς ἐορτῆς καὶ παννυχίδος ἀνεμένῳ, ὑπὸ γέλωτος καὶ ὀλιγωρίας καὶ τῶν εὐκόλων καὶ σφαλερῶν παθῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐξευρημένων, πρῶτος Ἀριστοφάνης ἐπὶ διεφθαρμέναις ψυχαῖς τὸν γέλωτα ἐπεισαγαγὼν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς κινήσας ὑπορχήματα, τότε θέατρον ἀνέπεισεν, ἐπὶ τοσαύτῃ σοφία ψυλλῶν πηδήματα καταμωκῶμενος, καὶ νεφελῶν διαγράφων εἶδη καὶ σχήματα καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα κωμωδία ληρεῖν εἴωθεν εἰς γέλωτος κίνησιν. ὡς δὲ εἶδον ἐγκεκλικὸς πρὸς τὴν ἡδονὴν τὸ θέατρον, κατηγορίας ἤψαντό τινες, καὶ τὴν ἀσεβῆ γραφήν

<sup>1</sup> A fabulous, monkey-like race who caught Heracles asleep.

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condescend to associate with ordinary men and went in haste to the imperial court, hoping to dominate and convert by his arguments the purpose and headlong policy of Constantine. And he attained to such wisdom and power that the emperor was captivated by him and publicly made him his assessor, giving him a seat at his right hand, a thing incredible to hear and see. The courtiers, bursting with jealous malice against a court so lately converted to the study of philosophy, lay in wait for their opportunity, like the Cercopes,<sup>1</sup> to catch not only Heracles asleep but also irrational unsleeping Fortune, and they held secret meetings and neglected no detail of their unhallowed plot. So it was just as in the time of the renowned Socrates, when no one of all the Athenians, even though they were a democracy, would have ventured on that accusation and indictment of one whom all the Athenians regarded as a walking image of wisdom, had it not been that in the drunkenness, insanity, and licence of the Dionysia and the night festival, when light laughter and careless and dangerous emotions are discovered among men, Aristophanes first introduced ridicule into their corrupted minds, and by setting dances upon the stage won over the audience to his views; for he made mock of that profound wisdom by describing the jumps of fleas,<sup>2</sup> and depicting the shapes and forms of clouds, and all those other absurd devices to which comedy resorts in order to raise a laugh. When they saw that the audience in the theatre was inclined to such indulgence, certain men set up an accusation and ventured on that impious indictment

<sup>2</sup> An allusion to Aristophanes, *Clouds* 144.

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εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐτόλμησαν, καὶ δῆμος ὅλος ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς ἠτύχει φόνῳ. ἔστι γὰρ ἐκ τῶν χρόνων λογιζομένῳ συλλαβεῖν ὅτι, Σωκράτους ἀπελθόντος βιαίως, οὐδὲν ἔτι λαμπρὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἐπράχθη, ἀλλ' ἢ τε πόλις ὑπέδωκε, καὶ διὰ τὴν πόλιν τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἅπαντα συνδιεφθάρη.<sup>1</sup> οὕτω καὶ τότε συνορᾶν ἔξῃν τὸ κατὰ Σώπατρον ἐπιβούλευμα. ἢ μὲν γὰρ Κωνσταντινούπολις, τὸ ἀρχαῖον Βυζάντιον, κατὰ μὲν τοὺς παλαιοὺς χρόνους Ἀθηναίοις παρεῖχε τὴν σιτοπομπείαν, καὶ περιττὸν ἦν τὸ ἐκεῖθεν ἀγώγιμον· ἐν δὲ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς καιροῖς, οὐδὲ τὸ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου πλῆθος τῶν ὀλκάδων, οὐδὲ τὸ ἐξ Ἀσίας ἀπάσης, Συρίας τε καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν συμφερόμενον πλῆθος σίτου, κατὰ ἐπαγωγὴν φόρου, ἐμπλήσαι καὶ κορέσαι τὸν μεθύνοντα δύναται δῆμον, ὃν Κωνσταντῖνος, τὰς ἄλλας χηρώσας πόλεις ἀνθρώπων, εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον μετέστησε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις κρότους παραβλυζόντων κραιπάλης ἀνθρώπων ἑαυτῷ συνεστήσατο, σφαλλομένων ἀνθρώπων ἀγαπήσας ἐγκώμια καὶ μνήμην ὀνόματος, τῶν μόλις ὑπὸ εὐηθείας φθειρομένων τοῦνομα· συμβέβηκε δὲ καὶ τῇ θέσει τοῦ Βυζαντίου μηδὲ εἰς πλοῦν ἀρμόζειν τῶν καταφερομένων πλοίων, ἂν μὴ καταπνεύσῃ νότος ἀκραῆς καὶ ἄμικτος.<sup>2</sup> καὶ τότε δὴ τοῦ πολλάκις

463 συμβαίνοντος κατὰ τὴν ὥρων φύσιν συμβάντος, ὃ τε δῆμος ὑπὸ λιμοῦ παρεθέντες συνήεσαν ἐς τὸ

<sup>1</sup> συνεφθάρη Boissonade ; συνδιεφθάρη Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἄμικτος Cobet would omit as a gloss on the Homeric word ἀκραῆς.



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against him ; and so the death of one man brought misfortune on the whole state. For if one reckons from the date of Socrates' violent death, we may conclude that after it nothing brilliant was ever again achieved by the Athenians, but the city gradually decayed and because of her decay the whole of Greece was ruined along with her. So, too, in the time I speak of one could observe what happened in the affair of the plot against Soper. For Constantinople, originally called Byzantium, in distant times used to furnish the Athenians with a regular supply of corn,<sup>1</sup> and an enormous quantity was imported thence. But in our times neither the great fleet of merchant vessels from Egypt and from all Asia, nor the abundance of corn that is contributed from Syria and Phoenicia and the other nations as the payment of tribute, can suffice to satisfy the intoxicated multitude which Constantine transported to Byzantium by emptying other cities, and established near him because he loved to be applauded in the theatres by men so drunk that they could not hold their liquor. For he desired to be praised by the unstable populace and that his name should be in their mouths, though so stupid were they that they could hardly pronounce the word. It happens, moreover, that the site of Byzantium is not adapted for the approach of ships that touch there, except when a strong wind is blowing due from the south. At that time, then, there happened what often used to happen according to the nature of the seasons ; and the citizens were assembled in the theatre, worn out by hunger. . The applause from

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 87, for the dependence of Athens on corn from Byzantium.

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θέατρον, καὶ σπάνις ἦν τοῦ μεθύοντος ἐπαίνου, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα κατείχεν ἀθυμία. καὶ οἱ πάλοι βασκαίνοντες, εὐρηκέναι καιρὸν ἠγούμενοι κάλλιστον, “ἀλλὰ Σώπατρός γε,” ἔφασαν “ὁ παρὰ σοῦ τιμώμενος κατέδῃσε τοὺς ἀνέμους δι’ ὑπερβολὴν σοφίας, ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπαινεῖς, καὶ δι’ ἦν ἔτι τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγκάθηται θρόνοις.” καὶ ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ συμπεισθεῖς, κατακοπῆναι κελεύει τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ἐγένετο διὰ τοὺς βασκαίνοντας ταῦτα θάπτον ἢ ἐλέγετο. ὁ δὲ τῶν κακῶν ἀπάντων αἴτιος ἦν Ἀβλάβιος, ἔπαρχος μὲν τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς, ὑπὸ Σωπάτρου δὲ παρευδοκιμούμενος ἀπήγγχετο. ἐμοὶ δέ, ὥσπερ προεῖρηται, πεπαιδευμένων ἀνδρῶν εἰς πᾶσαν παιδείαν ἀναγράφοντι βίους, τὰ εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀκοὴν σωζόμενα, δύσφορον οὐδὲν εἰ καὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξημαρτηκότων βραχέα τινὰ ἐπιδράμοιμι.

Ἀβλαβίῳ τῷ τὸν φόνον ἐργασαμένῳ γένος ἦν ἀδοξότατον, καὶ τὰ ἐκ πατέρων τοῦ μετρίου καὶ φαύλου ταπεινότερα. καὶ λόγος τε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτος διασώζεται, καὶ οὐδεὶς τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀντέλεγεν. τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τις περὶ τὸ καλούμενον μάθημα συντεταμένων, παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν (ικανοὶ δέ εἰσιν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ δημοσίᾳ μετ’ ὀλιγωρίας ἐν ταῖς ἀποδημίαις ἀσχημονεῖν· εἰκὸς δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἴκοθεν οὕτω παιδεύεσθαι), παρελθὼν δὲ ὁμως, εἰς τὸ πολυτελέστερον ὠθεῖται τῶν καπηλείων, καὶ ξηρὸς τε εἶναι, πολλὴν ἀνύσας ὀδόν, ἔφασκεν καὶ ὑπὸ δῖψους αὐτίκα μάλα ἀπο-

<sup>1</sup> An echo of *Odyssey* x. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Μάθημα is often used technically of the science of drawing horoscopes.

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the drunken populace was scanty, and the Emperor was greatly discouraged. Then those who had long been envious thought that they had found an excellent occasion, and said: "It is Sopater, he whom you honour, who has fettered the winds<sup>1</sup> by that excessive cleverness which you yourself praise, and through which he even sits on the Imperial throne." When Constantine heard this he was won over, and ordered Sopater's head to be cut off; and those envious persons took care that this was no sooner said than done. Ablabius was responsible for all these evils, for, though he was pretorian prefect, he felt stifled with envy of Sopater, who received more consideration than himself. And since I am, as I have already said, recording the lives of men who were trained in every kind of learning, so much, that is, as is preserved and has come to my ears, it will not be amiss if I also touch briefly on those who wrongfully injured them.

Ablabius who brought about the murder came of a very obscure family, and on his father's side did not even attain to the humble middle class. The following anecdote about him survives, and no one contradicted the facts alleged. A certain Egyptian of the class devoted to the study called astrology,<sup>2</sup> who was visiting the city<sup>3</sup> (and when they are on their travels Egyptians are capable of behaving even in public with a lack of decorum, so that they are probably trained at home to manners of that sort); as I say, he came on a visit, pushed his way into one of the more expensive wineshops, and called out that he was parched after finishing a long journey, and that he would choke in a moment with thirst,

<sup>1</sup> Rome.

πεπνίξεσθαι, καὶ γλυκὺν ἤρτυμένον ἐγγχεῖν ἐκέλευσε τὸν οἶνον, καὶ προέκειτο τὸ ἀργύριον. ἡ δὲ προεστῶσα τοῦ καπηλείου τὸ κέρδος ὀρώσα, πρὸς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ διетρόχαζεν. ἡ δὲ ἐτύγγανε μὲν ἰκανὴ καὶ μαιώσασθαι γυναῖκας ἐπὶ τῷ λοχεύεσθαι. προθεμένης αὐτῆς κύλικα τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ καὶ τὸν ἤρτυμένον οἶνον καταχεομένης, προσδραμοῦσά τις ἐκ γειτόνων “ἀλλὰ κινδυνεύει σοι” εἶπε λέγουσα πρὸς τὸ οὖς “ἐπὶ ταῖς ὠδίσις ἢ φίλη καὶ συγγενής,” καὶ γὰρ οὕτως εἶχεν, “εἰ μὴ θάττον ἀφίκοιο.” καὶ ἡ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσασα, καὶ καταλιπούσα τὸν Αἰγύπτιον, πρὶν τὸ θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἐπιχεῖν,<sup>1</sup> κεκηνότα, κάκεινῃν ἀπολύσασα τῶν ὠδίωνων, καὶ συντελέσασά γε ὅσα ἐπὶ ταῖς λοχείαις γίνεται, παρῆν αὐτίκα, διακαθήρασα τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς τὸν ξένον. ὡς δὲ ἀγανακτοῦντα κατέλαβε καὶ τῷ θυμῷ περιζέοντα, τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπήγγειλεν ἢ γυνὴ τῆς βραδυτῆτος. ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν ὁ βέλτιστος Αἰγύπιος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὥραν εἶδεν, ὀξέως μᾶλλον ἐδίψησεν ἐξαιρεῖν τὸ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπελθὸν ἢ τὸ τοῦ σώματος θεροπεῦσαι πάθος, καὶ μέγα φθελγόμενος. “ἀλλ’ ἄπιθί γε, ὦ γύναι· φράζε τῇ τεκούσῃ ὅτι μικροῦ βασιλέα τέτοκε.” καὶ τοῦτο δηλώσας, ἑαυτὸν τε ἐπλήρωσεν ἀφθόνως τῆς κύλικος, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ὅστις εἶη κατέλιπε τῇ γυναικὶ εἰδέναι. καὶ ὁ τεχθεὶς ἦν Ἀβλάβιος, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐγένετο παίγνιον τῆς εἰς ἅπαντα νεωτερίζουσης Τύχης, ὥστε οὕτω πλείονα ἐδύνατο τοῦ  
 484 βασιλεύοντος, ὥστε καὶ Σῶπατρον ἀπέκτεινεν, αἰτίαν ἐπενεγκῶν τῆς Σωκρατικῆς εὐθησετέραν,

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιβαλεῖν Boissonade; ἐπιχεῖν Cobet.

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and ordered them to prepare and pour for him some sweet spiced wine, and the money for it was produced. The hostess of the wineshop, seeing her profits actually under her eyes, made ready to serve him and began bustling about. But she happened to be skilled in midwifery also. And when she had just set the goblet before the Egyptian and was in the act of pouring out the wine that she had prepared, one of her neighbours ran in and whispered in her ear: "Your friend and kinswoman," as indeed she actually was, "is in mortal danger in child-birth, unless you come quickly." When she heard this she then and there left the Egyptian open-mouthed, and did not stay to pour in the hot water. When she had relieved the woman in her travail and done all that is usual in case of child-birth, she washed her hands and came back at once to her customer. When she found him in deep chagrin and boiling over with rage, the woman explained the reason for her tardiness. On hearing it, the excellent Egyptian noted the time and season, and straightway felt more thirst to utter the message that had come to him from the gods than to cure his own thirst; and he cried out in a loud voice: "Go, woman, tell the mother that she has given birth to one only second to an emperor." After this revelation he drank his fill of the cup and spared not; and he left his name for the information of the woman. The infant's name was Ablabius, and he proved to be so much the darling of Fortune who delights in novelties, that he became even more powerful than the emperor. So much more powerful was he that he even put Sopater to death, after bringing against him a charge more foolish even than that against

ὡσπερ ἀτάκτῳ δήμῳ τῷ τότε βασιλεύοντι χρώ-  
 μενος.<sup>1</sup> Κωνσταντῖνος μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀβλάβιον  
 τιμῶν ἐκολάζετο, καὶ ὅπως γε ἐτελεύτα ἐν τοῖς  
 περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται. Ἀβλαβίῳ δὲ τὸν παῖδα  
 κατέλιπε Κωνσταντίον, συμβασιλεύσαντα μὲν αὐτῷ,  
 διαδεξάμενον δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πατρὸς σὺν Κων-  
 σταντίνῳ καὶ Κώνσταντι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. ἐν δὲ  
 τοῖς κατὰ τὸν θειότατον Ἰουλιανὸν ἀκριβέστερον  
 ταῦτα εἴρηται. διαδεξάμενος δὲ ὁ Κωνσταντίος  
 τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ κληρωθεὶς ὅσα γε ἐκληρώθη,  
 ταῦτα δὲ ἦν τὰ ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν εἰς τὴν ἑῴαν καθή-  
 κοντα, τὸν μὲν Ἀβλάβιον αὐτίκα παραλύει τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς, ἄλλο δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ἑταιρικὸν συνέστησε.  
 καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀβλάβιος τὰ περὶ Βιθυνίαν χωρία πάλαι  
 παρεσκευασμένος,<sup>2</sup> βασιλικὰς τε καταφυγὰς καὶ  
 ῥαθυμίας ἔχοντα, διέτριβεν ἐν ἀφθόνοις, πάντων  
 ἀνθρώπων θαυμαζόντων ὅτι βασιλεύει οὐ βούλεται.  
 ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντίος ἐγγύθεν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς  
 πόλεως ξιφηφόρους τινὰς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκπέμψας οὐκ  
 ὀλίγους, τοῖς μὲν πρώτοις ἐκέλευσεν ἀποδιδόναι  
 γράμματα. καὶ προσεκύνησάν γε αὐτόν, ὡσπερ  
 νομίζουσι Ῥωμαῖοι βασιλέα προσκυνεῖν, οἱ τὰ  
 γράμματα ἐγχειρίζοντες· καὶ ὡς μάλα σοβαρῶς  
 δεξάμενος τὰ γράμματα καὶ παντὸς ἀπολυθεὶς  
 φόβου, τὴν τε ἀλουργίδα τοὺς ἐλθόντας ἀπήτει,  
 βαρύτερος ἤδη γινόμενος, καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν τοῖς  
 ὀρωμένοις. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν πρὸς αὐτόν, αὐτοὶ μὲν  
 τὰ γράμματα κομίζειν, πρὸ θυρῶν δὲ εἶναι τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> χρώμενος Wyttenbach adds.

<sup>2</sup> παρεσκευασμένα Boissonade; μένος Cobet.

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Socrates, and in those days he influenced the emperor as though the latter were an undisciplined mob. Constantine, however, was punished for the honour that he paid to Ablabius, and the manner of his death I have described in my account of his life. He bequeathed to Ablabius his son Constantius who had been his consort in the Empire and succeeded to the throne of his father together with his brothers Constantine and Constans. But in my account of the sainted Julian I have related these matters more fully. When Constantius had succeeded to the throne and had been allotted his proper portion of the Empire, that is to say the countries that extend from Illyricum to the East, he at once relieved Ablabius of his authority, and gathered about himself a different set of favourites. Ablabius spent his time in luxury on an estate that he had long before made ready in Bithynia, which provided him a safe retreat of regal splendour and complete idleness; meanwhile all men marvelled that he did not aspire to be emperor. Then Constantius, from his father's city hard by, dispatched certain swordsmen to him in considerable numbers, and to the leaders he gave orders that they should hand him a letter. Those who delivered the letter into his hands prostrated themselves before him, as Romans are accustomed to prostrate themselves before the emperor. He received the document with great arrogance, and, freed from all apprehension, he demanded the imperial purple from those who had come, while his expression became more stern, and he inspired terror in the spectators. They replied that their task had only been to bring the letter, but that those who had been entrusted with this other

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ταῦτα πεπιστευμένους. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκείνους ἐκάλει μέγα φρονῶν καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ διηρμένος· οἱ δὲ συγχωρηθέντες εἰσελθεῖν πλήθος τε ἦσαν καὶ ξιφηφόροι πάντες, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς ἀλουργίδος ἐπήγον αὐτῷ “τὸν πορφύρεον θάνατον,” κρεουργηδόν, ὡσπερ τι τῶν ἐν ταῖς εὐωχίαις ζῶον, κατακόψαντες. καὶ ταύτην<sup>1</sup> ἔτισε Σιωπάτρῳ δίκην ὁ πάντα εὐδαίμων Ἀβλάβιος.

Τούτων δὴ οὕτω κεχωρηκότων καὶ τῆς Προνοίας οὐκ ἀφίεσης τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, ὁ τῶν περιλειφθέντων ἐνδοξότατος Αἰδέσιος κατελίπετο. καταφυγὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τινα μαντείαν δι' εὐχῆς ἤπερ ἐπίστευε μάλιστα (αὕτη δὲ ἦν δι' οὐείρατος), ὁ μὲν θεὸς ἐφίστατο πρὸς τὴν εὐχὴν, καὶ ἔχρησεν ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε· ὁ δ' ἀνακαλύψας ἄρτι<sup>2</sup> τὰ βλέφορα καὶ περίφοβος ὧν ἔτι, τὸν μὲν νοῦν ἐμέμνητο τῶν εἰρημένων, τὸ δὲ ὑπερφυῆς καὶ οὐρανόμεχες τῶν ἐπῶν περιέφευγεν αὐτὸν καὶ διωλίσθαινε. τὸν τε οὖν παῖδα καλεῖ, τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀποσμήσαι τῷ ὕδατι βουλόμενος, καὶ ὁ θεράπων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν, “ἀλλ' ἢ ἀριστερά γε χεὶρ ἔξωθεν κατάπλεως ἐστὶ γραμμάτων.” καὶ ὃς εἶδε καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα θεῖον εἶναι συνεφρόνησε, καὶ προσκυνήσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χεῖρα καὶ τὰ γεγραμμένα, εὗρε τὸν χρησμὸν ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς γεγραμμένον. ἔστι δὲ οὗτος·

δοιῶν Μοιράων ἐπὶ νήμασι νήματα κεῖται  
εἵνεκα σῆς βιοτῆς. εἰ μὲν πτολίεθρ' ἀγαπάζοις  
ἄστέα τ' αὖ φωτῶν, καὶ σοι κλέος ἀφθιτον ἔσται,

<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα Boissonade ; ταύτην Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> ἔτι Boissonade ; ἄρτι Wyttenbach.



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mission were at the door. Thereupon he insolently summoned them within, and was inflated with pride. But those who were then admitted were more in number and all carried swords, and instead of the purple robe they brought him "purple death,"<sup>1</sup> and hacked him to pieces like some animal cut up at a public feast. Thus did the shade of Sopater avenge itself on Ablabius "the fortunate."

When these events had happened and Providence had shown that she had not deserted mankind, there remained AEDESIUS, the most renowned of those that survived. Once when he resorted with prayer to a form of oracle in which he placed most trust (it came in a dream), the god appeared in answer to his prayer and gave him the following response in hexameter verse. And just after he had opened his eyelids, while he was still spellbound with awe, he remembered the verbal sense of what had been said, though the supernatural and prodigious element in the verses escaped him and was slipping from his mind. So he called a slave, since he wished to cleanse his eyes and face with water,<sup>2</sup> and the servant said to him: "Look, the back of your left hand is covered with writing." He looked, and concluded that the thing was a divine portent, and after reverently saluting his hand and the letters, he found that the following oracle was written on his hand: "On the warp of the two Fates' spinning lie the threads of thy life's web. If thy choice is the cities and towns of men, thy renown shall be deathless, shepherding

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* v. 83; this is the verse that Julian quoted when he was invested with the purple as Caesar, and distrusted the intentions of Constantius; Ammianus Marcellinus xv. 8.

<sup>2</sup> The regular procedure after such a vision; cf. Aristophanes, *Frogs* 137 f.; Aeschylus, *Persae* 201.

465 ἀνδρῶν ποιμαίνοντι νέων θεοείκελον ὄρμην.  
 ἦν δ' αὖ ποιμαίνης μήλων νομὸν ἠδ' ἔτι ταύρων,  
 δὴ πότε σαυτὸν ἔελπε συνήμονα<sup>1</sup> καὶ μακάρεσσιν  
 ἔμμεναι ἀθανάτοισι. λίνον δέ τοι ὦδε νένευκεν.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν χρησμὸς ταῦτα εἶχεν· ὁ δὲ ἐπόμενος, ὥσπερ ἔπεσθαι χρή, πρὸς τὴν κρείττονα ὁδὸν συνηπείγετο, καὶ χωριδίον τέ τι περιεσκόπει καὶ πρὸς αἰπόλου τινὸς ἢ βοτῆρος ἑαυτὸν ἐνέτεινε βίον· τοὺς δὲ λόγων δεομένους ἢ παιδείας διὰ τὸ προκατακεχυμένον κλέος οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν, ἀλλ' ἀνιχνεύοντες αὐτὸν περιεστήκεσαν, ὥσπερ κύνες ὠρυόμενοι περὶ τὰ πρόθυρα, καὶ διασπάσσεσθαι<sup>2</sup> ἀπειλοῦντες, εἰ τοσαύτην καὶ τηλικαύτην σοφίαν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη καὶ τοὺς κρημνοὺς καὶ τὰ δένδρα τρέποι, καθάπερ οὐδὲ ἄνθρωπος γεγωνῶς οὐδὲ εἰδῶς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον. τοιούτοις δὲ λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις ἐκβιασθεὶς εἰς τὴν κώϊν ὁμίλιαν, ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν φέρων τῇ χεῖρονι τῶν ὁδῶν, καὶ τὴν μὲν Καππαδοκίαν ἐξέλιπεν, Εὐσταθίῳ παραδοὺς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἐκείνῃ (καὶ κατὰ γένος οὐκ ἀφεστήκεσαν). αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβὰς, ὅλης Ἀσίας προτεινούσης αὐτῷ χεῖρας, ἐν τῷ παλαιῷ Περγάμῳ καθιδρύθη, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων μὲν Ἕλληνές τε ἐφοίτων καὶ οἱ πρόσχωροι, καὶ ἡ δόξα τῶν ἄστρον ἔψαυεν.

Περὶ δὲ Εὐσταθίου καὶ ἀσεβές ἐστὶ παραλιπεῖν τὰ ἐς ἀλήθειαν φέροντα· παρὰ πάντων γὰρ συνωμολογεῖτο τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον καὶ ὀφθῆναι<sup>3</sup> εἶναι κάλλιστον, καὶ εἰς πείραν λόγων ἐλθεῖν δεινότατόν, τό τε ἐπὶ τῇ γλώσσει καὶ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν αἰμύλιον

<sup>1</sup> συνήμονα Boissonade; συνήμονα Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> διασπάσσεσθαι Boissonade; διασπάσσεσθαι Cobet.

<sup>3</sup> ὀφθῆναι καὶ Boissonade; καὶ ὀφθῆναι Cobet.

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the god-given impulse of youth. But if thou shalt be a shepherd of sheep and bulls, then hope that thou thyself shalt one day be the associate of the blessed immortals. Thus has thy thread been woven."

Thus ran the oracle. In obedience to it, as it was his duty to obey, he set out with all speed in pursuit of the better way, and looked about for a small estate and devoted his energies to the life of a goat-herd or neat-herd. But so great was his previous renown and so widespread that this purpose could not be hidden from those who longed for training in eloquence, or for learning. They tracked him down and beset him like hounds baying before his doors, and threatened to tear him in pieces if he should devote wisdom so great and so rare to hills and rocks and trees, as though he were not born a man or with knowledge of human life. He was forced by speeches and actions of this sort to return to the life and converse of ordinary men; and now he applied his talents to the inferior of the two ways. He left Cappadocia, and handed over to Eustathius the charge of his property there—they were indeed kinsmen—while he himself passed into the province of Asia; for all Asia was holding out her arms in welcome. He settled in ancient Pergamon, and his school was attended by Greeks and by the neighbouring people, so that his fame touched the stars.

With regard to Eustathius, it would be sacrilegious to leave out what would convey the truth. All men were agreed that he was not only observed to be a most noble character, but also most gifted with eloquence when put to the test, while the charm that sat on his tongue and lips seemed to be nothing

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οὐκ ἔξω γοητείας ἐδόκει. καὶ τὸ μείλιχον καὶ ἡμερον ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐπήνθει καὶ συνεξεχείτο τοσοῦτον, ὥστε οἱ τῆς φωνῆς ἀκούσαντες καὶ τῶν λόγων, παραδόντες αὐτούς, καθάπερ οἱ τοῦ λωτοῦ γευσάμενοι, τῆς φωνῆς ἐξεκρέμαντο καὶ τῶν λόγων. οὕτω δὴ πολὺ τι τῶν μουσικῶν οὐκ ἀπέιχε Σειρήνων, ὥστε ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν μετεκάλεσε, καὶ τοί γε τοῖς τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐνεχόμενος βιβλίους, ἐπειδὴ θόρυβος αὐτὸν κατεῖχε, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀνάγκη τις ἐπέκειτο, καὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἤδη περιειργασμένου καὶ συντοξεύοντος, ὅς γε τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ὑπερκειμένην τοῦ θεάτρου καταλαβὼν ἀδοκήτως καὶ ἐξαπιναίως, τὸ πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν θεωμένων συνετόξευσε καὶ διέφθειρε. τούτων δὲ ὁμῶς<sup>1</sup> κατεχόντων, οὕτως πάντες ἦσαν ἡρημένοι καὶ κατακεκλημένοι, ὥστε μὴ κατοκνήσαι τινα Ἑλληνα ἄνθρωπον ἐς τὰ ὦτα τοῦ βασιλέως παραβαλεῖν· καὶ τοί γε εἰώθεσαν πρότερον οἱ βασιλεύοντες τοὺς κατὰ στρατιὰν ἐπαινουμένους ἐπὶ τὰς πρεσβείας χειροτονεῖν, ἥτοι γε στρατοπεδάρχας ἢ ὅσοι γε μετ' ἐκείνους ἐς τὸ ἄρχεῖν ἐξηρημένοι· τότε καὶ ἀνάγκης τυραννοῦσης, ὁ φρονιμώτατος ἀπάντων περιεσκοπεῖτο καὶ συνωμολογεῖτο Εὐστάθιος. μετεκλήθη τε οὖν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ αὐτίκα παρῆν, καὶ τοσαύτη τις ἐπὴν ἀφροδίτη τοῖς χείλεσιν, ὥστε οἱ συμβουλευσάντες τὴν πρεσβείαν δι' Εὐσταθίου πεμφθῆναι, ἀξιωμαίων

<sup>1</sup> ὁμῶς Boissonade ; ὁμῶς Wright.

<sup>1</sup> Constantius sent Eustathius on this embassy, but the incident at Antioch here described occurred much earlier, 394

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less than witchcraft. His mildness and amiability so blossomed out in what he said and gushed forth with his words, that those who heard his voice and speeches surrendered themselves like men who had tasted the lotus, and they hung on that voice and those speeches. So closely did he resemble the musical Sirens, that the emperor,<sup>1</sup> for all that he was wrapped up in the books of the Christians, sent for him at the time when he was alarmed by the state of affairs, and was hard pressed by impending danger from the king of the Persians, who had once already laid siege to Antioch and raided it with his bowmen. For unexpectedly and on a sudden he seized the height that commanded the theatre, and with his arrows shot and massacred that great crowd of spectators. In this similar crisis all men were so held captive and enchanted by Eustathius, that they did not hesitate to commend a man of the Hellenic faith to the ears of the emperor; although the earlier emperors had been accustomed to elect for embassies men who had won distinction in the army, or military prefects, or men who were next in rank to these and had been selected for office. But at that time, at the imperious call of necessity, Eustathius was sought out and admitted by general consent to be the most prudent of all men. Accordingly he was summoned by the emperor, and came forthwith, and so potent was the charm on his lips<sup>2</sup> that those who had advised that the embassy should be dispatched in charge of Eustathius won greater consideration than in the reign of Gallienus, about A.D. 258; *cf.* Ammianus Marcellinus xxiii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> A sophistic commonplace derived from the famous saying of Eupolis about the oratory of Pericles; *cf.* Julian 33 A, 426 B.

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τε ἔτυχον παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ μειζόνων, καὶ πρὸς  
 τὴν εὐνοίαν αὐτῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεκλίνετο. τούτων  
 μὲν οὖν τινὲς αὐτῷ καὶ ἐθελονταὶ συνεξώρμησαν  
 466 ἐπὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν, μείζονα διάπειραν θέλοντες  
 λαβεῖν, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔχοι τὸ αὐτὸ  
 θελκτικόν ὁ ἄνθρωπος. ὡς δὲ εἰς τὴν τῶν  
 Περσῶν ἀφίκοντο χώραν, καὶ τοί γε τυραννικὸς,  
 καὶ ἄγριός τις Σαπώρης εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς εἰσιόντας,  
 ἦν τε ἀληθῶς, καὶ ἐξηγγέλλετο, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπεὶ  
 πρόσοδος Εὐσταθίῳ κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν πρεσβείαν  
 ἐγένετο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, τὴν τε ὑπεροψίαν τὴν  
 ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ τὸ μείλιχον ἐθαύμασε, καὶ τοί  
 γε πολλὰ ἐς κατάπληξιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μηχανησά-  
 μενος. καὶ ὡς ἡμέρως καὶ ἀλύπως διαλεγομένου  
 τῆς φωνῆς ἤκουσε, καὶ τῶν ἐπιτρεχουσῶν κοσμίως  
 καὶ εὐκόλως ἀποδείξεων, ἐξελθεῖν μὲν αὐτὸν  
 κελεύει, καὶ ὃς ἐξῆι λόγῳ συνηρηκῶς τύραννον:  
 ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τράπεζάν τε εὐθύς διὰ τῶν θαλαμηπόλων  
 εἰσεκάλει, καί, πρὸς τοῦτο ὑπακούσαντος (ἐῷκει  
 γὰρ εὐ πεφυκέναι πρὸς ἀρετῆς ῥοπῆν), ἀπήντησεν  
 ἐπὶ τὴν θοίνην. καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος ἐγένετο, καὶ  
 κατεκράτει τῷ λόγῳ τοσοῦτον, ὥστε μικροῦ τινὸς  
 ἐδέησε τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα τὴν τε ὀρθὴν μετα-  
 βαλεῖν τιάραν καὶ τοὺς περιπορφύρους καὶ λιθο-  
 κολλήτους ἀποδύσαι κόσμους, καὶ τὸ τριβώνιον  
 Εὐσταθίου μεταμφιάσασθαι· τοσαύτην τῆς τρυφῆς<sup>1</sup>  
 ἐποίησατο καταδρομὴν καὶ τῶν περὶ σῶμα κόσμων,  
 καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτο κακοδαιμονίας τοὺς φιλοσω-  
 μάτους ἀνήγαγεν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐκώλυσαν οἱ

<sup>1</sup> τύχης Boisso ade; τρυφῆς Cobet.

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before from the emperor, and he inclined more favourably towards them. Moreover, some of these men set out of their own accord to accompany the embassy, because they wished to employ a still greater test, whether in his encounter with the barbarians Eustathius should prove to possess the same power to enchant and persuade. When they arrived in Persia, Sapor was reported to be and actually was tyrannical and savage towards those who approached him; nevertheless, when Eustathius, for the embassy in general, was allowed access to the king, the latter could not but admire the expression of his eyes which was at once amiable and proudly indifferent, in spite of the many preparations that the king had devised in order to dazzle and overawe the man. And when he heard his voice conversing so equably and with no effort, when he heard him run over his arguments so modestly and good-naturedly, he bade him withdraw; and Eustathius went out, leaving the tyrant a captive to his eloquence. Presently he sent a message by his household officials to invite him to his table, and when he obeyed the summons, since the king seemed to him to have a natural bent for virtue, Sapor joined him at the banquet. Thus Eustathius became his companion at table, and by his eloquence won such influence over him that the king of Persia came within an ace of renouncing his upright tiara, laying aside his purple and bejewelled attire, and putting on instead the philosopher's cloak of Eustathius; so successfully did the latter run down the life of luxury and the pomps and vanities of the flesh, to such depths of misery did he seem to bring down those who loved their bodies. But this was prevented by certain magi who

παρατυχόντες τῶν μάγων, γόητα εἶναι τελείως τὸν ἄνδρα φάσκοντες, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα συμπίσαντες ἀποκρίνασθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων· τί δήποτε ἄνδρας εὐτυχοῦντες τοσούτους,<sup>1</sup> εἶτα πέμψουσιν ἀνδραπόδων πλουτούντων οὐδέν διαφέροντας; τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἅπαντα ἦν παρ' <sup>2</sup> ἐλπίδας.

Περὶ τούτου γε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι ἐς τὴν ἐμὴν ἱστορίαν συνέπεσεν, ὡς ἅπανα μὲν ἡ Ἑλλάς ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν ἠύχοντο καὶ ἤτουν τοὺς θεοὺς τὴν ἐπιδημίαν· καὶ αἶγε μαντεῖαι τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα δεινοῖς ἐς τοῦτο συνέβαινον. ὡς δὲ διημάρτανον, οὐ γὰρ ἐπεδήμει, πρεσβείαν παρ' αὐτὸν στέλλουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, τοὺς ἄκρους ἐπὶ σοφία κατὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν προελόμενοι. νοῦς δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς τὸν μέγαν Εὐστάθιον· τί δήποτε ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς σημείοις τό ἔργον οὐκ ἀπήντησεν; ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας, καὶ τοὺς ὀνομαστοὺς ἐπ' ἐκείνοις καὶ πολυμνήτους ἀναθεωρῶν καὶ διακρίνων ἐβασάνιζε, καὶ συνηρώτα τό τε μέγεθος καὶ τὴν χροίαν καὶ τό σχῆμα τῶν σημείων, εἶτα μειδιάσας συνηθῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ὡς ἤκουσε τὰ ὄντα (ψεῦδος γάρ οὐ μόνον ἔξω θείου χοροῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγου ἴσταται), "ἀλλὰ ταῦτά γε" εἶπε "τὴν ἐμὴν τήνδε ἐπιδημίαν οὐκ ἐμαντεύετο." καὶ πού τι καὶ παρά τό ἀνθρώπειον κατὰ γε ἐμὴν ἐφθέγγατο κρίσιν· ἀπεκρίνατο γὰρ ὡς "μικρότερα ἦν καὶ βραδύτερα τῶν ἐμῶν καλῶν τὰ φανθέντα σημεία."

Οὕτως Εὐστάθιος ὁ τοσοῦτος Σωσιπάτρα συνήκκη-

<sup>1</sup> τοιοῦτους Boissonade; τοσοῦτους Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> ὑπὲρ Boissonade; παρ' Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus xvii, 5 mentions this embassy, which was sent to Ctesiphon in 358.



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happened to be at the court, and kept asserting that the man was nothing but a mere conjuror ; and they persuaded the king to reply to the Roman emperor by asking him why, when Fortune had bestowed on them so many distinguished men, they sent persons no better than slaves who had enriched themselves. And the whole result of the embassy was contrary to men's expectations.<sup>1</sup>

In my researches concerning this man, I have come upon evidence of the following; namely that the whole of Greece prayed to see him and implored the gods that he might visit them. Moreover, the omens and those who were skilled to interpret them agreed that this would come to pass. But when they proved to be mistaken, for he did not visit Greece, the Greeks sent an embassy to him and chose for this embassy their most famous wise men. The purpose of their mission was to discuss with the renowned Eustathius this question: "Why did not the facts accord with these omens?" He listened to them, and then investigated and sifted the evidence of men who were famed in this science and had a wide renown, and cross-examined them, asking what was the size, colour, and shape of the omens. Then, as his manner was, he smiled at them, on hearing the true facts (for as falsehood has no place in the choir of the gods,<sup>2</sup> so too it has none in their utterance), and said: "Nay, these omens did not foretell this visit from me." Then he said something that in my judgement was too high for a mere mortal, for this was his reply: "The omens revealed were too trivial and too tardy for such dignity as mine."

After this the renowned Eustathius married

<sup>2</sup> An echo of Plato, *Phaedrus* 247 A ; a rhetorical commonplace.

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σεν, ἢ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑαυτῆς δι' ὑπεροχὴν σοφίας  
 εὐτελῆ τινὰ καὶ μικρὸν ἀπέδειξε. περὶ ταύτης  
 δὲ ἐν ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν καταλόγοις\* καὶ διὰ μακροτέ-  
 ρων εἰπεῖν ἀρμόζει, τοσοῦτον κλέος τῆς γυναικὸς  
 ἐξεφοίτησεν. ἦν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς περὶ Ἔφεσον Ἀσίας,  
 ὄσσην Κάϋστρος ποταμὸς ἐπιὼν καὶ διαρρέων<sup>1</sup>  
 467 τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τῷ πεδίῳ δίδωσι.  
 πατέρων δὲ ἦν καὶ γένους εὐδαίμονός τε καὶ  
 ὀλβίου· παιδίον δὲ ἔτι νήπιον οὔσα, ἅπαντα ἐποίει  
 ὀλβιώτερα, τοσοῦτόν τι κάλλους καὶ αἰδοῦς τὴν  
 ἡλικίαν κατέλαμπε. καὶ ἡ μὲν εἰς πενταετῆ  
 συνετέλει χρόνον· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πρεσβύται δύο  
 τινές (ἄμφω μὲν τὴν ἀκμὴν παρήλλαττον, ὁ δὲ  
 ἕτερος ἦν ἀφηλικέστερος) πῆρας βαθείας ἔχοντες,  
 καὶ δέρματα ἐπὶ τῶν νώτων ἐνημμένοι, πρὸς τι  
 χωρίον συνωθοῦνται τῶν γονέων τῆς Σωσιπάτρας,  
 καὶ τὸν ἐπιτροπεύοντα\* συμπεῖθουσι (ῥάδιον δὲ  
 ἦν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο ποιεῖν) ἀμπελίῳ ἐπιμελείαν  
 αὐτοῖς πιστεῦσαι. ὡς δὲ ὁ καρπὸς ἀπήντησε  
 ὑπὲρ<sup>2</sup> τὴν ἐλπίδα (καὶ ὁ δεσπότης παρῆν καὶ τὸ  
 παιδίον ἢ Σωσιπάτρα συμπαρῆν), τὸ μὲν θαῦμα  
 ἄπειρον ἦν καὶ πρὸς ὑπόνοιαν ἔφερε θειασμοῦ  
 τινός· ὁ δὲ τοῦ χωρίου δεσπότης ὁμοτραπέζους  
 αὐτοὺς ἐποίησατο καὶ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἤξιον,  
 τοῖς συγγεωργοῦσι τὸ χωρίον καταμεμφόμενος,  
 ὅτι μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ πράττειεν. οἱ δὲ πρεσβύται ξενίας  
 τε Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ τραπέζης τυχόντες, τοῦ δὲ  
 παιδίου τῆς Σωσιπάτρας τῷ τε περιττῶς καλῷ  
 καὶ λαμυρῷ δηχθέντες καὶ ἀλόντες, “ ἄλλ’ ἡμεῖς  
 γε ” ἔφασαν “ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κρύφια καὶ ἀπόρρητα

<sup>1</sup> After διαρρέων Cobet deletes γῆν.

<sup>2</sup> παρὰ Boissonade ; ὑπὲρ Cobet.

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Sosipatra, who by her surpassing wisdom made her own husband seem inferior and insignificant. So far did the fame of this woman travel that it is fitting for me to speak of her at greater length, even in this catalogue of wise men. She was born in Asia, near Ephesus, in that district which the river Cayster traverses and flows through, and hence gives its name to the plain. She came of a prosperous family, blessed with wealth, and while she was still a small child she seemed to bring a blessing on everything, such beauty and decorum illumined her infant years. Now she had just reached the age of five, when two old men (both were past the prime of life, but one was rather older than the other), carrying ample wallets and dressed in garments of skins, made their way to a country estate belonging to Sosipatra's parents, and persuaded the steward, as they were easily able to do, to entrust to them the care of the vines. When a harvest beyond all expectation was the result—the owner himself was there, and with him was the little girl Sosipatra—men's amazement was boundless, and they went so far as to suspect the intervention of the gods. The owner of the estate invited them to his table, and treated them with the highest consideration; and he reproached the other labourers on the estate with not obtaining the same results. The old men, on receiving Greek hospitality and a place at a Greek table, were smitten and captivated by the exceeding beauty and charm of the little girl Sosipatra, and they said: "Our other powers we keep to ourselves hidden and

πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἔχομεν, καὶ τὰ<sup>1</sup> ταυτησὶ τῆς ἐπαινου-  
 μένης εὐοινίας ἐστὶ γέλως, καὶ παίγνιον τι μετ'  
 ὀλιγωρίας τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν πλεονεκτημάτων. εἰ  
 δέ τι βούλει σοι τῆς τραπέζης ταύτης καὶ τῶν  
 ξενίων ἄξιον<sup>2</sup> δοθῆναι παρ' ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐν χρήμασιν  
 οὐδὲ ἐν ἐπικήροις καὶ διεφθαρμέναις χάρισιν, ἀλλ'  
 ὅσον ὑπὲρ σέ τέ ἐστι καὶ τὸν σὸν βίον, δῶρον  
 οὐρανόμηκες καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων ἐφικνούμενον, ἄφες  
 παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν Σωσιπάτραν ταύτην τροφεῦσαι καὶ  
 πατρόσω ἀληθεστέροις, καὶ εἰς γε πέμπτον ἔτος  
 μὴ νόσον<sup>3</sup> περὶ τῆ παιδίσκη φοβηθῆς, μὴ θάνατον,  
 ἀλλ' ἡσυχος ἔσο καὶ ἔμπεδος. μελέτω δέ σοι μὴ  
 πατῆσαι τὸ χωρίον μέχρις ἂν τὸ πέμπτον ἔτος,  
 περιτελλομένων τῶν ἡλιακῶν κύκλων, ἐξίκηται.  
 καὶ πλοῦτός τέ σοι αὐτόματος ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου  
 φύσεται καὶ ἀναθλήσει, καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ οὐ κατὰ  
 γυναῖκα καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἔσται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 αὐτὸς ὑπολήψη τι περὶ τῆς παιδίσκης πλέον. εἰ  
 μὲν οὖν ἀγαθὸν ἔχεις θυμόν, ὑπτίαις χερσὶ δέξαι  
 τὰ λεγόμενα· εἰ δέ τινας ὑπονοίας ἀνακινεῖς,  
 οὐδὲν ἡμῖν εἴρηται." πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν γλῶτταν  
 ἔνδακῶν καὶ πτήξας ὁ πατήρ, τὸ παιδίον ἐγχειρίζει  
 καὶ παραδίδωσι, καί, τὸν οἰκονόμον μετακαλέσας,  
 "χορήγει" πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν "ὅσα οἱ πρεσβύται  
 βούλονται, καὶ πολυπραγμόνει μηδέν." ταῦτα  
 δὲ εἰπὼν,<sup>4</sup> οὕτω δὲ ἕως ὑπέβαινε, ἐξῆει καθάπερ  
 φεύγων καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ τὸ χωρίον.

Οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες τὸ παιδίον (εἴτε ἦρωες,  
 εἴτε δαίμονες, εἴτε τι θεϊότερον ἦσαν γένος), τίσι

<sup>1</sup> τὰ Wyttēbach adds.

<sup>2</sup> ἄξιον Cobet adds.

<sup>3</sup> μηδένος Laurentianus; μηδέν Boissonade; μὴ νόσον Cobet.

<sup>4</sup> εἶπεν· Boissonade; εἰπὼν Cobet.

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unrevealed, and this abundant vintage that you so highly approve is laughable and mere child's-play which takes no account of our superhuman abilities. But if you desire from us a fitting return for this maintenance and hospitality, not in money or perishable and corruptible benefits, but one far above you and your way of life, a gift whereof the fame shall reach the skies and touch the stars, hand over this child Sosipatra to us who are more truly her parents and guardians, and until the fifth year from now fear no disease for the little girl, nor death, but remain calm and steadfast. But take care not to set your feet on this soil till the fifth year come with the annual revolutions of the sun. And of its own accord wealth shall spring up for you and shall blossom forth from the soil. Moreover, your daughter shall have a mind not like a woman's or a mere human being's. Nay, you yourself also shall have higher than mortal thoughts concerning the child. Now if you have good courage accept our words with outspread hands, but if any suspicions awake in your mind consider that we have said nothing." Hearing this the father bit his tongue, and humble and awestruck put the child into their hands and gave her over to them. Then he summoned his steward and said to him: "Supply the old men with all that they need, and ask no questions." Thus he spoke, and before the light of dawn began to appear he departed as though fleeing from his daughter and his estate.

Then those others—whether they were heroes or demons or of some race still more divine—took

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μὲν συνετέλουν αὐτὴν μυστηρίοις ἐγίνωσκεν οὐδὲ  
 εἰς, καὶ πρὸς τί τὴν παῖδα ἐξεθειάζον ἀφανὲς ἦν  
 καὶ τοῖς πάνυ βουλομένοις εἰδέναι. ὁ δὲ χρόνος  
 ἤδη προσήει, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα πάντα συνέτρεχε  
 προσόδων περί<sup>1</sup> τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ ὁ πατὴρ τῆς  
 468 παιδὸς παρῆν εἰς τὸν ἀγρόν, καὶ οὔτε τὸ μέγεθος  
 ἐπέγνω τῆς παιδός, τό τε κάλλος ἕτεροῖον αὐτῷ  
 κατεφαίνετο· τὸν δὲ πατέρα σχεδόν τι καὶ ἠγνόει.  
 ὁ δὲ καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτήν, οὕτως ἄλλην τινὰ  
 ὄραν ἔδοξεν. ὡς δὲ οἱ τε διδάσκαλοι παρῆσαν καὶ  
 ἢ τράπεζα προὔκειτο, οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν· “ἐρώτα ὃ  
 τι βούλει τὴν παρθένον.” ἡ δὲ ὑπέλαβεν· “ἀλλὰ  
 ἐρώτησόν γε, πάτερ, τί σοι πέπρακται κατὰ τὴν  
 ὁδόν.” τοῦ δὲ εἰπεῖν ἐπιτρέψαντος (διὰ δὲ εὐ-  
 δαιμονίαν ἐπὶ τετρακύκλου ὀχήματος ἐφέρετο·  
 συμβαίνει δὲ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ὀχήμασι  
 πάθη), πάντα οὕτως ἐξήγγειλε φωνάς τε καὶ  
 ἀπειλὰς καὶ φόβους, ὥσπερ αὐτὴ συνηνιοχοῦσα·  
 καὶ εἰς τοσόνδε προῆει θαύματος ὁ πατὴρ, ὥστε  
 οὐκ ἐθαύμαζεν, ἀλλὰ κατεπλήττετο, καὶ θεὸν  
 εἶναι τὴν παῖδα ἐπέπειστο. προσπεσὼν δὲ τοῖς  
 ἀνδράσιν, ἰκέτευεν εἰπεῖν οἷτινες εἶεν· οἱ δὲ  
 μόλις καὶ βραδέως (δόξαν δὲ ἴσως οὕτω καὶ θεῶ)  
 παρέφηναν εἶναι τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς καλουμένης σο-  
 φίας οὐκ ἀμήτοι, καὶ τοῦτο δι’ αἰνίγματος καὶ  
 κάτω νεύοντες. ὡς δὲ ὁ τῆς Σωσιπάτρας πατὴρ  
 προσπεσὼν τοῖς γόνασιν ἰκέτευε, δεσπότης εἶναι  
 τοῦ χωρίου παρακαλῶν, καὶ τὴν παῖδα ἔχειν ὑφ’

<sup>1</sup> περὶ Boissonade ; περὶ Cobet.

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charge of the child, and into what mysteries they initiated her no one knew, and with what religious rite they consecrated the girl was not revealed even to those who were most eager to learn. And now approached the appointed time when all the accounts of the revenue of the estate were due. The girl's father came to the farm and hardly recognized his daughter, so tall was she and her beauty seemed to him to have changed its character; and she too hardly knew her father. He even saluted her reverently, so different did she appear to his eyes. When her teachers were there and the table was spread, they said: "Ask the maiden whatever you please." But she interposed: "Nay, father, ask me what happened to you on your journey." He agreed that she should tell him. Now since he was so wealthy he travelled in a four-wheeled carriage, and with this sort of carriage many accidents are liable to happen. But she related every event, not only what had been said, but his very threats and fears, as though she had been driving with him. Her father was roused to such a pitch of admiration that he did not merely admire her but was dumb with amazement, and was convinced that his daughter was a goddess. Then he fell on his knees before those men and implored them to tell him who they were. Slowly and reluctantly, for such was perhaps the will of heaven, they revealed to him that they were initiates in the lore called Chaldean, and even this they told enigmatically and with bent heads. And when Sosipatra's father clung to their knees and supplicated them, adjuring them to become masters of the estate and to keep his daughter under their influence and initiate her into

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ἑαυτοῖς καὶ μυεῖν εἰς τὸ τελεώτερον, οἱ μὲν ἐπινεύσαντες ὅτι οὕτω ποιήσουσιν, οὐκέτι ἐφθέγγαντο· ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ ἔχων ὑπόσχεσίν τινα ἢ χρησμόν, ἐθάρσει καθ' ἑαυτόν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ χρῆμα ἠπόρει· καὶ ὑπερεπήνει γε τὸν Ὀμηρον κατὰ ψυχὴν, ὡς ὑπερφυῖες τι χρῆμα καὶ δαιμόνιον τοῦτο ἀνυμνήσαντα·

καὶ τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἐοικότες ἄλλοδαποῖσι,  
παντοῖοι τελέθοντες, ἐπιστροφῶσι πόληας.

καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ᾤετο ξένοις μὲν ἀνδράσι, θεοῖς δὲ συντετυχηκένοι. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦ πράγματος ἐμπιπλάμενος ὑπνω κατείχετο, οἱ δὲ ἀποχωρήσαντες τοῦ δείπνου καὶ τὴν παῖδα παραλαβόντες, τὴν τε στολὴν τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἐν ἣ ἑτετέλεστο μάλα φιλοφρόνως αὐτῇ καὶ συνεσπυδασμένως παρέδωκαν, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ προσθέντες ὄργανα, καὶ τὴν κοιτίδα τῇ Σωσιπάτρᾳ κατασημῆνασθαι κελεύσαντες, προεμβalόντες<sup>1</sup> τινα βιβλίδια. καὶ ἡ μὲν ὑπερεγάννυτο τοὺς ἄνδρας τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἔλαττον. ὡς δὲ ἔως ὑπέφαινε καὶ ἀνεώγνυτο θύραι, καὶ πρὸς ἔργα ἐχώρουν ἄνθρωποι, κἀκεῖνοι τοῖς ἄλλοις συνεξέβησαν κατὰ τὸ εἰωθός. ἡ μὲν παῖς παρὰ τὸν πατέρα ἔδραμεν εὐαγγέλια φέρουσα, καὶ τὴν κοιτίδα τῶν τις θεραπευτῆρων ἐκόμιζεν· ὁ δὲ πλοῦτόν τε ὃν εἶχε ἐς τὸ παρατυχόν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν οἰκονόμων ὅσον ἦν ἀναγκαῖον αὐτοῖς αἰτήσας, μετεκάλει τοὺς ἄνδρας· οἱ δὲ ἐφάνησαν οὐδαμοῦ. καὶ πρὸς τὴν Σωσιπάτρην εἶπε· “τί δὴ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὦ τέκνον;” ἡ δὲ ἐπισχοῦσα μικρόν, “ἀλλὰ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ προσεμβάλλοντες Boissonade; προεμβalόντες Cobet.



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still more sacred things, they nodded their assent to this, but spoke no word more. Then he took courage as though he had received some sacred promise or oracle, but could not grasp its meaning. In his heart he applauded Homer above all poets for having sung of such a manifestation as this, so marvellous and divine :

Yea, and the gods in the likeness of strangers from far countries put on all manner of shapes and wander through the cities.<sup>1</sup>

He did indeed believe that he had fallen in with gods in the likeness of strangers. While his mind was full of this he was overcome by sleep, and the others left the table, and taking the girl with them they very tenderly and scrupulously handed over to her the whole array of garments in which she had been initiated, and added certain mystic symbols thereto; and they also put some books into Sospatra's chest, and gave orders that she should have it sealed. And she, no less than her father, took the greatest delight in those men. When the day began to break and the doors were opened, and people began to go to their work, the men also, according to their custom, went forth with the rest. Then the girl ran to her father bearing the good news, and one of the servants went with her to carry the chest. Her father asked for all the money belonging to him that happened to be available, and from his stewards all that they had for their necessary expenses, and sent to call those men, but they were nowhere to be seen. Then he said to Sosipatra : "What is the meaning of this, my child?" After a brief pause she replied : "Now at last I understand

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* xvii. 485.

νῦν γε" ἔφη "συνορῶ τὸ λεχθέν. ὡς γὰρ ταῦτα  
 ἐμοὶ δακρύνοντες ἐνεχειρίζον, σκόπει, ἔφασαν, ὦ  
 τέκνον· ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσπέριον ὠκεανὸν  
 ἐνεχθέντες, αὐτίκα ἐπανήξομεν." τοῦτο συμ-  
 φανεστάτα δαίμονας εἶναι τοὺς φανέντας ἀπήλεγξε.  
 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπιόντες ὤχοντο ὅποιδήποτε καὶ  
 469 ἀπήσαν· ὁ δὲ πατὴρ τὴν παῖδα παραλαβὼν  
 τεθειασμένην καὶ σωφρόνως ἐνθουσιῶσαν, συνε-  
 χῶρει τε ζῆν ὅπως βούλεται, καὶ περιειργάζετο  
 τῶν κατ' ἐκείνην οὐδέν, πλὴν ὅσα γε πρὸς τὴν  
 σιωπὴν αὐτῆς ἔδυσχέραινεν. ἡ δὲ προιοῦσα εἰς  
 μέτρον ἀκμῆς, διδασκάλων τε ἄλλων οὐ τυχοῦσα,  
 τά τε τῶν ποιητῶν βιβλία διὰ στόματος εἶχε καὶ  
 φιλοσόφων καὶ ῥητόρων, καὶ ὅσα γε τοῖς πεπο-  
 νηκόσι καὶ τεταλαιπωρημένοις μόλις ὑπῆρχε καὶ  
 ἀμυδρῶς εἰδέναί, ταῦτα ἐκείνη μετ' ὀλιγωρίας  
 ἔφραζεν, εὐκόλως καὶ ἀλύπως εἰς τὸ σαφὲς ἐπιτρέ-  
 χουσα. ἔδοξε γοῦν αὐτῇ καὶ ἀνδρὶ συνελθεῖν.  
 καὶ ἀναμφίλεκτον ἦν ὅτι ἐξ ἀπάντων ἀνδρῶν  
 μόνος Εὐστάθιος ἄξιος ἦν τοῦ γάμου. ἡ δὲ πρὸς  
 Εὐστάθιον καὶ τοὺς παρόντας εἰπούσα· "ἀλλ'  
 ἄκουε μὲν σύ,<sup>1</sup> Εὐστάθιε, συμμαρτυρούντων δὲ οἱ  
 παρόντες. παῖδας μὲν ὑπὸ σοὶ τέξομαι τρεῖς,  
 πάντες δὲ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον δοκοῦν ἀγαθὸν ἀτυχήσουσι,  
 πρὸς τὸ θεῖον δὲ οὐδὲ εἰς. καὶ σύ δὲ προαπολείψεις  
 ἐμέ, καλὴν μεταλαχὼν λῆξιν καὶ πρέπουσαν, ἐγὼ  
 δὲ ἴσως κρείσσονα. σοὶ μὲν γὰρ περὶ σελήνην ἡ  
 χορεία, καὶ οὐκέτι λατρεύσεις καὶ φιλοσοφήσεις

<sup>1</sup> σύ Cobet adds.

<sup>1</sup> Homer's ζῆφος, "darkness of the West," has always been regarded as consecrated to the heroic dead and to supernatural powers.

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what they said. For when they wept and put these things into my hands, they said: 'Child, take care of them; for we are travelling to the Western Ocean,<sup>1</sup> but presently we shall return.' This proved very clearly that they who had appeared were blessed spirits. They then departed and went whithersoever it was; but her father took charge of the girl, now fully initiated, and though without pride, filled with divine breath, and he permitted her to live as she pleased and did not interfere in any of her affairs, except that sometimes he was ill pleased with her silence. And as she grew to the full measure of her youthful vigour, she had no other teachers, but ever on her lips were the works of the poets, philosophers, and orators; and those works that others comprehend but incompletely and dimly, and then only by hard work and painful drudgery, she could expound with careless ease, serenely and painlessly, and with her light swift touch would make their meaning clear. Then she decided to marry. Now beyond dispute Eustathius of all living men was alone worthy to wed her. So she said to him and to those who were present: "Do you listen to me, Eustathius, and let those who are here bear me witness: I shall bear you three children, and all of them will fail to win what is considered to be human happiness, but as to the happiness that the gods bestow, not one of them will fail therein. But you will go hence before me, and be allotted a fair and fitting place of abode, though I perhaps shall attain to one even higher. For your station will be in the orbit of the moon,<sup>2</sup> and only five years longer will you devote your

<sup>2</sup> The moon was the home of good daemons, heroes, and so on. But Sosipatra will attain as high as the sun.

τὸ πέμπτον, οὕτω γάρ μοί φησι τὸ σὸν εἶδωλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ σελήνην παρελεύση τόπον σὺν ἀγαθῇ καὶ εὐηνίῳ φορᾶ· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐβουλόμην μὲν εἰπεῖν τὰ κατ' ἐμαυτήν," εἶτα ἐπισιωπήσασα<sup>1</sup> τῷ λόγῳ βραχύν τινα χρόνον, "ἀλλ' ὁ ἐμός," ἀνεφθέγγετο, "θεὸς με κωλύει." ταῦτα εἰπούσα, Μοῖραι γὰρ οὕτως ἔνευον, τῷ τε Εὐσταθίῳ συνῆλθε, καὶ τὰ λεχθέντα οὐδὲν διέφερε τῶν ἀκινήτων μαντειῶν, οὕτω πανταχόσε ἐγένετο καὶ ἀπέβη καθάπερ ἦν εἰρημένα.<sup>2</sup>

Προσισοτηῆσαι δὲ τοῖς γεγενημένοις τάδε ἀναγκαίως εἶη· Σωσιπάτρα, μετὰ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν Εὐσταθίου, πρὸς τὰ αὐτῆς ἐπανελθοῦσα κτήματα, περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν Πέργαμον διέτριβε· καὶ ὁ μέγας Αἰδέσιος θεραπεύων αὐτὴν ἠγάπα, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐξεπαίδευε. καὶ ἀντεκάθητό γε αὐτῷ φιλοσοφοῦσα κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῆς οἰκίαν ἢ Σωσιπάτρα, καί, μετὰ τὴν Αἰδεσίου συνουσίαν, παρ' ἐκείνην φοιτῶντες, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις τὴν μὲν ἐν λόγοις ἀκρίβειαν Αἰδεσίου οὐ ὑπερηγάπα<sup>3</sup> καὶ συνεθαύμαζε, τὸν δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐνθουσιασμὸν προσεκύνει καὶ ἐσεβάζετο.

Φιλομήτωρ γοῦν τις αὐτῆς ἀνεψιὸς ὢν, τοῦ τε κάλλους ἠττηθεὶς καὶ τῶν λόγων, εἰς ἔρωτα ἀφίκετο, καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα εἰδὼς θειοτέραν· ἔρωσ δὲ καὶ συνηνάγκαζε καὶ κατεβιάζετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν πολὺς, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ συνησθάνετο τῆς πείρας· καὶ πρὸς τὸν Μάξιμον, οὗτος δὲ ἀνὰ τὰ πρῶτα τῆς ὀμιλίας ἐφέρετο τοῦ Αἰδεσίου, καὶ οὐδὲ συγγενείας κεχώριστο· "ἀλλὰ κατάμαθέ γε, ὦ Μάξιμε, ἵνα μὴ πράγ-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπισκοπήσασα Boissonade; ἐπισιωπήσασα Cobet.

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services to philosophy—for so your phantom tells me—but you shall traverse the region below the moon with a blessed and easily guided motion. Fain would I tell you my own fate also.” Then after keeping silence for a short time, she cried aloud: “No, my god prevents me!” Immediately after this prophecy—for such was the will of the Fates—she married Eustathius, and her words had the same force as an immutable oracle, so absolutely did it come to pass and transpire as had been foretold by her.

I must relate also what happened after these events. After the passing of Eustathius, Sosipatra returned to her own estate, and dwelt in Asia in the ancient city of Pergamon, and the famous Aedesius loved and cared for her and educated her sons. In her own home Sosipatra held a chair of philosophy that rivalled his, and after attending the lectures of Aedesius, the students would go to hear hers; and though there was none that did not greatly appreciate and admire the accurate learning of Aedesius, they positively adored and revered the woman's inspired teaching.

Now there was one Philometor, a kinsman of hers, who, overcome by her beauty and eloquence, and recognizing the divinity of her nature, fell in love with her; and his passion possessed him and completely overmastered him. Not only was he completely conquered by it but she also felt its onslaught. So she said to Maximus, who was one of the most distinguished pupils of Aedesius and was moreover his kinsman: “Maximus, pray find out

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<sup>2</sup> γεγενημένα Boissonade; ἤν εἰρημένα Cobet.

<sup>3</sup> περιηγάπα Boissonade; ὑπερηγάπα Cobet.

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ματα ἐγὼ ἔχω, τί τὸ περὶ ἐμὲ πάθος ἐστί.”  
 τοῦ δὲ ὑπολαβόντος· “τί γάρ ἐστι τὸ πάθος;”  
 “ἂν μὲν παρῆ Φιλομήτωρ,” ἔφη πρὸς αὐτόν  
 “Φιλομήτωρ γέ ἐστι, καὶ διαφέρει τῶν πολλῶν  
 οὐδὲ ἔν· ἂν δὲ ἀποχωροῦντα θεάσωμαι, δά-  
 κνεταιί μου καὶ στρέφεταιί πως πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον  
 ἔνδον ἢ καρδία. ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἀθλήσης περὶ ἐμοὶ  
 καὶ θεοφιλὲς ἐπιδείξῃ τι,” προσέθηκεν. καὶ ὁ  
 470 μὲν Μάξιμος ἐξήρει τοιαῦτα ἀκηκοώς, ὑπέρογκος  
 ὢν, ὡς ἂν ἤδη τοῖς θεοῖς ὁμιλῶν, ὅτι ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup> τοσαύτης  
 γυναικὸς τοιαῦτα ἐπεπίστευτο. Φιλομήτωρ δὲ  
 τοῖς προτεθεῖσιν ἐνέκειτο. Μάξιμος δὲ ἀντεν-  
 ἐκειτο, διὰ σοφίας μὲν θυτικῆς καταμαθῶν ᾧτι  
 κέχρηται, βιαιότερω τε καὶ δυνατωτέρω καταλύσαι  
 τὸ ἔλαττον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα συντελέσας ὁ Μάξι-  
 μος ἔδραμε παρὰ τὴν Σωσιπάτραν, καὶ παρα-  
 φυλάττειν ἠξίου μάλα ἀκριβῶς, εἰ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ  
 λοιποῦ πείσεται· ἢ δὲ οὐκέτι πάσχειν ἔφη, καὶ  
 τὴν γε εὐχὴν ἀπήγγειλε τῷ Μαξίμῳ καὶ τὴν  
 ἅπασαν πρᾶξιν, καὶ τὴν γε ὥραν προσέθηκεν,  
 ὡσπερ συμπαροῦσα, καθ’ ἣν ταῦτα ἔπραττεν,  
 καὶ τὰ φανέντα ἀνεκάλυψε σημεῖα. τοῦ δὲ πεσόν-  
 τος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀχανοῦς, καὶ θεὰν ἄντικρυς εἶναι  
 τὴν Σωσιπάτραν ὁμολογοῦντος, “ἀνίστω” φησὶν  
 “ὦ τέκνον· θεοὶ σε φιλοῦσιν, ἔὰν σὺ πρὸς ἐκείνους  
 βλέπῃς καὶ μὴ ρέπῃς ἐπὶ τὰ γῆϊνα καὶ ἐπὶ κήρα  
 χρήματα.” καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας, ἐξήρει  
 μεγαλαυχότερος γεγονώς, ὡς<sup>2</sup> καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν  
 γυναιῖκα θειότητός γε ἀσφαλῶς πεπειραμένος.  
 ὁ δὲ Φιλομήτωρ φαιδρὸς ἀπήντα περὶ θύρας αὐτῷ

<sup>1</sup> Before ὑπὸ Cobet deletes καὶ.

<sup>2</sup> ὡς Wytttenbach adds.

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what ailment I have, that I may not be troubled by it." When he inquired: "Why what ails you?" she replied: "When Philometor is with me he is simply Philometor, and in no way different from the crowd. But when I see that he is going away my heart within me is wounded and tortured till it tries to escape from my breast. Do you exert yourself on my behalf," she added, "and so display your piety." When he had heard this, Maximus went away puffed up with pride as though he were now associating with the gods, because so wonderful a woman had put such faith in him. Meanwhile Philometor pursued his purpose, but Maximus having discovered by his sacrificial lore what was the power that Philometor possessed, strove to counteract and nullify the weaker spell by one more potent and efficacious. When Maximus had completed this rite he hastened to Sosipatra, and bade her observe carefully whether she had the same sensations in future. But she replied that she no longer felt them, and described to Maximus his own prayer and the whole ceremony; she also told him the hour at which it took place, as though she had been present, and revealed to him the omens that had appeared. And when he fell to the earth in amazement and proclaimed Sosipatra visibly a goddess, she said: "Rise, my son. The gods love you if you raise your eyes to them and do not lean towards earthly and perishable riches." On hearing this he went away more uplifted than before with pride, seeing that he now had clear and certain proof of the woman's divine nature. Near the door he was met by Philometor who was coming in in

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μετὰ πολλῶν ἐταίρων εἰσιῶν· ὁ δὲ πόρρωθεν μέγα φθεγξάμενος εἶπεν ὁ Μάξιμος· “τοὺς θεοὺς σοι, Φιλομήτωρ” εἶπεν “ἐταῖρε, παῦσαι μάτην κατακαίων τὰ ξύλα.” συνεωρακῶς τι τοιοῦτον ἴσως αὐτῷ περὶ αὐτῶν κακουργῶν ἔπραττε. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὸν Μάξιμον ὑπερευλαβηθεὶς θεὸν ᾤκηθη, καὶ τῆς γε ἐπιβουλῆς ἐπαύσατο, καταγελάσας τῆς προθέσεως ὃ τι καὶ ἐνεχείρησεν· ἡ δὲ Σωσιπάτρα γνησίως καὶ διαφερόντως ἑώρα τοῦ λοιποῦ τὸν Φιλομήτορα, θαυμάζουσα αὐτὸν ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐθαύμασε. ποτὲ γοῦν συνεληλυθότων ἀπάντων παρ’ αὐτῇ Φιλομήτωρ δὲ οὐ παρῆν, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀγρῷ διέτριβεν, ἡ μὲν πρόθεσις ἦν καὶ τὸ ζήτημα περὶ ψυχῆς· πολλῶν δὲ κινουμένων λόγων, ὡς ἤρξατο Σωσιπάτρα λέγειν, κατὰ μικρὸν ταῖς ἀποδείξεσι διαλύουσα τὰ προβαλλόμενα, εἶτα εἰς τὸν περὶ καθόδου ψυχῆς καὶ τί τὸ κολαζόμενον καὶ τί τὸ ἀθάνατον αὐτῆς ἐμπίπτουσα λόγον, μεταξὺ τοῦ κορυβαντισμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκβακχεύσεως, ὥσπερ ἀποκοπεῖσα τὴν φωνήν, ἐσιώπησε, καὶ βραχὺν ἐλλιποῦσα χρόνον, “τί τοῦτο;” ἀνεβόησεν εἰς μέσους· “ὁ συγγενὴς Φιλομήτωρ φερόμενος ἐπ’ ὄχηματος, τό τε ὄχημα κατὰ τινα δυσχωρίαν περιτέτραπται, κακεῖνος κινδυνεύει περὶ τῷ σκέλει· ἀλλ’ ἐξηρήκασί γε αὐτὸν οἱ θεράποντες ὑγιαίνοντα, πλὴν ὅσα περὶ τοῖς ἀγκῶσι καὶ χερσὶ τραύματα εἴληφε, καὶ ταῦτά γε ἀκίνδυνα· ἐπὶ φορείου δὲ φέρεται ποτνιῶμενος.” ταῦτα ἔλεγε καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως, καὶ πάντες ἤδεσαν ὅτι πανταχοῦ εἶη



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high spirits with many of his friends, and with a loud voice Maximus called out to him from some distance : " Friend Philometor, I adjure you in Heaven's name, cease to burn wood to no purpose." Perhaps he said this with some inner knowledge of the malpractices in which the other was engaged. Thereupon Philometor was overawed by Maximus, believed him to be divine, and ceased his plotting, even ridiculing the course of action that he had entered on before. And for the future Sosipatra beheld Philometor with pure and changed eyes, though she admired him for so greatly admiring herself. Once, for example, when they were all met at her house—Philometor however was not present but was staying in the country—the theme under discussion and their inquiry was concerning the soul. Several theories were propounded, and then Sosipatra began to speak, and gradually by her proofs disposed of their arguments; then she fell to discoursing on the descent of the soul, and what part of it is subject to punishment, what part immortal, when in the midst of her bacchic and frenzied flow of speech she became silent, as though her voice had been cut off, and after letting a short interval pass she cried aloud in their midst : " What is this? Behold my kinsman Philometor riding in a carriage! The carriage has been overturned in a rough place in the road and both his legs are in danger! However, his servants have dragged him out unharmed, except that he has received wounds on his elbows and hands, though even these are not dangerous. He is being carried home on a stretcher, groaning loudly." These were her words, and they were the truth, for so it actually was. By this all were convinced that Sosipatra was

Σωσιπάτρα, καὶ πᾶσι πάρεστι τοῖς γινόμενοις, ὡσπερ οἱ φιλόσοφοι περὶ τῶν θεῶν λέγουσι. καὶ ἐτελεύτα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς τρισὶ παισὶ. καὶ τῶν μὲν δύο τὰ ὀνόματα οὐδὲν δέομαι γράφειν. Ἄντωνίνος δὲ ἦν ἄξιος τῶν πατέρων, ὅς γε τὸ Κανωβικὸν τοῦ Νείλου καταλαβὼν στόμα, καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖ τελουμένοις προσθεὶς ὅλον ἑαυτὸν, τὴν τε ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς πρόρρησιν ἐξεβιάζετο. καὶ ἡ νεότης τῶν ὑγιαιόντων τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐπιθυμοῦν-  
 471 τῶν ἐφοίτων πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν νεανίσκων ἱερέων μεστὸν ἦν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἔτι ἄνθρωπος εἶναι δοκῶν καὶ ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλῶν, πᾶσι τοῖς ὁμιληταῖς προὔλεγεν, ὡς μετ' ἐκείνους οὐκ ἔτι τὸ ἱερὸν ἔσοιτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἅγια τοῦ Σαράπιδος ἱερὰ πρὸς τὸ σκοτοειδὲς καὶ ἄμορφον χωρήσει καὶ μεταβληθήσεται, καὶ τι μυθῶδες καὶ αἰεὶ σκότος τυραννήσει τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς κάλλιστα. ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἀπήλεγξεν ἅπαντα, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα γε εἰς χρησιμοῦ συνετελέσθη βίαν.

Τούτου δὲ τοῦ γένους, οὐ γὰρ τὰς Ἡσιόδου καλουμένας Ἡοίας ἔσπευδον γράφειν, ἀπόρροιαί τινες, ὡσπερ ἀστέρων περιλείφθησαν, καὶ εἰς φιλοσοφούντων ἕτερα ἅττα γένη διεσπάρησαν καὶ κατενεμήθησαν, οἷς τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν ἡ συγγένεια κέρδος ἦν. τὰ πλεῖστα δὲ ἐν δικαστηρίοις, ὡσπερ ὁ Σωκράτης περὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως στοάν, ἐκινδύνεον· οὕτω περιεφρόνησαν χρήματα καὶ κατεστύγησαν χρυσίον. ἦν γοῦν αὐτοῖς φιλοσοφία, τὸ

<sup>1</sup> Antoninus died about 390; the Serapeum was destroyed in 391.

<sup>2</sup> Eunapius means that his work is not a genealogical catalogue like the lost Hesiodic poem.

<sup>3</sup> Plato, *Euthyphro init.* Socrates, charged with impiety,

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omnipresent, and that, even as the philosophers assert concerning the gods, nothing happened without her being there to see. She died leaving the three sons of whom she had spoken. The names of two of them I need not record. But Antoninus was worthy of his parents, for he settled at the Canobic mouth of the Nile and devoted himself wholly to the religious rites of that place, and strove with all his powers to fulfil his mother's prophecy. To him resorted all the youth whose souls were sane and sound, and who hungered for philosophy, and the temple was filled with young men acting as priests. Though he himself still appeared to be human and he associated with human beings, he foretold to all his followers that after his death<sup>1</sup> the temple would cease to be, and even the great and holy temples of Serapis would pass into formless darkness and be transformed, and that a fabulous and unseemly gloom would hold sway over the fairest things on earth. To all these prophecies time bore witness, and in the end his prediction gained the force of an oracle.

From this family—for it is not my purpose to write an *Eclogae*,<sup>2</sup> as Hesiod's poem is called—there survived certain effluences as though from the stars, and these were dispersed and distributed among various classes of professed philosophers who made a profit out of their affinity with genuine philosophy, and they spent most of their time running risks in the law courts, like Socrates in the porch of the King Archon.<sup>3</sup> Such was their contempt for money and their detestation of gold! In fact their philosophy consisted in wearing the philosopher's cloak is found in the porch of the archon who investigated such charges; these sham philosophers frequented the courts whereas Socrates, as a rule, avoided them.

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τριβώνιον καὶ τὸ μεμνήσθαι τῆς Σωσιπάτρας, καὶ τὸν Εὐστάθιον διὰ στόματος φέρειν, τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὀρωμένοις σακκία τε ἄδρᾶ καὶ ὑπόμιστα βιβλιδίων, καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἂν ἄχθος εἶναι καμῆλων πολλῶν. καὶ ἐξηπίσταντό γε πάνυ ἀκριβῶς τὰ βιβλία· καὶ ταῦτά γε ἦν εἰς οὐδένα φέροντα τῶν παλαιῶν φιλοσόφων, ἀλλὰ διαθήκαί τε καὶ ἀντίγραφα τούτων, καὶ συμβόλαια περὶ<sup>1</sup> πράσεων, καὶ ὅσα ὁ κακοδαίμων καὶ ὁ πρὸς τὴν πλανωμένην καὶ ἄτακτον ἄτην ἐπικλίνων βίος ἐπαινεῖν εἴωθεν. οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα Σωσιπάτρα ἐς τὸν χρησμὸν ἀπετύγχανε, καὶ τούτων γε τὰ ὀνόματα οὐδὲν δέομαι γράφειν· ὁ γὰρ λόγος οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς φαύλους ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς φέρειν συνεπιέγεται. πλὴν ὅσα εἰς αὐτῆς τῶν παιδῶν (Ἄντωνίνος ὄνομα ἦν αὐτῷ, οὐ καὶ πρὸ βραχείου ἐπεμνήσθη, ὁ διαβαλὼν ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, εἶτα τὸ Κανωβικὸν θαυμάσας τε καὶ ὑπεραγαθεῖς τοῦ Νείλου στόμα, καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνη θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀρρήτοις ἱεροῖς ἀναθεῖς καὶ προσαρμόσας ἑαυτόν) ταχὺ μάλα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συγγένειαν ἐπέδωκε, σώματός τε περιφρονήσας καὶ τῶν περὶ τοῦτο ἠδονῶν ἀπολυθεῖς, σοφίαν τε ἄγνωστον τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐπιτηδεύσας· περὶ οὗ προσῆκε καὶ διὰ μακροτέρων εἰπεῖν. ἐπεδείκνυτο μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν θεουργὸν καὶ παράλογον ἐς τὴν φαινομένην αἴσθησιν, τὰς βασιλικὰς ἴσως ὀρμὰς ὑφορώμενος ἐτέρωσε φερούσας· τοῦ δὲ τὴν καρτερίαν καὶ τὸ ἄκαμπτον καὶ ἀμετάστατον ἐθαύμαζον ἅπαντες. καὶ κατήεσάν γε παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν οἱ

<sup>1</sup> Before περὶ Wytttenbach deletes , καὶ.

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and constantly alluding to Sosipatra, while Eustathius was ever on their lips ; moreover they carried other obvious and external signs, big wallets so crammed with books that they would have laden several camels. They had learned these very carefully by heart. And these books of theirs anyhow bore upon none of the ancient philosophers, but were wills and copies of wills, contracts of sales and suchlike documents, which are highly esteemed in that life which is prone to dissolute folly and licence. Thus it proved that Sosipatra could also divine correctly what should happen after these events. But I need not write down even the names of these men, for my narrative is eager to lead on to those that are not unworthy but worthy. An exception must be made of one of her sons ; his name was Antoninus, and I mentioned him just now ; he crossed to Alexandria, and then so greatly admired and preferred the mouth of the Nile at Canobus, that he wholly dedicated and applied himself to the worship of the gods there, and to their secret rites. He made rapid progress towards affinity with the divine, despised his body, freed himself from its pleasures, and embraced a wisdom that was hidden from the crowd. On this matter I may well speak at greater length. He displayed no tendency to theurgy and that which is at variance with sensible appearances, perhaps because he kept a wary eye on the imperial views and policy which were opposed to these practices.<sup>1</sup> But all admired his fortitude and his unswerving and inflexible character, and those who were then pursuing their studies at

<sup>1</sup> For the wholesale persecution of those suspected of sorcery see Ammianus xxviii. 1.

κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τότε σχολάζοντες, ἡ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρεια διὰ γε τὸ τοῦ Σαρόπιδος ἱερὸν ἱερά τις ἦν οἰκουμένη· οἱ γοῦν πανταχόθεν φοιτῶντες ἐς αὐτὴν πληθὸς τε ἦσαν τῷ δήμῳ παριστούμενοι, καί, μετὰ τὰς θεραπείας τοῦ θείου, παρὰ τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον ἔτρεχον, οἱ μὲν διὰ γῆς, ὅσοι γε ἔτρεχον, τοῖς δὲ ἐξήρκει τὰ ποτάμια πλοῖα, μετὰ ῥαστώνης ἐπὶ τὴν σπουδὴν ὑποφέροντες. συνουσίας δὲ ἀξιωθέντες, οἱ μὲν λογικὸν πρόβλημα προθέμενοι, ἀφθόνως καὶ αὐθωρὸν τῆς Πλατωνικῆς  
 472 ἐνεφοροῦντο σοφίας, οἱ δὲ τῶν θειοτέρων τι προβάλλοντες, ἀνδριάντι συνετύγγανον· οὐκοῦν ἐφθέγγετο πρὸς αὐτῶν οὐδένα, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὄμματα στήσας καὶ διαθρήσας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ἀναυδος ἔκειτο καὶ ἄτεγκτος, οὐδέ τις εἶδεν αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ῥαδίως εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἐλθόντα ἀνθρώπων.

Ὅτι δὲ ἦν τι θεϊότερον τὸ κατ' αὐτόν, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀπεσημάνθη· οὐ γὰρ ἔφθανε ἐκεῖνος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπιών, καὶ ἡ τε θεραπεία τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τὸ Σαραπεῖον ἱερῶν<sup>1</sup> διεσκεδάννυτο· οὐχ ἡ θεραπεία μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα, καὶ πάντα ἐγένετο καθάπερ ἐν ποιητικοῖς μύθοις, τῶν Γιγάντων κεκρατηκότων, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Κάνωβον ἱερά ταῦτο τοῦτο ἔπασχον, Θεοδοσίου μὲν τότε βασιλεύοντος, Θεοφίλου δὲ προστατοῦντος τῶν ἐναγῶν, ἀνθρώπου τινὸς Εὐρυμέδοντος

ὃς ποθ' ὑπερθύμοισι Γιγάντεσσιν βασιλευεν,

<sup>1</sup> ἱερὸν Boissonade; ἱερῶν Wyttenbach.

<sup>1</sup> Theophilus was the Christian bishop of Alexandria; cf. Zosimus v. 28; Theodoret v. 23.

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Alexandria used to go down to him to the seashore. For, on account of its temple of Serapis, Alexandria was a world in itself, a world consecrated by religion : at any rate those who resorted to it from all parts were a multitude equal in number to its own citizens, and these, after they had worshipped the god, used to hasten to Antoninus, some, who were in haste, by land, while others were content with boats that plied on the river, gliding in a leisurely way to their studies. On being granted an interview with him, some would propound a logical problem, and were forthwith abundantly fed with the philosophy of Plato ; but others, who raised questions as to things divine, encountered a statue. For he would utter not a word to any one of them, but fixing his eyes and gazing up at the sky he would lie there speechless and unrelenting, nor did anyone ever see him lightly enter into converse with any man on such themes as these.

Now, not long after, an unmistakable sign was given that there was in him some diviner element. For no sooner had he left the world of men than the cult of the temples in Alexandria and at the shrine of Serapis was scattered to the winds, and not only the ceremonies of the cult but the buildings as well, and everything happened as in the myths of the poets when the Giants gained the upper hand. The temples at Canobus also suffered the same fate in the reign of Theodosius, when Theophilus<sup>1</sup> presided over the abominable ones like a sort of Eurymedon

Who ruled over the proud Giants,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey* vii. 59.

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Εὐαγρίου<sup>1</sup> δὲ τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀρχὴν ἀρχοντος, Ῥωμανοῦ δὲ τοὺς κατ' Αἴγυπτον στρατιώτας πεπιστευμένους· οὔτινες, ἅμα φραζάμενοι κατὰ τῶν ἱερῶν καθάπερ κατὰ λίθων καὶ λιθοξόων θυμόν, ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἀλλόμενοι, πολέμου δὲ μήτε ἀκοὴν ὑφιστάμενοι, τῷ τε Σαραπίῳ κατελυμήναντο καὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐπολέμησαν, ἀνταγωνίστον καὶ ἅμαχον νίκην νικήσαντες. τοῖς γοῦν ἀνδριάσι καὶ ἀναθήμασιν ἐς τοσόνδε γενναίως ἐμαχέσαντο, ὥστε οὐ μόνον ἐνίκων αὐτά, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔκλεπτον, καὶ τάξις ἦν αὐτοῖς πολεμικὴ τὸν ὑφελόμενον λαθεῖν. τοῦ δὲ Σαραπίου μόνον τὸ ἔδαφος οὐχ ὑφείλοντο διὰ βάρους τῶν λίθων, οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν εὐμετακίνητοι· συγχέαντες δὲ ἅπαντα καὶ ταραξάντες, οἱ πολεμικώτατοι καὶ γενναῖοι, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀναιμάκτους μὲν, οὐκ ἀφιλοχρημάτους δὲ προτείναντες, τοὺς τε θεοὺς ἔφασαν νενικηκέναι, καὶ τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν καὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν εἰς ἔπαινον σφῶν αὐτῶν κατελογίζοντο.

Εἶτα ἐπεισήγον τοῖς ἱεροῖς τόποις τοὺς καλουμένους μοναχοὺς, ἀνθρώπους μὲν κατὰ τὸ εἶδος, ὁ δὲ βίος αὐτοῖς συώδης, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἔπασχόν τε καὶ ἐποίουν μυρία κακὰ καὶ ἄφραστα. ἀλλ' ὅμως τοῦτο μὲν εὐσεβὲς ἐδόκει, τὸ καταφρονεῖν τοῦ θείου· τυραννικὴν γὰρ εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν τότε πᾶς ἄνθρωπος μέλαιναν φορῶν ἐσθήτα, καὶ δημοσία βουλόμενος ἀσχημονεῖν· ἐς τοσόνδε ἀρετῆς ἤλασε τὸ ἀνθρώπινον. ἀλλὰ περὶ τούτων μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς καθολικοῖς τῆς ἱστορίας συγγράμ-

<sup>1</sup> Eὐερτοῦ *Laurentianus*, Boissonade; Εὐαγρίου restored by Seeck, *Die Briefe des Libanius*, p. 130.



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and Evagrius was prefect of the city, and Romanus in command of the legions in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> For these men, girding themselves in their wrath against our sacred places as though against stones and stone-masons, made a raid on the temples, and though they could not allege even a rumour of war to justify them, they demolished the temple of Serapis and made war against the temple offerings, whereby they won a victory without meeting a foe or fighting a battle. In this fashion they fought so strenuously against the statues and votive offerings that they not only conquered but stole them as well, and their only military tactics were to ensure that the thief should escape detection. Only the floor of the temple of Serapis they did not take, simply because of the weight of the stones which were not easy to move from their place. Then these warlike and honourable men, after they had thrown everything into confusion and disorder and had thrust out hands, unstained indeed by blood but not pure from greed, boasted that they had overcome the gods, and reckoned their sacrilege and impiety a thing to glory in.

Next, into the sacred places they imported monks, as they called them, who were men in appearance but led the lives of swine, and openly did and allowed countless unspeakable crimes. But this they accounted piety, to show contempt for things divine. For in those days every man who wore a black robe and consented to behave in unseemly fashion in public,<sup>2</sup> possessed the power of a tyrant, to such a pitch of virtue had the human race advanced! All this however I have described in my *Universal*

<sup>1</sup> Sozomenus vii. 15 gives the Christian account of the conversion of the Serapeum into a church.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Libanius, *On the Temples*, 474.

μασιν εἶρηται. τοὺς δὲ μοναχοὺς τούτους καὶ εἰς τὸν Κάνωβον καθίδρυσαν, ἀντὶ τῶν ὄντων<sup>1</sup> θεῶν εἰς ἀνδραπόδων θεραπείας, καὶ οὐδὲ χρηστῶν, καταδήσαντες τὸ ἀνθρώπινον. ὅστέα γὰρ καὶ κεφαλὰς τῶν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν ἐάλω-  
κότων συναλίζοντες, οὓς τὸ πολιτικὸν ἐκόλαζε δικαστήριον, θεοὺς τε ἀπεδείκνυσαν, καὶ προσ-  
εκαλινδοῦντο τοῖς μνήμασι,<sup>2</sup> καὶ κρείττους ὑπελάμ-  
βανον εἶναι μολυνόμενοι πρὸς τοῖς τάφοις. μάρ-  
τυρες γοῦν ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ διάκονοί τινες καὶ πρέ-  
σβεις τῶν αἰτήσεων παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, ἀνδράποδα  
δεδουλευκότα κακῶς, καὶ μάλιστα καταδεδαπανη-  
μένα, καὶ τὰς τῆς μοχθηρίας ὠτειλὰς ἐν τοῖς  
εἰδώλοις φέροντα· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡ γῆ φέρει τούτους  
τοὺς θεοὺς. τοῦτο γοῦν εἰς μεγάλην πρόνοιαν καὶ  
473 Ἀντωνίνου συνετέλεσεν, ὅτι πρὸς ἅπαντας ἔφασκεν  
τὰ ἱερὰ τάφους γενήσεσθαι ὥσπερ που καὶ  
Ἰάμβλιχος ὁ μέγας (ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἐκείνον  
παραλελοίπαμεν), ἀνδρὸς τινος Αἰγυπτίου τὸν  
Ἀπόλλω καλέσαντος, τοῦ δὲ ἐλθόντος, καὶ κατα-  
πλαγέντων τὴν ὄψιν τῶν παρόντων, “παύσασθε,”  
ἔφη “ἑταῖροι, θαυμάζοντες· μονομαχήσαντος γὰρ  
ἀνδρὸς ἐστὶν εἶδωλον.” οὕτως ἕτερόν τί ἐστι τῷ  
νῶ θεωρεῖν καὶ τοῖς τοῦ σώματος ἀπατηλοῖς  
ὄμμασιν. ἀλλ' Ἰάμβλιχος μὲν τὰ παρόντα δεινὰ  
εἶδεν,<sup>3</sup> Ἀντωνῖνος δὲ τὰ μέλλοντα προεῖδε· καὶ  
τοῦτό γε αὐτοῦ μόνον εὐσθένειαν φέρει. ἄλυπον  
δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ τέλος εἰς γῆρας ἄνοσον ἀφικομένῳ<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> νοητῶν Boissonade; ὄντων Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> For a lacuna of about six letters Boissonade supplies μνήμασι; Lundström approves Jordan's ὅστέοις.

<sup>3</sup> εἶδεν Cobet adds.

<sup>4</sup> ἀφικόμενον Boissonade; ἀφικομένῳ Wytttenbach.

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*History.* They settled these monks at Canobus also, and thus they fettered the human race to the worship of slaves, and those not even honest slaves, instead of the true gods. For they collected the bones and skulls of criminals who had been put to death for numerous crimes, men whom the law courts of the city had condemned to punishment, made them out to be gods, haunted their sepulchres,<sup>1</sup> and thought that they became better by defiling themselves at their graves. "Martyrs" the dead men were called, and "ministers" of a sort, and "ambassadors" from the gods to carry men's prayers,—these slaves in vilest servitude, who had been consumed by stripes and carried on their phantom forms the scars of their villainy.<sup>2</sup> However these are the gods that earth produces! This, then, greatly increased the reputation of Antoninus also for foresight, in that he had foretold to all that the temples would become tombs.<sup>3</sup> Likewise the famous Iamblichus, as I have handed down in my account of his life, when a certain Egyptian invoked Apollo, and to the great amazement of those who saw the vision, Apollo came: "My friends," said he, "cease to wonder; this is only the ghost of a gladiator." So great a difference does it make whether one beholds a thing with the intelligence or with the deceitful eyes of the flesh. But Iamblichus saw through marvels that were present, whereas Antoninus foresaw future events. This fact of itself argues his superior powers. His end came painlessly, when he had attained to a ripe old

<sup>1</sup> An echo of *Phaedo* 81 D; cf. Julian, *Misopogon* 344 A; *Against the Galilaeans* 335 c. Christian churches were built over the graves of martyrs.

<sup>2</sup> An echo of *Gorgias* 524 E.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Julian, *Or.* vii. 228 c.

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καὶ βαθύ. καὶ λυπηρὸν τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι τὸ προεγνωσμένον ἐκείνων τῶν ἱερῶν τέλος.

Μαξίμου καὶ πρότερον ἐμνήσθημεν, καὶ ὁ ταῦτα γράφων οὐκ ἦν ἀθέατος τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ νέος ἔτι. γηραιῶ συνετύγχανε καὶ φωνῆς τε ἤκουσεν, οἷας ἂν τις ἤκουσε τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἢ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. τῷ δὲ καὶ πτηνοὶ μὲν τινες ἦσαν αἱ τῶν ὀμμάτων κόραι, πολλὸν δὲ καθεῖτο γένειον, τὰς δὲ ὀρμὰς τῆς ψυχῆς διεδήλου τὰ ὄμματα. καὶ ἁρμονία γέ τις ἐπῆν καὶ ἀκούοντι καὶ ὄρωντι, καὶ δι' ἀμφοῖν τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὁ συνὼν ἐπλήττετο, οὔτε τὴν ὀξυκυνησίαν φέρων τῶν ὀμμάτων, οὔτε τὸν δρόμον τῶν λόγων. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ εἴ τις τῶν ἐμπειροτάτων πάνυ καὶ δεινῶν διελέγετο πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀντιλέγειν ἐτόλμα, ἀλλ' ἠσυχῆ παραδόντες αὐτούς, τοῖς λεγομένοις ὡσπερ ἐκ τριπόδων εἶποντο· τοσαύτη τις ἀφροδίτη τοῖς χεῖλεσιν ἐπέκαθῆτο. ἦν μὲν οὖν τῶν εὖ γεγονότων, καὶ πλοῦτος ἀδρότερος ὑπῆν αὐτῷ, ἀδελφοὺς δὲ εἶχε γνησίους, οὓς ἐκώλυεν εἶναι πρώτους αὐτὸς ὢν, Κλαυδιανὸν τε τὸν καταλαβόντα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κακεῖ παιδεύσαντα, καὶ Νυμφιδιανὸν τὸν ἐν Σμύρῃ περιφανῶς σοφιστεύσαντα.

\*Ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος τῶν διαπλησθέντων τῆς Αἰδεσίου σοφίας. Ἰουλιανοῦ δὲ τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ἡξιώθη γενέσθαι διδάσκαλος. οὗτος, πάντων ἀγρημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωνσταντίου (ταῦτα δὲ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Ἰουλιανὸν ἀκριβέστερον γέγραπται),

<sup>1</sup> See note, p. 395.

<sup>2</sup> Some scholars think that Claudianus was the father of the Latin poet Claudianus (*floruit* 400 A.D.), but there is no sure evidence for this.

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age free from sickness. And to all intelligent men the end of the temples which he had prognosticated was painful indeed.

Of MAXIMUS I have spoken earlier, and indeed the author of this narrative did not fail to see the man with his own eyes, but while still a youth met him in his old age and heard his voice, which was such as one might have heard from Homer's Athene or Apollo. The very pupils of his eyes were, so to speak, winged; he had a long grey beard, and his glance revealed the agile impulses of his soul. There was a wonderful harmony in his person, both to the eye and ear, and all who conversed with him were amazed as to both these faculties, since one could hardly endure the swift movements of his eyes or his rapid flow of words. In discussion with him no one ventured to contradict him, not even the most experienced and most eloquent, but they yielded to him in silence and acquiesced in what he said as though it came from the tripod of an oracle; such a charm sat on his lips.<sup>1</sup> He came of an honourable family and possessed ample means; and he had two lawful brothers whom he kept from holding the very highest rank because he held it himself. They were Claudianus<sup>2</sup> who settled in Alexandria and taught there, and Nymphidianus who became very distinguished as a sophist at Smyrna.

Maximus was one of those who had been saturated with the wisdom of Aedesius; moreover he received the honour of being the teacher of the Emperor Julian. After all his relatives had been put to death by Constantius, as I have recorded with more details in my account of Julian, and the whole

## EUNAPIUS

καὶ ψιλωθέντος τοῦ γένους, περιλείφθη<sup>1</sup> μόνος, δι' ἡλικίαν περιφρονηθεὶς καὶ πραότητα. εὐνοῦχοι δὲ ὅμως αὐτὸν ἀμφεπόλευον βασιλικοὶ καὶ παραφυλακαὶ τινες ἦσαν, ὅπως εἴη χριστιανὸς βέβαιος· ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τὸ μέγεθος τῆς φύσεως ἐπεδείκνυτο. πάντα γοῦν οὕτω διὰ στόματος εἶχε τὰ βιβλία, ὥστε ἡγανάκτουν ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τὴν βραχύτητα τῆς παιδείας, ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι διδάξουσι τὸ παιδίον. ὡς δὲ οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι παιδεύειν εἶχον, οὔτε Ἰουλιανὸς μαθάνειν, ἐξήτησεν τὸν ἀνεψιὸν ἐπιτραπήναί οἱ καὶ ῥητορικῶν ἀκροάσασθαι καὶ φιλοσόφων λόγων. ὁ δέ, θεοῦ νεύσαντος, ἐπέτρεψε, περὶ τὰ βιβλία πλανᾶσθαι βουλόμενος αὐτὸν καὶ ἀργεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ γένους καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ὑπομνήσκεσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ ἐπιτραπὲν αὐτῷ, πανταχοῦ βαθέων καὶ βαρυτάτων  
 474 ὑποκειμένων κτημάτων, μετὰ βασιλικῆς ὑπονοίας καὶ δορυφορίας περιεφοῖτα, καὶ διέστειχεν ὅπη βούλοιο. καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰς Πέργαμον ἀφικνεῖται κατὰ κλέος τῆς Αἰδεσίου σοφίας. ὁ δὲ ἤδη μὲν εἰς μακρὸν τι γῆρας ἀφίκτο,<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔκαμνε· τῆς δὲ ὁμιλίας αὐτοῦ προεστήκεσαν καὶ ἀνὰ τοὺς πρώτους ἐφέροντο Μάξιμός τε, ὑπὲρ οὗ τάδε γράφεται, καὶ Χρυσάνθιος ὁ ἐκ Σάρδεων, Πρίσκος τε ὁ Θεσπρωτὸς ἢ Μολοσσός, Εὐσέβιος τε ὁ ἐκ Καρίας Μύνδου πόλεως. καὶ συνουσίας ἀξιωθεὶς τῆς Αἰδεσίου, ὁ καὶ ἐν μειρακίῳ πρεσβύτης Ἰουλιανός, τὴν μὲν ἀκμὴν καὶ τὸ θεοειδὲς τῆς ψυχῆς καταπλαγείς, οὐκ ἐβούλετο χωρίζεσθαι, ἀλλ',

<sup>1</sup> Before περιλείφθη Cobet deletes Ἰουλιανός; retained by Boissonade.

<sup>2</sup> ἀφίκετο Boissonade; ἀφίκτο Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, Julian, *Letter to the Athenians* 273 v.

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family had been stripped bare, Julian alone was left alive, being despised on the score of his tender years and his mild disposition. Nevertheless, eunuchs from the palace took charge of him, and were assigned to keep watch so that he might not waver from the Christian faith. But even in the face of these difficulties he displayed the greatness of his genius. For he had their books so thoroughly by heart that they fretted at the scantiness of their erudition, since there was nothing that they could teach the boy. Now since they had nothing to teach him and Julian had nothing to learn from them, he begged his cousin's permission to attend the schools of the sophists and lectures on philosophy. He, as the gods so willed, permitted this, because he wished Julian to browse among books and to have leisure for them, rather than leave him to reflect on his own family and his claim to empire. After he had obtained this permission, since ample and abundant wealth from many sources was at his disposal,<sup>1</sup> he used to travel about accompanied by the emperor's suspicions and a bodyguard, and went where he pleased. Thus it was that he came to Pergamon, following on the report of the wisdom of Aedesius. But the latter was by this time far on in years, and his bodily strength was failing. First and foremost of all his students were Maximus, about whom I am now writing, Chrysanthius of Sardis, Priscus the Thesprotian or Molossian, and Eusebius who came from Myndus, a city of Caria. On being allowed to study under Aedesius, Julian, who was old for his boyish years, in amazement and admiration of his vigour and the divine qualities of his soul, refused to leave him, but like those who had

ὡσπερ οἱ κατὰ τὸν μῦθον ὑπὸ τῆς διψάδος δηχθέντες, χανδὸν καὶ ἀμνοτὶ τῶν μοθημάτων ἔλκειν ἐβούλετο, καὶ δῶρά γε ἐπὶ τούτοις βασιλικά διεπέμπεν ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα προσίετο, καὶ μετακαλέσας τὸν νεανίσκον, εἶπεν· “ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἐμὴν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς, τηλικαύταις ἀκοαῖς ἀκροώμενος, τὸ δὲ ὄργανον αὐτῆς σινοραῖς ὅπως διακεῖται, τῆς γομφώσεως καὶ πήξεως διαλυομένης εἰς τὸ συντιθέν<sup>1</sup>. σὺ δέ, εἴ τι καὶ δρᾶν βούλει, τέκνον σοφίας ἐπήρατον (τοιαῦτα γὰρ σου τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἰνδάματα καταμανθάνω), πρὸς τοὺς ἐμὸν παῖδας πορευθεὶς ὄντας γνησίους, ἐκείθεν ῥύδην ἐμφοροῦ σοφίας ἀπάσης καὶ μαθημότων κἂν τύχης τῶν μυστηρίων, αἰσχυνηθήσῃ πάντως ὅτι ἐγένου καὶ ἐκλήθης ἄνθρωπος, ἐβουλόμην μὲν ἂν<sup>2</sup> παρεῖναι καὶ Μάξιμον, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον ἔσταλται. καὶ περὶ Πρίσκου τὰ ὅμοια διελέχθην ἂν, ἀλλὰ κακείνος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πέπλευκε· λοιποὶ δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν ἐταίρων Εὐσεβίος τε καὶ Χρυσάνθιος, ὧν ἀκροώμενος ἐλάχιστα τὸ ἐμὸν ἐνοχλήσεις γῆρος.”

Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν Ἰουλιανός, τοῦ φιλοσόφου μὲν οὐδ’ ὡς ἀφίστατο, προσέκειτο δὲ κατὰ τὸν πολὺν χρόνον Εὐσεβίῳ τε καὶ Χρυσανθίῳ. ἦν δὲ ὁ Χρυσάνθιος ὁμοψύχως Μαξίμῳ τὰ περὶ θειασμὸν συνενθουσιῶν, καὶ ὑφείλκεν ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασι, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ἦθος τοιοῦτον ἔχων.

<sup>1</sup> συντεθέν Boissonade; συντιθέν Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> ὄν Boissonade; ἂν Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> The bite of this snake, as its Greek name implies, caused insatiable thirst.

<sup>2</sup> This is an echo of Porphyry's famous saying about Plotinus: ἐψέκει μὲν αἰσχυνομένην ὅτι ἐν σώματι εἶη.



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been bitten by the snake<sup>1</sup> in the story he longed to drink down learning open-mouthed and at a gulp, and to win his end used to send Aedesius gifts worthy of an emperor. But Aedesius would not accept these, and having summoned the youth he said: "Well, thou also knowest my soul, for thou hast listened many a time to my teachings; but thou seest how its instrument is affected now that that whereby it is connected and held together is dissolving into that from which it was composed. But if thou dost desire to accomplish aught, beloved child of wisdom as thou art, such signs and tokens of thy soul do I discern, go to those who are true sons of mine. From their store fill thyself to overflowing with every kind of wisdom and learning. Once admitted to their mysteries thou shalt be utterly ashamed to have been born and to be called a man.<sup>2</sup> I could have wished that Maximus also were here, but he has been dispatched to Ephesus. Of Priscus<sup>3</sup> too I should have said the same, but he also has sailed to Greece. But there remain of my disciples Eusebius and Chrysanthius, and if thou wilt study with them thou wilt cease to harass my old age."

On hearing this, Julian did not even then leave the philosopher, but for the greater part of his time he devoted his attention to Eusebius and Chrysanthius. Now Chrysanthius had a soul akin to that of Maximus, and like him was passionately absorbed in working marvels, and he withdrew himself in the study of the science of divination, and in other respects also had a very similar

<sup>3</sup> For Priscus see below, p. 481, Ammianus Marcellinus xxv. 3, and Julian, vol. iii. *Letters*.

Εὐσέβιος δέ, παράτος μὲν Μαξίμου, τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὰς διαλεκτικὰς μηχανὰς καὶ πλοκάς ὑπέφευγε, ἀπόντος δὲ ὡσπερ ἡλιακοῦ φέγγους ἀστὴρ ἀπέλαμπε· τοσαύτη τις εὐκολία καὶ χάρις ἐπήνθει τοῖς λόγοις. καὶ ὁ Χρυσάνθιος παρὼν ἐπήνει καὶ συνεπένευεν, ὃ τε Ἰουλιανὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ἐσεβάζετο. πρᾶσσιθι δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐξήγησιν ὁ Εὐσέβιος, ὡς ταῦτα εἶη τὰ ὄντως ὄντα, αἱ δὲ τὴν αἰσθησιν ἀπατῶσαι μαγανεῖαι καὶ γοητεύουσαι, θαυματοποιῶν ἔργα, καὶ πρὸς ὑλικὰς τινας δυνάμεις παραπαιόντων καὶ μεμηνόντων. τοῦτο ἀκούων τὸ ἐπιφώνημα πολλάκις ὁ θειότατος Ἰουλιανός, ἴδια τὸν Χρυσάνθιον ἀπολαβών, “εἴ τί σοι μέτεστιν ἀληθείας, ὦ φίλε Χρυσάνθιε,” πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη “φράσον μοι σαφῶς τίς ὁ ἐπιλογὸς οὗτος τῆς ἐξηγήσεως.” ὁ δὲ βαθέως μάλα καὶ σωφρόνως ἀνενεγκὼν “ἀλλὰ πρᾶγμο ποιήσεις” ἔφη “σοφόν, μὴ παρ’ ἐμοῦ τοῦτα, ἀλλὰ παρ’ ἐκείνου πυθόμενος.” καὶ μαθὼν

475 τοῦτο ἤκουσε καὶ ἐποίησε, θεὸν τινα νομίσας τὸν Χρυσάνθιον ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ. γενομένης δὲ τῆς συνουσίας, ὁ μὲν τὰ αὐτὰ προσεπέραινεν,<sup>1</sup> ὁ δὲ Ἰουλιανὸς θαρσαλέως ἤρετο, τί τοῦτο αὐτῷ βούλεται συνεχῶς ἐπιλεγόμενον. ἐνταῦθα ὁ Εὐσέβιος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πετάσας εὐγλωττίαν, καὶ τὸ εὐστομον ἐπὶ τὸ φράζειν ἀκώλυτον ἀφείς φέρεσθαι, “Μάξιμος” εἶπε “τίς ἐστὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀκροστῶν καὶ πολλὰ ἐκπεπαιδευμένων· οὗτος διὰ μέγεθος φύσεως καὶ λόγων ὑπεροχὴν καταφρονήσας τῶν ἐν

<sup>1</sup> προσεπέραινεν Boissonade; προσεπέραινεν Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> i. e. dialectical discussions. Eusebius was devoted to philosophical rhetoric, whereas Chrysanthius and Maximus

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character. But Eusebius, at least when Maximus was present, used to avoid precise and exact divisions of a disputation and dialectical devices and subtleties; though when Maximus was not there he would shine out like a bright star, with a light like the sun's; such was the facility and charm that flowered in his discourses. Chrysanthius too was there to applaud and assent, while Julian actually revered Eusebius. At the close of his exposition Eusebius would add that these<sup>1</sup> are the only true realities, whereas the impostures of witchcraft and magic that cheat the senses are the works of conjurors who are insane men led astray into the exercise of earthly and material powers. The sainted Julian frequently heard the closing words, and at last took Chrysanthius aside, and said: "If the truth is in you, dear Chrysanthius, tell me plainly what is the meaning of this epilogue that follows his exposition?" Having reflected deeply and with prudence, he said: "The wise thing for you to do will be to inquire this not of me but of himself." Julian listened, took the hint and acted on it, and regarded Chrysanthius as little short of divine on account of what he had said. Then when the next lecture took place, Eusebius ended with the same words as before, and Julian boldly asked him what was the meaning of the epilogue that he perpetually recited. Thereupon Eusebius spread the sails of the eloquence that was his by nature, and giving free rein to his powers of speech said: "Maximus is one of the older and more learned students, who, because of his lofty genius and superabundant eloquence scorned all logical proof in these subjects and were thaumaturgists, or miracle-workers. Julian from this time fell under the baleful influence of Maximus.

τούτοις ἀποδείξω, ἐπὶ μανίας τιὰς ὀρμήσας καὶ δραμῶν, συνεκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς πρῶτην τοὺς παρόντας εἰς τὸ Ἑκατήσιον, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐδείκνυ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ μάρτυρας. ὡς δὲ ἀπητηήσαμεν, καὶ τὴν θεὸν προσεκυρήσαμεν, “καθῆσθε μὲν,” εἶπε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, “ὦ φίλτατοι ἑταῖροι, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ὀράτε, καὶ εἴ τι διαφέρω τῶν πολλῶν ἐγώ.” τοῦτο δὲ εἰπὼν, καὶ καθεστέντων ἡμῶν ἀπάντων, χόνδρον καθαγίσας λιβανωτοῦ, καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὄντινα δήποτε ὕμνον περαίνων, εἰς τοσόνδε παρῆλθεν ἐπιδείξεως, ὥστε τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐμειδία τὸ ἄγαλμα, εἶτα καὶ γέλωσ ἦν τὸ φαινόμενον. θορυβουμένων δὲ ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως, “ἀλλὰ ταραχθῆτω γε ὑμῶν ὑπὸ τούτων μηδὲ εἰς, αὐτίκα γὰρ καὶ αἱ λαμπάδες ἀνάψουσιν, ἃς ἐν ταῖν χεροῖν ἡ θεὸς φέρει.” καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἔφθανε τὸ φῶσ ταῖς λαμπάσι περιφλεγόμενον. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν τὸν θεατρικὸν ἐκεῖνον θαυματοποιὸν πρὸς τὸ παρὸν καταπλαγέντες, ἀνεχωρήσαμεν· σὺ δὲ τούτων μηδὲν θαυμάσης, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐγώ, τὴν διὰ τοῦ λόγου κάθαρσιν μέγα τι χρῆμα ὑπολαμβάνων.” ὁ δὲ θειότατος Ἰουλιανὸς τοῦτο ἀκούσας, “ἀλλ' ἔρρωσο” εἶπε “καὶ πρόσεχε τοῖς βιβλίοις, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐμήνυσας ὃν ἐζήτην.” καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, καὶ Χρυσανθίου καταφιλήσας τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον ἐξώρμησε. συντυχῶν δὲ ἐκεῖ Μαξίμω, ἐξεκρέματό τε τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ἀπρίξ τῆς ὄλης σοφίας εἶχετο. ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος ὑφηγεῖται αὐτῶ καὶ τὸν θειότατον μετακαλέσαι Χρυσάνθιον, καί, γενόμενον οὕτως, μόλις ἤρκουν ἄμφω τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐς τὰς μαθήσεις εὐρυχωρίᾳ.

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impetuously resorted to the acts of a madman. Not long since, he invited us to the temple of Hecate and summoned many witnesses of his folly. When we had arrived there and had saluted the goddess: 'Be seated,' said he, 'my well-beloved friends, and observe what shall come to pass, and how greatly I surpass the common herd.' When he had said this, and we had all sat down, he burned a grain of incense and recited to himself the whole of some hymn or other, and was so highly successful in his demonstration that the image of the goddess first began to smile, then even seemed to laugh aloud. We were all much disturbed by this sight, but he said: 'Let none of you be terrified by these things, for presently even the torches which the goddess holds in her hands shall kindle into flame.' And before he could finish speaking the torches burst into a blaze of light. Now for the moment we came away amazed by that theatrical miracle-worker. But you must not marvel at any of these things, even as I marvel not, but rather believe that the thing of the highest importance is that purification of the soul which is attained by reason." However, when the sainted Julian heard this, he said: "Nay, farewell and devote yourself to your books. You have shown me the man I was in search of." After saying this he kissed the head of Chrysanthius and started for Ephesus. There he had converse with Maximus, and hung on to him and laid fast hold on all that he had to teach. Maximus persuaded him to summon thither the divine Chrysanthius also, and when this had been done the two of them barely sufficed to satisfy the boy's great capacity for acquiring this kind of lore.

Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα εἶχε καλῶς, ἀκούσας τι πλέον εἶναι κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρὸ τῶ ταῖν Θεαῖν ἱεροφάντη, καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὄξυς ἔδραμε. τοῦ δὲ ἱεροφάντου, κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ὅστις ἦν, τοῦνομα οὐ μοι θέμις λέγειν· ἐτέλει γὰρ τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα. καὶ εἰς Εὐμολπίδας ἦγε· καὶ οὗτός γε ἦν ὁ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν καταστροφήν καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπώλειαν ἀπάσης προγνοῦς, τοῦ συγγραφέως παρόντος, καὶ φανερώς διαμαρτυρούμενος ὡς μεθ' αὐτὸν ἱεροφάντης γενήσεται, ᾧ μὴ θέμις ἱεροφαντικῶν ἀψασθαι θρόνων, ἐπειδὴ θεοῖς ἑτέροις καθιέρωται, καὶ ὁμώμοκεν ἀρρήτους ὄρκους ἑτέρων ἱερῶν μὴ προστήσεσθαι· προστήσεσθαι δὲ ἔλεγεν ὁμως αὐτὸν μηδὲ Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα. καὶ (εἰς τοσόνδε προνοίας ἐξικνεῖτο) ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ ἱερά κατασκαφήσεσθαι καὶ δηρωθήσεσθαι ἔφασκε, κάκεῖνον ζῶντα ταῦτα ἐπόψεσθαι, διὰ φιλοτιμίαν περιττὴν ἀτιμαζόμενον, καὶ προ-  
 476 τελευτήσῃ γε αὐτοῦ τὴν θεραπείαν ταῖν Θεαῖν, τὸν δὲ τῆς τιμῆς ἀποστερηθέντα, μήτε τὸν ἱεροφάντην μήτε τὸν γηραιὸν βίον ἔξειν. καὶ ταῦτά γε οὕτως· ἅμα τε γὰρ ὁ ἐκ Θεσπιῶν ἐγένετο, πατὴρ ὢν τῆς Μιθριακῆς τελετῆς, καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν πολλῶν καὶ ἀδιηγῆτων ἐπικλυσθέντων κακῶν,<sup>1</sup> ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς διεξοδικοῖς τῆς ἱστορίας εἴρηται, τὰ δέ, ἐὰν ἐπιτρέπη τὸ Θεῖον, λελέξεται,

<sup>1</sup> Here there is either an anacoluthon or some words have fallen out of the ms.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Demeter and Persephone worshipped at Eleusis.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian, *Lexiphanes* 10, alludes to the crime of naming the hierophant and torch-bearers of the Mysteries.

<sup>3</sup> The hereditary priests of Demeter at Eleusis.

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Now when his studies with them were prospering, he heard that there was a higher wisdom in Greece, possessed by the hierophant of the goddesses,<sup>1</sup> and hastened to him with all speed. The name of him who was at that time hierophant it is not lawful for me to tell<sup>2</sup>; for he initiated the author of this narrative. By birth he was descended from the Eumolpidae.<sup>3</sup> He it was who in the presence of the author of this book foretold the overthrow of the temples and the ruin of the whole of Greece, and he clearly testified that after his death there would be a hierophant who would have no right to touch the hierophant's high seat, because he had been consecrated to the service of other gods and had sworn oaths of the uttermost sanctity that he would not preside over temples other than theirs. Nevertheless he foretold that this man would so preside, though he was not even an Athenian. To such prophetic power did he attain that he prophesied that in his own lifetime the sacred temples would be razed to the ground and laid waste, and that that other would live to see their ruin and would be despised for his overweening ambition; that the worship of the Goddesses would come to an end before his own death, and that deprived of his honour his life would no longer be that of a hierophant, and that he would not reach old age. Thus indeed it came to pass. For no sooner was the citizen of Thespieae made hierophant, he who fathered the ritual of Mithras,<sup>4</sup> than without delay many inexplicable disasters came on in a flood. Some of these have been described in the more detailed narrative of my *History*, others, if it be permitted by the powers above, I shall

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* he had been the priest of Mithras.

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ὅτε Ἀλλάριχος ἔχων τοὺς βαρβάρους διὰ τῶν Πυλῶν παρήλθεν, ὥσπερ διὰ σταδίου καὶ ἵπποκρότου πεδίου τρέχων· τοιαύτας αὐτῷ τὰς πύλας ἀπέδειξε τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἧ τε τῶν τὰ φαιὰ ἱμάτια ἔχόντων ἀκωλύτως προσπαρεισελθόντων ἀσέβεια, καὶ ὁ τῶν ἱεροφαντικῶν θεσμῶν παραρραγείς νόμος καὶ σύνδεσμος. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς ὕστερον ἐπράχθη, καὶ ὁ λόγος διὰ τὴν πρόγνωσιν παρήνευκε.

Τότε δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἰουλιανὸς τῷ θειοτάτῳ ἱεροφαντῶν συγγενόμενος καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν σοφίας ἀρυσάμενος χανδόν, ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωνσταντίου ἀπήγετο σφοδρῶς, ὡς παραβασιλεύσων εἰς τὸν Καίσαρα, Μάξιμος δὲ ἦν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, Αἰδεσίου δὲ μεταλλάξαντος, πήχεσιν γε ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σοφίαν αὐξόμενος· ὥστε ὁ μὲν Ἰουλιανὸς ἔτυχεν ὧν οὐκ ἐβούλετο μὲν, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάζετο. πεμφθεὶς δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ Γαλατίας οὐχ ἵνα βασιλεύῃ τῶν ἐκείνῃ μόνον, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διαφθαρῇ, παρὰ δόξαν ἅπασαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν θεῶν προνοίας ἀνήνεγκεν, πάντας μὲν λανθάνων ὅτι θεραπεύει θεούς, πάντας δὲ νικῶν ὅτι ἐθεράπευε θεούς, καὶ τὸν τε Ῥῆνον ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ὑπὲρ ἐκείνον ἔθνη βάρβαρα συνελὼν καὶ δουλωσάμενος, πολλῶν ἐπιβουλῶν καὶ μηχανημάτων πλεομένων αὐτῷ (ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνον ἀναγέγραπται), τὸν ἱεροφάντην μετακαλέσας ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ σὺν ἐκείνῳ τινὰ μόνοις ἐκείνοις γνώριμα

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the Christian monks. This invasion of the Goths in 395 is mentioned again in the *Life* of Priscus.

<sup>2</sup> These incidents are related by Julian himself in his *Letter to the Athenians* and by Ammianus Marcellinus.



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relate. It was the time when Alaric with his barbarians invaded Greece by the pass of Thermopylae, as easily as though he were traversing an open stadium or a plain suitable for cavalry. For this gateway of Greece was thrown open to him by the impiety of the men clad in black raiment,<sup>1</sup> who entered Greece unhindered along with him, and by the fact that the laws and restrictions of the hierophantic ordinances had been rescinded. But all this happened in later days, and my narrative digressed because I mentioned the prophecy.

At the time I now speak of, Julian had no sooner become intimate with that most holy of hierophants and greedily absorbed his wisdom, than he was forcibly removed by Constantius to be his consort in the Empire and elevated to the rank of Caesar,<sup>2</sup> while Maximus remained in Asia (Aedesius had now passed away), and progressed by leaps and bounds in every kind of wisdom. Thus did Julian obtain what he did not desire, but had thrust upon him. As Caesar he was dispatched to Gaul, not so much to rule there as with the intention that he should perish by violent means, while holding his imperial office; but contrary to all expectation, by the providence of the gods he emerged alive, concealing from all men his pious devotion to the gods, but overcoming all men by reason of that very devotion. He crossed the Rhine and defeated and subjugated all the barbarian tribes beyond that river, and this in spite of numerous plots and schemes that were woven against him, as I have related in full in his *Life*. Then he summoned the hierophant from Greece, and having with his aid

διαπραξάμενος, ἐπὶ τὴν καθαίρεσιν ἠγέρθη τῆς Κωνσταντίου τυρονίδος. ταῦτα δὲ συνήδεσαν Ὀρειβάσιος ἐκ τοῦ Περγάμου, καὶ τις τῶν ἐκ Λιβύης, ἦν Ἀφρικὴν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τὸ πατριον τῆς γλώττης, Εὐήμερος. ταῦτα δὲ πάλιν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Ἰουλιανὸν βιβλίοις ἀκριβέστερον εἴρηται. ὡς δ' οὖν καθεῖλε τὴν τυραννίδα Κωνσταντίου, καὶ τὸν ἱεροφάντην ἀπέπεμψε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καθάπερ θεὸν τινα ἀποπέμπων φανέντα, καὶ παρασχόντα ἃ ἐβούλετο, καὶ βασιλικά γε αὐτῷ δῶρα καὶ θεραπείαν συνέπεμψε πρὸς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἱερῶν, τὸν Μάξιμον εὐθύς μετεπέμψατο καὶ τὸν Χρυσάνθιον. καὶ μία γε ἦν ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν ἡ κλῆσις. τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς θεοὺς καταφεύγειν ἐδόκει, καὶ ἄνδρες οὕτω δραστήριοι καὶ πείραν ἔχοντες, καὶ συνενεγκόντες εἰς ταῦτό τὴν πείραν, καὶ τὴν περὶ ταῦτα ὀξυδορκίαν καὶ διάθρησιν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνεγείραντες καὶ συστησάμενοι, σημείοις ἐγχρίπτουσαν ἀπηνέσι καὶ ἀγρίοις. ἐκεῖνοι ἤδεσαν τὰ φανθέντα σημεία. ὁ μὲν οὖν Χρυσάνθιος εὐθύς καταπλαγείς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ὑποπτήξας, τὴν γλώσσαν ἐνδακῶν, "οὐ μενετέον" εἶπεν "ἐμοὶ μόνον ἐνταῦθα, ὦ Μάξιμε φίλτατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ φωλευτέον." ὁ δὲ ἀναστήσας ἑαυτὸν "ἀλλ' ἐπιλελησθαί μοι δοκεῖς,"

477 εἶπεν "ὦ Χρυσάνθιε, τῆς παιδείας ἦν ἐπαιδευθήμεν, ὡς τῶν ἄκρων γέ ἐστιν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ταῦτα πεπαιδευμένων μὴ πάντως εἴκειν τοῖς πρώτως ἀπαντήσασιν, ἀλλ' ἐκβιάζεσθαι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ φύσιν ἄχρις ἂν ἐπικλίνοις πρὸς τὸν θεραπεύοντα."

<sup>1</sup> For Oribasius see his *Life*, pp. 498-499.

<sup>2</sup> Constantius died in November 361 and Julian entered Constantinople in triumph in December.

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performed certain rites known to them alone, he mustered up courage to abolish the tyranny of Constantius. His accomplices were Oribasius<sup>1</sup> of Pergamon and a certain Euhemerus, a native of Libya, which the Romans in their native tongue call Africa. But all this has been described in fuller detail in my work on Julian. When he had abolished the tyranny of Constantius,<sup>2</sup> and had sent back the hierophant to Greece as though he were sending back some god who had revealed himself and bestowed on him what he desired, and had sent with him also gifts worthy of an emperor, and attendants to take care of the temples of Greece, he at once sent for Maximus and Chrysanthius. One summons came for them both. They decided to have recourse to the aid of the gods, and energetic and experienced as they both were, they combined their experience for this common purpose, and summoned and brought to bear all their keen sight in such matters and all their mental perspicacity; but they encountered forbidding and hostile omens. Well did they know the meaning of the omens then revealed. Now Chrysanthius was overwhelmed and awestruck by what he saw, and biting his tongue he said: "Not only must I stay here, beloved Maximus, I must also hide myself from all men." But Maximus asserted the force of his will, and replied: "Nay, Chrysanthius, I think that you have forgotten that we have been educated to believe that it is the duty of genuine Hellenes, especially if they are learned men, not to yield absolutely to the first obstacles they meet; but rather to wrestle with the heavenly powers till you make them incline to their servant." But Chrysanthius

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Χρυσανθίου δὲ ὑπολαβόντος, “ ἴσως σὺ ταῦτα πράττειν εἰ δεινὸς καὶ τολμηρὸς, ἐγὼ δὲ τούτοις οὐκ ἂν μαχεσαίμην τοῖς σημείοις.” καὶ μετὰ τοὺς λόγους ἀποχωρήσαντος, ὁ μὲν Μάξιμος ἐπέμεινεν ἅπαντα πράττων, ἔστε ἔτυχεν ὧν ἐβούλετο καὶ κατεπεθύμει· ὁ δὲ Χρυσάνθιος ἀκινήτοτερος ἐπέμεινεν ἀνδριάντος, τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πεπηγότας παρ’ ἑαυτῷ λογισμοὺς μηδὲ κινήσαι διανοούμενος. πάντες οὖν ἄνθρωποι παρὰ τὸν Μάξιμον ἤδη συνετρόχαζον κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅσοι τε ἦσαν ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ ὅσοι τούτων ἀπολέλυτο, τό τε κρεῖττον τῶν βουλευτηρίων. καὶ δῆμος ἐστενοχῶρει τὰς προόδους τῷ Μαξίμῳ μετὰ βοῆς πηδῶντες, ἦν δῆμος, ὅταν τινὰ θεραπεύῃ, ἐκ πολλοῦ μεμελέτηκεν· αἱ τε γυναῖκες παρὰ τὴν γυναῖκα τῇ πλαγίᾳ θύρᾳ παρεισεχέοντο, τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν θαυμάζουσαι καὶ μεμνήσθαι σφῶν ἀξιοῦσαι· ἡ δὲ φιλοσοφίας ἔνεκεν Μάξιμον οὔτε νεῖν<sup>1</sup> οὔτε γράμματα εἰδῶτα ἀπέφαιναν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μάξιμος ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης προσκυνούμενος, ἐπὶ τὴν συντυχίαν ἀνήει τοῦ βασιλέως, Χρυσάνθιος δὲ ἔμεινε κατὰ χώραν, ἐκεῖνο θεοῦ κατ’ ὄναρ, ὡς πρὸς τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα ἔλεγεν ἐς ὕστερον, εἰπόντος·

ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπειθήται, μάλα τ’ ἔκλυον αὐτοῦ.

Ὡς δὲ καὶ ὁ Μάξιμος μετὰ τοσαύτης πομπείας ἐπὶ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν ὤρμησέ τε καὶ διὰ ταχέων εἰς αὐτὴν παρελθὼν ἐξέλαμψεν, ὃ τε γὰρ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ βασιλευόμενοι πάντα ἦσαν ἐπὶ Μαξίμῳ, νύξ καὶ ἡμέρα διέφερον αὐτοῖς οὐδέν,

<sup>1</sup> οὔτε νεῖν Cobet adds from Plato, *Laws* 689 D.

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retorted: "Perhaps you have the skill and the daring to do this, but I refuse to contend against these omens." With these words he went away, but Maximus remained and tried every method till he obtained the results that he wished and desired. Chrysanthius, however, remained more immovable than a statue, resolved not to alter in the least the conclusions that had originally been firmly fixed in his mind. Thereupon all the people of Asia flocked in haste to Maximus, not only those who at the time held office or had been relieved of their offices, but also the leading men in the various senates. The common people too blocked the streets before the house of Maximus, leaping and uttering shouts, as is from of old the custom of the mob whenever it would win someone's favour. Meanwhile the women poured in by the back door to see his wife, marvelled at her felicity, and begged her not to forget them: and so profound was her knowledge of philosophy that she made Maximus seem not to know how to swim or even know his alphabet. Thus, then, Maximus, adored by all Asia, went his way to meet the emperor, but Chrysanthius stayed where he was, since a god had appeared to him in a dream, and, as he later on told the author of this narrative, recited the following verse:

If a man obeys the gods, they in turn hearken to his prayer.<sup>1</sup>

Maximus with a numerous escort set out for Constantinople, and on arriving there he very soon shone out in all his glory. For both ruler and ruled were entirely devoted to Maximus. Whether it were day or night made no difference to them,

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* i. 218.

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οὕτως ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἅπαντα ἀνέφερον· ἐνταῦθα ὁ μὲν Μάξιμος βαρὺς ἦν ἤδη περὶ τὰ βασιλεία, στολήν τε ἀβροτέραν ἢ κατὰ φιλόσοφον περιχεόμενος, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐντεύξεις ὦν χαλεπώτερος καὶ δυσχερέστερος· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἠγνόει τὰ πραττόμενα. μεταπέμψασθαι γοῦν αὐτοῖς, ἐκβιασαμένου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔδοξε καὶ τὸν Πρίσκον· ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος ἐπήγει προσαναγκάζων καὶ τὸν Χρυσάνθιον. καὶ ἄμφω γε ἦσαν μεταπεμπτοί, ὁ μὲν Πρίσκος ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Χρυσάνθιος δὲ ἀπὸ Λυδίας καὶ Σάρδεων. καὶ οὕτω γε ἐξεκρέματο τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς συνουσίας ὁ θεσπέσιος Ἰουλιανός, ὥστε τοῖς μὲν ὡς φίλοις ἐπέστειλε, καθάπερ θεοὺς ἰκετεύων ἐλθεῖν καὶ συνεῖναι· τῷ δὲ Χρυσανθίῳ καὶ γυναῖκα εἶναι πυθόμενος, Μελιτὴν ὄνομα ἔχουσαν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θαυμαζομένην διαφερόντως (τοῦ δὲ ταῦτα γράφοντος ἀνεψιὰ ἦν<sup>1</sup>), ἰδίᾳ που καθίσας ἑαυτὸν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπέστειλεν αὐτὸς γράφων, οὐδενὸς εἰδότης, καὶ παντοίας ἀφιείς φωνάς, τὸν ἄνδρα πείθειν μηδαμῶς ἀπαγορεῦσαι τὴν ἔξοδον· καὶ τὴν πρὸς Χρυσάνθιον αἰτήσας ἐπιστολήν, εἶτα ἐσβαλὼν ἐκείνην καὶ σφραγίδα ἀμφοτέραις ἐπιθείς, ὡς ἂν τὴν μίαν τοὺς ἄξοντας ἔστειλεν, πολλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ στόματος φράσας ἃ χρήσιμα ἐνόμιζε πρὸς τὸ

ῥηϊδίως πεπιθεῖν μεγάλας φρένας Αἰακίδαο.

ὁ μὲν οὖν Πρίσκος ἦλθε, καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐσωφρόνει· καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἀνεψιάν Boissonade; ἀνεψιὰ ἦν Wytttenbach.

<sup>1</sup> None of these letters by the emperor is extant.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* ix. 184.

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so incessantly did they refer to the gods all questions that arose in their daily life. The result was that at the imperial court Maximus began to grow insolent, wore flowing raiment of a stuff too luxurious for a philosopher, and became more and more difficult of access and unapproachable; but the emperor knew nothing of what was going on. Then they decided, according to the urgent wishes of the emperor, to send for Priscus also; and Maximus persisted in his demand that Chrysanthius should come as well. Both men were accordingly summoned, Priscus from Greece, and Chrysanthius from Sardis in Lydia. The divine Julian was so dependent on the latter's society that he wrote to both men as though they were his intimate friends, and implored them as though they were gods to come and live with him. But in the case of Chrysanthius, on hearing that he had a wife named Melite to whom he was devotedly attached (she was a cousin of the present author), Julian retired in private and, unknown to all, he wrote with his own hand to this woman and expended every possible argument to induce her to persuade her husband not to refuse to make the journey. Then he asked for the letter that had been written to Chrysanthius, enclosed his own, set his seal on both, and dispatched messengers to take what seemed to be only one letter.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, he sent many verbal messages which he thought would be useful

To persuade with ease the mighty soul of the grandson of Aecus.<sup>2</sup>

Priscus accordingly came,<sup>3</sup> and when there he

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Julian, *Letter to Libanius* (55 Wright), written at Antioch early in 363, in which he complains that Priscus delays his coming.

478 τοί γε οὐκ ἐλάττους ἦσαν αὐτὸν οἱ θεραπεύοντες, ἀλλ' ἔμενον ὁμως ἀκίνητος, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπαιρόμενος, ἀλλὰ τὴν βασιλείαν καταφέρων καὶ ὀμαλίζων ἐς τὸ φιλοσοφώτερον.

Ὁ δὲ Χρυσάνθιος οὐδὲ ταύταις ἐάλω ταῖς ἄρκυσι καὶ μηχαναῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐντυχών, ὡς τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἦν ἀμετάβλητα, καὶ αὐτὸς εἶπετο τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἐπέστειλεν, ὡς ἡ κατὰ Λυδίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γίνοιτο μονή, καὶ οἱ θεοὶ ταῦτα ἔφραζον. ὁ δὲ ὑπώπτεισε μὲν τὴν ἀποτυχίαν τῆς κλήσεως, ἀρχιερέα δὲ ἀποδείξας τὸν τε ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τῆς Λυδίας, καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνοις ἐπιτρέψας εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων τὴν αἵρεσιν, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Περσικὸν συνηγείγεται<sup>1</sup> πόλεμον. Μαξίμου δὲ καὶ Πρίσκου συνεπομένων, καὶ ἄλλοι δέ τινες συμπάρωμάρτουν εἰς πλήθος συντελοῦντες, ἑαυτοὺς ἐγκωμιαζόντων ἀνθρώπων ὄχλος, καὶ σφόδρα γε διογκουμένων, ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφησεν αὐτοῖς συντετυχηκένοι. ὡς δὲ τὰ πράγματα συντόνως ἀπὸ τῶν μεγάλων ἐκείνων καὶ λαμπρῶν ἐλπίδων ἐς τὸ ἀφανὲς καὶ ἄμορφον κατερρήη<sup>2</sup> καὶ διωλίσθησεν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς διεξοδικοῖς τοῖς κατὰ Ἰουλιανὸν εἴρηται, ὃ τε Ἰοβιανὸς ἐβασίλευσε καὶ τιμῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας διετέλεσεν· εἶτα μάλα ταχέως καὶ σφοδρῶς συναπῆλθε τῷ προβασιλεύσαντι (εἶ γε δὴ παρὰ τοὺς πλείονας

<sup>1</sup> συνηγείγεται Boissonade; συνηγείγεται Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> κατερράγη Boissonade; κατερρήη Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> They were both present at Julian's death (Ammianus Marcellinus xxv. 3).

<sup>2</sup> On Julian's death in Persia in June 363, the general Jovian was elected emperor by the army.



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behaved with great modesty. And though there were just as many who sought his favour, he nevertheless remained unmoved, and was not puffed up by the emperor's court, but rather endeavoured to lower the pride of the court and to bring it to a more philosophic level.

Chrysanthius, however, could not be caught even by such snares and devices as these, but he consulted the gods, and since the will of heaven was unchanged, he for his part obeyed the gods, and wrote to the emperor that it was in the latter's interest that he should stay in Lydia, and that the gods had informed him of this. The emperor was suspicious about the refusal of his invitation, but he appointed Chrysanthius high priest of Lydia, along with his wife, and entrusted to them the selection of other priests. Meanwhile he himself was setting out in haste for the war against Persia. Both Maximus and Priscus accompanied him,<sup>1</sup> and certain other sophists joined the expedition, so that they amounted to a considerable number; they were, in fact, a mob of men who sang their own praises and were inflated with pride because the emperor said that he had associated with them. But when the enterprise which began with such great and splendid hopes had fallen with a crash to a vague and shapeless ruin and had slipped through his fingers, as I have described more fully in my *Life of Julian*, Jovian<sup>2</sup> was made emperor, and he continued to award honours to these men. Then too swiftly and violently he passed away to join his predecessor in Empire (if, indeed, we can say of that predecessor that he merely joined the majority<sup>3</sup>!), and then

<sup>3</sup> Eunapius means that Julian became a god.

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οὕτως ἀπήλθε), Βαλεντιανός τε καὶ Βάλης ἐπέστησαν τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἐνταῦθα συναρπάζονται μὲν Μάξιμος καὶ Πρίσκος, πολὺ τῆς κλήσεως διαφερούσης ἢ ὅτε Ἰουλιανὸς ἐκάλει. ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ τις ἦν πανηγυρική καὶ πρὸς τιμὴν περιττῶς διαλάμπουσα, ταύτης δὲ τῆς δευτέρας πρὸ τῶν ἐλπιζομένων καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον κίνδυνος ἦν, οὕτως ἀτιμία τις ἀδρὰ καὶ περιφανῆς κατεκέχυτο τῶν ὀρωμένων. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Πρίσκος οὐδὲν ὑποστὰς δεινόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσμαρτυρηθεὶς ἀγαθὸς εἶναι καὶ γεγενῆσθαι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον, ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· καὶ ὁ ταῦτα γράφων ἐπαιδεύετο κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους παῖς ὢν καὶ εἰς ἐφήβους ἄρτι τελῶν. ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος, πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ κατεβόων δημοσίᾳ τε ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις καὶ ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, θαυμαστός δὲ ἦν καὶ οὕτως, ὅτι πρὸς τοσαύτας ἀνέφερε συμφοράς· πλὴν ἐς τὸ βαθύτατον αὐτὸν τῆς τιμωρίας περιάγουσι, τοσοῦτων τιμήσαντες χρημάτων, ὅσα μήτε ἀνὴρ ἀκούειν ἐδύνατο φιλοσοφῶν (ὑπώπτευον γὰρ αὐτὸν τὰ πάντων ἔχειν), καὶ μετεγίνωσκον, ὡς<sup>1</sup> ὀλίγου τιμήσαντες αὐτῷ. καὶ ἀνεπέμφθη γε εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ καταβολῇ τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἔπασχεν ὑπὲρ πᾶσάν ἐστι τραγωδίαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν εἶη μεγαλόφωνος, οὐδὲ ἠδόμενος κακοῖς, ὥστε ἐξαγγέλλειν ἀνδρὸς τοσοῦτου τηλικαύτας συμφοράς. μικρὰ γὰρ καὶ ἡ Περσῶν λεγομένη σκάφευσις, καὶ οἱ γυναικεῖοι

<sup>1</sup> καὶ Boissonade; ὡς Wyttenbach.

<sup>1</sup> Or "The Trough"; for this torture see Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 16, where it is fully described.

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Valentinian and Valens succeeded to the Imperial throne. Thereupon Maximus and Priscus were carried off in custody, and this time their summons was very different from the time when Julian invited them. For then the summons was, as it were, to some public festival and it lit up the path to ample honours; but in that second summons, instead of bright hopes, danger was clearly visible, for the fear of public and overwhelming disgrace veiled for them the whole prospect. Priscus, however, suffered no harm, and since evidence was produced that he was a righteous man and had behaved virtuously at the time I speak of, he returned to Greece. It was at the time when the author of this narrative was being educated, and was still a boy just arrived at adolescence. But Maximus, though many clamoured against him, both in public in the theatres and privately to the emperor, in spite of this won admiration because he bore up against such great misfortunes. Nevertheless they inflicted on him the severest possible punishment; for they fined him a sum of money so large that a philosopher could hardly even have heard of such an amount (this was because they suspected that he possessed the property of all the others); and then they regretted it on the ground that they had made his fine too small. He was sent into Asia to make payment of the money, and what he suffered there was beyond any tragedy, and none could have the power of utterance or take such pleasure in the misfortunes of others as to report fully the terrible sufferings of this great man. For even the Persian torture called "The Boat,"<sup>1</sup> or the painful toil of the women with the hoe among

τῶν Ἀρτάβρων σκαλισμοί, πρὸς τὰς ἐπιφερομένας  
 479 ὀδύνας τῷ σώματι. καὶ ἡ θαυμασία γυνή παρῆν  
 καὶ ὑπερήλυε. ὡς δὲ ἦν ἄπειρον, καὶ ἐπετεινετο,  
 “πριαμένη,” φησὶν “ὦ γυναῖ, φάρμακον, ἐπίδος,  
 καὶ ἐλευθέρωσον.” ἡ δὲ καὶ ἐπρίατο καὶ παρῆν  
 ἔχουσα. ἐνταῦθα ὁ μὲν ἦτει πιεῖν, ἡ δὲ ἠξίωσε  
 προπιεῖν, καὶ αὐτίκα γε ἀπολομένης, τὴν μὲν οἱ  
 προσήκοντες ἔθαπτον· ὁ δὲ Μάζμος ἔπιεν οὐκέτι.

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ πᾶς λόγος ἐλάττων, καὶ πᾶν ὅσον  
 ἂν τὸ ποιητικὸν ὑμνήσειε γένος, πρὸς τὰς Κλέαρχου  
 πράξεις. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐκ Θεσπρωτῶν  
 τῶν εὐδαμόνων, καὶ διαφερόντως περὶ δόξαν  
 καλὴν γενόμενος, τῶν πραγμάτων ἤδη μετα-  
 βεβλημένων, καὶ Βαλεντιανοῦ μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐσπέραν  
 ἀποκεχωρηκότος, τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως Βάλεντος  
 κινδύνοις τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἐμβεβηκότος, καὶ οὐ τὸν  
 περὶ βασιλείας, ἀλλὰ τὸν περὶ σωτηρίας ἀγῶνα  
 τρέχοντος· ὁ γὰρ Προκόπιος ἀνταναστάς πολλαῖς  
 καὶ ἀπείροις δυνάμεσι, πανταχόθεν αὐτὸν περιέ-  
 κοπτεν εἰς τὸ συλληφθῆναι,<sup>1</sup> τῆς οὖν Ἀσίας ἀπά-  
 σης κατ’ ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐπεστάται,  
 ὄση κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀφ’ Ἑλλησπόντου διὰ  
 Λυδίας καὶ Πισιδίας ἐπὶ Παμφυλίαν ἀφορίζεται.  
 καὶ<sup>2</sup> πολλὴν εἰς τὰ πράγματα συνέφερεν εὐνοίαν,  
 τῷ τε σώματι παραβαλλόμενος ἐς τοὺς πρώτους  
 κινδύνους, καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῆς αὐλῆς ἔπαρχον ἀντικρυς  
 διαφερόμενος, ὥστε οὐδέ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν διαφορὰν

<sup>1</sup> *συνήμεραι* Boissonade; *συλληφθῆναι* Wyttenbach, to improve the sense, but the construction is awkward.

<sup>2</sup> *καὶ* before *πολλὴν* Wyttenbach adds.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo iii. 220 describes the toilsome gold-digging of the women of this tribe in Lusitania. Tzetzes, *Chiliasd* x. 885, echoes Eunapius.

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the Artabri<sup>1</sup> is not to be compared with the agonies inflicted on the body of Maximus. His wonderful wife was ever by his side and grieved over his sufferings. But when there seemed to be no limit to them and they even grew more intense, he said to her: "My wife, buy poison, give it to me and set me free." Accordingly she bought it and came with it in her hand. Thereupon he asked for it to drink but she insisted on drinking first, and when she had straightway died her relatives buried her: but after that Maximus did not drink.

And now all my eloquence and all the praises that the tribe of poets might sing would prove unequal to describe the conduct of Clearchus.<sup>2</sup> Clearchus came of a rich family in Thesprotis and had himself won a distinguished reputation when the whole course of events was changed. For Valentinian withdrew to the empire of the West,<sup>3</sup> while the Emperor Valens became involved in the utmost dangers, and had to enter a contest not only for empire but for his very life. For Procopius had revolted against him with unlimited forces and was harassing him from all sides to bring about his capture. Now Clearchus was at that time governor of all Asia, that is to say of the domain that extends from the Hellespont through Lydia and Pisidia as far as the boundaries of Pamphylia. And he displayed great kindness in his government and exposed his own person to the greatest risks, and openly carried on a quarrel with the pretorian prefect, so that not even the emperor could ignore

<sup>2</sup> Clearchus was a frequent correspondent of Libanius. He was prefect of Constantinople 398-402.

<sup>3</sup> In 363. The revolt of Procopius was in 365.

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ἡγνόμεναι. καὶ τοὶ γε ἦν ἑπαρχὸς Σαλοῦτιος, ἀνὴρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουλιανοῦ βασιλείας κοσμήσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' ὅμως τὴν τε βλακειάν αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀπήλεξε καὶ Νικίαν ἀπεκάλει· καὶ γὰρ ἔμελεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον μοσχεύειν καὶ ῥωννύναι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπ' ἀναγνώσεώς τε καὶ τῆς ἱστορικῆς ἐμπειρίας.

Χωρησάντων δὲ καλῶς τῶν πραγμάτων, ὁ Βάλης ὑπερῆγάσθη Κλέαρχον, καὶ οὐκ ἀπέλυσε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀρχὴν μετέστησε μείζονα, ἀνθύπατον αὐτὸν ἐπιστήσας τῆς νῦν ἰδίως Ἀσίας καλουμένης. αὕτη δὲ ἀπὸ Περγάμου τὸ ἀλιτενὲς ἐπέχουσα τὴν<sup>2</sup> ὑπερκειμένην ἠπειρον ἄχρι Καρίας ἀποτέμνεται, καὶ ὁ Τμῶλος αὐτῆς περιγράφει τὸ πρὸς Λυδίαν. ἔστι δὲ ἀρχῶν ἐνδοξοτάτη, καὶ οὐ κατήκοος τοῦ τῆς αὐλῆς ἐπάρχου, πλὴν ὅσα γε νῦν πάλιν ἐς τὸν νεώτερον τουτοῦ θόρυβον ἅπαντα συμπέφυρται<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἀνατετάρακται. τότε δὲ τὴν ὑγιαίνουσαν Ἀσίαν ἀπολαβὼν ὁ Κλέαρχος, εὗρεν ἐκεῖ τὸν Μάξιμον κατατεινόμενον ταῖς βασιάνοις, καὶ μόλις ἀνέχοντα. θεῖον δὴ τὸ μετὰ ταῦτά ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ἔργον, οὐ γὰρ ἂν τις τὸ οὕτω παράλογον ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ ἀναφέρει δικαίως ἢ θεὸν· τοὺς τε γὰρ στρατιῶτας ἅπαντας, οἳ ταῦταις ἐφέστηκεσαν

<sup>1</sup> τύχην Boissonade; ψυχὴν Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> Before τὴν Wytttenback deletes πρὸς.

<sup>3</sup> συμπεφύρκει Boissonade; συμπέφυρται Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> This is not the prefect of Gaul to whom Julian addressed his *Orations* iv. and viii. The spelling in the Greek text, "Salutius," is often used instead of Sallustius. I give the more usual form. His official name, e.g. in inscriptions, was Secundus. After Julian's death he was offered and refused the throne, and again on the death of Jovian, in 364,

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their quarrel. The prefect's name was Sallust,<sup>1</sup> and in the reign of the Emperor Julian he had perfected and adorned his own mind. Nevertheless Clearchus exposed his slothfulness due to old age, and nicknamed him Nicias.<sup>2</sup> And in fact in those days he thought only of nurturing and strengthening his mind by reading and by inquiry into the facts of history.

Now when he saw that things went so well, Valens felt unbounded admiration for Clearchus, and far from removing him from his office he transferred him to a post of greater importance and appointed him proconsul of all that is to-day properly called Asia. This province embraces the sea coast from Pergamon and includes the hinterland of that coast as far as Caria, while Mount Tmolos circumscribes its limits in the direction of Lydia. It is the most illustrious of all the provinces and is outside the jurisdiction of the pretorian prefect, save in so far as everything has been thrown into confusion and disorder in these later troubles.<sup>3</sup> But, at the time I speak of, Asia was still free from sedition when Clearchus took over the government; and there he discovered Maximus racked by tortures and barely able to endure them. I must now relate a supernatural occurrence; for none could justly ascribe to any other than a god a thing so amazing. For all the soldiers who had been assigned to punish Maximus

refused it for himself and his son. He seems to have been prefect of the East in 365, but resigned because of the hostility of the proconsul of Asia, Clearchus.

<sup>2</sup> Nicias, the Athenian general, pursued a policy of "watchful waiting" in the Peloponnesian War.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps he refers to the supremacy of the Goths about 398, or the sedition of Antioch in 387.

ἀλήκτως ταῖς κολάσεσι, μείζονι βία φυγεῖν ἐπ-  
 ηνάγκασε,<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὸν Μάξιμον ἀνήκε τῶν δεσμῶν,  
 ἐπιμέλειάν τε ἐποίησατο τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ὁμο-  
 τράπεζον ἔθετο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τοσαύτη κατ-  
 εχρήσατο παρρησία, ὥστε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤδη καὶ  
 μεθῆκε τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ πάντα γε συνεχώρησεν  
 ὅσα Κλέαρχος ἔπειθε. τῷ γοῦν Σαλουτίῳ τὴν  
 480 ἀρχὴν παραλύσας, Αὐξόνιον ἐπέστησε<sup>2</sup> τοῖς τῆς  
 αὐλῆς ἔργοις. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος τοὺς τε κολαστῆρας  
 ἐκείνους στρατιώτας, καὶ ὅσοι<sup>3</sup> κατὰ τὸν ἀτυχῆ  
 χρόνον ἐκείνον ἦσαν ὑφελόμενοι τι καὶ ὑβρίσαντες,  
 τοὺς μὲν ἡμύνετο, τοὺς δὲ εἰσεπράττετο· καὶ  
 πάντες τοῦτο διὰ στόματος εἶχον ὡς εἶη δεῦτερος  
 Ἰουλιανὸς τῷ Μαξίμῳ. ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ δημοσίας  
 τῶας ἐπιδείξεις ὁ Μάξιμος ἐποίησατο, ἀλλ' (οὐ  
 γὰρ ἐπεφύκει πρὸς θέατρον) τὴν δόξαν εἰς ἐλά-  
 χιστον ἤνεγκεν, ἕως ἀνέφερεν ἑαυτὸν, διαλεγόμενος  
 πάλιν. πολλὰ γοῦν τῶν τε κτημάτων ἀνεκομίζετο,<sup>4</sup>  
 καὶ τῶν ἐτέρως πως διακεκλεμμένων, καὶ ἦν ταχὺ  
 μάλα ὄλβιος, καὶ ὥσπερ ἄρτι παριῶν εἰς τὴν  
 Ἰουλιανοῦ βασιλείαν. ὁ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Κων-  
 σταντινούπολιν περιφανῆς ὢν ἐπεδήμησε, καὶ  
 πάντες αὐτὸν ἐδεδοίκεσαν, τὴν τε τύχην ἀνιστα-  
 μένην ὀρῶντες· † καὶ τῆς ἀσιωότητος τῆς περὶ  
 θεουργίας ἐστὶ μὲν πεπειροσμένος, τὴν δὲ ἐς τόνδε  
 ἐπὶ πλέον ἐδόξαζεν.†<sup>5</sup> ἐνταῦθα δὲ αὐτῷ πάλιν  
 διὰ τὸ πολὺ κλέος τραχύτερον ἀνέφυ πάθος. οἱ

<sup>1</sup> ἀπηνάγκασε Boissonade; ἐπηνάγκασε Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπενόησε Boissonade; ἐπέστησε Wyttenbach.

<sup>3</sup> ὅσον Boissonade; ὅσοι Wyttenbach.

<sup>4</sup> κατεκομίζετο Boissonade; ἀνεκομίζετο Cobet.



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without respite, by superior force he compelled to flee, released him from his fetters, charged himself with the cure of his body, and made him sit at his own table. Moreover he spoke so boldly and frankly to the emperor that the latter not only relaxed his wrath but conceded everything that Clearchus advised. Thus he relieved Sallust of his office and appointed Auxonius<sup>1</sup> to the duties of pretorian prefect. Then Clearchus proceeded to punish the soldiers who had tortured Maximus, from all who, in that unhappy time had stolen anything from him he exacted repayment, and punished those who had insulted him; so that this saying was in the mouths of all that he was a second Julian to Maximus. Thereupon Maximus even delivered public declamations, but since he was not naturally fitted to speak to a sophistic audience he increased his reputation little thereby, until at last he began to lift up his head again and resumed his lectures on philosophy. Thus he recovered much of his wealth and of what had been stolen from him in various ways, and very speedily he became prosperous and as well off as when he first arrived at Julian's court. Next he actually visited Constantinople as a distinguished personage, and all men regarded him with awe when they found that his fortunes were restored. He even risked a test of his innocence in the matter of theurgy, and still further increased his reputation.<sup>2</sup> Thereupon once more his widespread renown gave birth to harsh feelings against him. For the courtiers framed

<sup>1</sup> Zosimus iv. 10.

<sup>2</sup> The text is mutilated and the meaning obscure.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ τῆς . . . ἐδόξαζεν is evidently corrupt. Cobet suggests πεπειραμένος.

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γὰρ περὶ τὰ βασιλεία τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐπιβουλήν<sup>1</sup> τινὰ συστησάμενοι καὶ προστησάμενοι μαντεῖον ἰδιωτικὸν (οὐ παντός ἐστι καταμαθεῖν ὁ λέγω), χρησμοῦ τινὸς ἐκπεσόντος ἀσαφεστέρου, τὸν χρησμόν ἐπὶ τὸν Μάξιμον ἀνήνεγκαν, τὸ μὲν πρᾶγμα οὐχ ὁμολογήσαντες, ὡς δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ χρήσαντος καὶ ἀνελόντος τὶ σαφέστερον βουλόμενοι μαθεῖν· δέδεικτο γὰρ τότε τὰ τῶν θεῶν Μάξιμον μόνον εἶδέναι, κἂν ἐπικεκαλυμμένα πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους φέρηται. ὁ δὲ τὸν νοῦν ἐπιστήσας καὶ διαθρῶν τὰ λεγόμενα, τὸ κεκρυμμένον μὲν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ὃν δὲ ἀληθῶς, εἶδεν ὀξέως, καὶ μαντείων ἀληθέστερον ἐξήνεγκεν, ὡς τὸν τε ἀναγνόντα (λέγων ἑαυτόν) ἀπώλεσαν, καὶ πάντας, οὐ τοὺς εἰδότας τὴν πρᾶξιν μόνον, προσέθηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κολασθισόμενον ἀδίκως πλέον ἀπέφηεν, ἐξ ἀδύτων δὲ ἐπέθηκεν ὅτι “μετὰ τὴν ἀπάντων κοινὴν καὶ πολὺτροπον φθοράν, ἐν ἧ τοῦ φόνου ἔργον ἐσόμεθα, ὁ βασιλεὺς ξένον τινὰ διαφθαρήσεται<sup>2</sup> τρόπον, οὐδὲ ταφῆς ἀξιωθείς, οὐδὲ ἐνδόξου τάφου.” καὶ ταῦτα ἔσχεν οὕτως, καὶ ἐν τοῖς διεξοδικοῖς ἀκριβέστερον γέγραπται. ἐαλώκεσαν μὲν γὰρ αὐτίκα οἳ τε συστησάμενοι καὶ ἀρθμήσαντες· πάντων δὲ πανταχόθεν ἀρπαζομένων καὶ κατακοπτομένων, ὡσπερ ἀλεκτοριδίων ἐν ἑορτῇ καὶ συμποσίῳ κοινὴν εὐωχίαν ἔχοντι, καὶ ὁ Μάξιμος συνηρπάσθη μὲν, καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἦλθεν, ἔνθα ὁ βασιλεὺς διέτριβεν· αἰσχυρθέντες δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν φόνον, ὡς

<sup>1</sup> βαστα . . . twelve letters missing. Wytttenbach suggests βασιλεῦσιν ἀχθόμενοι συνωμοσίαν; Lundström βασιλεῦσιν ἐπιβουλήν.

<sup>2</sup> ἄμα φθαρήσεται Boissonade; διαφθαρήσεται Wytttenbach.

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a conspiracy against the emperors and put forward some private oracle of their own (it is not everyone who can understand what I mean), and when some obscure oracular utterance was given they referred it to Maximus, without admitting to him their real aim, but as though he himself had given forth and reported the oracle, and they desired to learn its meaning more clearly. For it had been made manifest at that time that Maximus alone knew the purposes of the gods, however obscurely they might be conveyed to other men. Accordingly, by putting his mind on the oracle and closely observing what it said, he quickly saw the hidden sense of the words, that is, the truth itself, and he revealed it more truly than an oracle, namely that they had ruined both him who published it, meaning himself, and all men besides, added he, not only those who knew of their plot; but he declared that many more would be unjustly chastised. Moreover from the inmost shrine, as it were, he announced: "After the general and multiform slaughter of all men, in which we shall be the victims of the massacre, the emperor will die a strange death, and will not be given burial or the honour of a tomb." Thus indeed it came to pass, as I have described more fully in my *Universal History*. For presently the conspirators who had banded together were arrested, and while they were being dragged to prison from all directions and beheaded, like hens at some festival or banquet to entertain the whole populace, Maximus too was dragged away with them, and so came to Antioch where the emperor<sup>1</sup> was staying at the time. But they were ashamed to put him to

<sup>1</sup> Valens. For the execution of Maximus at Ephesus in 371 cf. Ammianus Marcellinus xxix. 1; Zosimus iv. 15.

πάντα ἐπὶ τῆς κρίσεως ἠλέγχθη, καὶ ὅτι κατέγνω  
 τῶν ἐγχειρησάντων, καὶ ὅτι προσεῖπεν ἀκριβῶς  
 ἅπαντα, καθάπερ ἐν τῷ Μαξίμου σώματι θεόν  
 τινα κολάζοντες, φονικὴν τινα καὶ μαγειρώδη  
 ψυχὴν τὸν Φῆστον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐτῷ συνεξ-  
 έπεμψαν, τὴν Ἀσίαν τοιοῦτου τινὸς ἀξιῶσαντες.  
 ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενος τὸ προσταχθὲν ἔπραξε καὶ  
 παρ' ἑαυτοῦ προσέθηκεν, ἄφθονόν τινα χορηγίαν  
 τῷ σὺδαι καὶ λελυσσηκότι τῆς ψυχῆς νέμων·  
 πολλοὺς γὰρ προκατακόψας αἰτίους τε καὶ ἀναιτίους,  
 καὶ τὸν μέγαν Μάξιμον αὐτοῖς ἐπέσφαξε. κάκεινο  
 μὲν εἶχεν ἡ μαντεία τέλος, ἀπέβαινε δὲ καὶ τὰ  
 λειπόμενα. ὁ τε γὰρ βασιλεὺς ἐν μεγάλῃ τῶν  
 Σκυθῶν μάχῃ ξένον τιὰ ἠφανίσθη τρόπον, ὥστε  
 οὐδὲ ὁστέον εἰς ἀναίρεσιν εὐρέθη· προσεπέθηκε  
 481 δὲ ὁ δαίμων καὶ ἕτερόν τι μείζον· ὁ γὰρ Φῆστος  
 ἐκεῖνος (καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἀκριβῶς ὁ γράφων παρῶν  
 συνηπίστατο) παραλυθεὶς τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἀποδη-  
 μήσας πρὸς τὸν νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα Θεοδόσιον,  
 εἶτα ἐπανελθὼν (ἐγεγαμήκει γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας  
 γάμον τυραννίδι πρέποντα), καὶ τὴν τρυφὴν  
 ἐπιδεικνύμενος καὶ τὸ διαπεφευγῆναι τὰ ἐγκλήματα,  
 ἑορτὴν τε ἐπήγγελλε πολυτελεῆ τοῖς ἐν ἀξιώματι  
 καὶ κατὰ εὐγένειαν προβεβηκόσιν. ἡ τρίτη δὲ  
 ἦν ἡμέρα τῶν καλανδῶν ἃς οὕτως Ἰανουαρίας  
 ἡμέρας Ῥωμαῖοι προσονομάζουσι, καὶ προσκυνή-  
 σαντες πάντες αὐτῷ ὑπέσχοντο τὴν εὐωχίαν. ὁ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> For Festus cf. Ammianus xxix. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ammianus xxxi. 13 "nec postea repertus est usquam." The battle was at Adrianople in 378, against the Goths; late writers often confuse them with the Scythians.

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death, both because he had refuted every charge at the trial and convicted of falsehood those who had laid hands on him, and because he had so precisely foretold all that was happening; therefore just as though in the person of Maximus they were punishing some god, they sent away with him into Asia a certain Festus,<sup>1</sup> a man of a murderous disposition with the soul of a butcher, judging Asia to be a worthy abode for such a man. When he arrived he carried out his orders, and of his own accord even went beyond them and indulged to the top of his bent his beast-like and rabid temperament. For first he cut off the heads of many, guilty and innocent alike, and next he slaughtered Maximus, that great man. So the oracle was fulfilled, and the rest of it also came to pass. For the emperor in a fierce battle with the Scythians was done away with in a strange fashion,<sup>2</sup> so that not even a bone was found to bury. The will of Heaven added to all this a still more wonderful occurrence. For that same Festus (and this the author learned accurately as an eyewitness), was deprived of his office, and first he went to visit Theodosius who had lately been made emperor; then he returned to Asia (for he had there contracted a marriage splendid enough for a tyrant), and to make a display of his luxurious living and his escape from all the charges against him, he announced that he would give a magnificent banquet to those who held the most distinguished offices or were of the highest nobility. Now it was the third day after the January Calends, as the Romans call them, and they all saluted him and promised to come to the banquet. Then Festus

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παρῆλθε μὲν εἰς τὸ τῶν Νεμέσεων ἱερόν (καὶ τοί γε οὐδέποτε φήσας θεραπεύειν θεούς, ἀλλ' οὐς ἐκόλασεν ἅπαντας διὰ τοῦτο ἀνηρηκώς), παρελθὼν δὲ ὁμως, αὐτοῖς ὄναρ ἀπήγγειλε καὶ κατεδάκρυε τὴν ὄψιν διηγούμενος. τὸ δὲ ὄνειρον ἦν· τὸν Μάξιμον ἔφασκε τραχηλάγχην ἐπιλαβόμενον ἔλκειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ἄδην, ὡς δικασόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ Πλουτέως. οἱ δὲ παρόντες, καίπερ δεδιότες καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὄλον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀναφέροντες βίον, τά τε δάκρυα ἀπέψηχεν ἕκαστος, καὶ ταῖν Θεαῖν ἐκέλευον εὐχέσθαι· ὁ δὲ ἐπείθετο καὶ ἠὔχετο. ἐξιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ, τοῖν ποδοῖν ἀμφοῖν ὑπενεχθέντων, ἐπὶ τὰ νῶτα ἐξολισθαίνει τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἄναυδος ἔκειτο· καὶ ἀπενεχθεὶς αὐτίκα ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ τοῦτο ἔδοξεν εἶναι τῆς Προνοίας ἔργον ἄριστον.

Περὶ δὲ Πρίσκου τὰ μὲν πολλὰ κατὰ τὴν περιπεσοῦσαν ἀνάγκην καὶ πρότερον εἶρηται, ὅθεν τε ἦν· ἴδιον δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἦθος αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον ἀπομνημονεύεται· κρυψίνους τε ἦν ἄγαν καὶ βαθυγνώμων, μνήμης τε εἰς ἄκρον ἀφιγμένος, καὶ τὰς δόξας ἀπάσας τῶν παλαιῶν συνηρηκῶς καὶ ἐπὶ στόματος ἔχων· κάλλιστος δὲ ὦν καὶ μέγας ὀφθῆναι, καὶ ἀπαίδευτος ἂν ἔδοξεν εἶναι διὰ τὸ μόλις χωρεῖν ἐς διάλεξιν, ἀλλ' ὡς θησαυρόν γέ τινα ἐφύλαττε τὰ δόγματα, καὶ τοὺς εὐκόλως περὶ αὐτῶν προιεμένους φωνῆν ἀσώτους ἔφασκεν. οὐ γὰρ τὸν νικώμενον ἐν ταῖς διαλέξεσιν ἐξημεροῦσθαι μᾶλλον

<sup>1</sup> Two deities called Nemesis were worshipped in Asia, and especially at Smyrna.

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entered the temple of the Goddesses Nemesis,<sup>1</sup> though he had never professed any reverence for the gods, nay it was for their worship of the gods that he punished all his victims with death; still he did enter, and related to those present a vision he had had, and as he told the tale his face was bathed in tears. Now the dream was as follows: he said that Maximus threw a noose round his neck, seized him, and dragged him down to Hades to have his case tried before Pluto. All present were terrified when they recalled the whole life of the man, but they each of them dried their tears, and bade him pray to the Goddesses. He obeyed them and offered up his prayers. But as he came forth from the temple both his feet slipped from under him, and he fell on his back and lay there speechless. He was carried home and at once expired, an event that was considered to be a most admirable dispensation of Providence.

Concerning PRISCUS I have already related many facts, for I had to do so now and then, as it fell out, and so I have spoken of his birthplace. But of his character the following account is separately recorded. He was of a too secretive disposition, and his learning was recondite and abstruse; moreover, his memory was extraordinarily good, and he had collected all the teachings of the ancients and had them ever on his tongue. In appearance he was very handsome and tall, and he might have been thought uneducated, because it was so hard to induce him to engage in disputation, and he kept his own convictions hidden as though he were guarding a treasure, and used to term prodigals those who too lightly gave out their views on these matters. For he used to say that one who is beaten in philosophical

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ἔφασκεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀντιβαίνοντα, ταῖς τε ὀδύνας καὶ τῷ φιλοτίμῳ κατακλόμενον ἀγριοῦσθαι, καὶ μισόλογόν τε ἄμα καὶ μισοφιλόσοφον ἀποτελεῖσθαι καὶ διαταράττεσθαι. διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπέιχε τὰ πολλά. καὶ βραδὺς ἦν καὶ ὀγκώδης κατὰ τὸ ἦθος, καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἐφύλαττεν οὐ μόνον ὅτε ἐταίροις καὶ ὁμιληταῖς συνῆν, ἀλλ' ἐκ νεότητος αὐτῷ τὸ ἀξίωμα συνεγήρασεν. ὁ γοῦν Χρυσάνθιος πρὸς τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα ἔλεγεν, ὡς ὁ μὲν Αἰδεσίου τρόπος κοινὸς ἦν καὶ δημοτικός, καὶ μετὰ γε τοὺς ἄθλους ὅσοι περὶ λόγους ἦσαν, πρὸς περίπατον ἐξῆι κατὰ τὸ Πέργαμον, καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων παρῆσαν οἱ τιμιώτεροι· ὁ δὲ διδάσκαλος ἁρμονίαν τινὰ καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπειον ἐμφυτεύων τοῖς μαθηταῖς, ὡς ἀσυφήλους αὐτοὺς ἑώρα, καὶ δι' ἀγερωχίαν τῶν δογμάτων ὑπέρφρονας, καὶ τὰ πτερὰ μακρό-  
 482 τερα καὶ ἀπαλώτερα τοῦ Ἰκαρίου, καταβιβάζων αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν πόντον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον. αὐτὸς ὁ ταῦτα διδάσκων λαχανόπωλιν τε ἀπαντήσας ἠδέως ἂν εἶδε, καὶ τὴν πορείαν ἐπιστήσας προσεφθέγγεατο, καὶ περὶ τιμῆς ἂν διελέχθη πρὸς αὐτήν, ὅτι πολὺ τὸ καπηλεῖον ἐργάζεται, καὶ ἄμα διῆει τὴν γεωργίαν τοῦ λαχάνου πρὸς αὐτήν. καὶ πρὸς ὑφάντην τοιοῦτον ἂν τι ἐποίησεν ἕτερον, καὶ πρὸς χαλκέα καὶ τέκτονα. οἱ μὲν οὖν σωφρονέστεροι τῶν ἐταίρων ἐξεπαιδεύοντο ταῦτα, καὶ μάλιστα Χρυσάνθιος, καὶ εἴ τις ἦν ἐκείνης τῆς διατριβῆς Χρυσανθίῳ παραπλήσιος.



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argument does not thereby become milder, but rather, as he fights against the might of the truth and suffers the pains of thwarted ambition, he becomes more savage, and ends by hating both letters and philosophy equally, and by being thoroughly confused in his mind. For this reason, therefore, he usually maintained his reserve. His bearing was deliberate and lofty, and he preserved this bearing not only when he was with his friends and disciples, but the authority of his manner remained with him from youth to old age. Hence Chrysanthius used to say to the author of this work that the manners of Aedesius were sociable and democratic, and after their competitions in literature and disputations, he would go for a walk in Pergamon accompanied by the more distinguished of his pupils. And their teacher used to implant in his pupils a feeling of harmony, and of responsibility towards mankind when he observed that they were intolerant and overbearing because of their pride in their own opinions; and when they spread their wings further than those of Icarus, though they were even more fragile, he would lead them gently down, not into the sea, but to the land and to human life. While he thus instructed them, he himself, if he met a woman selling vegetables, was pleased to see her and would stop in his walk to speak to her and discuss the price she charged, and say that her shop was making a good profit; and at the same time he used to talk with her about the cultivation of vegetables. He would behave in the same fashion to a weaver, or a smith, or a carpenter. Thus the more diligent of his pupils were trained in this affability, especially Chrysanthius and all who in that school resembled Chrysanthius.

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Μόνος δὲ ὁ Πρίσκος οὐδὲ παρόντος ἐφείδeto τοῦ διδασκάλου, ἀλλὰ προδότην τε αὐτὸν ἐκάλει τοῦ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀξιώματος, καὶ ἄνθρωπον λογάρια εἰδότα, κρείττονα μὲν πρὸς ψυχῆς ἀναγωγῆν, οὐ φυλαττόμενα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων. ἀλλ' ὁμως τοιοῦτος ὢν, καὶ μετὰ<sup>1</sup> τὴν Ἰουλιανοῦ βασιλείαν ἀμώμητος ἔμεινε, καὶ πολλοὺς τε νεωτερισμοὺς ἐνεγκῶν κορυβαντιῶντων ἐπὶ σοφία μεираκίων, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ βαθὺ διαφυλάττων ἦθος, καὶ γελῶν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν, τοῖς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἱεροῖς, εἰς μακρὸν τι γῆρας ἀνύσας, ὃς γε ἦν ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνευήκοντα, συναπάλετο· πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐν τῷδε τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν μὲν διὰ λύπην προἰεμένων τὸν βίον, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων κατεκόπτοντο· ἐν οἷς Προτέριός τε ἦν τις ἐκ Κεφαλληνίας τῆς νήσου, καὶ ἐμαρτυρεῖτο καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι. Ἰλάριον δὲ καὶ ὁ ταῦτα γράφων ἠπίστατο, ἄνδρα Βιθυνὸν μὲν τὸ γένος, Ἀθήνησι δὲ καταγηράσαντα, πρὸς δὲ τῷ καθαρῷ τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας, κατὰ γραφικὴν οὕτω φιλοσοφήσαντα, ὥστε οὐκ ἐτεβνήκει ἐν ταῖς ἐκείνου χερσὶν ὁ Εὐφράνωρ. καὶ ὁ ταῦτα γράφων διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἐν εἶδει καλὸν ἐθαύμοζε καὶ ὑπερηγάπα. ἀλλ' ὁμως καὶ Ἰλάριος τῶν ἀπολαυσάντων ἦν τῆς κοινῆς συμφορᾶς, ἔξω μὲν εὐρεθεῖς τῶν Ἀθηνῶν (πλησίον γάρ που Κορίνθου διέτριβε), κατακοπεῖς δὲ παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἅμα τοῖς οἰκέταις. καὶ

<sup>1</sup> For μετὰ Cobet prefers κατὰ in the sense that Priscus was popular in spite of Julian's patronage. The change is unnecessary.

For this phrase see Demosthenes, *On the False Embassy* 421, echoed by Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists*, p. 623.

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But Priscus alone did not spare the feelings of their teacher, but to his face would call him a traitor to the dignity of philosophy, a man versed in petty maxims,<sup>1</sup> which, while they might be useful for elevating the soul, were never observed in practical life. Nevertheless, in spite of his disposition, even after the reign of Julian, Priscus remained exempt from criticism; and after introducing many innovations among his disciples, who, like Corybants, were intoxicated with the desire for wisdom, and while still maintaining on all occasions his secretive manners and sneering at human weakness, he at last died, having reached a great age (for he was over ninety), at the time of the destruction of the temples of Greece. And, in those days, there were many who in their grief threw away their lives, while others were slaughtered by the barbarians, among whom was Proterius, a native of the island Cephallenia, as to whose worth and probity there is good evidence. Hilarius too was known to the author; he was by birth a Bithynian, but he grew old at Athens, and, besides the whole range of learning, he had so mastered the art of painting that it seemed as though in his hands Euphranor was still alive. The author of this narrative used to admire and love him beyond other men, because of the beauty of his portraits. Nevertheless, even Hilarius could not escape his share in the general disasters, for he was captured outside Athens (he was staying somewhere near Corinth), and together with his slaves was beheaded by the barbarians.<sup>2</sup> These events, if it be the will of heaven,

<sup>1</sup> i. e. by the Goths in 395.

ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς διεξοδικοῖς, ἐὰν τῷ δαίμονι δόξη, γραφήσεται, οὐ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔχοντα, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἐκεῖ σαφέστερον λελέξεται· νυνὶ δὲ ὅσαν ἐπέβαλε τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον ἱκανῶς εἰς ἀφήγησιν εἴρηται.

Ἰουλιανὸς δὲ ὁ ἐκ Καππαδοκίας σοφιστῆς εἰς τοὺς Αἰδεσίου χρόνους ἤκμαζε, καὶ ἐτυράννει γε τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτον ἡ πᾶσα νεότης πανταχόθεν ἐχώρει, ῥητορικῆς ἕνεκεν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μεγέθους φύσεως σεβαζόμενοι. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ κατὰ ταῦτὸν ἕτεροὶ τιwes παραψαύοντες τοῦ καλοῦ, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου δόξαν διαιρόμενοι, Ἀψίνης τε ὁ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος, δόξαν ἔχων τεχνικοῦ τῶος, καὶ Ἐπάγαθος, καὶ τοιαύτη τις ὀνομάτων χορηγία· ὁ δὲ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς φύσεως ἀπάντων κατεκρότει, καὶ τὸ ἕλαττον μακρῶ τιμῆν ἦν ἕλαττον. ὁμιλεῖται δὲ αὐτοῦ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ πανταχόθεν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, καὶ πανταχῆ διασπαρέντες, καὶ θαυμασθέντες ὅπου ποτὲ<sup>1</sup> ἰδρῦθήσαν· ἀπόλεκτοι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὁ τε θειότατος Προαιρέσιος, καὶ Ἡφαιστίων, Ἐπιφάνιος τε ὁ ἐκ Συρίας, καὶ Διόφαντος ὁ Ἀράβιος. Τουσκιανοῦ δὲ μνησθῆναι καλόν, καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐκείνου μετέσχε τῆς ὁμιλίας, ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Ἰουλιανὸν ἐμνήσθημεν διεξοδικοῖς. Ἰουλιανοῦ δὲ καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ὁ συγγραφεὺς Ἀθήνησιν ἐώρα, μικρὰν μὲν καὶ εὐτελεῆ τινα, Ἐρμου δὲ ὅμως καὶ Μουσῶν ἀποπνέουσαν,<sup>2</sup> οὕτως ἱεροῦ τῶος ἀγίου διέφερον οὐδέν· Προαιρεσίῳ δὲ αὐτὴν καταλελοίπει. καὶ

<sup>1</sup> τε Boissonade ; ποτὲ Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> περιπνέουσαν Boissonade ; ἀποπνέουσαν Cobet.

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I shall relate more fully in my *Universal History*, since there they will be told more clearly, not with reference to the individual, but as they concerned the interests of all. For the present, however, their bearing on individuals has been set forth as far as is suitable to my narrative.

JULIAN of Cappadocia, the sophist, flourished in the time of Aedesius, and was a sort of tyrant at Athens. For all the youths from all parts flocked to him, and revered the man for his eloquence and his noble disposition. For there were indeed certain other men, his contemporaries, who in some degree attained to the comprehension of true beauty and reached the heights of his renown, namely Apsines of Lacedaemon who won fame as a writer on rhetoric, and Epagathus, and a whole host of names of that sort. But Julian surpassed them all by his great genius, and he who was second to him was a bad second. He had numerous pupils who came, so to speak, from all parts of the world, and when dispersed in every country were admired wherever and whenever they established themselves. But most distinguished of them all were the inspired Prohaeresius, Hephaestion, Epiphanius of Syria, and Diophantus the Arab. It is fitting that I should also mention Tuscianus, since he too was one of Julian's pupils, but I have already spoken of him in my account of the reign of the Emperor Julian.<sup>1</sup> The author himself saw Julian's house at Athens; poor and humble as it was, nevertheless from it breathed the fragrance of Hermes and the Muses, so closely did it resemble a holy temple. This house he had bequeathed to Prohaeresius. There, too,

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* in his *Universal History*.

εἰκόνας τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θαυμασθέντων ἑταίρων ἀνέκειντο, καὶ τὸ θέατρον ἦν ξεστοῦ λίθου, τῶν δημοσίων θεάτρων εἰς μίμησιν, ἀλλὰ ἔλαττον καὶ ὅσον πρέπει οἰκία. τοσοῦτη γὰρ ἦν Ἀθήνησιν ἡ στάσις τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων καὶ νέων, καθάπερ τῆς πόλεως, ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐκείνων πολέμων, τὸν ἐντὸς τείχους ἀσκούσης κίνδυνον, ὥστε οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα τῶν σοφιστῶν δημοσίᾳ καταβὰς διαλέγεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἰδιωτικοῖς θεάτροις ἀπολαμβάνοντες τὰς φωνὰς αὐτῶν μειρακίους διελέγοντο, οὐ τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς θέοντες, ἀλλὰ τὸν περὶ κρότου καὶ φωνῆς ἀγωνιζόμενοι.

Πολλῶν δὲ σιωπημένων, τοῦτο ἀνάγκη περὶ αὐτοῦ καταβαλεῖν καὶ συνεισηνεγκεῖν ἐς τὸν λόγον, δεῖγμα τῆς ὅλης τοῦ ἀνδρὸς παιδείας καὶ συνέσεως. ἔτυχον μὲν γὰρ οἱ θρασύτατοι τῶν Ἀψίνου μαθητῶν ταῖς χερσὶ κρατήσαντες τῶν Ἰουλιανοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἐμφύλιον ἐκείνον πόλεμον χερσὶ δὲ βαρεῖαις καὶ Λακωνικαῖς χρησάμενοι, τῶν πεπονθῶτων περὶ τοῦ σώματος κινδυνευόντων, ὥσπερ ἀδικηθέντες, κατηγοροῦν. ἀνεφέρετο δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἡ δίκη, καὶ ὡς βαρὺς τις εἶναι καὶ φοβερὸς ἐνδεικνύμενος, καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον συναρπασθῆναι κελεύει καὶ τοὺς κατηγορηθέντας ἅπαντας δεσμώτας, ὥσπερ τοὺς ἐπὶ φόνῳ κατακεκλεισμένους. ἐώκει δὲ ὡς<sup>1</sup> Ῥωμαῖός τις οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> ὥσπερ Boissonade; ὡς Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> The undying antagonism of "Town" and "Gown" was probably intensified by religious differences, since most of the students were opposed to Christianity.

<sup>2</sup> The faction fights of the sophists and their pupils are often mentioned by Libanius; cf. Himerius, *Oration* iv. 9, and his *Oration* xix., which is addressed to those pupils who

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were erected statues of the pupils whom he had most admired; and he had a theatre of polished marble made after the model of a public theatre, but smaller and of a size suitable to a house. For in those days, so bitter was the feud at Athens between the citizens and the young students,<sup>1</sup> as though the city after those ancient wars of hers was fostering within her walls the peril of discord, that not one of the sophists ventured to go down into the city and discourse in public, but they confined their utterances to their private lecture theatres and there discoursed to their students. Thus they ran no risk of their lives, but there competed for applause and fame for eloquence.

Though I leave much unsaid, I must set down and introduce into this narrative the following sample of all Julian's learning and prudence. It so happened that the boldest of the pupils of Apsines had, in a fierce encounter, got the upper hand of Julian's pupils in the course of the war of factions<sup>2</sup> that they kept up. After laying violent hands on them in Spartan fashion,<sup>3</sup> though the victims of their ill-treatment had been in danger of their lives, they prosecuted them as though they themselves were the injured parties. The case was referred to the proconsul, who, showing himself stern and implacable, ordered that their teacher also be arrested, and that all the accused be thrown into chains, like men imprisoned on a charge of murder. It seems, however, that, for

are so occupied with these encounters that they neglect their lectures. The incident here described with lively interest by Eunapius had occurred seventy years before he wrote the *Lives*.

<sup>3</sup> Spartan violence, *Laconica manus*, was apparently a proverb, but here there is a further allusion to the nationality of Apsines.

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εἶναι τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν, οὐδὲ τῶν ὑπ' ἀγροίκῳ καὶ ἀμούσῳ τύχῃ τεθραμμένων. ὁ τε γοῦν Ἰουλιανὸς παρῆν, οὕτως ἐπιταχθέν, καὶ ὁ Ἀψίνης συμπαρῆν, οὐκ ἐπιταχθέν, ἀλλ' ὡς συνηγορήσων τοῖς κατηγορηκόσι. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐξέτασις προῦκειτο, καὶ τοῖς διώκουσιν εἴσοδος ἐδόθη. προειστήκει δὲ τῆς ἀτάκτου Σπάρτης Θεμιστοκλῆς τις Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς ἦν καὶ τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος· προπετέστερος δὲ ὢν καὶ θρασύτερος, ἐς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ὑβρίζεν. εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ὁ ἀνθύπατος ταυρηδὸν ὑπιδῶν τὸν Ἀψίνην, “σὲ δὲ τίς” εἶπεν “ἐλθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν;” ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο περὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τέκνοις ἀγωνιῶν ἐληλυθέναι.<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῇ σιωπῇ κρύψαντος τὴν ἔννοιαν τοῦ ἀρχοντος, εἰσήεσαν πάλιν οἱ δεσμῶται καὶ ἡδίκημένοι, καὶ ὁ διδάσκαλος μετ' αὐτῶν, κόμας ἔχοντες καὶ τὰ σώματα κεκακωμένοι λίαν, ὥστε οἰκτροὺς αὐτοὺς φανῆναι καὶ τῷ κρίνοντι. δοθέντος δὲ τοῦ λόγου τοῖς κατηγοροῦσιν, ἤρξατο μὲν ὁ Ἀψίνης τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀνθύπατος ὑπολαβὼν, “ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτό γε” εἶπε “Ῥωμαῖοι δοκιμάζουσιν· ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν πρώτην εἰπὼν κατηγορίαν, κινδυνευέτω περὶ τῆς δευτέρας.” ἐνταῦθα παρασκευὴ μὲν οὐκ ἦν πρὸς τὴν τῆς κρίσεως ὀξύτητα· ἦν δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς  
 484 ὁ<sup>2</sup> κατηγορηκῶς, καὶ λέγειν ἀναγκαζόμενος, χροιάν τε ἤλλαξε καὶ τὰ χεῖλη διέδακνεν ἀπορούμενος, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐταίρους ὑπέβλεπε καὶ παρεφθέγγατο τί πρακτέον· εἰσεληλύθεσαν γὰρ ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ συνηγορίᾳ τοῦ διδασκάλου μόνον κεκραξόμενοι καὶ βοησόμενοι. πολλῆς οὖν σιωπῆς καὶ ταραχῆς

<sup>1</sup> ἐληλύθειν Boissonade; ἐληλυθέναι Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς Boissonade; Cobet transposes.



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a Roman, he was not uneducated or bred in a boorish and illiberal fashion. Accordingly Julian was in court, as he had been ordered, and Apsines was there also, not in obedience to orders but to help the case of the plaintiffs. Now all was ready for the hearing of the case, and the plaintiffs were permitted to enter. The leader of the disorderly Spartan faction was one Themistocles, an Athenian, who was in fact responsible for all the trouble, for he was a rash and headstrong youth and a disgrace to his famous name. The proconsul at once glared fiercely at Apsines, and said: "Who ordered you to come here?" He replied that he had come because he was anxious about his children. The magistrate concealed his real opinion and said no more; and then the prisoners who had been so unfairly treated again came before the court, and with them their teacher. Their hair was uncut and they were in great physical affliction, so that even to the judge they were a pitiful sight. Then the plaintiffs were permitted to speak, and Apsines began to make a speech, but the proconsul interrupted him and said: "This procedure is not approved by the Romans. He who delivered the speech for the prosecution at the first hearing must try his luck at the second also." There was then no time for preparation because of the suddenness of the decision. Now Themistocles had made the speech for the prosecution before, but now on being compelled to speak he changed colour, bit his lips in great embarrassment, looked furtively towards his comrades, and consulted them in whispers as to what they had better do. For they had come into court prepared only to shout and applaud vociferously their teacher's speech in their behalf. Therefore

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οὔσης, σιωπῆς μὲν καθ' ὅλον τὸ δικαστήριον, παραχῆς δὲ περὶ τὸ τῶν διωκόντων μέρος, ἐλεεινόν τι παραφθεγξάμενος ὁ Ἰουλιανός, “ἀλλ’ ἐμέ γε εἰπεῖν” ἔφη “κέλευσον.” ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος ἀναβόησας· “ἀλλ’ οὐδεὶς ὑμῶν γ’ ἐρεῖ τῶν ἐσκεμμένων διδασκάλων, οὐδὲ κροτήσῃ τις τῶν μαθητῶν τὸν λέγοντα, ἀλλ’ εἴσεσθέ γε αὐτίκα ἡλίκον ἐστὶ καὶ οἶον τὸ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις δίκαιον. ἀλλὰ Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν περαινέτω τὴν κατηγορίαν, ἀπολογείσθω δὲ ὃν ἂν σὺ ἀποκρίνοις ἄριστον.” ἐνταῦθα κατηγορεῖ μὲν οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὀνόματος ἦν ὕβρις. ἀπολογεῖσθαι δὲ πρὸς τὴν προτέραν κατηγορίαν ὡς ἐκέλευσε τὸν δυνάμενον, ὁ σοφιστὴς Ἰουλιανός “σὺ μὲν,” εἶπεν “ἀνθύπατε, διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ δικαίου πεποίηκας Πυθαγόραν Ἀψίνην, βραδέως τὸ σιωπᾶν, ἀλλ’ ὅμως δικαίως, μαθόντα· ὁ δὲ πάλαι (τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸς καταμανθάνεις) καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους πυθαγορίζειν<sup>1</sup> ἐδίδασκεν. εἰ δὲ ἀπολογεῖσθαι κελεύεις τῶν ἐμῶν ἐταίρων τινά, κέλευσον ἀπολυθῆναι τῶν δεσμῶν Προαιρέσιον, καὶ δοκιμάσεις αὐτὸς πότερον ἀττικίζειν ἢ πυθαγορίζειν πεπαίδευται.” ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπέτρεψε καὶ μάλ’<sup>2</sup> εὐκόλως (ταῦτα δὲ πρὸς τὸν συγγραφέα Τουσκιανὸς ἐξήγγελλε παρῶν τῇ κρίσει), καὶ ἐκ τῶν κατηγορουμένων παρελθὼν εἰς μέσους Προαιρέσιος ἄδεσμος, ἐμβοήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ διδασκάλου οὐ σφοδρόν<sup>3</sup> τε καὶ διάτορον<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> After *πυθαγορίζειν* Cobet omits *καὶ σιωπᾶν*.

<sup>2</sup> ἄμα Boissonade; μάλ’ Cobet.

<sup>3</sup> Before *σφοδρόν* Cobet would read *οὐ*.

<sup>4</sup> *διάτονον* Boissonade; *διάτορον* Cobet.

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<sup>1</sup> Tuscianus, who must have been very old when Eunapius  
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profound silence and confusion reigned, a general silence in the court and confusion in the ranks of the accusers. Then Julian, in a low and pitiful voice said: "Nay, then, give me leave to speak." Whereupon, the proconsul exclaimed: "No, not one of you shall plead, you teachers who have come with your speeches prepared, nor shall anyone of your pupils applaud the speaker; but you shall learn forthwith how perfect and how pure is the justice that the Romans dispense. First let Themistocles finish his speech for the prosecution, and then he whom you think best fitted shall speak in defence." But no one spoke up for the plaintiffs, and Themistocles was a scandal and a disgrace to his great name. When, thereupon, the proconsul ordered that anyone who could should reply to the earlier speech of the prosecution, Julian the sophist said: "Proconsul, in your superlative justice you have transformed Apsines into a Pythagoras, who tardily but very properly has learned how to maintain silence; for Pythagoras long ago (as you are well aware) taught his *pupils* the Pythagorean manner. But, if you allow one of my pupils to make our defence, give orders for Prohaeresius to be released from his bonds, and you shall judge for yourself whether I have taught him the Attic manner or the Pythagorean." The proconsul granted this request very graciously, as Tuscianus,<sup>1</sup> who was present at the trial, reported to the author, and Prohaeresius came forward from the ranks of the defendants without his fetters before them all, after his master had called out to him not in a loud and piercing voice, such as knew him, was a correspondent of Libanius; he held various offices in the East and was for a time a colleague of Anatolius in the government of Illyricum.

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ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν στεφανιτῶν οἱ παρακελευόμενοι καὶ προτρέποντες, ἐμβοήσαντος δὲ ὀξέως τό “λέγε, Προαιρέσιε, νῦν καιρὸς τοῦ λέγειν.” ὁ μὲν προοίμιόν τι ἔφη (οὐ γὰρ ἠπίστατό γε αὐτὸ Τουσκιανός, τὸν δὲ νοῦν ἔφραζεν). ἐξήνεγκεν εἰς τε οἶκτον ὧν ἐπεπόνθεσαν ῥέπον, καὶ μεμιγμένον τινὰ εἶχε τὸ προοίμιον ἔπαινον τοῦ διδασκάλου· καὶ που καὶ διὰ λέξεως μιᾶς διαβολή τις ἐγκατεσπείρετο τῷ προοίμιῳ, προπέτειαν ἐμφαίνουσα τῆς ἀνθυπατικῆς ἀρχῆς, ὡς οὐ προσῆκον αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ μετὰ τοὺς ἐλέγχους τοιαῦτα ὑποστῆναι καὶ παθεῖν. κάτω δὲ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου νεύοντος, καὶ τὸν τε νοῦν τῶν λεγομένων καταπεπληγμένου καὶ τὸ βάθος τῶν λέξεων καὶ τὴν εὐκολίαν καὶ τὸν κρότον, καὶ πάντων μὲν βουλομένων ἐπαινεῖν, καταπηξάντων δὲ ὡσπερ διοσημίαν, καὶ σιωπῆς κατακεχυμένης μυστηριώδους, εἰς δεῦτερον προοίμιον ὁ Προαιρέσιος ἐντείνων τὸν λόγον (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐμέμνητο Τουσκιανός), ἐνθένδε ἤρξατο· “εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔξεστι καὶ ἀδικεῖν ἅπαντα καὶ κατηγορεῖν καὶ λέγοντα πιστεῦεσθαι πρὸ τῆς ἀπολογίας, ἔστω, γινέσθω Θεμιστοκλέους ἢ πόλις.” ἐνταῦθα ἀνά τε ἐπήδησεν ὁ ἀνθύπατος ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, καὶ τὴν περιπόρφυρον ἀνασείων ἐσθῆτα (τήβεννον αὐτὴν Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν), ὡσπερ μειράκιον ὁ βαρὺς ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἀμείλικτος ἐκρότει τὸν Προαιρέσιον· συνεκρότει δὲ ὁ Ἀψίνης οὔτι ἐκῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκης βιαιότερον οὐδέν· ὁ διδάσκαλος Ἰουλιανὸς ἐδάκρυε μόνον. ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος τὸ μὲν διωκόμενον

<sup>1</sup> Eunapius gives the Greek word used by the Romans for the *loga* or *trabea*. For the gesture as a sign of

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is used by those who exhort and incite athletes contending for a garland, but still in penetrating accents: "Speak, Prohaeresius! Now is the time to make a speech!" He then first delivered a prooemium of some sort. Tuscianus could not exactly recall it, though he told me its purport. It launched out and soon slid into a pitiable account of their sufferings and he inserted an encomium of their teacher. In this prooemium he let fall only one allusion to a grievance, when he pointed out how headlong the proconsular authority had been, since not even after sufficient proof of their guilt was it proper for them to undergo and suffer such treatment. At this the proconsul bowed his head and was overcome with admiration of the force of his arguments, his weighty style, his facility and sonorous eloquence. Meanwhile they all longed to applaud, but sat cowering as though forbidden to do so by a sign from heaven, and a mystic silence pervaded the place. Then he lengthened his speech into a second prooemium as follows (for this part Tuscianus remembered): "If, then, men may with impunity commit any injustice and bring accusations and win belief for what they say, before the defence is heard, so be it! Let our city be enslaved to Themistocles!" Then up jumped the proconsul, and shaking his purple-edged cloak (the Romans call it a "tebennos<sup>1</sup>"), that austere and inexorable judge applauded Prohaeresius like a schoolboy. Even Apsines joined in the applause, not of his own free will, but because there is no fighting against necessity. Julian his teacher could only weep. The proconsul ordered all approval *cf.* Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* (Heliodorus) 626.

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μέρος ἐξελθεῖν κελεύσας, τοῦ δὲ διώκοντος τὸν διδάσκαλον μόνον, εἶτα ἀπολαβὼν τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ τοὺς Λάκωνας, τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι<sup>1</sup> μαστίγων ὑπέμνησε, προσθεὶς αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι. εὐδοκιμῶν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἄγαν καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀμιλητῶν, Ἀθήνησι<sup>2</sup> ἔτελευτα, μέγαν ἐπιτάφιον ἀγῶνα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παροδεδωκῶς ἐταίροις.

Περὶ Προαιρεσίον καὶ προλαβοῦσιν ἰκανῶς εἴρηται, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐξήγησιν ὑπομνήμασι. καὶ νῦν δὲ ἐπελθεῖν καιρὸς εἰς τὸ ἀκριβέστερον εἶδοτι τε ἀσφαλῶς καὶ ἀξιωθῆντι τῆς ἐκείνου γλώττης καὶ ὀμιλίας· καὶ ταῦτά γε, εἰ καὶ πόνυ μεγάλα καὶ οὐρανομήκη πρὸς χάριν, εἴ τις διδάσκαλος, ἀλλ' ὅμως πολλῶ τιμι καὶ μακρῶ τῆς εἰς τὸν συγγραφέα φιλίας ἀφεστήκεσαν αἱ τοσαῦται καὶ ἀδιήγητοι χάριτες. διέβαλε μὲν γὰρ ὁ ταῦτα συντιθεὶς ἐξ Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ Ἀθήνας, τελῶν εἰς ἕκτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος. ὁ δὲ Προαιρέσιος προεληλύθει μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἕβδομον ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτεσιν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν· καὶ περὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ταύτην οὐλη τε ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄγαν συνεχῆς ἢ κόμη, καὶ διὰ πλῆθος πολιῶν τριχῶν ἀφριζούση θαλάσση προσεμφερῆς καὶ ὑπαργυρίζουσα. ἤκμαζε δὲ οὕτω τὰ εἰς λόγους, τῇ νεότητι τε τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ σῶμα κεκμηκὸς συνηγείρετο, ὥστε ὁ ταῦτα συγγράφων ἀγήρων τιὰ καὶ ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν ἐνόμιζε, καὶ προσεῖχεν ὥσπερ αὐτοκλήτω καὶ ἄνευ τινὸς πραγματείας φανέντι

<sup>1</sup> Λακεδαιμονία Boissonade; Λακεδαίμονι Wyttenbach.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀθηναίων Boissonade; Ἀθήνησι Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps an echo of Alexander's dying speech, which became a proverb; Diodorus Siculus xvii. 117; Arrian vii. 26;

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the accused, but of the accusers their teacher only, to withdraw, and then, taking aside Themistocles and his Spartans, he reminded them forcibly of the floggings of Lacedaemon, and added besides the kind of flogging in vogue at Athens. Julian himself won a great reputation by his own eloquence, and also through the fame of his disciples, and when he died at Athens he left to his pupils a great occasion for competing over his funeral oration.<sup>1</sup>

Of PROHAERESIOUS I have said enough in the above narrative, and have set forth his life still more fully in my historical commentaries. Yet it is convenient here and now to go over the facts in more precise detail, seeing that I had unerring knowledge of him and was admitted to his conversation and teaching. And that is a very great privilege, and has immense power to excite the gratitude due to a teacher; but even this great and inexpressible gratitude falls very far short of what the author owes to Prohaeresius for his intimate friendship. The compiler of this book had crossed over from Asia to Europe and to Athens in the sixteenth year of his age. Now Prohaeresius had reached his eighty-seventh year, as he himself stated. At this advanced age his hair was curly and very thick, and because of the number of grey hairs it was silvered over and resembled sea foam. His powers of oratory were so vigorous, and he so sustained his worn body by the youthfulness of his soul, that the present writer regarded him as an ageless and immortal being, and heeded him as he might some god who had revealed himself unsummoned

Plutarch, *Apophthegmata* 181 κ μέγαν ὄρω μου τὸν ἐπιτάφιον εἰδόμενον.

θεῶ. καίτοι γε ἦν ἤκων εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ περι  
 πρώτην φυλακὴν, ἐπὶ πυρετῷ λάβρω κατὰ πλοῦν  
 γενομένῳ, καὶ πολλοὶ τινες ἄλλοι κατὰ γένος γε  
 αὐτῷ προσήκοντες συνεισπεπλεύκεσαν, καὶ περι  
 τὴν ὥραν ἐκείνην, πρὶν τι γενέσθαι τῶν εἰωθότων  
 (τὸ γὰρ πλοῖον ἦν τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν, καὶ περι τὰς  
 κατάρσεις οὐκ ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἐναυλόχουν αἰεὶ τῶν  
 εἰς ἕκαστον διδασκαλεῖον μεμνηνόντων), ὁ ναύκληρος  
 εἰς Ἀθήνας συνέτεινε, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων βαδίζοντων,  
 ὁ δὲ βαδίζειν ἀδυνάτως ἔχων, ὅμως ἐκ διαδοχῆς  
 ἀνεχόμενος, ἀνεκομίσθη πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. ἦν τε  
 νυκτὸς τὸ σταθερώτατον, ἦνικα ἥλιος μακροτέραν  
 ποιεῖ τὴν νύκτα γινόμενος νοτιώτερος· ἐνεβεβήκει  
 γὰρ τῷ Ζυγῷ, καὶ τὰ νυκτερεῖα ἔμελλε· καὶ ὁ  
 ναύκληρος ὢν που καὶ ξένος Προαιρεσίου παλαιός,  
 τοσοῦτον ὄχλον ὀμιλητῶν, ἀράξας τὴν θύραν,  
 εἰσῆγαγεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ὥστε, ἦνικα πόλεμοί  
 τινες ἐγίνοντο περι ἑνὸς μειρακίου καὶ δυοῖν,  
 πλήρωμιά διατριβῆς ὅλους σοφιστικῆς τοὺς ἐλλη-  
 θότας φαίνεσθαι. τούτων οἱ μὲν εἰς σώματος  
 ἀλκὴν ἐτέλουν, οἱ δὲ εἰς πλοῦτον ἦσαν ἀδρότεροι,<sup>1</sup>  
 τὸ δὲ εἶχεν ἀνὰ μέσον· ὁ δὲ συγγραφεὺς ἐλεεινῶς  
 διακείμενος τὰ πλείιστα τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπὶ στόματος  
 εἶχε μόνον βιβλία. εὐθύς μὲν οὖν χαρμονῆ τε ἦν  
 περι τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ διαδρομαὶ τινες ἀνδρῶν τε  
 καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐγέλων, οἱ δὲ ἐχλεύαζον.

<sup>1</sup> ἀκρότεροι Boissonade; ἀδρότεροι Wyttenbach.

<sup>1</sup> A reference to the competition of the pupils who lay in wait for new arrivals and kidnapped them for their own sophists. Here the captain kidnaps them all for Prohaeresius.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. it was the autumnal equinox.

<sup>3</sup> The exact meaning is doubtful. Νυκτερείον is found only here and may mean "a lodging for the night." Then the



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and without ceremony. Now it happened that the writer arrived at the Piraeus about the first watch, and on the voyage had been attacked by a raging fever; and several other persons, his relatives, had sailed over with him. At that time of night, before any of the usual proceedings could take place<sup>1</sup> (for the ship belonged to Athens and many used to lie in wait for her arrival at the dock, mad enthusiasts each for his own particular school), the captain went straight on to Athens. The rest of the passengers walked, and the writer, too feeble to walk, was nevertheless supported by them in relays, and so was conveyed to the city. It was by then deepest midnight, at the season when the sun makes the nights longer by retiring farther to the South; for he had entered the sign of Libra,<sup>2</sup> and the night watches<sup>3</sup> were long. The captain, who was an old-time friend and guest of Prohaeresius, knocked at his door and ushered in all this crowd of disciples, so many in fact that, at a time when battles were being fought to win only one or two pupils, the newcomers seemed enough in themselves to man all the schools of the sophists. Some of these youths were distinguished for physical strength, some had more bulky purses, while the rest were only moderately endowed. The author, who was in a pitiable state, had most of the works of the ancient writers by heart, his sole possession.<sup>4</sup> Forthwith there was great rejoicing in the house, and men and women alike ran to and fro, some

sentence would mean that to stay at an inn at the Piraeus would cause delay.

<sup>4</sup> Others understand *μόνον* to be self-depreciatory, *i.e.* Eunapius could recite, but did not understand them. But nearly always when he uses the phrase *ἐπὶ στήματος* it implies praise.

486 ὁ δὲ Προαιρέσιος συγγενεὶς ἰδίους κατὰ τὴν ὄραν ἐκείνην μεταπεμφάμενος, παραλαβεῖν τοὺς ἐλθόντας κελεύει. ἦν δὲ αὐτός τε ἐξ Ἀρμενίας (ὅσον ἐστὶν Ἀρμενίας Πέρσαις εἰς τὰ βαθύτατα συνημμένον), καὶ Ἀνατόλιος οὗτοι καὶ Μάξιμος ἐκαλοῦντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπεδέξαντο τοὺς ἐλθόντας, καὶ ἤξαν εἰς γειτόνων καὶ περὶ τὰ λουτρὰ μετὰ πάσης ἐπιδείξεως, ἣ τε νεότης ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ χλευασίαν καὶ γέλωτα. καὶ οἱ μὲν τούτων ποτὲ ἀπηλλάγησαν ἅπαξ λουσάμενοι, ὁ δὲ συγγραφεὺς, ἐντείναντος αὐτῷ τοῦ νοσήματος, διεφθείρετο, μήτε Προαιρέσιον μήτε τὰς Ἀθήνας ἰδῶν, ἀλλὰ ὄνειρώξει δοκῶν ἐκείνα ὧν ἐπεθύμησεν, οἱ δὲ ὁμοεθνεῖς καὶ ἐκ Λυδίας βαρέως ἔφερον. καὶ ὡς περ τοῖς κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀπιούσῃ ἐπὶ τό πλέον ἅπαντες εἰώθασι χαρίζεσθαι, πολλά τινα καὶ μεγάλα περὶ αὐτοῦ καταφυσάμενοι καὶ συμφορήσαντες ἑτερατεύσαντο, καὶ πένθος κατεῖχε τὴν πάλιν παράλογον, ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ μεγάλῃ συμφορᾷ. Αἰσχίνης δὲ τις, οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος (ἀλλὰ ἡ Χίος ἦν αὐτῷ πατρίς), πολλοὺς ἀνηρηκῶς οὐχ ὅσους ἐπηγγείλατο θεραπεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσους εἶδε μόνον, εἰς μέσους ἀναβοήσας τοὺς πενθοῦντας, ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγένετο φανερόν “ἀλλὰ συγχωρήσατέ γε,” εἶπε “τῷ νεκρῷ με δοῦναι φάρμακον.” οἱ δὲ συνεχώρησαν Αἰσχίνῃ διαφθεῖραι καὶ τοὺς ἀπολωλότας. ὁ δὲ ὅ τι μὲν ἐνέχεεν, ὄργανοις τισὶ τό στόμα διαστήσας, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξείπε, καὶ ὁ

<sup>1</sup> This was part of the regular “hazing” or “ragging” of the novices by the older pupils, described by Libanius and others; cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* xix. 328 b.

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laughing, others bandying jests. Prohaeresius at that time of night sent for some of his own relatives and directed them to take in the newcomers. He was himself a native of Armenia, that is to say he came from that part of Armenia which borders most closely on Persia, and these kinsmen of his were named Anatolius and Maximus. They welcomed the new arrivals, and led them to the houses of neighbours and to the baths, and showed them off in every way; and the other students made the usual demonstrations with jokes and laughter at their expense.<sup>1</sup> The rest, once they had been to the baths, were let off and went their way, but the writer, as his sickness grew more severe, was wasting away without seeing Prohaeresius or Athens, and all that he so desired seemed to have been only a dream. Meanwhile his own relatives and those who had come from Lydia were greatly concerned; and as all men are prone to attribute greater talent to those who are leaving us in the flower of their youth, they told many surprising falsehoods about him, and conspired to invent prodigious fictions, so that the whole city was overwhelmed by extraordinary grief, as though for some great calamity. But a certain Aeschines, not an Athenian, for Chios was his birth-place, who had slain many, not only those whom he had undertaken to cure but also those whom he had merely looked at, called out in the midst of my sorrowing friends, as became known later: "Come, allow me to give medicine to the corpse." And so they gave Aeschines permission to murder those too who were already dead. Then he held my lips apart with certain instruments and poured in a drug; what it was he revealed afterwards, and the god

θεὸς πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἐμαρτύρησε χρόνοις, ἐμβαλὼν δὲ ὄμως, τοῦ μὲν ἢ γαστήρ ἀθρόως ἀπελυμάνθη, καὶ τὸν ἀέρα εἶδε καὶ ἐπέγνω τοὺς οἰκείους. ὁ δὲ Δίος ἐνὶ τούτῳ γε ἔργῳ θάψας τὰ προγεγενημένα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, ὑπὸ τε τοῦ σωθέντος προσεκυνέιτο, καὶ τῶν ἠδομένων ὅτι σέσωσται. καὶ ὁ μὲν, ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ πράξει πάντων σεβαζομένων αὐτόν, εἰς τὴν Χίον ἀπῆρε, πλὴν ὅσα γε παραμείνας εἰς ῥῶσιν τοῦ σώματος προσέδωκε πάλιν τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ φαρμάκου, καὶ τότε συνῆλθεν ἀκριβῶς ὁ σωθεὶς τῷ σώσαντι.

Ὁ δὲ θειότατος Προαιρέσιος οὐπὼ τὸν συγγραφέα τεθεαμένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτόν ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη κατοδυρόμενος, ὡς ἐπύθετο τὴν ἄλογον ταύτην καὶ ἀνεκκλάλητον σωτηρίαν, μετακαλέσας τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ γενναιοτάτους τῶν ὀμιλητῶν καὶ παρ' οἷς ἐπηνεῖτο χειρῶν ἀλκῆς ἔργον, "πέπονθά τι" πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶπεν "ἐπὶ τῷ σωθέντι παιδίῳ, καὶ τοί γε οὐπὼ τεθεαμένος, ἀλλ' ὄμως ἔπασχον ἡνίκα ἀπώλλυτο. εἴ τι δὴ βούλεσθε χαρίσασθαι μοι, τῷ δημοσίῳ λουτρῷ τοῦτον καθήρατε, πάσης χλευασίας φεισάμενοι καὶ παιδιᾶς, ὥσπερ ἐμόν τινα παῖδα ψαίροντες." καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔσχεν οὕτως, καὶ ἀκριβέστερον ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἐκείνον χρόνοις λελέξεται. ὄμως δὲ ὁ συγγραφεὺς, ὁμολογῶν τὰ ἐς αὐτόν θεοῦ τιμὴν προνοίας τετυχηκέναι, ἐκ τῆς Προαιρείου σπουδῆς οὐδὲν εἰς τὸ καθόλου περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποστήσεται τῆς ἀληθείας, εἴ γε πεπηγὼς ὁ Πλάτωνος λόγος, ὡς ἀλήθεια

<sup>1</sup> Eunapius uses a grandiloquent word from *Iliad* i. 313.

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many years later bore witness thereto; at any rate he poured it in, and the patient's stomach was at once expurged,<sup>1</sup> he opened his eyes to the light and recognized his own people. Thus Aeschines by this single act buried his past errors and won reverence both from him who had been delivered from death and from those who rejoiced at his deliverance. For so great an achievement he was worshipped by all, and he then crossed over to Chios, only waiting long enough to give the patient more of that strong medicine, that he might recover his strength; and thus he who had been preserved became the intimate friend of his preserver.

Now the divine Prohaeresius had not yet beheld the author, but he too had mourned for him almost as though he were dead, and when he was told of this unexpected and unheard-of recovery he sent for the best and most distinguished of his pupils and those who had proved the strength of their muscles, and said to them: "I was anxious for this boy who has recovered, though I have not yet seen him; nevertheless I grieved when he was on the point of death. Now if you wish to do me a favour, initiate him in the public bath, but refrain from all teasing and joking, and scrub him gently as though he were my own son." Thus then it came about, and a fuller account will be given when the author describes the times in which Prohaeresius lived. Yet though the author asserts that all that happened to Prohaeresius was under the direction of some divine providence, he will not in his zeal for the man depart in any way whatsoever from the truth about him, seeing that Plato's saying



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is fixed and sure, that truth for gods and men alike is the guide to all good.<sup>1</sup>

The physical beauty of Prohaeresius (for my narrative must now return to him) was so striking, even though he was then an old man, that one may well doubt whether anyone had ever been so handsome, even in the flower of youth, and one may marvel also that in a body so tall as his the power of beauty sufficed to model a shape so admirable in all respects. His height was greater than anyone would be inclined to believe, in fact one would hardly guess it correctly. For he seemed to stand nine feet high, so that he looked like a colossus when one saw him near the tallest men of his own time. When he was a young man, fate forced him to leave Armenia and transferred him to Antioch. He did not desire to visit Athens immediately, since he was embarrassed by lack of means; for he was unlucky in this respect, though he was well born. At Antioch he hastened to Ulpian,<sup>2</sup> who was the principal teacher of rhetoric there, and on his arrival he at once ranked with the foremost pupils. When he had studied with Ulpian for a long time, he held on his way to Athens and to Julian with the greatest determination, and again at Athens he gained the first place. Hephæstion accompanied him, and these two were devoted friends and rivalled one another in their poverty, just as they were rivals for the highest honours in rhetoric. For instance they had between them only one cloak and one threadbare mantle and nothing more, and, say, three or four rugs which in the course of time had lost their original dye and their thickness as well. Their only resource therefore was

αὐτοῖς ἐνὶ τε ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ δνεῖν εἶναι, ὡσπερ τὸν Γηρῦνὸν οἱ μῦθοί φασιν ἐκ τριῶν συντεθῆναι· κακεῖνοι δύο τε ἦσαν καὶ εἷς. Προαιρεσίῳ μὲν γὰρ δημοσίᾳ φανέντος, Ἐφαιστίῳ ἦν ἀφανῆς ἐν τοῖς στρώμασι κατακείμενος, καὶ συνασκῶν ἑαυτὸν περὶ τοὺς λόγους· ταῦτά δὲ καὶ Προαιρεσίῳ συνέβαινε Ἐφαιστίῳ φανέντος· τοσαύτη τις εἶχεν αὐτοὺς ἔνδεια.

Ἄλλ' ὁμως Ἰουλιανὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Προαιρέσιον ἐπέκλινε τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον αὐτῷ τὰ ὦτα ἀνειστήκει, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος κατεδείμαινε τῆς φύσεως. ὡς δέ, ἀπελθόντος Ἰουλιανοῦ, τὰς Ἀθήνας εἶχεν ἔρως τῆς διαδοχῆς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις πλεονεκτημάτων, παραγγέλλουσι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ κράτει τῆς σοφιστικῆς πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι, ὡστε ὄχλος ἦν καὶ ταῦτα γράφειν. χειροτονοῦνται δὲ δοκιμασθέντες ἀπάσαις κρίσεσι, Προαιρεσίῳ τε καὶ Ἐφαιστίῳ καὶ Ἐπιφάνιῳ καὶ Διόφαντος, καὶ Σώπολις ἐκ τῆς παραβύστου καὶ παρημελημένης ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἔνδειας, καὶ Παρνώσιος τις ἐκ τῆς εὐτελεστέρας. ἔδει γὰρ πολλοὺς εἶναι, κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν Ῥωμαϊκόν, Ἀθήνησι τοὺς μὲν λέγοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἀκούοντας. χειροτονηθέντων δὲ τούτων, οἱ μὲν εὐτελέστεροι τὸ ὄνομα εἶχον, καὶ μέχρι τῶν σανίδων ἦν τὸ κράτος καὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐφ' ὃ παρήσαν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς δυνατωτέρους ἢ πόλις εὐθὺς διήρητο, καὶ οὐχ ἡ πόλις μόνη, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἔθνη, καὶ περὶ λόγων οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἡ στάσις, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἔθνῶν ὄλων ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἑῷα καθάπερ τι γέρας Ἐπιφανίῳ σαφῶς

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Mesopotamia and Syria.



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to be two men in one, just as the myths say that Geryon was made up of three bodies; so these students were two men in one. For when Prohaeresius appeared in public Hephaestion remained invisible and lay under the rugs in bed while he studied the art of rhetoric. Prohaeresius did the same when Hephaestion appeared abroad; in such poverty did they both live.

Nevertheless Julian's soul leaned towards Prohaeresius, his ears were on the alert to listen to him, and he was awed by the nobility of his genius. And when Julian had departed this life, and Athens desired to choose a successor of equal ability to teach rhetoric, many others gave in their names for this influential sophistic chair, so many that it would be tedious even to write them down. But by the votes of all there were approved and selected Prohaeresius, Hephaestion, Epiphanius, and Diophantus. Sopolis also was added, from a class of men that was of no account but was merely supplementary and despised; and also a certain Parnasius who was of still humbler rank. For in accordance with the Roman law there had to be at Athens many to lecture and many to hear them. Now when these had been elected, the humbler men were sophists only in name, and their power was limited to the walls of their lecture rooms and the platform on which they appeared. But the city at once took sides with the more influential, and not only the city but all the nations under the rule of Rome, and their quarrels did not concern oratory alone, for they strove to maintain the credit of whole nations for oratorical talent. Thus the East<sup>1</sup> manifestly fell to the lot of Epiphanius, Diophantus was

ἐξήρητο, τὴν δὲ Ἀραβίαν εἰλήχει Διόφαντος, Ἡφαιστίων δὲ καταδείσας Προαιρέσιον ἀπῆλθεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων, Προαιρεσίῳ δὲ ὁ Πόντος ὅλος καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνη πρόσσοικα τοὺς ὁμιλητὰς ἀνέπεμπεν, ὥσπερ οἰκείον ἀγαθὸν τὸν ἄνδρα θαυμάζοντες· προσετέθη δὲ καὶ Βιθυνία πᾶσα καὶ Ἑλλάσποντος, ὅσα τε ὑπὲρ Λυδίας, διὰ τῆς  
 488 καλουμένης νῦν Ἀσίας ἐπὶ Καρίαν καὶ Λυκίαν τείνοντα, πρὸς Παμφυλίαν καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον ἀφορίζεται, Αἴγυπτός τε πᾶσα τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀρχῆς κληρὸς ἦν οἰκείος αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅσα, ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου πρὸς Λιβύην συρόμενα, τό τε γνωστὸν<sup>1</sup> τέλος ἔχει καὶ τὸ οἰκήσιμον. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ πλεόν εἴρηται, ἐπεὶ, τό γε ἀκριβῶς, καὶ διαφορὰς ἔσχε τὰ ἔθνη ἐν ὀλίγοις τισὶ μειρακίοις ἢ μεταναστᾶσιν παρ' ἑτέρουσ ἢ εἰ<sup>2</sup> πού τις καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀπατηθεὶς ἑτέρῳ προσῆλθε. πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς Προαιρεσίου φύσεως, συστάσεως νεανικῆς καὶ μάλα σφοδρᾶς γενομένης, τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἐς τοσόνδε ἴσχυσεν ἡ σύστασις, ὥστε τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξόριστον τῶν Ἀθηνῶν εἰργάσαντο<sup>3</sup> δεκάσαντες τὸν ἀνθύπατον, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ λόγοις βασιλείαν εἶχον αὐτοί. ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν φυγὴν μετὰ πενίας ἰσχυρᾶς ὥσπερ ὁ Πεισιστρατος ἐκπεσῶν κατῆλθε τὸ δεύτερον· ἀλλ' ὁ<sup>4</sup> μὲν διὰ πλοῦτον, Προαιρεσίῳ δὲ ὁ λόγος ἦρκει μόνος, ὥσπερ ὁ Ὀμηρικὸς Ἑρμῆς ἐπὶ τὴν σκητὴν τὴν Ἀχιλλέως κὰν τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέπεμπεν τὸν Πρίαμον. συνέβη<sup>5</sup> δέ τις αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγαθὴ τύχη νεώτερον

<sup>1</sup> ἀγνωστον Boissonade; γνωστὸν Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> μετανάστασιν . . . εἰ Boissonade; μεταναστᾶσιν . . . ἢ εἰ Cobet.

<sup>3</sup> εἰργάσατο Boissonade; εἰργάσαντο Cobet.

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awarded Arabia, while Hephaestion, overawed by Prohaeresius, forsook Athens and the society of men ; but the whole Pontus and its neighbouring peoples sent pupils to Prohaeresius, admiring the man as a marvel that their own country had produced. So, too, did all Bithynia and the Hellespont, and all the region that extends beyond Lydia through what is now called Asia as far as Caria and Lycia, and is bounded by Pamphylia and the Taurus. Nay the whole of Egypt also came into his exclusive possession and under his sway as a teacher of rhetoric, and also the country that stretches beyond Egypt towards Libya and is the limit to known and inhabited parts. All this, however, I have stated in the most general terms, for, to speak precisely, there were a few students who were exceptions in these national divisions, because they had either migrated from one teacher to another, or sometimes one had originally been deceived and gone to a teacher other than he had intended. Now a great and violent quarrel arose on account of the extraordinary genius of Prohaeresius, and the faction of all the other sophists so gained the upper hand that they drove him from Athens into exile by bribing the proconsul ; and so they themselves held sway over the domain of oratory. But after being driven into exile, and that in the utmost poverty, like Peisistratus he came back again. But the latter had wealth to aid him, while for Prohaeresius his eloquence sufficed, even as Hermes in Homer escorted Priam to the hut of Achilles, though it was in the midst of his foes. Good luck also came to his aid by placing at the

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<sup>4</sup> ἄλλοι Boissonade ; ἄλλ' ὁ Cobet.

<sup>5</sup> συνῆν Boissonade ; συνέβη Cobet.

ἀνθύπατον κατὰ φήμην ἀγανακτοῦντα ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις ἐπιστήσασα τοῖς πράγμασι. καὶ ὁ μὲν, οὕτω βασιλέως ἐπιτρέψαντος, καὶ μεταπεσόντος ὀστράκου, κατῆει τὸ δεύτερον εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, οἱ δὲ ἐχθροί, τὸ δεύτερον αὐθις ἐλιχθέντες καὶ συσπειρασάμενοι καθ' ἑαυτούς, ἀνίσταντο καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐτέρας ἐξηρτύοντο μηχανάς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦσαν· προηγουμένων δὲ τῶν εὐτρεπιζόντων τὴν κάθοδον, κατελθὼν ὁ Προαιρέσιος (ταῦτα δὲ ἀκριβῶς ὁ Λυδὸς παρὼν Τουσκιανὸς ἐξήγγελλεν, ὃς Προαιρέσιος ἂν ἦν, εἰ μὴ Προαιρέσιος ἦν), κατελθὼν δέ, ὅμως, εὕρισκει μὲν, ὥσπερ τις Ὀδυσσεὺς διὰ μακροῦ παραγενόμενος, ὀλίγους τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Τουσκιανὸς ἦν, ὑγιαίνοντας, καί, ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπίστῳ τοῦ θαύματος, τοὺς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον βλέποντας· εὐρῶν δέ, καὶ πληρωθεὶς ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδων “περιμένετε,” φησί, “τὸν ἀνθύπατον”. ὁ δὲ θάπτον ἦλθεν ἐλπίδος. ἀφικόμενος δὲ Ἀθήναζε, συνεκάλει τε τοὺς σοφιστάς, καὶ διετάραττεν ἅπαντα. οἱ δὲ μόλις μὲν καὶ βάδην συνήεσαν. ἀνάγκης δὲ καλούσης, προβλήματά τε αὐτοῖς προεβλήθη, καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἐνεχθέντες, ἐκ παρακλήσεως καὶ παρασκευῆς τῶν κρότων συντελουμένων, ἀπηλλάγησαν, καὶ τοὺς Προαιρεσίου φίλους εἶχεν ἀθυμία. ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος αὐτοὺς τὸ δεύτερον ὡς ἐπὶ τιμαῖς συγκαλέσας, ἅπαντας κατασχέθηνα

<sup>1</sup> A proverb used by Plato, *Phaedrus* 241 B, and derived from the game ὀστρακίδια.

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head of affairs a younger proconsul who was indignant at the report of what had taken place. So, as the proverb says, "heads became tails,"<sup>1</sup> and with the emperor's permission he returned to Athens from exile; whereupon his enemies for the second time coiled and twisted themselves and reared their heads to attack him, framing other devices against him to suit any future emergencies. They busied themselves with these plots, but meanwhile his friends were beforehand and were smoothing the path of his return, and when Prohaeresius came back (a precise account of all this was given me by an eyewitness, Tuscianus of Lydia, who would have been a Prohaeresius, had not Prohaeresius existed); when, I say, he did return, like some Odysseus arriving home after a long absence, he found a few of his friends safe and sound (among whom was Tuscianus), and these looked to him for aid after this incredible miracle. Filled with good hopes on finding them there, he said: "Wait for the proconsul to come." The latter came sooner than could have been believed possible. On his arrival at Athens he called a meeting of the sophists, and by this means threw all their plans into confusion. They assembled slowly and reluctantly, and since they had to obey the voice of necessity they discussed, each according to his ability, certain questions that were proposed to them, while they were provided with applause by persons who had received their instructions and had been invited for the purpose. Then the meeting broke up, and the friends of Prohaeresius felt discouraged. But the proconsul summoned them a second time, as though to award them honours, ordered them all to be

κελεύει, καὶ τὸν Προαιρέσιον ἑξαπιναιῶς εἰσκαλεῖ. οἱ δὲ παρῆσαν ἀγνοοῦντες τὰ μέλλοντα. ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος “βούλομαι” ἀνέκραγε, “πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἐν ζήτημο προβαλῶν, πάντων ὑμῶν ἀκροάσασθαι σήμερον· ἐρεῖ δέ μεθ’ ὑμᾶς, ἧ ὅπως ἂν βούλησθε, καὶ Προαιρέσιος.” τῶν δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα φανερώς παραιτησαμένων, καὶ τὰ Ἀριστείδου μετὰ πολλῆς σκέψεως καὶ πόνου (ἔδει γάρ μηδὲν ἴδιον αὐτοὺς λέγειν), προενεγκόντων δὲ ὁμῶς ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ τῶν ἐμούντων ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀκριβούντων, τὸ δεύτερον ἐμβοήσας ὁ ἀνθύπατος “λέγε,” φησὶν “ὦ Προ-  
 489 αἰρέσιε.” ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς καθέδρου εἰς προάγωνά τινα δαλεχθεὶς οὐκ ἀχαρίτως,<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὸν σχέδιον ὅσος ἐστὶν ἐξάρας λόγον, ἀνέστη θαρραλέως ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα. ἐνταῦθα ὁ μὲν ἀνθύπατος ὄρον τινα προβαλεῖν ἔτοιμος ἦν, ὁ δὲ ἀνενεγκὼν τὸ πρόσωπον, περιέβλεπε κύκλῳ τὸ θέατρον. ὡς δὲ πολὺ μὲν εἴωρα τὸ πολέμιον, τὸ δὲ φίλιον μικρὸν καὶ διαλανθάνον, ἐγένετο μὲν κατὰ λόγον ἀθυμότερος· ζέοντος δὲ καὶ συγχορευόντος αὐτῷ δαίμονος, περισκοπῶν ἅπαντα, συγκεκαλυμμένους ὄρᾳ περὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀντυγα τοῦ θεάτρου δύο τινὰς ἄνδρος τῶν περὶ ῥητορικὴν τετριμμένων καὶ ὑφ’ ὧν ἐπεπόνθει τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν κακῶν, καὶ ἀναβοήσας “ὦ θεοί,” φησὶν “ἐνταῦθα οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ σοφοί. τούτους ἐμοὶ κέλευσον, ἀνθύπατε, προβαλεῖν· ἴσως γάρ ὅτι ἡσέβησαν πεισθήσονται.” οἱ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, εἰς τὸν ὄχλον τε

<sup>1</sup> ἀχαρίτως Boissonade ; ἀχαρίτως Cobet.

<sup>1</sup> This saying of Aristides is quoted by Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 583 ; it became a proverb.

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detained, and suddenly he called in Prohaeresius. So they arrived, not knowing what was going to happen. But the proconsul called out: "I wish to propose a theme for you all, and to hear you all declaim on it this very day. Prohaeresius also will speak, either after you or in what order you please." When they openly demurred and, after much consideration and effort, quoted the saying of Aristides (for it would never do for them to utter anything original); when after all they did produce it, saying that their custom was "not to vomit but to elaborate every theme,"<sup>1</sup> the proconsul exclaimed again with a loud voice: "Speak, Prohaeresius!" Then from his chair the sophist first delivered a graceful prelude by way of preliminary speech, in which he extolled the greatness of extempore eloquence, then with the fullest confidence he rose for his formal discussion. The proconsul was ready to propose a definition for the theme, but Prohaeresius threw back his head and gazed all round the theatre. And when he saw that his enemies were many while his friends were few, and were trying to escape notice, he was naturally somewhat discouraged. But as his guardian deity began to warm to the work and to aid him by playing its part, he again surveyed the scene, and beheld in the farthest row of the audience, hiding themselves in their cloaks, two men, veterans in the service of rhetoric, at whose hands he had received the worst treatment of all, and he cried out: "Ye gods! There are those honourable and wise men! Proconsul, order them to propose a theme for me. Then perhaps they will be convinced that they have behaved impiously." Now the men, on hearing this, slunk away into the crowd that was

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τῶν καθημένων κατεδύνοντο, καὶ διαλανθάνειν ἔσπευδον. ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος, διαπέμψας τινὰς τῶν στροπιωτῶν, εἰς μέσον αὐτοὺς περιήγαγε· καὶ καταστήσας ἕκ τινος προτροπῆς τὸ προβαλεῖν τὸν καλούμενον ὄρον, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι, βραχύν τινα χρόνον σκεψάμενοι καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλεχθέντες, τὸν τραχύτατον ὦν ἤδεσαν καὶ φαυλότατον ἐξήνεγκαν, ἰδιωτικὸν καὶ τοῦτον, καὶ οὐ βάσιμον ῥητορικῇ πομπείᾳ, ταυρηδὸν μὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπέβλεψε, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀνθύπατον· “ ἂ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος αἰτῶ δίκαια, ταῦτά σε ἰκετεύω δοῦναι.” τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀτυχῆσει δίκαιον, “ ἀξιῶ ” φησὶ “ δοθῆναι μοι τοὺς ταχέως γράφοντας, καὶ στήναι κατὰ τὸ μέσον οἱ καθ’ ἡμέραν μὲν τῆς Θέμιδος γλῶτταν ἀποσημαίνονται, σήμερον δὲ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὑπηρετήσονται λόγοις.” τοῦ δὲ παρελθεῖν τοὺς ἄκρους τῶν γραφῶν ἐπιτρέψαντος, οἱ μὲν ἐκατέρωθεν ἔστησαν ἐς τὴν γραφὴν ἔτοιμοι, καὶ τὸ μέλλον οὐδεὶς ἠπίστατο· τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος ὡς “ καὶ ἕτερον αἰτήσω βαρύτερον,” εἶτα κελευσθέντος εἰπεῖν, “ κροτεῖτω με ” φησὶ “ μηδὲ εἰς.” ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ πολλοῦ πᾶσιν ἐπέτειλε φόβον, ἄρχεται μὲν ὁ Προαιρέσιος λέγειν ρύδην, κατὰ τὸν κρότον ἀναπαύων ἐκάστην περίοδον, τὸ δὲ ἀναγκαίως Πυθαγορικὸν θέατρον ὑπὸ τοῦ θαύματος καταρρηγνύμενον, μυκθημοῦ καὶ στόνου διάμεστον ἦν.

<sup>1</sup> Hermogenes, *On Invention* iii. 13, gives five kinds of *δρος*, “definition”; the kind of argumentation required for each kind was elaborate and technical; it was part of the exposition of the case, the *constitutio definitiva*; cf. Quintilian vii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Literally “rapid scribes,” sometimes called *ταχυγράφοι*.



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seated there and did their best to avoid detection. But the proconsul sent some of his soldiers and brought them into full view. After a brief sort of exhortation he appointed them to propose a theme involving the precise definition of terms.<sup>1</sup> Whereupon, after considering for a short time and consulting together, they produced the hardest and most disagreeable theme that they knew of, a vulgar one, moreover, that gave no opening for the display of fine rhetoric. Prohaeresius glared at them fiercely, and said to the proconsul: "I implore you to grant me the just demands that I make before this contest." On his replying that Prohaeresius should not fail to have what was just and fair, the latter said: "I ask to have shorthand writers<sup>2</sup> assigned to me, and that they take their place in the centre of the theatre; I mean men who every day take down the words of Themis,<sup>3</sup> but who to-day shall devote themselves to what I have to say." The proconsul gave his permission for the most expert of the scribes to come forward, and they stood on either side of Prohaeresius ready to write, but no one knew what he meant to do. Then he said: "I shall ask for something even more difficult to grant." He was told to name it, and said: "There must be no applause whatever." When the proconsul had given all present an order to this effect under pain of the severest penalties, Prohaeresius began his speech with a flood of eloquence, rounding every period with a sonorous phrase, while the audience, which perforce kept a Pythagorean silence, in their amazed admiration broke through their restraint, and overflowed into murmurs and sighs. As the speech grew more

<sup>2</sup> The goddess of the law courts.

ὡς δὲ ὁ λόγος ἐπεδίδου, καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ ὑπὲρ πάντα ἐφέρετο λόγον καὶ πᾶσαν δόξαν ἀνθρωπίνην, πρόεισι μὲν εἰς θάτερον μέρος καὶ συμπληροῖ τὴν κατάστασιν· ἐνθουσιῶν δὲ καὶ πηδῶν, ὥσπερ ἀναπολόγητον τὸ λειπόμενον ἀφιεῖς μέρος, εἰς τὴν ἐναντίαν ὑπόθεσιν ἐπαφῆκε τὸν λόγον. καὶ οἱ γράφοντες μόλις εἶποντο, καὶ τὸ θέατρον μόλις σιωπᾶν ἠνείχετο, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν τῶν εἰρημένων. ἐπιστρέψας εἰς τοὺς γράφοντας τὸ πρόσωπον, “ὄρατε ἀκριβῶς” ἔφη “εἰ πάντα ταῦτα ἂ προλαβῶν εἶπον μέμνημαι.” καὶ μηδὲ περὶ μίαν λέξιν σφαιεῖς, τὰ αὐτὰ δεύτερον ἀπήγγελλεν. οὔτε ὁ ἀνθύπατος ἐνταῦθα τοὺς ἐάντου νόμους ἐφύλαττεν, οὔτε τὸ θέατρον τὰς ἀπειλὰς τοῦ ἀρχοντος· καὶ τὰ στέρνα τοῦ σοφιστοῦ περιλιχμησάμενοι καθάπερ ἀγάλματος ἐνθέου πάντες οἱ παρόντες, οἱ μὲν πόδας, οἱ δὲ χεῖρας προσεκύνουν, οἱ δὲ θεὸν ἔφασαν, 490 οἱ δὲ Ἑρμοῦ Λογίου τύπον· οἱ δὲ ἀντίτεχνοι διὰ φθόνον παρεθέντες ἔκειντο, τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ κείμενοι τῶν ἐπαίνων ἠμέλουν. ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος καὶ δορυφόρων μετὰ πάντων καὶ τῶν δυνατῶν<sup>1</sup> ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου παρέπεμψε. μετὰ ταῦτα οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγεν, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ σκηπτοῦ πληγέντες, ἅπαντες συνεχώρησαν αὐτῷ εἶναι κρεῖττονι. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἀναφέροντες, ὥσπερ αἱ τῆς Ἰδρας κεφαλαί, πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀνωρθοῦντο καὶ διηγεί-

<sup>1</sup> τῶν δυνάμεων Boissonade ; τῶν δυνατῶν Kayser.

<sup>1</sup> This phrase, first used by Aristeides to describe Demosthenes, became a sophistic commonplace ; cf. Julian, *Oration* vii. 237 c.

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vehement and the orator soared to heights which the mind of man could not describe or conceive of, he passed on to the second part of the speech and completed the exposition of the theme. But then, suddenly leaping in the air like one inspired, he abandoned the remaining part, left it undefended, and turned the flood of his eloquence to defend the contrary hypothesis. The scribes could hardly keep pace with him, the audience could hardly endure to remain silent, while the mighty stream of words flowed on. Then, turning his face towards the scribes, he said: "Observe carefully whether I remember all the arguments that I used earlier." And, without faltering over a single word, he began to declaim the same speech for the second time. At this the proconsul did not observe his own rules, nor did the audience observe the threats of the magistrate. For all who were present licked the sophist's breast as though it were the statue of some god; some kissed his feet, some his hands, others declared him to be a god or the very model of Hermes, the god of eloquence.<sup>1</sup> His adversaries, on the other hand, lay in the dust eaten up with envy, though some of them even from where they lay could not refrain from applauding; but the proconsul with his whole bodyguard and the notables escorted him from the theatre. After this no one dared to speak against him, but as though they had been stricken by a thunderbolt they all admitted that he was their superior. However, some time after, they recovered themselves, like the heads of the Hydra, and were restored to their natural dispositions and reared up their heads; so they tempted certain of the most powerful men

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ροντο, καὶ τροπέζαις τε πολυτελέσι καὶ θεραπει-  
ιδίοις κομποῖς τιὰς τῶν ἀκμαζόντων δελεά-  
ζοντες, ὡσπερ οἱ τῶν βασιλέων ἔννομον καὶ ὀρθήν  
μάχην νενικημένοι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπόροις εἰς τό  
ἔσχατον συναλαθέντες, ἐπὶ φιλοῦς καὶ σφενδονήτας  
καὶ γυμνήτας καὶ τό εὐτελές ἐπικουρικὸν κατα-  
φεύγουσιν, οὐ ταῦτα τιμῶντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὁμῶς  
δέ δι' ἀνάγκην ταῦτα τιμῶντες<sup>1</sup>. οὕτω κάκεῖνοι  
πρὸς ἀναγκαῖον συμμαχικὸν ἐπτοημένοι, τοιαύτας  
ἐπιβουλάς ἤρτυον, αἰσχρὰς μὲν, ἀνεπίφθονοι δέ  
ἦσαν, εἴ τις ἑαυτὸν καὶ κακῶς φιλεῖ. εἶχον γοῦν  
ἐταίρων πλῆθος, καὶ ἀπήντα τό σόφισμα κατὰ  
λόγον αὐτοῖς. τό δὲ Προαιρείου τυροινίς ἐδόκει  
τις εἶναι, καὶ εὐτυχεῖν ἢ ἀρετῇ τῶν λόγων ἐδόκει  
καλῶς· ἢ γάρ οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες ἅπαντες αὐτὸν  
ἤροῦντο, ἢ οἱ προσελθόντες εὐθύς νοῦν εἶχον ὅτι  
Προαιρείου ἤρηντο.

Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτους τοὺς χρόνους ἤνεγκεν ὁ βασι-  
λικὸς τῆς αὐλῆς ὁμιλος ἄνδρα καὶ δόξης ἐραστήν  
καὶ λόγων. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Βηρυτοῦ πόλεως, καὶ  
Ἀνατόλιος ἐκαλεῖτο· οἱ δὲ βασκαίνοντες αὐτῷ  
καὶ Ἀζουτρίωνα ἐπὶ κλησὶν ἔθεντο, καὶ ὃ τι μὲν  
τό ὄνομα σημαίνει βούλεται ὁ κακοδαίμων ἴστω  
τῶν θυμελῶν χορός. δόξης δὲ ἐραστής ὁ Ἀνατόλιος  
καὶ λόγων γενόμενος, ἀμφοτέρων ἔτυχε· καὶ τῆς  
τε νομικῆς καλουμένης παιδείας εἰς ἄκρον ἀφ-

<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα τιμῶντες is probably either a gloss or repeated by a copyist's error.

<sup>1</sup> Himerius addresses a speech, *Eclogue* 32, to this Anatolius, the prefect of Illyricum; he visited Athens about 345.

<sup>2</sup> No explanation of this word is to be found. Such nick-  
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in the city by means of costly banquets and smart maidservants, just as kings do when they have been defeated in a regular pitched battle, and in their difficulties are driven to extreme measures, so that they have recourse to light-armed forces and slingers, troops without heavy armour and their inferior reserves; for if they valued these not at all before they are forced to do so now. Just so those sophists, fleeing in their panic to such allies as they could muster, framed their plots, which were base indeed but the men were not to be envied, nor are any who love themselves fatuously. At any rate they had a crowd of adherents, and the plot proceeded so that they could reckon on success. However, the genius of Prohaeresius seemed to possess a sort of tyranny over men's minds, and the power of his eloquence to have extraordinary good fortune. For either all intelligent men chose him as their teacher, or those who had attended his school forthwith became intelligent, because they had chosen Prohaeresius.

Now in these days the throng at the imperial court produced a man who passionately desired both fame and eloquence. He came from the city of Berytus and was called Anatolius.<sup>1</sup> Those who envied him nicknamed him Azutrion,<sup>2</sup> and what that name means I leave to that miserable band of mummers to decide! But Anatolius who desired fame and eloquence achieved both these things. For first he won the highest distinction in what is called the science of law, as was natural since his

names were common in the fourth century, and the fashion flourished till by the sixth century they are almost surnames and in regular use.

ικόμενος, ὡσάν πατρίδα ἔχων τὴν Βηρυτὸν ἢ τοῖς  
 τοιούτοις μήτηρ ὑποκάθηται παιδεύμασι, καὶ δια-  
 πλεύσας εἰς Ῥώμην, καὶ φρονήματος ἐμπληροθεὶς  
 καὶ λόγων ἕψος ἐχόντων καὶ βᾶρος, εἰσφρήσας τε  
 εἰς τὰ βασιλεία, ταχὺ μάλᾳ πρῶτος ἦν, καὶ διὰ  
 πάσης ἐλθὼν ἀρχῆς, ἐν πολλαῖς τε ἀρχαῖς εὐδο-  
 κιμῆσας (καὶ γὰρ οἱ μισοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐθαύμαζον),  
 προῖων καὶ εἰς τὸν ἑπαρχὸν τῆς αὐλῆς ἤλασεν  
 ἢ δὲ ἀρχὴ βασιλεία ἐστὶν ἀπόρφυρος. τυχῶν  
 δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φιλοτιμίαν τύχης ἀξίας (τὸ  
 γὰρ καλούμενον Ἰλλυρικὸν ἐπετέτραπτο), καὶ φιλο-  
 θύτης ὢν καὶ διαφερόντως Ἑλλήν (καὶ τοί γε  
 ἡ κωμὴ κίνησις πρὸς ἄλλας ἔφερε ῥοπᾶς), ἐξὼν  
 αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ καίρια τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐλθεῖν, καὶ διοικεῖν  
 ἕκαστα πρὸς ὃ βούλοιο, ὃ δέ, χρυσῆς τιμῆς αὐτὸν  
 μανίας ὑπολοβούσης ἰδεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τὰ  
 τῶν λόγων εἰδῶλα διὰ τῆς παιδεύσεως ἐπὶ τὴν  
 αἰσθησῶ, μεθ' οὕτως ἀριπρεποῦς ἀξιῶματος φερό-  
 μενος, συλλαβεῖν, καὶ τὸ νοούμενον ἐκ τῶν  
 ἀρχαίων ἰνδαλμάτων φάντασμα ἐπὶ τὴν ὄψιν  
 σπάσαι, πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔσπευσε. καὶ πρό-  
 βλημά γέ τι τριῶν σοφισταῖς προπέμψας (ἐτεθή-  
 πεσαν δὲ αὐτὸν ἢ Ἑλλάς, τό τε φρόνημα ἀκούοντες  
 491 καὶ τὴν παιδείαν, καὶ ὅτι ἀκλιτῆς ἦν καὶ ἀδωρο-  
 δόκητος), ἐκέλευεν ἅπαντας τὸ αὐτὸ μελετᾶν  
 πρόβλημα. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἐπιτηδεύοντες καὶ  
 κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβουλεύοντες,

<sup>1</sup> Berytus (Beirut) was, as Libanius describes, famous for its school of Roman law. When the youths began to flock thither instead of to the Greek sophists the decay of Greek letters was inevitable.

<sup>2</sup> Or "proposition," Latin *quaestio*.

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birthplace was Berytus, the foster-mother of all such studies.<sup>1</sup> Then he sailed to Rome where, since his wisdom and eloquence were elevated and weighty, he made his way to court. There he soon obtained the highest rank, and after holding every high office and winning a great reputation in many official positions (and indeed even his enemies admired him), he finally attained to the rank of pretorian prefect, a magistracy which, though it lacks the imperial purple, exercises imperial power. He had now attained to a fortune in accord with his lofty ambition (for the district called Illyricum had been assigned to him), and since he was devout in offering sacrifices to the gods and peculiarly fond of Greek studies, in spite of the fact that the main current was setting in other directions, instead of choosing as he might have done to visit the most important places in his dominion and administer everything according to his pleasure, he was overcome by a sort of golden madness of desire to behold Greece, and, supported by his distinguished reputation, to turn into realities the mere images of eloquence derived from his learning, and to see for himself what had been an intellectual concept received from such presentation of eloquence as ancient writings could give. He therefore hastened to Greece. Moreover, he sent to the sophists beforehand a certain problem<sup>2</sup> for them to consider, and bade them all practise declaiming on this same problem. All the Greeks marvelled at him when they heard of his wisdom and learning and that he was unswervingly upright and incorruptible. Then they set themselves to consider his problem and plotted every day to outwit one another. Neverthe-

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ὁμως (ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐκέλευε). συνεκρίθησαν, καὶ περὶ τῆς καλουμένης στάσεως τοῦ προβλήματος πολλοὺς ἐν ἀλλήλοις λόγους ἀντεπιχειρήσαντες (οὐκ ἔγνω τούτου τοῦ πράγματος γελοιότερον ὁ συγγραφεὺς), διεκρίθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἕκαστος, διὰ φιλοτιμίαν ἕκαστος ἐπαινῶν τὴν ἰδίαν δόξαν καὶ πρὸς τὰ μειράκια φιλοτιμούμενος. ὡς δὲ βαρύτερος ἦν τῆς Περσικῆς ἐκείνης καὶ πολυυμνήτου στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατιῶν ὁ Ἀνατόλιος, καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος ἦν παρὰ πόδας οὐ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς σοφιστεύουσιν, ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες (προσεγεγένητο γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰμέριος τις σοφιστῆς ἐκ Βιθυνίας· οὐκ ἔγνω τούτον ὁ συγγραφεὺς, πλὴν ὅσα γε διὰ συγγραμμάτων), ἐταλαιπωροῦντο δὲ ὁμως ἅπαντες, καὶ πολλῶ καμάτῳ παρετείνοντο, τὴν δόξασαν ἕκαστος μελετῶντες στάσιν. ἐνταῦθα ὁ Προαιρέσιος θαρσῶν τῇ φύσει, βαρὺς ἦν οὔτε φιλοτιμούμενος οὔτε ἐκφέρων τὸ ἀπόρρητον. ὁ δὲ Ἀνατόλιος ἐγγύθεν, καὶ εἰσεδήμησεν Ἀθήναζε. θύσας δὲ θαρσαλέως καὶ περιελθὼν τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα, ἧ θεσμός ἱερός ἐκέλευεν, ἐξεκάλει τοὺς σοφιστὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα. καὶ οἱ παρόντες ἕκαστος πρῶτος ἐς τὴν ἐπίδειξιν ἠπεύγετο· οὕτω φίλαντόν τι χρῆμα ἀνθρώπος· ὁ δὲ Ἀνατόλιος καὶ τοὺς κροτοῦντας, τὰ μειράκια, ἐγέλα, καὶ τοὺς πατέρας ἠλέει τῆς τῶν παίδων παιδείας ὑπὸ τίσιν παιδεύονται. ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν Προαιρέσιον· μόνος γὰρ ἀπολέλειπτο· ὁ δὲ θεραπεύσας τινὰ τῶν οἰκείων αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντα ἐξειδότην, μαθὼν τὴν στάσιν ἦν ἐπαινεῖ (τοῦτο

<sup>1</sup> This was a courageous act because Christian emperors, Constantius and Constans, were on the throne.



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less, since necessity constrained them, they did meet together, and after bringing forward many opposing theories among themselves as to what is called the constitution of the problem (the author never knew of anything so ridiculous as this problem), they were in complete disagreement one with another, since each man in his vanity lauded his own theory and jealously maintained it in the presence of the students. But since Anatolius descending on Greece was more formidable than the famous Persian expedition, that oft-told tale, and the danger stared not indeed all the Greeks but the sophists in the face, all the others (among whom was included a certain Himerius, a sophist from Bithynia; the author knew him only from his writings) toiled and spared no pains or effort, as each one studied the constitution of the theme that he approved. In this crisis Prohaeresius, who trusted in his genius, offended them deeply because he neither showed ambition nor published his secret theory. But now Anatolius was at hand and had made his entry into Athens. When he had with great courage offered sacrifices<sup>1</sup> and formally visited all the temples, as the divine ordinance commanded, he summoned the sophists to the competition. When they were in his presence they one and all strove to be the first to declaim; so prone to self-love is man! But Anatolius laughed at the boy pupils who were applauding them, and commiserated the fathers whose sons were being educated by such men. Then he called on Prohaeresius who alone was left. Now he had cultivated the acquaintance of one of the friends of Anatolius who knew all the circumstances, and had learned from him the constitution of the

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γὰρ ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἔφη γελοῖον ἐν τοῖς ἄνω λόγοις), καὶ τοί γε οὐδενὸς ἦν ἄξιον λόγου, οὐδὲ Ἀνατόλιον ἔδει ταῦτα νικᾶν, ὅμως πρὸς τε τὴν κλῆσιν ὑπέκουσεν ἀθρόως, καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην τὴν στάσιν διαθέμενος τὸν ἀγῶνα, πρὸς τοσόνδε ἤρκεσε πρὸς τὸ κάλλος τοῦ λόγου, ὥστε ἐπήδα τε ὁ Ἀνατόλιος, καὶ τὸ θέατρον βοῶν τε ἐρρήγγυτο, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἦν ὃς οὐχὶ θεὸν ὑπελάμβανε. τιμήσας οὖν ἐκείνον διαφερόντως φαίνεται, καὶ τοί γε τοὺς ἄλλους μόλις ἀξιώσας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τραπέζης. ὁ δὲ Ἀνατόλιος σοφιστῆς ἦν ἐν τοῖς κατ' εὐωχίαν καὶ πρὸς συμπόσιον· οὐδὲ τὸ συμπόσιον ἦν ἄλογον καὶ ἀπαίδευτον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐγένετο πρὸ πολλῶν χρόνων, καὶ οὕτως ἐξηκρίβου τὴν ἀκοήν ὁ συγγραφεὺς. ὁ δὲ Ἀνατόλιος καὶ τὸν Μιλήσιον ὑπερεθαύμαζεν, ὃς ἦν μὲν ἐκ Σμύρνης τῆς Ἰωνικῆς, φύσεως δὲ ἀρίστης τυχών, ἐς ἀφιλότιμόν τινα καὶ σχολαστὴν ἑαυτὸν ἐμβαλὼν βίον, πρὸς τε ἱεροῖς ἦν καὶ γάμων ἡμέλησε, ποιήσιν τε ἅπασαν καὶ μέλος ἐξήσκησε, καὶ ποιήσεως ὅσον ἐπαινοῦσι Χάριτες. οὕτω γοῦν εἶλε τὸν Ἀνατόλιον, ὥστε καὶ Μοῦσαν ἐκάλει τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Ἐπιφανίου δὲ τοῦ σοφιστεύοντος τὰ ζητήματα διαιρέσεις ἔφασκεν, εἰς μικρολογίαν καὶ περιττὴν ἀκρίβειαν κωμωδῶν τὸν παιδεύοντα. περὶ δὲ τῆς διαφωνίας αὐτῶν τῆς κατὰ τὴν στάσιν, διασιλλαίων ἅπαντας,

<sup>1</sup> Or "Subdivisions," *partitiones*, arrangement of the speech under headings.

<sup>2</sup> For the rhetorical term see Glossary.

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theme that Anatolius approved. (This is what the author called ridiculous in what he said above.) And even though the theme was unworthy of consideration, and it was not right that the view of Anatolius should prevail, nevertheless Prohaeresius, when his name was called, obeyed the summons promptly, and modelled his disputation on the constitution of the theme that I have mentioned, and his argument was so able and so elegant that Anatolius jumped up from his seat, the audience shouted applause till they burst, and every man there regarded him as a divine being. Accordingly Anatolius openly showed him peculiar honour, though he would hardly admit the others to his table. He himself was an accomplished sophist in table-talk and themes suited to a symposium; hence his symposium was a feast of reason and of learned conversation. But all this happened many years ago, and therefore the author has been very careful in his report of what he learned from hearsay. Now Anatolius felt great admiration for Milesius also, a man who came from Smyrna in Ionia. Though fortune had endowed him with the greatest talents, he abandoned himself to an unambitious and leisurely life, frequented the temples, neglected to marry, and cultivated every sort of poetry and lyric and every kind of composition that is favoured by the Graces. By this means, then, he won the favour of Anatolius so that he actually called the man a "Muse." But he used to call the problems raised by Epiphanius the sophist "Analyses,"<sup>1</sup> making fun in this way of that teacher's triviality and pedantic accuracy. He satirized all the sophists for their disagreements over the constitution<sup>2</sup> of a theme, and said: "If there had been

“ εἰ πλείους ” ἔφη “ τῶν δεκατριῶν ἐτίγγανον οἱ σοφιστεύοντες, τάχ’ ἂν ἐτέρας προσεξεύρον στά-  
 492 σεις, ἵνα διαφόρως ἐν πρόβλημα μελετήσωσι.” Προαιρέσιον δὲ πάντων ἓνα καὶ μόνον ὑπερεθαύ-  
 μαζεν. ἐτίγγανε δὲ ὁ Προαιρέσιος οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου μετάπεμπτος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος γεγωνὸς Κώνσταντος εἰς τὰς Γαλλίας, καὶ κρατήσας τοῦ βασιλεύοντος εἰς τοσοῦτον, ὥστε ὁμοτράπεζος ἅμα τοῖς τιμωτάτοις ἦν αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅσον γε τῶν ἐκείνη τότε ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐξικνοῦντο τοὺς τε λόγους ἀναθεωρεῖν καὶ τὰ ἀπόρρητα τῆς ψυχῆς θαυμάζειν, πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα μεταφέροντες τὴν ἔκπληξιν, τοῦ τε σώματος αὐτοῦ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἐτεθήπεσαν, ὥσπερ εἰς ἀνδριάντα τινα καὶ κολοσσὸν μόλις ἀναβλέποντες· οὕτω τὰ πάντα ἦν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων. τὴν γε μὴν καρτερίαν ὁρῶντες, ὄντως ἀπαθῆ τινα καὶ σιδήρεον ὑπελάμβανον, ὅτι λεπτὸν ἔχων τριβώνιον, ἀνυπόδητος, τρυφῆς περιουσίαν ἐτίθετο τοὺς Γαλατικούς χειμῶνας καὶ πεπηγότα σχεδὸν τι τὸν Ῥῆμον ἔπιπε· καὶ τὸν γε ὅλον οὕτω διετετέλεσε βίον, ἀπείρατος θερμαῦ γενόμενος ποτοῦ. ἀπέστειλε γοῦν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν μεγάλην Ῥώμην, φιλοτιμούμενος οἷων βασιλεύειν ἔλαχεν· οἱ δὲ οὐκ εἶχον ὅ τι θαυμάσουσιν, οὕτω πάντα ἦν παρὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν. πολλὰ δὲ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἀγασθέντες, καὶ τυχόντες ἐπαίνων, ἀνδριάντα κατασκευασάμενοι χαλκοῦν ἰσομέτρητον, ἀνέθηκαν ἐπιγράψαν-

<sup>1</sup> Here Eunapius seems to imitate Philostratus, *Life of Adrian* 589, where that sophist makes a similar effect on audiences that knew no Greek.

<sup>2</sup> This may echo Plato's description of Socrates in *Symposium* 220 A, B.

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more than thirteen of these professional sophists, they would no doubt have invented still more 'constitutions' in order to declaim on a single problem from every different angle possible." Prohaeresius was the one and only sophist of them all whom he genuinely admired. Now it happened that Prohaeresius had not long before been summoned to the Gallic provinces by Constans, who then held imperial sway, and he had so won over Constans that he sat at his table along with those whom he most honoured. And all the inhabitants of that country who could not attain to a thorough understanding of his lectures and thus admire the inmost secrets of his soul, transferred their wonder and admiration to what they could see plainly before their eyes, and marvelled at his physical beauty and great stature, while they gazed up at him with an effort as though to behold some statue or colossus, so much beyond the measure of man was he in all respects.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, when they observed his abstinence and self-denial they believed him to be passionless and made of iron; for clad in a threadbare cloak and barefooted<sup>2</sup> he regarded the winters of Gaul as the height of luxury, and he would drink the water of the Rhine when it was nearly freezing. Indeed he passed his whole life in this fashion, and was never known to touch a hot drink. Accordingly Constans dispatched him to mighty Rome, because he was ambitious to show them there what great men he ruled over. But so entirely did he surpass the ordinary human type that they could select no one peculiarity to admire. So they admired his many great qualities one after another, and were in turn approved by him, and they made and set

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ΤΕΣ· Η ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΥΣΑ ΡΩΜΗ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΛΟΓΩΝ.

Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀπιόντι<sup>1</sup> πάλιν Ἀθήναζε δωρεάν<sup>2</sup> αἰτεῖν ἔδωκεν. ὁ δὲ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως ἄξιον ἤτησε, νήσους οὐκ ὀλίγας οὐδὲ μικρὰς εἰς ἀπαγωγὴν φόρου κατὰ σιτηρέσιον ταῖς Ἀθήναις. ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔδωκεν, καὶ προσέθηκε τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀξιομάτων, στρατοπεδάρχην ἐπιτρέψας καλεῖσθαι, ὅπως νεμεσῶη μηδεὶς εἰ τοσαῦτα ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου κομίζουτο. ταύτην τὴν δωρεάν ἔδει βεβαιοῦν τὸν τῆς αὐλῆς ἑπαρχον (νεωστὶ γὰρ παρῆν ἐκ Γαλατίας ὁ ἑπαρχος). καὶ μετὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐκείνους ἀγῶνας, παρὰ τὸν Ἀνατόλιον ἐλθὼν, ἠξίου βεβαιοῦν τὴν χάριν, καὶ συνηγόρους οὐκ ἐκάλεσε μόνους, ἀλλὰ σχεδόν τι πάντας τοὺς πεπαιδευμένους ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος· πάντες γὰρ ἦσαν Ἀθηῆνοι διὰ τὴν ἐπιδημίαν. ὡς δὲ ἐπληρώθη τὸ θέατρον, καὶ ὁ Προαιρέσιος ἠξίου τοὺς συνηγόρους λέγειν, παραδραμῶν τὴν ἀπάντων δόξαν ὁ ἑπαρχος, καὶ βασανίζων τὸν Προαιρέσιον εἰς τὸ σχέδιον “λέγε,” φησὶν, “ὦ Προαιρέσιε· αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστι καὶ λέγειν καὶ βασιλέα ἐπαινεῖν σοῦ παρόντος ἕτερον.” ἐνταῦθα ὁ Προαιρέσιος, ὡσπερ ἵππος εἰς πεδίον κληθείς, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ δωρεᾷ λόγους, τὸν τε Κελεὸν καὶ Τριπτόλεμον καὶ τὴν Δήμητρος ἐπιδημίαν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ σίτου

<sup>1</sup> ἀπιόντα Boissonade; ἀπιόντι Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> Before δωρεάν Cobet deletes καί.

<sup>1</sup> Libanius, *Letter* 278, mentions this statue at Rome and another at Athens.

<sup>2</sup> This office, originally military, had become that of a

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up in his honour a bronze statue life size with this inscription: "Rome the Queen of cities to the King of Eloquence."<sup>1</sup>

When he was about to return to Athens, Constans permitted him to ask for a present. Thereupon he asked for something worthy of his character, namely several considerable islands that should pay tribute to Athens to provide it with a corn supply. Constans not only gave him these, but added the highest possible distinction by bestowing on him the title of "stratopedarch,"<sup>2</sup> lest any should resent his acquisition of so great a fortune from the public funds. It was necessary for the pretorian prefect to confirm this gift; for the prefect had lately arrived from Gaul. Accordingly, after the competitions in eloquence that I have described, Prohaeresius approached Anatolius and begged him to confirm the favour, and summoned not only professional advocates for his cause but almost all the educated men of Greece; for on account of the prefect's visit they were all at Athens. When the theatre was crowded, and Prohaeresius called on his advocates to speak, the prefect ran counter to the expectation of all present, because he wished to test the extempore eloquence of Prohaeresius, and he said: "Speak, Prohaeresius! For it is unbecoming for any other man to speak and to praise the emperor when you are present." Then Prohaeresius, like a war-horse summoned to the plain,<sup>3</sup> made a speech about the imperial gift, and cited Celeus and Triptolemus and how Demeter sojourned among men that she might

Food Controller, cf. Julian, *Oration* i. 8 c, where he says that Constantine did not disdain it for himself.

<sup>1</sup> A proverb; cf. Plato, *Theaetetus* 183 D. It is used by Lucian and Julian.

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δωρεᾷ παρήγαγε, καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως χάριν ἐκείνοις προσάπτων τοῖς διηγήμασι, ταχὺ μάλα μετέστησεν εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον ὄγκον τὰ γινόμενα, καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐπεχόρευεν, ἐπιδεικνύμενος εἰς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν· καὶ ὁ τῶν λόγων ἔλεγχος ἦν αὐτῷ φιλοτιμία.

Γάμος δὲ αὐτῷ συνέπεσεν ἐξ Ἀσίας τῆς Τραλιανῶν πόλεως, καὶ Ἀμφίκλεια μὲν ὄνομα τῇ  
 493 γυναικί· θυγάτρια δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐγενέσθη τσοσούτον παραλλάττοντα κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν χρόνον, ὅσος ἐς τὸ κύειν καὶ γίνεσθαι καταναλίσκεται. προελθόντα δὲ εἰς ὄραν ἐν ἧ πάγκαλόν τι χρῆμα καὶ μακάριον παιδίον, καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ψυχὴν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἀνασεύσαντα, ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ἄμφω τοὺς πατέρας ἀπέλιπεν, ὥστε μικροῦ τὸ πάθος καὶ τῶν προσηκόντων ἐκβαλεῖν λογισμῶν τὸν Προαιρέσιον. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦτο μὲν ἤρκεσεν ἡ Μιλησίου μουσα, τὰς ἀρμονικὰς ἀναψαμένη χάριτας, καὶ πολλὰ παίζουσα μετ' ἀφροδίτης, καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν ἀνακαλουμένη. τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀξιοῦσιν ὁμιλητὴν ἴδιον ἀποπέμπειν, ὁ Προαιρέσιος τὸν Εὐσέβιον ἐξέπεμψεν, ὃς ἦν μὲν ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἐναρμόσειν δὲ ἄλλως ἐδόκει τῇ πόλει, κολακεύειν τε εἰδῶς καὶ σαίνειν τὸ ὑπερέχον· στασιώδης δὲ κατὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐφαίνετο. καὶ ἅμα ἐβούλετο μείζον τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖν, ἄνδρα πέμπων πολιτικῆς κακοτεχνίας οὐκ ἀμήτηον· ἐπεὶ τὰ γε κατὰ ῥητορικὴν ἐξαρκεῖ τσοσούτον εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἦν Αἰγύπτιος. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ἐπὶ ποιητικῇ μὲν  
 510



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bestow on them the gift of corn. With that famous narrative he combined the tale of the generosity of Constans, and very speedily he invested the occurrence with the splendour and dignity of ancient legend. Then, as he declaimed, his gestures became more lively, and he displayed all his sophistic art in handling the theme. The fact that he obtained the honour that he asked for shows what his eloquence must have been.

His wife came from Asia, from the city of Tralles, and her name was Amphiclea. They had two little girls, between whose ages there was only so much difference as the time necessary for their conception and birth. But no sooner had they reached that time of life when a child is a wholly lovely and charming thing, and made their father's heart tremble with joy, than they left their parents desolate, both within a few days; so that his grief almost shook Prohaeresius from the reflections that become a philosopher. However, the Muse of Milesius<sup>1</sup> proved able to meet this crisis, and by composing lovely harmonies and expending all his gifts of charm and gaiety he recalled him to reason. When the Romans asked him to send them one of his own pupils, Prohaeresius sent forth Eusebius who was a native of Alexandria. He seemed to be peculiarly suited to Rome, because he knew how to flatter and fawn on the great; while in Athens he was regarded as a seditious person. At the same time Prohaeresius wished to increase his own reputation by sending a man who had been initiated into the sharp practices of political oratory. As for his talent for rhetoric, it is enough to say that he was an Egyptian; for this

<sup>1</sup> For Milesius see above, p. 491.

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σφόδρα μαινόνται, ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος Ἑρμῆς αὐτῶν ἀποκεχώρηκεν. ἐπανέστη δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Μουσώνιος, εἰς σοφιστικὴν ὁμιλητῆς ὦν αὐτοῦ (περὶ οὗ πολλά δια τὰς ἄλλας αἰτίας<sup>1</sup> ἐν τοῖς διεξοδικοῖς γέγραπται), καὶ ὅτε γε ἀντῆρε, καταμαθὼν πρὸς τίνα ἔχει τὸν ἀγῶνα, ταχὺ μάλα ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν κατεπήδησεν.<sup>2</sup>

Ἰουλιανοῦ δὲ βασιλεύοντος, τόπου τοῦ παιδεύειν ἐξειργόμενος (ἔδοκει γὰρ εἶναι χριστιανός) συν-ορῶν τὸν ἱεροφάντην ὥσπερ Δελφικόν τινα τρίποδα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος πρόνοιαν πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις ἀνακείμενον, σοφία τινὶ περιῆλθε ξένη τὴν πρόγνωσιν. ἐμέτρει μὲν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν γῆν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἰς τὸν φόρον, ὅπως μὴ βαρύνοντο· ὁ δὲ Προαιρέσιος ἠξίωσεν αὐτὸν ἐκμαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, εἰ βέβαια μενεῖ τὰ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας. ὡς δὲ ἀπέφησεν, ὁ μὲν ἔγνω τὸ πραχθησόμενον, καὶ ἦν εὐθυμότερος. ὁ δὲ συγγραφεὺς κατὰ τουτονὶ τὸν χρόνον εἰς ἕκτον πού καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τελῶν, παρῆλθέ τε εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ τοῖς ὁμιληταῖς ἐγκατεμίγη· καὶ ἀγαπηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καθάπερ παῖς γνήσιος, ἠπείγετο μὲν μετὰ πέμπτον ἔτος εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, οἱ δὲ πατέρες καλοῦντες ἐπὶ Λυδίας ἐξεβιάσαντο· κακείνῳ μὲν σοφιστικὴ προὔκειτο, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐξεκάλουν ἅπαντες. Προαιρέσιος δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀνεχώρει μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας· τοσοῦτος καὶ τοιοῦτος γενόμενος

<sup>1</sup> αἰτίας Junius adds.

<sup>2</sup> μετεπήδησεν Cobet suggests.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably "those of the Hellenic faith."

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race passionately loves the poetic arts, whereas the Hermes who inspires serious study has departed from them. He had for an adversary Musonius, who had been his pupil in the sophistic art. (I have for other reasons written about him at length in my *Universal History*.) When Musonius reared his head to oppose him, Eusebius knew well against what sort of man he had to contend, so he very speedily deserted to take up political oratory.

In the reign of the Emperor Julian, Prohaeresius was shut out of the field of education because he was reputed to be a Christian; and since he observed that the hierophant, like a sort of Delphic tripod, was open to all who had need of him to foretell future events, by strange and wonderful arts he fraudulently intercepted that foreknowledge. For the emperor was having the land measured for the benefit of the Hellenes,<sup>1</sup> to relieve them from oppression in respect of taxes. Thereupon Prohaeresius requested the hierophant<sup>2</sup> to find out from the god whether this benevolence would be permanent. And when he declared that it would not, Prohaeresius learned in this way what the future would bring, and took courage. The author, who had attained at this time to about his sixteenth year, arrived at Athens and was enrolled among his pupils, and Prohaeresius loved him like his own son.<sup>3</sup> Five years later the author was preparing to go to Egypt, but his parents summoned him and compelled him to return to Lydia. To become a sophist was the obvious course to which all urged him. Now a few days later Prohaeresius departed this life. He was a great and gifted man, even as I have described, and

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* of Eleusis; *cf.* pp. 475, 476.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 486.

καὶ διαπλήσας τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λόγων τε καὶ ὁμιλητῶν  
τὴν οἰκουμένην.

Ἐπιφάνιος οὗτος ἦν μὲν ἐκ Συρίας, δεινότατος  
δὲ εἶναι περὶ τὰς διακρίσεις δόξας τῶν ζητημάτων,  
τὸν δὲ λόγον ἀτονώτερος, ὅμως ἀντισοφιστεύσας  
τῷ<sup>1</sup> Προαιρεσίῳ καὶ εἰς πολὺ δόξης ἐχώρησεν· οὐ  
γὰρ φέρει τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἕνα θαυμάζειν, ἀλλ' ἐγκε-  
κλικὸς καὶ ἠττώμενος ὑπὸ φθόνου, τοῖς πολυκρα-  
τοῦσι καὶ ὑπερέχουσιν ἕτερον ἀντικαθίστησιν, ὥσπερ  
ἐν φυσικῇ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων λαμβάνοντες.  
494 ἐτελεύτα δὲ οὐκ εἰς βαθὺ γῆρας ἀφικόμενος, τὸ  
αἷμα νοσήσας· καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ταῦτο τοῦτο ἔπαθε,  
καλλίστη πασῶν γενομένη. καὶ παιδίον οὐκ ἦν  
αὐτοῖς. τοῦτον ὁ ταῦτα γράφων οὐκ ἔγνω, πολὺ  
προαπελθόντα τῆς ἐπιδημίας.

Καὶ Διώφαντος ἦν μὲν ἐξ Ἀραβίας, καὶ εἰς τοὺς  
τεχνικοὺς ἐβιάζετο· ἡ δὲ αὐτὴ δόξα τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
Προαιρεσίῳ κάκεινον ἀντήγειρεν, ὥσει Καλλι-  
μαχὸν Ὀμήρῳ τις ἀναστήσειεν. ἀλλ' ἐγέλα ταῦτα  
ὁ Προαιρέσιος, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὃ τι εἰσὶν ἐν  
διατριβῆς εἶχεν μέρει. τοῦτον ἐγίνγνωσκεν ὁ συγ-  
γραφεὺς, καὶ ἠκροάσατό γε πολλάκις δημοσίᾳ  
λέγοντος. παραθεῖναι δὲ τῇ γραφῇ τῶν λεχθέντων  
καὶ μνημονευθέντων οὐδὲν ἐδόκει καλῶς ἔχειν·  
μνήμη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀξιολόγων ἀνδρῶν, οὐ χλευασμὸς,  
ἡ γραφή. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐπιτάφιόν γε εἶπεῖν τινα

<sup>1</sup> ὅμως τε σοφιστεύσας τῷ Boissonade; ὅμως ἀντισοφιστεύσας  
τῷ Wytttenbach; ὅμως ἀντισοφιστεύσέ τε Cobet.

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he filled the whole known world with the fame of his discourses, and with those who had been his pupils.

EPIPHANIUS was a native of Syria, and he was reputed to be very skilful in distinguishing and defining controversial themes, but as an orator he was slack and nerveless. Nevertheless, as the rival of Prohaeresius in the sophistic profession he actually attained to great fame. For human beings are not content to admire one man only, but so prone are they to envy, so completely its slave, that when a man excels and towers above the rest they set up another as his rival; and thus derive their controlling principles from opposites just as in the science of physics. Epiphanius did not live to be old, but died of blood-poisoning, and his wife also, who was an exceedingly handsome woman, met the same fate. They left no children. Epiphanius was not personally known to the author, for he died long before the latter's sojourn in Athens.

DIOPHANTUS was a native of Arabia who forced his way into the ranks of the professors of rhetoric. That same envious opinion of mankind of which I have just spoken set him up as another rival of Prohaeresius, as though one should oppose Callimachus to Homer. But Prohaeresius laughed all this to scorn, and he refused to give serious thought to human beings and their foibles. The writer knew Diophrantus and often heard him declaim in public. But he has not thought fit to quote in this work any of his speeches or what he remembers of them. For this document is a record of noteworthy men; it is not a satire. However it is said that he delivered a funeral oration in honour

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τοῦ Προαιρεσίου λέγεται (προαπῆλθε γὰρ ὁ Προαιρέσιος), καί τι τοιοῦτον ἐπιφθέγγασθαι διαμνημονεύουσιν ἐπὶ τῇ Σαλαμῖνι καὶ τοῖς Μηδικοῖς· “ὦ Μαραθῶν καὶ Σαλαμῖν, νῦν σεσίγησθε. οἶαν σάλπιγγα τῶν ὑμετέρων τροπαίων ἀπολωλέκατε.” οὗτος ἀπέλιπε δύο παῖδας ἐπὶ τρυφήν καὶ πλοῦτον ὀρμήσαντας.

Καὶ Σωπόλιδος ἠκροάσατο πολλάκις ὁ ταῦτα γράφων. καὶ ἦν ἀνὴρ εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον χαρακτήρα τὸν λόγον ἀναφέρειν βιαζόμενος, καὶ τῆς ὑγιαινούσης Μούσης ψαύειν ὀριγνόμενος. ἀλλ’ ἔκρουε μὲν τὴν θύραν ἰκανῶς, ἠνοιέτο δὲ οὐ πολλάκις· ἀλλ’ εἴ πού τι καὶ ψοφήσειεν ἐκεῖθεν, λεπτόν τι καὶ ἀσθενὲς παρωλίσθαιεν ἔσωθεν τοῦ θείου πνεύματος· τὸ δὲ θέατρον ἐμεμήνησαν, οὐδὲ τὴν πεπεισμένην ρανίδα τὴν Κασταλίαν φέροντες. τούτῳ παῖς ἐγένετο· καὶ ἐπιβεβηκέναι τοῦ θρόνου τὸν παῖδα φάσκουσιν.

Ἰμέριος· τὸν ἀνδρα τοῦτον ἠνεγκε μὲν Βιθυνία, οὐκ ἔγνω δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ ταῦτα γράφων· καὶ τοί γε ἦν κατ’ ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα διαβὰς Ἰουλιανὸν κατ’ ἐπίδειξιν, ὡς, διὰ τὴν ἐς Προαιρέσιον ἀχθηδὸνα τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀσμένως ὀφθησόμενος, Ἰουλιανοῦ καταλείποντος τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, ἐνδιέτριψε τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ, καί, Προαιρεσίου τελευτήσαντος, Ἀθήναζε ἠπειέτο. εὐκόλος δὲ ἀνὴρ εἰπεῖν καὶ συνηρμοσμένος· κρότον δὲ ἔχει καὶ ἤχον ἢ συνθήκη πολιτικόν· καὶ που σπάνιος καὶ παρὰ τὸν θεῖον Ἀριστείδην ἴσταται.

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of Prohaeresius (for the latter died before he did), and they relate that he concluded with these words about Salamis and the war against the Medes: "O Marathon and Salamis, now are ye buried in silence! What a trumpet of your glorious victories have ye lost!"<sup>1</sup> He left two sons who devoted themselves to a luxurious life and money-making.

The author of this work often heard SOPOLIS lecture. He was a man who tried with all his might to reproduce the style of the ancients in his oratory, and did his utmost to reach the level of a saner Muse. But though he knocked diligently at her door, it was seldom opened. Nay, if ever it did creak open a little, it was but a thin and feeble spark of the divine afflatus that slipped forth from within. But at this his audience would grow frenzied with enthusiasm, unable as they were to receive calmly even a single drop squeezed from the fount of Castalia. Sopolis had a son, and they say that he too ascended the professorial chair.

HIMERIUS was a native of Bithynia, yet the author never knew him, though he lived in the same period. He travelled to the court of the Emperor Julian to declaim before him, in the hope that he would be regarded with favour on account of the emperor's dislike of Prohaeresius; and when Julian left this world, Himerius spent his time abroad. Then, on the death of Prohaeresius, he hastened to Athens. He was an agreeable and harmonious speaker. His style of composition has the ring and assonance of political oratory. Sometimes, though rarely, he rises as high as the godlike Aristeides. He left a daughter,

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* Prohaeresius had used these commonplaces effectively.

ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ δὲ τελευτᾷ, τῆς ἱερᾶς νόσου πρὸς γῆρα μακρῶ καταλαβοῦσης αὐτόν.

Ἐν τούτοις ἦν τοῖς χρόνοις καὶ Παρνασίος ἐπὶ τοῦ παιδευτικοῦ θρόνου, ὁμιλητὰς εὐαριθμήτους ἔχων· καὶ τοί γε ὀνόματος οὐκ ἀπεστερημένος.

495 Λιβάνιον δὲ Ἀντιόχεια μὲν ἤνεγκεν ἢ τῆς Κοίλης καλουμένης Συρίας πρώτη πόλει, Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικατορος ἐπικληθέντος ἔργον. ἦν δὲ τῶν εὖ γεγονότων καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄκρους ἐτέλει. νέος δὲ ὢν ἔτι καὶ κύριος ἑαυτοῦ, πατέρων ἀπολειπόμενος, ἀφικόμενος Ἀθήναζε, οὔτε ὡς ἐκ Συρίας Ἐπιφανίῳ προσῆλθε μεγίστην ἔχοντι δόξαν, οὔτε παρὰ Προαιρέσιον ἐφοίτησεν, ὡς ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῶν ὁμιλητῶν καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς δόξης τῶν διδασκάλων καλυφθῆσόμενος. ἐνεδρευθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Διοφαντείων, Διοφάντῳ προσέειμεν ἑαυτόν· καί, ὡς οἱ πάντῃ τὸν ἄνδρα καταμαθηκότες ἔφασκον, ταῖς μὲν ὁμιλίαις καὶ συνουσίαις, τὸ γεγονός συμβαθίων, ἐλάχιστα παρεγίνετο, καὶ τῷ διδασκάλῳ τις ὀχληρὸς οὐκ ἦν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἑαυτόν ἐπὶ ταῖς μελέταις συνέιχε, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐξεβιάζετο τύπον, τὴν ψυχὴν διαπλάττων καὶ τὸν λόγον. ὥσπερ οὖν οἱ πολλάκις πέμποντες, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ τυγχάνουσι<sup>1</sup> τοῦ σκοποῦ, καὶ τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς μελέτης αὐτοῖς διὰ τῆς γυμνασίας τῶν ὀργάνων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον εὐστοχίας οὐκ ἐπιστήμην ἔφυσεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τέχνην· οὕτω καὶ Λιβάνιος, ἐκ τοῦ ζήλου καὶ τῆς παραθέσεως τῆς

<sup>1</sup> τυγχάνουσι Foerster; τυγχάνοντες Boissonade.

<sup>1</sup> For Parnasius see *Life of Prohaeresius*, p. 487: he is otherwise unknown.

<sup>2</sup> In A. D. 336.



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when he died of epilepsy, a disease which attacked him in extreme old age.

PARNASIUS<sup>1</sup> also lived in those days and filled a teacher's chair. His pupils were soon counted, but for all that he did not fail to win a certain reputation.

LIBANIUS was born at Antioch, the capital of Coele Syria as it is called. This city was founded by Seleucus surnamed Nicator. Libanius came of a noble family and ranked among the first citizens. While he was still a youth and his own master, since his parents were dead, he came to Athens,<sup>2</sup> and there, though he too came from Syria, he did not attach himself to Epiphanius, who enjoyed the very highest reputation, nor did he attend the school of Prohaeresius. This would have been to run the risk of being obscured, partly by so great a crowd of fellow-pupils, partly by the celebrity of his teachers. But he fell into a trap that was set for him by the pupils of Diophantus, and therefore attached himself to that sophist. It is asserted by those who knew the man intimately that, when he learned what had happened to him, he very seldom attended the lectures and meetings of the school, and gave his master very little trouble. But by himself he devoted his time to the study of rhetoric, and worked very hard to acquire the style of the ancient writers, moulding to that end both his mind and his speech. And even as those who aim at a mark sometimes succeed in hitting it, and their constant practice and regular exercise with their weapons usually begets dexterity in shooting straight rather than scientific knowledge; even so Libanius in his zeal to compare and imitate them was inseparable from the ancient

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κατὰ μίμησιν, προσαρτῶν ἑαυτὸν καὶ παραξέων ἡγεμόσιν ἀρίστοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις,<sup>1</sup> καὶ οἷς ἐχρῆν ἐπόμενος, ἐς ἴχνος τε ἄριστον ἐνέβαινε καὶ ἀπήλαυσε τῆς ὁδοῦ τὰ εἰκότα. θαρσῆσας δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ λέγειν καὶ πείσας ἑαυτὸν ὡς ἐνάμιλλος εἶη τοῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ μεγαλοφρονοῦσιν,<sup>2</sup> οὐχ εἶλετο περὶ μικρὰν πόλιν κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ συγκαταπίπτειν τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἀξιώματι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν διαβαλὼν ἄρτι παριοῦσαν εἰς μέγεθος καὶ ἀκμάζουσαν, καὶ δεομένην ἔργων τε ὁμοῦ καὶ λόγων οἱ κατακοσμήσουσι, ταχὺ μάλα καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν ἐξέλαμψεν, εἰς συνουσίαν τε ἄριστος καὶ χαριέστατος φανείς, καὶ εἰς ἐπίδειξιν λόγων ἐπαφρόδιτος. διαβολῆς δὲ τινος αὐτῷ γενομένης περὶ τὰ μειράκια, ἦν θεμιτὸν οὐκ ἦν ἐμοὶ γράφειν, ἐς μνήμην ἀξιολόγων ἀνέντι τὴν γραφὴν, ἐκπεσῶν τῆς Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως, κατέσχε τὴν Νικομήδειαν. κάκειθεν, τῆς φήμης ἐπισπομένης καὶ παραθεούσης αὐτῷ διὰ ταχέων ἀποκρουθεὶς, μετὰ χρόνον τινα ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ πόλιν ἐπανέρχεται, κάκεῖ τὸν πάντα ἐβίω χρόνον, μακρὸν καὶ παρατείνοντα γενόμενον.

Μνήμην μὲν οὖν αὐτοῦ<sup>3</sup> τὴν πρέπουσαν κἀν τοῖς βιβλίοις τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἢ γραφῇ πεποιήται, τὰ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον νῦν ἐπεξελεύσεται. οὐδεὶς τῶν συλλεγόντων Λιβανίῳ καὶ συνουσίας

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Sievers would omit.

<sup>2</sup> μεγαλοφρονοῦσιν Boissonade; μέγα φρονοῦσιν Foerster.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτοῦ Foerster; αὐτῷ Boissonade.

<sup>1</sup> In 340; he left Constantinople in 343. There is no other evidence for the scandalous charge mentioned later.

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authors, and so to speak rubbed shoulders with those most excellent guides; and by following the right leaders he trod in the footsteps of the best and reaped the fruits of that course. As he gained confidence in his eloquence and convinced himself that he could rival any that prided themselves on theirs, he resolved not to bury himself in a small town and sink in the esteem of the world to that city's level. Therefore he crossed over to Constantinople,<sup>1</sup> a city which had recently attained to greatness, and, being at the height of her prosperity, needed both deeds and words to adorn her as she deserved. There he very soon became a shining light, since he proved to be an admirable and delightful teacher and his public declamations were full of charm. But a scandalous charge was brought against him in connexion with his pupils. I cannot allow myself to write about it, because I am determined to record in this document only what is worthy to be recorded. For this reason, then, he was expelled from Constantinople, and settled at Nicomedia. When the scandalous tale followed him there and obstinately pursued him, he was soon<sup>2</sup> thrust out of that city also, and after a time<sup>3</sup> he returned to his native land and the city of his birth, and there he spent his whole life, which proved to be long and long drawn out.

Though I have composed in my annals of the reign of Julian a fitting account of the career of Libanius, I will now run over it in detail. Not one of all those who associated with him and were

<sup>2</sup> Libanius himself says that he was in Nicomedia five years, the happiest of his life.

<sup>3</sup> Eunapius ignores the second sojourn of Libanius at Constantinople; see Introduction, p. 334.

ἀξιωθέντων ἀπῆλθεν ἄδηκτος· ἀλλὰ τό τε ἦθος εὐθύς οἷός τις ἦν ἔγνωστο, καὶ συνείδεν<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ τά τε τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπὶ τε τὸ χεῖρον καὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ῥέποντα, καὶ τοσοῦτος ἦν ἐς τὴν πλάσιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἐξομοίωσιν, ὥστε ὁ μὲν πολύπους λῆρος ἠλέγχετο, τῶν δὲ συγγιγνομένων ἕκαστος ἄλλον ἑαυτὸν ὄραν ὑπελάμβανεν. ἔφασκον γοῦν αὐτὸν οἱ πεπειραμένοι, πίνακά τινα καὶ ἐκμαγεῖον εἶναι παντοδαπῶν ἡθῶν καὶ ποικίλων· οὐδ' ἂν  
 496 ἦλω ποτέ πολλῶν καὶ διαφόρων συνεληλυθότων ὅτω μᾶλλον τέρπεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπηρείτο παρὰ τῶν τὸν ἐναντίον ἐλαυνόντων βίον, καὶ πὸς τις αὐτὸν τὰ σφέτερα θαυμάζειν ὤετο· οὕτω πολύμορφόν τι χρῆμα καὶ ἄλλοπρόσαλλον ἦν. γάμου δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἡμέλησε, πλὴν ὅσα γε αὐτῷ γυνή τις ξυνῆν, οὐκ ἀπὸ ὁμοίας τῆς ἀξιώσεως.

Ὁ δὲ λόγος αὐτῷ, περὶ μὲν τὰς μελέτας, παντελῶς ἀσθενῆς καὶ τεθνηκῶς καὶ ἄπνουσ, καὶ διαφαίνεται γε οὗτος μὴ τετυχηκῶς διδασκάλου· καὶ γὰρ τὰ πλείστα τῶν κοινῶν καὶ παιδὶ γνωρίμων περὶ τὰς μελέτας ἡγνόει· περὶ δὲ ἐπιστολὰς καὶ συνουσίας ἑτέρος, ἱκανῶς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἀναφέρει καὶ διεγείρεται τύπον, καὶ χάριτός γε αὐτῷ καὶ κωμικῆς βωμολοχίας καταπέπλησται τὰ συγγράμματα, καὶ ἡ κομψότης περιτρέχει πανταχοῦ διακονουμένη τοῖς λόγοις, καὶ ὁ πάντες οἱ Συρο-

<sup>1</sup> συνείχεν Boissonade; συνείδεν Wytttenbach, Foerster.

<sup>1</sup> The adaptability of the polypus is a favourite commonplace; cf. Lucian, *Dialogues of the Sea-Gods* 4; Philostratus, *Lives of the Sophists* 487, note.

<sup>2</sup> This criticism is inconsistent with the reputation of Libanius as a declaimer; cf. Introduction, p. 335.

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admitted to his teaching left him without being smitten by his charm. For he knew at first sight every man's character for what it was, and understood the propensities of his soul, whether to vice or virtue. And indeed he was so clever in adapting and assimilating himself to all sorts of men that he made the very polypus look foolish<sup>1</sup>; and everyone who talked with him thought to behold in him a second self. At any rate those who had had this experience used to declare that he was a sort of picture or wax impression of all the manifold and various characters of mankind. In a gathering of many men of various sorts one could never have detected who it was that he preferred. Hence those who pursued modes of life directly opposed to one another would applaud in him qualities that were directly opposed, and everyone without exception was convinced that it was his views that Libanius admired; so multiform was he, so completely all things to all men. He too avoided marriage, though in fact a woman lived with him, a person of a social position inferior to his own.

His style of eloquence in his declamations was altogether feeble, lifeless, and uninspired, and it is very evident that he had not had the advantage of a teacher; indeed he was ignorant of most of the ordinary rules of declamation, things that even a schoolboy knows.<sup>2</sup> But in his *Letters* and other familiar addresses he succeeds in rousing himself and rises to the level of the ancient models. His writings are full of charm and facetious wit, while a refined elegance pervades the whole and is at the service of his eloquence. Moreover the peculiar

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φοίνικες ἔχουσι κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν ἔντευξιν ἤδὺ καὶ κεχαρισμένον, τοῦτο παρ' ἐκείνου λαβεῖν μετὰ παιδείας ἔξεστιν· οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀττικοὶ μυκτῆρα καὶ ἀστεῖσμόν αὐτὸ καλοῦσιν· ὁ δὲ ὡσπερ κορυφὴν παιδείας τοῦτο ἐπετήδευσεν, ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμωδίας ὅλος εἰς τὸ ἀπαγγέλλειν εἰλκυσμένος, καὶ τοῦ κατὰ θύραν τερπνοῦ καὶ γοητεύοντος τὴν ἀκοὴν γενόμενος. παιδείας δὲ ὑπερβολὴν καὶ ἀναγνώσεώς ἐστιν εὐρεῖν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, λέξεσι κατεγλωττισμέναις ἐντυγχάνοντα. τὰ γοῦν Εὐπόλιδος δένδρα Λαισποδῖαν καὶ Δαμασίαν οὐκ ἂν παρήκεν, εἰ τὰ ὀνόματα ἔγνω τῶν δένδρων, οἷς νῦν αὐτὰ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. οὗτος λέξιν εὐρῶν τινα περιττὴν καὶ ὑπ' ἀρχαιότητος διαλαβάνουσαν, ὡς ἀνάθημά τι παλαιὸν καθαίρων,<sup>1</sup> εἰς μέσον τε ἤγε καὶ διακαθήρας ἐκαλλώπιζεν, ὑπόθεσιν τε αὐτῇ περιπλάττων ὄλην καὶ διανοίας ἀκολουθούσας, ὡσπερ ἄβρας τινὰς καὶ θεραπείας δεσποῖνῃ νεοπλούτῳ καὶ τὸ γῆρας ἀπέξεσμένη. ἐθαύμασε μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ὁ θεϊότατος Ἰουλιανός, ἐθαύμασε δὲ καὶ ὅσον ἀνθρώπινον τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις χάριν. καὶ πλεῖστον γε αὐτοῦ περιφέρουσι βιβλία, καὶ ὁ νοῦν ἔχων ἀναλεγόμενος ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εἴσεται. ἱκανὸς δὲ ἦν καὶ πολιτικοῖς ὀμιλῆσαι πράγμασι, καὶ παρὰ τοὺς λόγους ἕτερα ἅτινα συντολμῆσαι καὶ ῥαδιουργ-

<sup>1</sup> αἰρων? Foerster.

<sup>1</sup> Eunapius unjustly accuses Libanius of the "precious" Atticism derided by Lucian, *Lexiphanes*.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from the *Demosi* by the scholiast on Aristophanes, *Birds* 1569, ταδί δὲ τὰ δένδρα Α. καὶ Δ. αὐταῖσι ταῖς κνήμασι ἀκολουθοῦσί μοι, "they go with me knots and all." κνήμη used of a tree is the part between two knots. In Thucydides 524

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charm and sweetness that all Syro-Phoenicians display in general intercourse one may safely look for in him, over and above his erudition. I mean that quality which the people of Attica call a keen scent, or urbane wit. This he cultivated as the very flower and crown of true culture; indeed he drew wholly on ancient comedy for his style of expression, and was master of all that shows a pleasing surface and enchants the ear. In his orations you will find the most profound erudition and the widest possible reading. You will meet also with unusual Attic forms and phrases.<sup>1</sup> For example he would not have omitted those "trees" of Eupolis,<sup>2</sup> Laispodias, and Damasias, if he had known the names by which men call the trees nowadays. Whenever he discovered some strange expression which because of its great antiquity had fallen into disuse, he cleansed it as though it were a sacred relic of the past, and when he had brushed off the dust and adorned it afresh he would bring it forth to the light, draped with a whole new theme and appropriate sentiments, like the dainty slaves and handmaids of a mistress who has just come into a fortune and has smoothed and polished away the signs of old age. For these reasons the sainted Julian<sup>3</sup> also admired him, and indeed every man alive admired the charm of his oratory. Very many of his works are in circulation, and any intelligent man who reads them one by one will appreciate that charm. He had also a talent for administering public affairs, and in addition to his formal orations he would confidently undertake and

viii. 86 Laispodias is an Athenian general. Both men were ridiculed by the comic poets because of their thin legs. Plutarch, *Quaestiones* 712 A, says the passage in Eupolis is a crux for commentators.

\* *i. e.* the emperor.

γῆσαι πρὸς τέρψιν θεατρικωτέραν. τῶν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἀξιωματῶν τὸ μέγιστον αὐτῷ προσθέντων (τόν γὰρ τῆς αὐλῆς ἑπαρχὸν μέχρι προσηγορίας ἔχειν ἐκέλευον), οὐκ ἀπέδεξατο<sup>1</sup> φήσας τὸν σοφιστὴν εἶναι μείζονα. καὶ τοῦτό γε ἔστιν οὐκ ὀλίγος ἔπαινος, ὅτι δόξης ἐλάττων ἀνὴρ, μόνῃς ἤττητο τῆς περὶ τοὺς λόγους, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην δημῶδη καὶ βάνουσον ὑπελάμβανεν. ἀλλ' ἐτελεύτησε καὶ οὗτος εἰς γῆρας ἀφικόμενος μακρότατον, καὶ θαῦμα οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀπολιπὼν ἅπασιν. τούτῳ δὲ ὁ ταῦτα γράφων οὐ συνεγένετο, ἄλλοτε ἄλλων ἐμποδισμάτων ἐπηρείᾳ τύχης συμβάντων.

Παλαιστίνης Καισάρεια τὸν Ἀκάκιον ἤνεγκε, 497 καὶ ἦν συνασχῶν τῷ Λιβανίῳ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους· τόνου δὲ σοφιστικοῦ καὶ πνεύματος, εἶπερ τις ἄλλος, γέμων, καὶ ἡ λέξις μετὰ κρότου πρὸς τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐπέστρεφε τύπον<sup>2</sup>. συνασχῶν δὲ Λιβανίῳ, κατέσεισε τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ περιῆν ἰσχυρῶς. βιβλίδιον γοῦν τῷ Λιβανίῳ περὶ εὐφυΐας τι γέγραπται, πρὸς τὸν Ἀκάκιον ἅπαν ἐκτεθειμένον, ἐν ᾧ δηλὸς ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῷ κρατεῖσθαι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐκείνου φύσεως αἰτιώμενος, αὐτὸς δὲ ἑαυτῷ μαρτυρῶν τὴν περὶ τὰ λεξείδια στάσιω καὶ ἀκρίβειαν· ὥσπερ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι μήτε Ὀμήρῳ παντὸς ἔμελε μέτρον, ἀλλ' εὐφωνίας τινὸς καὶ μέλους, μήτε Φειδίᾳ τοῦ τὸν δάκτυλον παραλαβεῖν

<sup>1</sup> ἐδέξατο Boissonade; ἀπεδέξατο Foerster.

<sup>2</sup> τρόπον Boissonade; τύπον Wytttenbach.

<sup>1</sup> This essay is lost; see Introduction, p. 336.



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easily compose certain other works more suited to please an audience in the theatre. When the later emperors offered him the very highest of all honours—for they bade him use the honorary title of pretorian prefect—he refused, saving that the title of sophist was more distinguished. And this is indeed not a little to his credit, that though he was a man who longed most ardently for renown, he enslaved himself only to that renown which an orator can win, and held that any other sort is vulgar and sordid. He, too, when he died, had attained to a very great age, and he left in the minds of all men the profoundest admiration for his talents. The present author was not personally acquainted with him, inasmuch as an unkind fate on every occasion put one obstacle or another in the way.

ACACIUS was born at Caesarea in Palestine and he dawned on the world about the same time as Libanius. No man was more abundantly endowed with sophistic force and inspiration, and his diction was sonorous and tended to the imitation of the ancient classical models. Having risen to eminence at the same time as Libanius, he overthrew his rival's supremacy, and maintained his superiority by sheer strength. Libanius accordingly wrote an essay *On Genius*,<sup>1</sup> entirely devoted and dedicated to Acacius, in which he clearly ascribes his defeat by him to the man's great natural talents, while at the same time he gives evidence of his own position and exactitude in the use of erudite words; as though he did not know that Homer did not take pains about every single foot of his verses, but tried rather to secure beauty of expression and melody throughout; that Pheidias never thought of dis-

καὶ τὸν πόδα πρὸς ἔπαινον τῆς θεᾶς, ἀλλὰ τυραννεῖν τὸ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀκοήν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς,<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὸ αἴτιον ὑπάρχειν ἀνεύρετον ἢ δύσκριτον, ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ ἐρασμαῖοις σώμασιν, οὐ πάντες τὸ αὐτὸ θαυμάζουσιν, ὁ δὲ ἀλοὺς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅθεν εἴληπται. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀκάκιος ἐς τὸ ἄριστον ἀναδραμῶν, καὶ πολλὴν ἑαυτῷ παρασχῶν δόξαν ὡς τοῦ Λιβανίου κρατήσων, ἀπῆει νέος ὧν ἔτι· οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι, ὅσον σπουδαῖον ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐθαύμαζον αὐτὸν ὡσπερ εἰς γῆρας ἀφιγμένον.

Νυμφιδιανὸς δὲ ἦν μὲν ἐκ Σμύρνης, Μάξιμος δὲ ἦν ὁ φιλόσοφος ἀδελφὸς αὐτῷ, καὶ Κλαυδιανὸς ἕτερος, φιλοσοφῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἄριστα. ἀγῆρ δὲ τῆς μὲν Ἀθήνησι παιδείας καὶ ἀγωγῆς οὐ μετεσχηκῶς, γεγονῶς δὲ εἰς ῥητορικὴν καὶ τοῦ τῶν σοφιστῶν ὀνόματος ἄξιος. ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ Ἰουλιανὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν γλῶτταν ἐπέτρεψε, ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπιστήσας, ὅσαι διὰ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν ἐρμηνεύονται λόγων. κρείττων δὲ κατὰ τὰς καλουμένας μελέτας καὶ τὰ ζητήματα, τὰ δὲ ἐν προάγωσι καὶ τῷ διαλεχθῆναι οὐκ ἔθ' ὅμοιος. τελευτῆ δὲ αὐτῷ συνέβη γενομένῳ πρεσβύτῃ, καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μάξιμον.

Ἴατροὶ δὲ κατὰ τούτους ἤκμαζον τοὺς χρόνους, Ζήνων τε ὁ Κύπριος, διδασκαλίαν τε πολυύμνητον συστησάμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπέβαλε τοῖς χρόνοις Ἰουλιανῷ τῷ σοφιστῇ, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον, κατὰ τοὺς Προαι-

<sup>1</sup> τὸ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς Wright adds.

<sup>2</sup> We know nothing more about this sophist; cf. p. 427.

<sup>3</sup> See Philostratus, *Life of Antipater*, 607 note.

<sup>4</sup> The proagon is the preliminary statement of proofs in a rhetorical argument; for μελέτη see Glossary.

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playing a finger or a foot to win praise for his goddess; that they exercised their tyranny the one over the ears of men, the other over their eyes; and that the cause of their success is undiscoverable or hard to define, just as in fair and lovely bodies not all admire the same points, and the captive of that beauty knows not what it was that took him captive. Thus, then, Acacius quickly rose to the first rank in his profession, and after winning a great reputation as one who would prove to have excelled Libanius, he passed away while still a young man. Yet all men, at least all who truly loved learning, revered him no less than if he had attained to old age.

NYMPHIDIANUS<sup>1</sup> was a native of Smyrna, whose own brother was Maximus the philosopher, while Claudianus, himself a very distinguished philosopher, was another brother. He was a man who, though he never shared in the education and training enjoyed at Athens, nevertheless in the art of rhetoric proved himself worthy of the reputation of the sophists. The Emperor Julian entrusted him with the task of expressing the imperial utterances, and made him Imperial Secretary for such letters as were composed in the Greek tongue.<sup>2</sup> He had the greatest skill in the composition of "Meletai," as they are called, and in handling problems; but he was not so skilful with "Proagones"<sup>3</sup> and philosophical disputations. When he died he was an old man, and he outlived his brother Maximus.

In those days many famous physicians flourished, among whom was ZENO of Cyprus, who established a celebrated school of medicine. Nay, he survived down to the time of Julian the sophist, and after him there were contemporaries of Prohaeresius who

ρείου χρόνους, οἱ διάδοχοι Ζήνωνος. ἄμφω δὲ ὁ Ζήνων ἐξήσκητο λέγειν τε καὶ ποιεῖν ἰατρικὴν. τῶν δὲ ὀνομαστώων ὀμιλητῶν αὐτοῦ διαλαχόντες, οἱ μὲν τὸ ἕτερον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφοτέρω, κατελείφθησαν· ἐκράτουν δὲ ὅμως καὶ καθῶς τις ἐκληρονόμησεν ἔργου τε<sup>1</sup> καὶ λόγου.

Μάγνος· οὗτος ἐκ μὲν Ἀντιοχείας ἦν γεγονώς, τῆς ὑπὲρ τὸν Εὐφράτην, ἣν νῦν Νίσιβιν ὀνομάζουσιν· ἀκροατῆς δὲ γενόμενος Ζήνωνος καὶ τῆ περὶ τῶν σωμάτων τῶν προαιρετικῶν φύσει<sup>2</sup> τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην ἐς τὸ δύνασθαι λέγειν συνεφέλ-  
 498 κυσάμενος<sup>3</sup> σιωπᾶν μὲν ἐν τῷ λέγειν τοὺς ἰατροὺς ἠνάγκαζε, θεροπεύειν δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκει δυνατὸς εἶναι καθάπερ λέγειν. ὥσπερ οὖν οἱ παλαιοὶ φασιν Ἀρχίδαμον, εἰ Περικλέους εἶη δυνατώτερος ἐρωτώμενον “ἀλλὰ καὶ καταβάλλω Περικλέα,” φάναι “λέγων ἐκεῖνος ὅτι μὴ καταβέβληται, νενίκηκεν,” οὕτω καὶ τοὺς θεροπευθέντας ὑφ’ ἐτέρων ἀπεδείκνυ Μάγνος ἔτι νοσοῦντας. οἱ δὲ ὑγιαίνοντες καὶ ἐρρωμένοι χάριν ὠμολόγουν τοῖς θεραπεύσασιν· ἀλλ’ ἐκράτει τῶν ἰατρῶν μέχρι τοῦ στόματος καὶ

<sup>1</sup> γε Boissonade; τε Wright.

<sup>2</sup> πύσει = “his investigation of” Wright suggests; for πύσει cf. below, p. 503.

<sup>3</sup> Boissonade fails to translate the curious phrase προαιρετικὰ σώματα. If the text is sound there is a reference to Aristotle’s discussion of προαίρεσις; but Galen, the medical writer, uses κατὰ προαίρεσιν = “voluntarily,” of certain bodily functions, and Eunapius may have alluded to this medical term. A possible translation is “to aid his natural talent for dealing with bodies (or “parts of bodies”?) endowed with volition,” but this is an awkward construction of φύσει.

<sup>1</sup> Or “enlisted Aristotle to aid nature”? Magnus seems to have been a sort of Christian Scientist who borrowed from  
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were the successors of Zeno. He had trained himself in oratory as well as in the practice of medicine. Of his famous pupils some took up one or other of these professions, thus dividing among them what they had learned from him; others again took up both; but whether they inherited his medical practice or his oratory, every one of them prospered mightily.

MAGNUS was a native of that Antioch which lies beyond the Euphrates and is now called Nisibis. He had been a pupil of Zeno, and, in order to give force to his rhetoric, he dragged in Aristotle in connexion with the nature of bodies endowed with volition,<sup>1</sup> and so compelled the doctors to keep silence in the matter of rhetoric, but he was thought to be less able as a healer than as an orator. The ancient writers relate that when Archidamus was asked whether he was stronger than Pericles, he replied: "Nay, even when I throw Pericles a fall, he still carries off the victory by declaring that he has not been thrown at all."<sup>2</sup> In the same way Magnus used to demonstrate that those whom other doctors had cured were still ill. And when those who had been restored to health were endeavouring to express their gratitude to those who had healed them, Magnus still got the better of the doctors in the matter of talking and putting

Aristotle, *Ethics* iii. 2, on the exercise of deliberate purpose (*προαίρεσις*), to persuade patients that they could decide as to whether to be well or ill.

<sup>2</sup> An echo of Plutarch, *Pericles* 8. Eunapius, though so well read in Plutarch, misquotes this familiar anecdote, which is told of Pericles and Thucydides. Archidamus asked the question of Thucydides who made the answer quoted here.

τῶν ἐρωτήσεων. καὶ διδασκαλεῖον μὲν ἐξήρητο κοινὸν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, καὶ πάντες ἔπλεον καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐφοίτων, ὡς θαυμάσαντές τι μόνον ἢ ληψόμενοι τῶν παρ' ἐκείνου καλῶν. καὶ ἀποτυγχάνειν οὐ συνέβαινε αὐτοῖς· ἢ γὰρ τὸ λαλεῖν ἐκέρδαινον, ἢ τὸ δύνασθαι ποιεῖν τι καὶ ἐνεργεῖν διὰ τῆς σφετέρας ἐπιμελείας προσελάμβανον.

Ὅρειβάσιον δὲ Πέργαμος ἤνεγκε, καὶ τοῦτο εὐθὺς οὕτω συνετέλει πρὸς δόξαν, ὥσπερ τοῖς Ἀθήνησι γεγονόσιν, ὅταν εὐδοκιμῶσι κατὰ τοὺς λόγους, πολὺς ἄνω χωρεῖ λόγος ὅτι Ἀττικὴ Μοῦσα καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν οἰκεῖον. ἐκατέρων δὲ εὖ πεφυκώς, ἐκ παιδὸς ἦν ἐπιφανής, πάσης παιδείας μετεσχηκώς ἢ πρὸς ἀρετὴν συμφέρει τε καὶ τελεῖ. προῖων δὲ ἐς ἡλικίαν, ἀκροατῆς τε ἐγένετο τοῦ μεγάλου Ζήνωνος, καὶ Μάγνου συμφοιτητής. ἀλλὰ τὸν Μάγνον ἀπολιπὼν παλαιόντα τοῖς νοήμασιν, αὐτὸς καὶ ἐν τούτοις δὲ ἄριστος ὢν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄκρον ἐκδραμῶν τῆς ἰατρικῆς, τὸν πατριον ἐμιμείτο θεόν, ὅσον ἀνθρώπῳ δυνατὸν ἐς τὴν μίμησιν ὑπελθεῖν τοῦ θείου. ἐκ μεираκίου δὲ ἐπιφανής γενόμενος, Ἰουλιανὸς μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν Καίσαρα προῖων συνήρπασεν ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ, ὃ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐπλεονέκτει ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς, ὥστε καὶ βασιλέα τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἀπέδειξε· καὶ ταῦτά γε ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἐκείνον ἀκριβέστερον εἴρηται. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κορυδαλλίς, ἢ παροιμία φησὶν, ἄνευ

<sup>1</sup> Asclepius; cf. Lucian, *Icaromenippus* 24.

<sup>2</sup> See, however, Introduction, p. 338.

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questions. At Alexandria a public school was especially assigned for him to teach in, and everyone sailed thither and attended his lectures, either merely in order to see and admire him or to enjoy the advantages of his teaching. This they never failed to do, for they either acquired the power of facile and fluent speech, or the ability to do and achieve some practical work by their own industry.

Pergamon was the birthplace of ORIBASIVS, and in fact this contributed to his renown, just as is the case with those who are born at Athens; for whenever such men win a name for eloquence, the report spreads far and wide that their Muse is Attic and that this paragon is a home product. Oribasius came of a good family on both sides, and from his boyhood he was distinguished because he acquired every kind of learning that conduces to virtue and perfects it. When he reached early manhood he became a pupil of the great Zeno and a fellow-disciple of Magnus. But he outstripped Magnus, and left him wrestling with the task of expressing his ideas, an art in which he himself excelled; and he lost no time in attaining to the first rank in medicine, thereby imitating the patron god<sup>1</sup> of his country, so far as it is possible for a mortal to progress towards the imitation of the divine. Since he won fame even from his earliest youth, Julian, when he was promoted to the rank of Caesar, carried him away with him to practise his art; but he so excelled in every other excellence that he actually made Julian emperor.<sup>2</sup> However, these matters have been more fully described in my account of Julian's reign. Nevertheless, as the proverb says, "No lark is with-

λόφου, οὐδὲ Ὀρειβάσιος ἦν ἄνευ φθόνου. ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς δόξης, οἱ μετὰ Ἰουλιανὸν βασιλεύοντες τῆς τε οὐσίας ἀφείλοντο, καὶ διαφθειροὶ τὸ σῶμα βουληθέντες, τὸ μὲν ἔργον ὤκησαν, ἑτεροίως δὲ ἔπραξαν ὅπερ ἠσχύνθησαν· ἐξέθηκαν γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, ὥσπερ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς κατ' ἀρετὴν ὑπερέχοντας ἐξωστράκιζον. ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκβαλεῖν ὁ νόμος ἔλεγε, καὶ προσῆν οὐδέν· οἱ δὲ βασιλεύοντες καὶ τὸ παραδοῦναι τοῖς ὠμοτάτοις βαρβάροις ἐπέθεσαν, ἐκείνους ποιῶντες κυρίου τοῦ σφετέρου βουλεύματος. Ὀρειβάσιος δὲ ἐκτεθείς εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν, ἔδειξε τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ μέγεθος, οὐ τόποις ὀριζομένης, οὐδὲ γραφομένης ἦθεσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ στάσιμον καὶ μόνιμον ἐπιδεικνυμένης κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἐνέργειαν, κἂν ἀλλαχόθι κἂν παρ' ἄλλοις φαίνηται, ὥσπερ τοὺς ἀριθμούς φασι καὶ τὰ μαθήματα. εὐδοκίμει τε γὰρ εὐθύς παρὰ τοῖς βασιλευσὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ ἀνὰ τοὺς πρῶτους ἦν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἀποβλεπόμενος παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις προσεκυνεῖτο καθάπερ

499 τις θεός, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ νοσημάτων χρονίων ἀνασώζων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θανάτου πύλης διακλέπτων. καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ τῆς λεγομένης συμφορᾶς εὐδαιμονίας ἀπάσης πρόφασις, ὥστε καὶ οἱ βασιλεύοντες ἀπαγορευσάντες μάχεσθαι πρὸς τὴν διὰ πάντων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δύναμιν, ἐπανιέναι συνεχώρησαν. ὁ

<sup>1</sup> Πάσαισιν κορυθαλλίσιν χρή λόφον ἐγγενέσθαι Simonides, frag. 68.



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out a crest,"<sup>1</sup> and so too Oribasius was not without envious enemies. For it was because of his extraordinary celebrity that the emperors who followed Julian deprived him of his property, and they desired to take his life also but shrank from the deed. However, by other means they carried out the crime which they were ashamed to commit openly. For they exposed his person to the barbarians, just as the Athenians ostracized from Athens men whose virtue was above the average. However, in their case the law allowed them to exile men from the state, and there was no further penalty; whereas the emperors added to his exile this abandonment to the most savage barbarians, thus giving them absolute power to carry out their imperial purpose. But Oribasius, after being thrust out into the enemy's country, showed the greatness of his virtue, which could not be limited to this place or that, or circumscribed by the manners of the people about him, but ever displayed its stability and constancy in independent activity whenever and wherever it showed itself; just as we are told is the case with numbers and mathematical truths. For he forthwith rose to great renown at the courts of the rulers of the barbarians, and held the first rank there; and while throughout the Roman empire he was highly regarded, among the barbarians he was worshipped like a god; since some he restored from chronic diseases and snatched others from death's door. Indeed that which men had reckoned his misfortune proved to be the occasion of nothing but good fortune; so that even the emperors gave up fighting against the man's power so universally displayed, and permitted him to return from exile.

δέ, ὡς ἔτυχε τῆς ἐπανόδου, μόνον ἑαυτὸν ἔχων ἀντὶ πάσης οὐσίας, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρετῶν πλοῦτον ἐπίδεικνύμενος, γυναῖκά τε ἠγάγετο τῶν κατὰ πλοῦτον ἐπιφανῶν καὶ γένος, καὶ παῖδας ἔσχε τέτταρας, οἰτινές εἰσί τε καὶ εἶψαν· αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτου τῆς γραφῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἔστι τε καὶ εἶη· ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον πλοῦτον ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων ἀνακομισάμενος, τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα βασιλέων συγκεχωρηκότων, ὡς ἐπ' ἀδίκῃ τῇ προτέρᾳ κρίσει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔστι καὶ οὕτως ἔχει. Ὀρειβασίῳ τε συντυχεῖν ἀνδρὸς ἔστι φιλοσοφούντος γενναίως, ὥστε εἰδέναι τί πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων θαυμάσει· τοσαύτη τις ἢ διὰ πάντων ἔστι προιοῦσα καὶ παρατρέχουσα ταῖς συνουσίαις ἀρμονία καὶ χάρις.

Ἴωνικὸς δὲ ἦν μὲν ἐκ Σάρδεων, καὶ πατρὸς ἰατροῦσαντος ἐπιφανῶς· Ζήνωνος δὲ ἀκροατῆς γενόμενος, εἰς ἄκρον τε ἐπιμελείας ἐξίκετο, καὶ Ὀρειβάσιός γε αὐτοῦ θαυμαστῆς ἐτύγγανεν. ὀνομάτων δὲ πάντων ἰατρικῆς ἐμπειρότατος γενόμενος καὶ πραγμάτων, κρείττων ἦν ἐν τῇ καθ' ἕκαστον πείρᾳ, τῶν τε τοῦ σώματος μορίων ἄκρως δαημονέστερος γενόμενος, καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἐξεταστικός. οὐκοῦν οὔτε φαρμάκου τιῶς ἔλαθε κατασκευὴ αὐτὸν καὶ κράσις,<sup>1</sup> οὐδ' ὅσα ἐμπλάττουσι οἱ τεχνικώτατοι τοῖς ἔλκεσι, τὰ μὲν τὴν ἐπιρροὴν ἐπέχοντες, τὰ δὲ τὴν ἐμπεσοῦσαν διασκιδνάντες, ἐκείνον ἐλάνθανεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ δῆσαι τὸ πεπονθὸς μόριον, καὶ σχῆσαι τοῖς μέρεσιν εὐρετικώτατος τε ἦν καὶ διεξήτασμένος. ἔργα τε οὖν καὶ ὀνόματα τούτων ἠπίστατο, ὥστε τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> κρίσις Boissonade ; κράσις Wyttenbach.

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After he had gained permission to return, lord of himself though not of wealth, for the only riches that he had to show were the virtues, he married a wife who came of a family illustrious both for wealth and noble blood. By her he had four children who are still alive; long life to them! He himself, at this time of writing, is alive; long life to him! Nay more, he recovered his original fortune from the public treasury with the consent of the later emperors, on the ground of the injustice of the earlier verdict. Thus and in this wise it stands with him. And any man who is a genuine philosopher can meet and converse with Oribasius, that so he may learn what above all else he ought to admire. Such harmony, such charm radiates from Oribasius and attends on all intercourse with him.

IONICUS was a native of Sardis, and his father was a celebrated physician. As a pupil of Zeno he attained to the highest degree of industry and diligence and won the admiration of Oribasius. While he acquired the greatest skill in the theory and practice of medicine in all its branches, he showed peculiar ability in every kind of experiment, was thoroughly acquainted with the anatomy of the body, and also made researches into the nature of man. Thus he understood the composition and mixture of every kind of drug that exists; he knew every sort of plaster and dressing that the most skilful healers apply to wounds, whether to stop a haemorrhage or to disperse what has gathered there. Also he was most inventive and expert in bandaging an injured limb, and in amputating or dissecting. He was so thoroughly versed in the theory and practice of all these arts that even those who prided them-

μεγαλοφρονούντας ἐπὶ τῷ θεραπεύειν ἐξίστασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν, καὶ φανερώς ὁμολογεῖν ὅτι συντυγχάνοντες Ἴωνικῶ, τὰ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς εἰρημένα μανθάνουσιν ἔργω, καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν ἐξάγουσιν, ὡσπερ ὀνόματα κρυπτόμενα μέχρι τῆς γραφῆς.

Τοιοῦτός τε ὢν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην, καὶ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἅπασαν ἔρρωτο, καὶ πρὸς θειασμόν, ὅσος τε ἐξ ἰατρικῆς ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἦκει τῶν καμνόντων ἐς πρόγνωσιν, καὶ ὅσος, ἐκ φιλοσοφίας παράβακχος ὢν, ἐς τοὺς δυναμένους ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ σώζειν ἀπολήγει καὶ διασπείρεται. ἔμελε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ῥητορικῆς ἀκριβείας, καὶ λόγων ἀπάντων τέχνης· οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ποιήσεως ἀμύητος ἦν. ἀλλ' ἐτελεύτα μικρόν τι πρὸ τῆς γραφῆς ἐπὶ δύο παισὶν ἀξίοις λόγου τε καὶ μνήμης.

Καὶ Θεῶν δέ τις ἐν Γαλατίᾳ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς πολλῆς δόξης ἐτύγχανεν.

Ἐπανιτέον δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους πάλιν ὄθεν ἐξέβημεν.

- 500 Ταυτησὶ τῆς γραφῆς αἴτιος ἐγένετο Χρυσάνθιος, τὸν τε γράφοντα ταῦτα πεπαιδευκῶς ἐκ παιδός, καὶ διασεσωκῶς εἰς τέλος, ὡσπερ νόμον τινά, τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν εὖνοιαν. ἀλλ' οὐδέν γε διὰ τοῦτο ῥηθήσεται πρὸς χάριν· ἐκεῖνός τε γὰρ ἀλήθειαν ἐτίμα διαφερόντως καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐπαίδευεν, ἡμεῖς τε οὐ διαφθεροῦμεν τὴν δοθείσαν δωρεάν,

<sup>1</sup> i.e. as a physician.

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selves on their ability as healers were amazed at his accurate knowledge, and openly admitted that by conversing with Ionicus they really understood the precepts that had been uttered by the physicians of earlier times and could now apply them to their use, though before they had been like words whose meaning is completely obscured, save only that they had been written down.

Such were his attainments in the science of his profession, but he was also well equipped in every branch of philosophy and both kinds of divination; for there is one kind that has been bestowed on man for the benefit of the science of medicine, so that doctors may diagnose cases of sickness; and another that derives its inspiration from philosophy and is limited to and disseminated among those who have the power to receive and preserve it. He also studied the art of rhetoric with exact thoroughness, and the complete art of oratory; and was an initiate in the art of poetry. But he died not long before this work was written, and left two sons who deserve all honourable mention and remembrance.

There was also one THEON who about this time acquired a great reputation<sup>1</sup> in Gaul.

But I must return once more to the philosophers from whom I have digressed.

It was CHRYSANTHIUS who caused this commentary to be written, for he educated the author of this work from boyhood, and to the last maintained his kindness towards him as though it were some legal obligation. Nevertheless, I shall not on that account say anything merely to show my gratitude. For above all else he honoured the truth, and taught me this first of all, so that I shall not corrupt that gift

πλήν εἴ ποῦ τι καὶ ὑφήσομεν ἐπὶ τὸ καταδεέστερον ἄγοντες, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα συνωμολογήσαμεν.

Τῶν μὲν οὖν εἰς βουλήν τελούντων ἦν ὁ Χρυσάνθιος, καὶ τῶν ἀνὰ τοὺς πρώτους ἐπ' εὐγενεία φερομένων· ἐγεγόνει δὲ αὐτῷ πάππος, Ἴνοκέντιός τις, εἰς τε πλοῦτον ἐλθὼν οὐκ ὀλίγον, καὶ δόξαν ὑπὲρ ἰδιώτην τινὰ λαχών, ὃς γε νομοθετικὴν εἶχε δύναμιν παρὰ τῶν τότε βασιλευόντων ἐπιτετραμμένος. καὶ βιβλία γε αὐτοῦ διασώζεται, τὰ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γλῶσσαν, τὰ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φέροντα, τό τε ἐξεταστικὸν καὶ βαθὺ τῆς γνώμης ἐρμηνεύοντα, καὶ τὴν περὶ ταῦτα κατάληψιν τοῖς ταῦτα βουλομένοις θαυμάζειν συνειληφότα. Χρυσάνθιος δὲ αὐτός, νέος ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολειφθεὶς, καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐρασθεὶς διὰ φύσεως θειότητα, πρὸς τε τὸ Πέργαμον καὶ τὸν μέγαν Αἰδέσιον συνέτεινεν· ἀκμάζοντι δὲ πρὸς μετάδοσιν σοφίας διψῶν περιτυχῶν, χανδόν, ἑαυτὸν ὑποθεὶς, ἐνεφορεῖτο τῆς τοιαύτης σοφίας οὐ τυχούσης,<sup>1</sup> οὔτε πρὸς ἀκρόασιν ἀπαγορευῶν τινά, οὔτε εἰς μελέτην ἐλάττων τινὸς φαινόμενος· καὶ γὰρ ἔτυχεν ἀτρίτου καὶ ἀδαμαντίνου σώματος, ἐς πᾶσαν ἄσκησιν ὑπουργεῖν εἰωθότος. ὁ δὲ τῶν τε Πλάτωνος καὶ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους λόγων μετασχὼν ἰκανῶς, καὶ πρὸς πᾶν εἶδος φιλοσοφίας

<sup>1</sup> σοφίας . . . τυχούσης Laurentianus; οὐ τυχούσης Boissonade; οὐ τῆς συντυχούσης Lundström.

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which I received at his hands, save as perhaps I may somewhat moderate my statements and say less than the truth, since this was the agreement that we made.

Chrysanthius was of senatorial rank and was rated among the most nobly born in his city. His grandfather was one Innocentius, who had made a considerable fortune and had acquired greater celebrity than is the lot of the average private citizen, inasmuch as the emperors who reigned at that time entrusted to him the task of compiling the legal statutes. Indeed certain of his works still survive, and they deal partly with the language of the Romans, partly with Greece, and bear witness to the judicial and profound character of his mind; they contain a comprehensive treatment of these subjects for the benefit of those who are disposed to be interested in them. Chrysanthius himself, having been bereaved of his father while he was still a youth, was inflamed with the love of philosophy because of the divine qualities of his nature, and therefore betook himself to Pergamon and to the famous Aedesius. The latter was at the very height of his teaching powers when Chrysanthius encountered him thirsty for knowledge, submitted himself open-mouthed to his influence, feasted on his great and singular wisdom, was untiring in his attendance at lectures, and in his devotion to study showed himself second to none. Indeed he possessed an untiring and even adamant frame, inured to undergo every kind of severe exercise. When he had been sufficiently imbued with the doctrines of Plato and Aristotle, he turned his attention to every other school of philosophy and read

τρέψας τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ πᾶν εἶδος ἀναλεγόμενος, ὡς περὶ τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὑγίαινε καὶ ἔρρωτο, καὶ τῇ συνεχεῖ χρήσει πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῶν ἑτοιμος ὑπῆρχε, καὶ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἐθάρσει τοῦ κατωρθωμένου, τὰ μὲν εἰπεῖν, τὰ δὲ σιωπήσαι δυνάμενος, καὶ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι κρατεῖν, εἴ που βιασθείη, τυγχάνων πομπικώτερος, ἐντεῦθεν ἀφήκεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ θεῶν γνῶσιν, καὶ σοφίαν ἧς Πυθαγόρας τε ἐφρόντιζε καὶ ὅσοι Πυθαγόραν ἐζήλωσαν, Ἀρχύτας τε ὁ παλαιός, καὶ ὁ ἐκ Τυάνων Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ οἱ προσκνησάντες Ἀπολλώνιον, οἵτινες σῶμά τε ἔδοξαν ἔχειν καὶ εἶναι ἀνθρώποι. καὶ πρὸς ταῦτά γε Χρυσάνθιος ἀναδραμῶν καὶ πρώτης τινὸς λαβῆς ἐπιδραξάμενος, ταῖς ἀρχαῖς αὐταῖς ἠγεμόσι χρώμενος, εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐκουφίσθη τε καὶ ἀνηγέρθη παρὰ τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς πτερώματος,<sup>1</sup> ἢ φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων, ὥστε πᾶν μὲν εἶδος αὐτῶ παντοίως παιδείας εἰς ἄκρον ὑπάρχειν, καὶ πᾶσαν κατορθοῦσθαι πρόγνωσιν. ὁρᾶν γοῦν ἂν τις αὐτὸν ἔφησε τὰ ἐσόμενα μᾶλλον ἢ προλέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα, οὕτως ἅπαντα διήθρει καὶ συνελάμβανε, ὥσανεὶ παρῶν τε καὶ συνῶν τοῖς θεοῖς.

Χρόνον δὲ ἰκανόν τινα περὶ ταῦτα διατρέψας, καὶ συναθλήσας<sup>2</sup> τῷ Μαξίμῳ πολὺ τι, τὸν κοινωνὸν ἀπέλιπεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔχων τι φιλόνεικον ἐν τῇ φύσει καὶ δυσσεκβίαστον, τοῖς φανθείσι σημείοις πορὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀντιβαίνων, ἕτερα ἤπει καὶ προσ-  
501 ηγάγκαζεν· ὁ δὲ Χρυσάνθιος, τοῖς πρώτοις θεω-

<sup>1</sup> τελειώματος Boissonade; πτερώματος Wytttenbach, cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 246 E.

<sup>2</sup> συναθλήσας Boissonade; συναθλήσας Cobet.



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deeply in every branch. Then when he had a sure and firm hold on the science of oratory, and by constant practice was fully equipped to exercise instant judgement in this field, he confidently displayed in public his well-trained talents, since he knew what to say and what to leave unsaid, while he was endowed with splendid and impressive rhetoric which helped him to win when he was hard pressed. Next he applied himself wholly to comprehending the nature of the gods and that wisdom to which Pythagoras devoted his mind, as did the disciples of Pythagoras such as Archytas of old, and Apollonius of Tyana, and those who worshipped Apollonius as a god, all of them beings who only seemed to possess a body and to be mortal men. Chrysanthius lost no time in devoting himself to these studies also, and seized hold of the first handle that offered itself in every case, taking first principles as his guide. Thus he was so marvellously enlightened and uplifted by the plumage of his soul, as Plato says, that he arrived at equal perfection in every branch of every type of wisdom, and was an adept in every branch of divination. Hence one might have said of him that he rather saw than foretold future events, so accurately did he discern and comprehend everything, as though he dwelt with and were in the presence of the gods.

After spending a considerable time in these studies and collaborating with Maximus in the most arduous tasks, he left this partner of his. For Maximus had in his nature a tendency to be jealous and obstinate, and in direct opposition to the omens revealed by the gods he would keep demanding further omens and trying to extort them. Chrysanthius, on the

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μένους, κατὰ μικρὸν ἐκ παραγωγῆς ἐπὶ τὴν κίνησιν τῶν δοθέντων ἐβάδιζε· εἶτα τυχῶν μὲν ἐνίκα, διαμαρτῶν δὲ, τῷ φαινομένῳ τὸ παρά τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης βουλῆς ἐφήρμοζεν. οὕτω γοῦν καὶ ἠνίκα ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰουλιανὸς ἄμφω μετεκάλει διὰ μιᾶς κλήσεως, καὶ οἱ πεμφθέντες στρατιῶται μετὰ τιμῆς τὴν Θετταλικὴν ἐπήγον πειθανάγκην, ὡς ἔδοξε κοινῶσαι<sup>1</sup> τοῖς θεοῖς τὸ ἔργον, καὶ περιφανῶς, ὡς κἂν ἰδιώτην καὶ βάνανσον διακρίναι τὰ σημεῖα, τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπαγορευσάντος, ὁ μὲν Μάξιμος ἐνεφύετο τοῖς ἱεροῖς, καὶ ποτνιαῶμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς δρωμένοις μετ' ὀλοφυρμῶν ἐνέκειτο, τυχεῖν ἑτέρων σημείων ἰκετευὼν τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ μετατεθῆναι τὰ εἰμαρμένα· καὶ πολλὰ γε ἐπὶ πολλοῖς αὐτῷ διατεινομένῳ καὶ παρακλίνοντι ὡς ἐξηγγεῖτο Χρυσάνθιος, ἢ βουλήσεις τελευτῶντι τὰ φαινόμενα ἔκρινε, καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐφαίνετο, οὐ τὸ φανθὲν ἔδοξάζετο. οὕτως οὖν ὁ μὲν ὤρμησε τὴν ἀρχέκακον ὁδὸν ἐκείνην καὶ ἀποδημίαν, ὁ δὲ Χρυσάνθιος ἔμεινε κατὰ χῶραν. καὶ τὰ πρῶτα μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤλγησεν ἐπὶ τῇ μονῇ, καὶ πού τι καὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν προσυπενόησεν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἠρνήσατο Χρυσάνθιος τὴν κλήσιν, εἰ μὴ τι δυσχερὲς ἐνεῖδε τοῖς μέλλουσιν. ἔγραφεν οὖν καὶ πάλιν

<sup>1</sup> κοινῶσαι *Mediceus*; κοινωῆσαι *Boissonade*; κοινῶσαι *Cobet*.

<sup>1</sup> For the tyrannical manners of the Thessalians cf. Philostratus, *Life of Critias* above, p. 501. Ἡ Θετταλικὴ πειθανάγκη was a proverb; cf. Julian 31 D, 274 C.

<sup>2</sup> For these incidents see the *Life of Aedesius*, pp. 476, 477.

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contrary, would use the first omens that appeared, then, by gradual divergence from these, would proceed to alter the signs that had been vouchsafed; then, if he got the omens he wanted, he had the best of it, but if he failed he adapted his human counsel to fit whatever came to light. For instance, on the occasion when the Emperor Julian by a single summons invited them both together to his court, and the soldiers who had been sent to escort them were applying with all due respect the Thesalian way of "forcible persuasion,"<sup>1</sup> they resolved to communicate with the gods on this matter; and when the god warned them against the journey so plainly that any private person, even a tradesman, could have judged the omens, Maximus could not tear himself away from the sacrificial victims, and after the rites had been duly completed he persisted in wailing and lamentations, beseeching the gods to vouchsafe him different omens and to alter the course of destiny. And since he stubbornly persisted in many attempts, one after another, and always perverted the explanation that Chrysanthius gave, in the end his own will and pleasure interpreted the divine revelation, and the victims gave only the signs that he would accept, since he would not accept the signs they gave.<sup>2</sup> So he set out on that ill-fated journey and the travels that were the cause of all his troubles; whereas Chrysanthius stayed at home. And at first the emperor was vexed at his tardiness, and moreover, I think he even guessed something of the truth, that Chrysanthius would not have refused the invitation if he had not observed something ill-omened in events to come. Accordingly, he wrote and summoned him

μετακαλῶν, καὶ οὐ πρὸς αὐτὸν μόνον αἱ παρακλήσεις ἦσαν· ὁ δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα συμπεῖθειν τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐνήγε. καὶ πάλιν ἦν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀναφορὰ παρὰ τοῦ Χρυσανθίου, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἔληγεν εἰς ταῦτο συμφερόμενα. ὡς δὲ πολλάκις τοῦτο ἦν καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐπίεσθη,<sup>1</sup> ὁ δὲ Χρυσάνθιος τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους λαβὼν, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐξεπιστάμενος σαφῶς, οὐ βαρὺς ἦν κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, οὔτε τοὺς νεῶς ἐγείρων, ὥσπερ ἅπαντες θερμῶς καὶ περικαῶς ἐς ταῦτα συνέθειον, οὔτε λυπῶν τινας τῶν χριστιανῶν περιττῶς· ἀλλὰ τοσαύτη τις ἦν ἀπλότης τοῦ ἤθους, ὡς κατὰ Λυδίας μικροῦ καὶ ἔλαθεν ἢ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπανόρθωσις. ὡς γοῦν ἐτέρωσε τὰ πρῶτα ἐχώρησεν, οὐδὲν ἐδόκει πεπραῆχθαι νεώτερον, οὐδέ πολὺ τι καὶ ἀθρόον κατὰ μεταβολὴν ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλ' ἐπιεικῶς ἐς ὁμαλότητά τινα καὶ ἀκινησίαν ἅπαντα συνέστρωντο, καὶ μόνος ἐθαυμάζετο, τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὥσπερ ἐν κλύδωνι κινουμένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐξαπιναίως κατεπτηχότων, τῶν δὲ πρότερον ταπεινῶν ἀνεστηκότων· ἐθαυμάσθη γοῦν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὡς οὐ μόνον δεινὸς τὰ μέλλοντα προνοεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς γνωσθεῖσι χρήσασθαι.

<sup>1</sup> Ἦν δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἤθος τοιοῦτος, ἢ πρὸς τὸν Πλατωνικὸν Σωκράτην ἀναπεφυκῶς, ἢ κατὰ τινα ζῆλον καὶ μίμησιν ἐκ παιδὸς αὐτῷ γενομένην ἐς ἐκεῖνον συνεσχηματισμένος. τό τε γὰρ ἐπιφανό-

<sup>1</sup> After τοῦτο ἦν lacuna in mss.; ἐπαίτης mss. Boissonade; ἐπίεσθη Wyttenbach; ἐπ' Ἀσίης sc. ἠπαίετο Boissonade suggests; Lundström, to fill lacuna, καὶ ἔληγεν ὡς ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐπαίτης (ἐπαίτης ὡς = ἐπαίτων).

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a second time, and his invitations were not addressed to Chrysanthius only. For in a special letter he urged his wife to help him to persuade her husband. Once more, then, Chrysanthius referred the matter to the divine will, and the gods continued to give a response to the same effect. When this had happened several times, even the emperor was convinced; but Chrysanthius having been appointed high priest of the whole country, since he knew clearly what was about to happen, was not oppressive in the exercise of his office. He built no temples, as all other men in their hot haste and perfervid zeal hastened to do, nor was he excessively harsh to any of the Christians. But such was the mildness of his character that throughout Lydia the restoration of the temples almost escaped notice. At any rate, when the powers that be pursued a different policy, there proved to have been no serious innovation, nor did there seem to be any great and universal change, but everything calmed down in a friendly spirit and became smooth and tranquil; by which means he alone won admiration when all the rest were tossed to and fro as though by tempest; since on a sudden some cowered in consternation, while they that were humbled before were once more exalted. For all this, then, he won admiration as one who was not only skilled in forecasting the future, but also in rightly using his foreknowledge.

Such was the man's whole disposition, whether it was that in him the Platonic Socrates had come to life again, or in his ambition to imitate him he carefully formed himself from boyhood on his pattern. For an unaffected and indescribable

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μενον ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀφελές καὶ ἀδιήγητον ἐπεκάθητο  
 τοῖς λόγοις, ἧ τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀφροδίτη τῶν ῥημάτων  
 κατέθελγε τὸν ἀκροώμενον. πᾶσί τε εὖνους ἦν  
 κατὰ τὴν συνουσίαν, καὶ τῶν ἀπιόντων ἕκαστος,  
 ὅτι φιλοτιμοῖτο μᾶλλον, ἀπῆει πεπεισμένος. ὥσπερ  
 οὖν τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ γλυκύτερα τῶν μελῶν πρὸς  
 502 πᾶσαν ἀκοὴν ἡμέρως καὶ πράως καταρρεῖ καὶ  
 διολισθαίνει καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀλόγων διῦκνούμενα,  
 καθάπερ φασὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα, οὕτω καὶ Χρυσανθίου  
 λόγος πᾶσιν ἦν ἐναρμόνιος, καὶ τοσαύταις δια-  
 φοραῖς ἡθῶν ἐνέπρεπε καὶ καθηρμόζετο. δυσ-  
 κίνητος δὲ ἦν περὶ τὰς διαλέξεις καὶ φιλονεικίας,  
 ἐν τούτοις μάλιστα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπολαμβάνων  
 ἐκτραχύνεσθαι· οὐδ' ἂν ῥαδίως ἤκουσέ τις αὐτοῦ  
 τὴν παιδείαν ἦν εἶχεν ἐπιδεικνυμένου, καὶ διὰ  
 τοῦτο πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους οἰδοῦντος καὶ διογκυλ-  
 λομένου, ἀλλὰ τά τε λεγόμενα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐθαύ-  
 μαζεν, εἰ καὶ φαύλως ἐλέγετο, καὶ τὰ δοξαζόμενα  
 κακῶς ἐπῆνει, καθάπερ οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀκούων,  
 ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ συμφατικὸν διὰ τὸ μὴ λυπεῖν γεγονώς.  
 εἰ δέ πού τις, τῶν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ πρώτων παρόντων,  
 ἐγένετο κίνησις, καὶ συμβαλέσθαι τι τοῖς λεγο-  
 μένοις ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, πάντα ἦν ἡσυχίας μεστά,  
 καθάπερ οὐ παρόντων ἀνθρώπων· οὕτως οὔτε  
 τὰς ἐρωτήσεις, οὔτε τοὺς διορισμούς, οὔτε τὰς  
 μνήμας ὑπέμενον τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλ' ἀνέχαζον,  
 ἕξω λόγου καὶ ἀντιρρήσεως ἑαυτοὺς φυλάττοντες,  
 ὅπως μὴ καταφανεῖς ἀμαρτάνοντες γίνωνται. καὶ  
 πολλοὶ τῶν μετρίως ἐγνωκότων αὐτόν, διὰ τοῦ  
 βάθους τῆς ψυχῆς οὐκ ἀφιγμένων, κατηγορούντων  
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simplicity was manifest in him and dwelt in his speech, and moreover there was about every word of his a charm that enchanted the hearer. In intercourse he was amiable to all men, so that everyone went away from him with the conviction that he was especially beloved. And just as the most charming and sweetest songs flow gently and smoothly, as they insinuate themselves into all men's ears and reach even irrational animals, as they tell of Orpheus, even so the eloquence of Chrysanthius was modulated to suit all ears and was in harmony with and adapted to all those diverse temperaments. But it was not easy to rouse him to philosophical discussions or competitions, because he perceived that it is especially in such contests that men become embittered. Nor would anyone readily have heard him showing off his own erudition or inflated because of it, or insolent and arrogant towards others; rather he used to admire whatever they said, even though their remarks were worthless, and he would applaud even incorrect conclusions, just as though he had not even heard the premises, but was naturally inclined to assent, lest he should inflict pain on anyone. And if in an assembly of those most distinguished for learning any dissension arose, and he thought fit to take part in the discussion, the place became hushed in silence as though no one were there. So unwilling were they to face his questions and definitions and power of quoting from memory, but they would retire into the background and carefully refrain from discussion or contradiction, lest their failure should be too evident. Many of those who knew him only slightly, and therefore had not sounded the depths of his soul, accused him of

τε ἀλογίαν, καὶ τὴν πραότητα μόνον ἐπαιούντων, ὡς ἦσθοντο διαλεγομένου καὶ ἀνελίττοντος ἑαυτὸν εἰς δόγματα καὶ λόγους, ἕτερόν τινα τοῦτον ἐνόμισαν παρ' ὃν ἦδεισαν· οὕτως ἀλλοιότερός τις ἐν ταῖς λογικαῖς κινήσεσιν ἐφαίνετο, τῆς τε τριχὸς ὑποφριττούσης αὐτῷ, καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρμηνευόντων χορεύουσαν ἔνδον τὴν ψυχὴν περὶ τὰ δόγματα. εἰς μακρὸν δὲ γῆρας ἀφικόμενος, τὸν πάντα διετέλεσε βίον, οὐδενὸς τῶν κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἐτέρου φροντίσας ἢ οἰκονομίας τινός, ἢ γεωργίας, ἢ χρημάτων ὅσα δικαίως παραγίνεται. ἀλλὰ πενίαν μὲν ἔφερε ῥᾶον ἢ πλοῦτον ἕτεροι, διαίτη δὲ τῇ παραπεσούσῃ προσεκέχρητο, τῶν μὲν υἱῶν οὐδέποτε, τῶν ἄλλων χρεῶν ἐλάχιστα γευόμενος, τὸ δὲ θεῖον θεραπεύων συντονώτατα. τῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀναγνώσεως ἀπρίξ εἶχετο, καὶ διέφερεν οὐδὲν νεότης τε καὶ γῆρας, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὀγδοήκοντα γεγονῶς ἔτη, τοσαῦτα ἔγραφεν αὐτοχειρία, ὅσα μόλις ἀναγινώσκουσι νεάζοντες ἕτεροι. τῶν γοῦν γραφόντων τὰ ἄκρα δακτύλων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλήκτου μελέτης καὶ χρήσεως συνεκέκαμπτο.<sup>1</sup> ἀναστὰς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀσκήσεως, ταῖς τε δημοσίαις προόδοις ἐτέρπετο, καὶ τὸν τε ταῦτα γράφοντα παραλαβὼν, μακροὺς μὲν τοὺς περιπάτους, σχολαίους δὲ ἀπέτεινεν· ἔλαθέ τε ἂν τις περιαλγῆς τοὺς πόδας γενόμενος, οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν διηγημάτων κατεθέλλετο. λουτροῖς δὲ ἐλάχιστα ἐκέχρητο, καὶ ὁμως ἐῷκει διὰ παντὸς ἄρτι λελουμένῳ. πρὸς δὲ τὰς

<sup>1</sup> ἐνεκέκαπτο Boissonade ; συνεκέκαμπτο Cobet, cf. Diogenes Laertius vi. 29 συγκεκαμμένων τῶν δακτύλων.



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lack of intelligence and would praise only his mild disposition ; but when they heard him maintaining a philosophical theme and unfolding his opinions and arguments, they decided that this was a very different person from the man they thought they knew. So transformed did he seem by the excitement of dialectical debate, with his hair standing on end, and his eyes testifying that the soul within him was leaping and dancing around the opinions that he expressed. He survived to an advanced old age, and during the whole of his long life he took thought for none of the ordinary affairs of human life, except the care of his own household and agriculture and just so much money as may be honestly acquired. Poverty he bore more easily than other men wealth, and moreover his diet was plain and whatever came to hand. He never ate pork, and other kinds of meat but seldom. He worshipped the gods with the utmost devotion and assiduity, and never slackened in his reading of the ancient authors. In old age he was still the same as he had been in youth, and when he was over eighty he wrote more books with his own hand than others, even in youth, find time to read. Hence the ends of the fingers with which he wrote became curved and crooked with constant work and use. When his work was done he would rise and amuse himself by walking in the public streets with the author of this narrative to keep him company ; and he would take very long but leisurely walks. Meanwhile he would tell such charming and agreeable stories that one might have been terribly footsore without being aware of it. He very seldom went to the baths, and yet he always seemed fresh from a bath. In his intercourse with those in

τῶν ἀρχόντων συντυχίας τὸ ὑπερφυῆς οὐκ ἦν δι' ἀλαζονείαν συνιδεῖν ἢ τύφον γινόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀπλότητα ἂν τις ὑπέλαβεν ἀγνοοῦντος ἀνδρὸς ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐξουσία· οὕτω διελέγετο κοινῶς αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπιδεξίως. τὸν δὲ ταῦτα γράφοντα ἐκπαιδεύσας νέον ἔτι ὄντα, ἠνίκα ἐπανῆλθεν Ἀθήνηθεν, οὐκ ἔλαττον ἠγάπα, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσετίθει καθ' ἡμέραν τῷ διαφέροντι τῆς εὐνοίας, ἐς τοῦτο ἐκνικήσας, ὥστε τὰ ἐωθινὰ μὲν ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἐπὶ 503 ῥητορικοῖς λόγοις ἐτέροις συνῆν, καὶ τοὺς δεομένους ἐπαίδευεν, μικρὸν δὲ ὑπὲρ μεσημβρίας ἐπαυδαίετο, παρὰ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἰὼν διδάσκαλον, τοὺς θειοτέρους καὶ φιλοσόφους τῶν λόγων· ἠνίκα οὔτε ὁ παιδῶν ἔκαμνεν ἐρῶντι συνῶν, τῷ τε ἐκδεχομένῳ τὰ μαθήματα τὸ ἔργον ἦν πανήγυρις.

Τοῦ δὲ τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐκνικῶντος ἔργου καὶ κατέχοντος ἅπαντα, διὰ μακροῦ τις ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης εἰσεφοίτησεν ἀρχῶν τῆς Ἀσίας (Ἰούστος ὠνομάζετο), πρεσβύτης μὲν ἤδη κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, γενναῖος καὶ καλὸς<sup>1</sup> τὸ ἦθος, καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας καὶ πατρίου πολιτείας οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένος, ἀλλὰ τὸν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μακάριον ἐκεῖνον ἐζήλωκώς τρόπον, πρὸς τε ἱεροῖς ἦν αἰεὶ, καὶ μαντείας ἐξεκρέματο πάσης, μέγα φρονῶν ὅτι τούτων ἐπεθύμησέ τε καὶ κατώρθωσεν. οὗτος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβὰς ἐκ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ ἔθνους καταλαβὼν (Ἰλᾶριος ἐκεῖνος ἐκαλεῖτο) συγκορυβαντιῶντα πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, βωμούς

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλως Boissonade : καλῶς Wyttenbach.

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authority, if he seemed to use excessive freedom of manner this was not due to arrogance or pride, but must rather be regarded as the perfect simplicity of one who was wholly ignorant of the nature of power and authority; so familiar and so witty was his language when he talked with such persons. He had taught the author of this work, then still a youth, and when the latter returned from Athens Chrysanthius showed him no less kindness, but day by day he even multiplied the signs of his peculiar goodwill; and he gained such influence over him that the author in the early morning used to give his time to his own pupils and instruct any who so desired in the art of rhetoric, but soon after midday he betook himself to his old master and was by him instructed in the teachings of religion and philosophy. And in this period the teacher never grew weary of instructing his devoted admirer, while the task was like a holiday festival for him who received his teaching.

Now when the practice of Christianity was gaining ground and usurping all men's minds, there arrived from Rome after a long interval a prefect of Asia named Justus, already well on in years, a man of noble and beautiful character, who had not cast aside the time-honoured ritual of his ancestors, for he was an ardent disciple of that happy and blessed form of worship. He was constant in his attendance at the temples, wholly under the sway of every kind of divination, and took great pride in his zeal for these things and his success in restoring them. He crossed from Asia to Constantinople, and when he found that the chief man of the country (his name was Hilarius) was as enthusiastic as himself in

τε ἀνέστησεν αὐτοσχεδίου ἐν Σάρδεσιν (οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτόθι), καὶ τοῖς ἔχρеси τῶν ἱερῶν, εἶπου τι ἔχρος εὐρέθη, χεῖρα ἐπέβαλεν, ἀνορθῶσαι βουλόμενος. δημοσίᾳ τε θύσας, ἔπεμπε καὶ συνεκάλει τοὺς πανταχόθεν ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ δόξαν ἔχοντας. οἱ δὲ παρήσαν θάπτον ἢ κληθῆναι, τὸν τε ἄνδρα θαυμάζοντες, καὶ καιρὸν τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιδείξεως ἡγούμενοι, τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῇ κολακείᾳ θαρροῦντες ὡσπερ παιδείᾳ, καὶ διὰ ταύτης ἐλπίζοντες ἢ τιμὴν ἢ δοξάριον ἢ ἀργύριον ἀποκερδαίνειν.<sup>1</sup> ἱερουργίας οὖν δημοσίᾳ προτεθείσης, παρήσαν μὲν ἅπαντες, καὶ ὁ ταῦτα γράφων παρῆν· ὁ δὲ Ἰουστός ἐπιστήσας, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν στάσιν ἐπερείσας (ἔκειτο δὲ τὸ ἱερεῖον ἐν ᾧ δήποτε τῷ σχήματι), καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἀνηρώτα· “τί βούλεται τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ πτώματος;” ἐνθα οἱ μὲν κόλακες παρεφρίγοντο θαυμάζοντες, ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ σχημάτων ἐστὶ μαντικός, καὶ μόνῳ παρεχώρου ἐκείνῳ ταῦτα εἰδέναί· οἱ δὲ σεμνότεροι τὰς ὑπῆμας καταψήσαντες ἄκροισ τοῖς δακτύλοις, καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα διαστυγνάσαντες, τὰς τε κεφαλὰς βαρῦτι καὶ ἡρεμαῖον ἐπισείοντες, παρεθεώρου ἐς τὸ προκείμενον, ἄλλος ἄλλο λέγοντες. ὁ δὲ Ἰουστός, ὡς μόλις τὸν γέλῳτα ἐνεῖχεν, ἐπιστρέψας εἰς τὸν Χρυσάνθιον “σὺ δὲ τί φῆς,” ἐβόησεν, “ὦ πρεσβύτατε;” καὶ ὁ Χρυσάνθιος οὐδὲν διαταραχθεὶς, πάντων ἔφησε καταγινώσκειν· “ἀλλ’ εἴ τι βούλει κάμει,” ἔφη “περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν, τίς μὲν ὁ τρόπος τῆς μαντείας, εἴ γε τοὺς μαντικούς τρόπους ἐπί-

<sup>1</sup> ἀποκερδαίνειν Boissonade; ἀποκερδαίνειν Cobet.

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his zeal, he built altars offhand at Sardis where there were none, and wherever a vestige was to be found he set his hand to the remains of the temples with the ambition of rebuilding them. After offering sacrifices in public, he sent to summon from all sides the men who had a reputation for learning. They were no sooner summoned than they came, partly because they admired the man himself, partly because they thought this was an opportunity to show off their own abilities, while some of them put their trust in their power to flatter quite as much as in their erudition, and hoped by this means to gain honour or glory or wealth. Therefore when a public sacrifice was announced they were all present, and the author of this work was present also. Then Justus set himself to the task, and fixing the steady gaze of his eyes on the victim, which lay in any sort of posture, he asked the bystanders: "What is portended by the posture in which the victim has fallen?" Thereupon the flatterers were warm in their admiration, because he was able to divine even from postures, and they deferred to him as alone possessed of this knowledge. But the more dignified stroked their beards with the tips of their fingers, and put on a serious expression of face, and shook their heads solemnly and slowly while they gazed at the victim lying there, and each one offered a different solution. But Justus, who could hardly contain his laughter, turned to Chrysanthius and cried: "And what do you say about this, reverend sir?" Chrysanthius replied with equanimity that he rejected the whole proceeding. "But," said he "if you wish me also to give an opinion about this, first, if you really understand the modes of

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στασαι, εἰπέ πρότερον, καὶ ποίου τινὸς εἶδους, τίς δὲ ἢ πεῦσις, καὶ κατὰ τίνα μέθοδον ἐπηρώτηται. καὶ εἰ ταῦτα λέγοις, εἵπομι' ἂν ὄπη τὸ φαινόμενον εἰς τὸ μέλλον φέρει. πρὶν δὲ ταῦτα λέγειν, βάνουσον ἐστὶ πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἐρώτησιν, σημαίνοντων τὸ μέλλον τῶν θεῶν, ἐμὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐρωτήσεως καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος λέγειν, συνάπτοντα τῷ γεγονότι τὸ ἐσόμενον· δύο γὰρ οὕτως ἂν γίνεσθαι τὰς ἐρωτήσεις· περὶ δύο δὲ ἢ πλειόνων οὐδεὶς ἐρωτᾷ κατὰ ταῦτόν· τὸ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὠρισμένοις διάφορον ἓνα λόγον οὐκ ἔχει." ἐνταῦθα Ἰουστός ἀνέκραγεν ὡς μανθάνων ὅσα μὴ πρότερον ἠπίστατο, 504 καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ γε οὐκ ἐπαύσατο συνῶν ἰδίᾳ καὶ τῆς πηγῆς ἀρυόμενος. καὶ εἶ τινας ἕτεροι κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους τῶν ἐπὶ σοφία περιβοήτων Χρυσανθίῳ κατὰ κλέος ἦλθον εἰς λόγους, πεισθέντες ὅτι πόρρω τῆς δεινότητος ἐκείνης εἰσὶν, ἀπιόντες ὥχοντο. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιος ὁ ἐκ Γαλατίας ἔπαθεν, ἀνὴρ διὰ πάντα ἄριστος, καὶ εἰ μὴ Χρυσάνθιος ἦν, πρῶτος ἀπάντων ἂν<sup>1</sup> φανείσ. σοφίας μὲν γὰρ ἐραστῆς οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐς τοσόνδε ἐγένετο, ὥστε ἐπῆλθε μικροῦ καὶ τὴν ἀοίκητον, μαστεύων εἶ που τινι περιτύχοι πλέον εἶδοτι· καλῶν δὲ ἔργων καὶ λόγων ἀνάπλεως γενόμενος, καὶ εἰς τὰς παλαιὰς Σάρδεις ἀφίκετο διὰ τὴν Χρυσανθίου συνουσίαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον.

Ἐγένετο δὲ Χρυσανθίῳ καὶ παῖς ἐπώνυμος τῷ

<sup>1</sup> ἂν Cobet adds.

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divination, tell me what mode of divination this is, to what type it belongs, what you seek to learn, and what method you followed in your inquiry. If you will tell me all this, I will tell you what is the bearing on the future of this thing that we see. But until you tell me these things, since the gods themselves reveal the future, it would be unworthy on my part, in answer to your question, at the same time to answer your inquiry and to speak of the future, thus connecting the future with what has just happened. For thus would arise two different questions at once; but no one asks two or more questions at the same time. For when things have two separate definitions, one explanation does not suit both." Then Justus exclaimed that he had learned something that he never knew before, and for the future he consulted him constantly in private and drank deep from that fount of knowledge. There were others also in those days, renowned for wisdom, who were attracted by the fame of Chrysanthius and entered into discussions with him, but whenever this happened they went away convinced that they could not approach his oratorical genius. This is what happened to Hellespontius of Galatia, an unusually gifted man in every way, who, if Chrysanthius had not existed, would have shown himself worthy of the first place. For he was so ardent a lover of learning that he travelled almost to the uninhabited parts of the world in the desire of finding out whether he could meet anyone who knew more than himself. Thus, then, crowned with noble words and deeds he came to ancient Sardis to enjoy the society of Chrysanthius. But all this happened later.

Chrysanthius had a son whom he named after

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κατὰ τὸ Πέργαμον αὐτῷ γενομένῳ διδασκάλῳ (μεμνήμεθα δὲ πρότερον) Αἰδεσίῳ, καὶ ἦν ὁ παῖς ἐκ παιδὸς ἐπτερωμένον τι χρῆμα πρὸς ἅπασαν ἀρετὴν, καὶ τῶν ἵππων οὐκ εἶχε θάτερον, ἢ φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, οὐδὲ ἐβρίθετο κάτω νοῦς αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τε μαθήματα σφοδρὸς καὶ ἄγαν ὀξύς γενόμενος, καὶ πρὸς θεῶν θεραπείαν διαρκέστατος, ἐς τοσόνδε διέφευγε τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, ὥστε ἀνθρωπος ὢν ἐκινδύνευεν ὅλος εἶναι ψυχῇ. τὸ γοῦν σῶμα ἐν ταῖς κινήσεσιν οὕτως αὐτοῦ κοῦφον ἦν, ὥστε ἦν ἀπίθανον γράφειν, καὶ μάλα ποιητικῶς, εἰς ὅσον ἕψος ἐφέρετο μετάρσιος. ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οἰκειότης οὕτως ἦν ἀπραγμάτευτος καὶ εὐκολος, ὥστε ἐξήρκει τὸν στέφανον ἐπιθεῖναι τῇ κεφαλῇ, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἀναβλέποντα χρησμούς ἐκφέρειν, καὶ τούτους ἀψευδεῖς, καὶ πρὸς τὸ κάλλιστον εἶδος ἐνθέου πνεύματος γεγραμμένους· καὶ τοίγε οὔτε μέτρον ἠπίστατο, οὔτε εἰς γραμματικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἔρρωτο, ἀλλὰ θεὸς ἅπαντα ἦν αὐτῷ. νοσήσας δὲ οὐδαμῶς κατὰ τὸν ὠρισμένον βίον, ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν ἔτη μετέλλαξεν. ὁ δὲ πατήρ καὶ τότε διέδειξε φιλόσοφος ὢν· ἡ γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς εἰς ἀπάθειαν αὐτὸν μετέστησεν, ἢ τῷ παιδί συγχαίρων τῆς λήξεως, ἔμεινεν ἀτρεπτος· καὶ ἡ μήτηρ δέ, πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ὀρώσα,

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Aedesius of whom I have written above, formerly his teacher at Pergamon. From his childhood this boy was a creature winged for every excellence, and of the two horses as Plato<sup>1</sup> describes them, his soul possessed only the good steed, nor did his intellect ever sink; but he was a devoted student, keen-witted, and assiduous in the worship of the gods; and so completely was he emancipated from human weaknesses, that though a mortal man he was all soul. At any rate his body was so light in its movements that it would seem incredible and would take a genuine poet to describe to what a height it rose aloft. His kinship and affinity with the gods was so unceremonious and familiar that he had only to place the garland on this head and turn his gaze upwards to the sun, and immediately deliver oracles which, moreover, were always infallible and were composed after the fairest models of divine inspiration. Yet he neither knew the art of writing verse nor was trained in the science of grammar; but for him the god took the place of all else. Though he had never been ill during his allotted span of life, he died when he was about twenty years of age. On this occasion also his father showed himself a true philosopher. For whether it was that the greatness of the calamity reduced him to a state of apathy, or whether he rejoiced with his son in the latter's blessed portion, the fact is that he remained unshaken. The youth's mother also, observing her husband, rose above the

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Phaedrus* 246 B. The human soul is represented as borne along by two horses, of which one represents the appetites, the other, reason and sobriety.

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τὴν γυναικείαν ὑπερήνευκε φύσιν, πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ πάθους ὀλοφύρσεις ἐκδύσασα.

Τούτων δὲ οὕτω κεχωρηκότων, ὁ Χρυσάνθιος ἦν ἐν τοῖς συνήθεσι· καὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐπιπτώτων δημοσίων καὶ κοινῶν πραγμάτων, ἃ τὰς ἀπάντων ψυχὰς κατέσεισεν εἰς φόβον, μόνος ἔμεινεν ἀσάλευτος, ὥστε εἰκασέ τις ἂν<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲ ἐπὶ γῆς εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα. κατ' ἐκείνους δὴ τοὺς χρόνους καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιος παρ' αὐτὸν ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ βραδέως μὲν συνῆλθον εἰς λόγους· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς ταῦτον συνήντησαν, τοσοῦτον Ἑλλησπόντιος ἐαλώκει, ὥστε, πάντα μεθέμενος, ἔτοιμος ἦν σκηνοῦσθαι παρὸ Χρυσανθίῳ, καὶ νεάζειν ἐν τῷ μαθάνειν· μετεμέλετο δὲ<sup>2</sup> τοσοῦτον πεπλανημένος χρόνον, καὶ εἰς γῆρος ἀφικόμενος, πρὶν τι τῶν χρησίμων ἐκμαθεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὴν γνώμην ἔτεινε· τῷ δὲ Χρυσανθίῳ συμβὰν ἕκτινος συνηθείας τὴν φλέβα διελεῖν, ὃ τε συγροφεὺς παρῆν, οὕτω προστάξαντος, καὶ τῶν ἱατρῶν κενῶσαι βουλομένων τὸ φερόμενον, αὐτὸς 505 ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον σπευσάμενος, παράλογον εἶναι τὸ κενῶθῆν ἔφη, καὶ οὕτως ἐπισχεῖν ἐκέλευσεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄπειρος ἦν ἱατρικῆς ὁ ταῦτα γράφων. Ἑλλησπόντιος δὲ ἀκούσας παρῆν, ἀγανακτῶν καὶ ποτινώμενος, ὡς μεγάλου κακοῦ γεγονότος, εἰ πρεσβύτης οὕτως ἀνὴρ τοσοῦτου διὰ τῆς χειρὸς αἵματος ἀφήρηται. ὡς δὲ ἤκουσε τῆς φωνῆς, καὶ ὑγιαίνοντα εἶδεν, πρὸς τὸν συγγραφέα τὸν

<sup>1</sup> εἰκάσειεν ἢν τις Cobet suggests.

<sup>2</sup> μετέμελε δὲ αὐτῷ Boissonade ; μετεμέλετο δὲ Cobet.

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ordinary feminine nature and put away from her all loud lamentation, that her grief might have its due dignity.

After these events had taken place, Chrysanthius pursued his accustomed studies. And when many great public and universal calamities and disturbances befell, which shook all men's souls with terror, he alone remained unshaken by the storm; so much so that one would have thought that he was really elsewhere than on earth. About this time Hellespontius came to see him, and they met and conversed, though only after some delay. When, however, they did actually meet, Hellespontius was so captivated that he abandoned all else and was ready to live under the same roof as Chrysanthius and to renew his youth by studying with him. For he regretted that he had so long wandered in error, and had arrived at old age before learning anything useful. Accordingly he bent his whole mind to this task. But it chanced that Chrysanthius had to have a vein cut open as was his custom, and the author was present in obedience to his orders; and when the doctors prescribed that the blood should be allowed to flow freely, the author in his anxiety to apply the right treatment declared that the blood-letting was beyond all reason, and gave orders that it should be stopped then and there; for the author of this work had considerable knowledge of medicine. Hellespontius hearing what had happened came at once, indignant and loudly lamenting that it was a great calamity that a man of so great an age should lose so much blood from his arm. But when he heard Chrysanthius talking and saw that he was unharmed, he directed his remarks to

λόγον ἐπιστρέψας “ ἄλλὰ σέ γε ” φησὶν “ ἡ πόλις αἰτιῶνται δεινὸν τι δεδρακέσθαι· νῦν δέ ἅπαντες σιωπήσουσιν, ὀρῶντες ὑγιαίνοντα.” τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, ὡς οὐκ ἠγνόει τό συμφέρον, ὁ μὲν Ἑλλησπόντιος ὡς συσκευασόμενος<sup>1</sup> τὰ βιβλία, καὶ παρά τὸν Χρυσάνθιον ἤξων ἐπὶ μαθήσει, τῆς πόλεως ἐξήει. καὶ ἡ γαστήρ αὐτοῦ νοσεῖν ἤρχετο, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς Ἀπάμειαν τῆς Βιθυνίας μετήλλαξε τό ζῆν, τῷ παράντι τῶν ἐταίρων Πρακοπίῳ πολλὰ ἐπισκήψας μόνον θαυμάζειν Χρυσάνθιον. καὶ ὁ Προκόπιος παραγενόμενος εἰς τὰς Σάρδεϊς, ταῦτα ἐποίει τε καὶ ἀπήγγελλεν.

Ὁ δὲ Χρυσάνθιος, εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους, κατὰ θέρος ἰστάμενον, ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν θεραπείαν ἐλθὼν, καὶ τοι τοῦ συγγραφέως πραιπόντος τοῖς ἰατροῖς περιμένειν αὐτὸν κατὰ τό σύνθηες, οἱ μὲν ἔφθασαν ἐλθόντες, ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχε τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ παρά μέτρον γενομένης τῆς κενώσεως, πορέσεις τε τῶν μερῶν ἠκολούθησαν καὶ τὰ ἄρθρα συνέκαμνε, καὶ κλινοπετῆς ἦν. καὶ Ὀρειβάσιος ἐνταῦθα παραγίνεται, δι’ ἐκεῖνον καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν μὲν ἐπιστήμης μικραῦ καὶ βιασάμενος τὴν φύσιν καὶ χρίσμασι θερμότεροις καὶ μαλάττουσι τὰ κατεψυγμένα μικροῦ πρᾶς τό νεάζειν ἐπήγαγεν. ἀλλ’ ἐνίκα τό γῆρας· ὀγδοηκοστὸν γὰρ ὑπελθὼν<sup>2</sup> ἔτος ἐτύγχανε, καὶ τῇ τοῦ θερμοῦ κατὰ τό πλεονάζον ἄλλοτριώσει τό γῆρας ἐδιπλασιάσθη· καὶ τε-

<sup>1</sup> Cobet; συσκευασόμενος Boissonade.

<sup>2</sup> Cobet; ὑπελθὼν Boissonade.

## LIVES OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

the author and said: "The whole city is accusing you of having done a terrible thing; but now they will all be silenced, when they see that he is unharmed." The author replied that he knew what was the proper treatment, whereupon Hellespontius made as though he would collect his books and go to Chrysanthius for a lesson; but he really left the city. Presently he began to suffer from a pain in his stomach, and he turned aside to Apamea in Bithynia and there departed this life, after laying the strictest injunctions on his comrade Procopius, who was present, to admire none but Chrysanthius. Procopius went to Sardis and did as he said, and reported these facts.

Now Chrysanthius, at the same season in the following year, that is at the beginning of summer, had recourse to the same remedy, and though the author of this work had given instructions to the doctors beforehand that they must wait for him as usual, they arrived without his knowledge. Chrysanthius offered his arm to them, and there was an excessive flux of blood, the result of which was that his limbs relaxed and he suffered acute pain in his joints, so that he had to stay in bed. Oribasius was immediately called in, and for the sake of Chrysanthius he almost succeeded, so extraordinary was his professional skill, in doing violence to the laws of nature, and by means of hot and soothing fomentations he almost restored the vigour of youth to those rigid limbs. Nevertheless old age gained the victory; for his eightieth year was now approaching, and the influence of his age was doubly felt when his temperature was so greatly changed by the excessive application of heat. After an illness

## EUNAPIUS

ταρταῖος νοσηλευθεῖς, εἰς τὴν πρέπουσαν λήξιν ἀνεχώρησεν.

Εἰσὶ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν διάδοχοι φιλοσοφίας. Ἐπιγονός τε ὁ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, καὶ Βερονικιανός ὁ ἐκ Σάρδεων, ἄνδρες ἄξιοι τοῦ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὀνόματος· πλὴν ὅσα γε ὁ Βερονικιανός ταῖς Χάρισιν ἔθυσσε, καὶ ἱκανὸς ἀνθρώποις ὀμιλεῖν ἐστὶ καὶ εἶη.

## LIVES OF THE PHILOSOPHERS.

of four days he departed to a destiny that was worthy of him.

The successors of Chrysanthius in the profession of philosophy are **EPIGONUS** of Lacedaemon and **BERONICIANUS** of Sardis, men well worthy of the title of philosopher. But Beronicianus has sacrificed more generously to the Graces and has a peculiar talent for associating with his fellows. Long may he live to do so!





## GLOSSARY OF RHETORICAL TERMS

*The references are to the pages of this edition.*

- ἀγωνίζεσθαι**, p. 104, *to deliver an oration*. But also in the sense of making a speech in the character of some definite person, *cf.* p. 202 τὸν δὲ Ἀράβαζον ἀγωνιζόμενον.
- ἀκμή**, p. 218, *virility and brilliance*. Pathos, energy, and splendour of diction combined produce the crowning moment of eloquence. But the word also means, less technically, the highest point touched either in eloquence of thought or diction, p. 120. The adjective ἀκμαῖος is applied, p. 84, to themes that call for intensity and pathos of expression.
- ἀκρόασις** *passim*, *lesson in rhetoric, course in rhetoric*. *Cf.* συνουσία and σπουδή used in Philostratus as synonyms.
- ἀμφιβολία**, p. 272, *ambiguity, double entendre*. Hermocrates is praised for his ingenuity in the use of such ambiguities in "simulated" speeches, ἐσχηματισμέναι ὑποθέσεις, *cf.* Hermogenes, Περὶ δεινότητος 72.
- ἀπαγγελία** *passim*, *style of delivery, mode of expression*. A late word for style in general. So ἀπαγγέλλειν, *deliver a speech*. But it is technical also in the sense of announcing that a declamation is to be given.
- ἀπέρπτος**, pp. 100, 278, *simple, unaffected*. The opposite of περπτός which, in later rhetoric, means both "affected" and "redundant," though it can be a term of praise, "elaborate," "highly-wrought." The negative form is rare and is not in Ernesti.
- ἀπόσπασις**, p. 30 and *Letter* 73. *Separation of clauses*. This is a difficult word to define briefly. It is a form of asyndeton which produces greater liveliness and swing. The new sentence is independent in structure and

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sometimes in thought. It is certainly a break with a fresh start for emphasis, but critics differ as to the precise kind of asyndeton that is meant. Cf. P. C. Robertson, *Gorgianic Figures*, Baltimore, 1893; Frei, *Beiträge in Rh. Museum* vii.; Hermogenes, *On the Forms of Oratory*, iii. 247 Walz; Aristeides, *Art of Rhetoric*, ix. 346. Walz gives instances from Demosthenes.

**ἀρχαῖος**, p. 64, *ancient, antique, classical*. ἀρχαῖεω and ἀρτικίσειν are practically synonyms. See Norden, *Antike Kunst-Prosa*, p. 357. Cf. Eunapius on Sopolis, p. 516, and on Libanius, p. 518. The true archaist (*antiquarius*) will follow the rule of Aristeides, *Rhetoric* ii. 6, and use no word or phrase that cannot be found in a classical author. The νεώτεροι, Asianists, ignore this rule.

**ἀφέλεια**, pp. 178, 304, *straightforward simplicity, naïveté of style*. This style was admired and sought after by the sophists, but it was beyond their reach, and nowhere do they seem more affected and "precious" than where they strive to be simple and graceful in the manner of Xenophon. Aelian and Philostratus (in the *Imagines*) both aim at ἀφέλεια and fail. Cf. Norden, p. 432.

**γνώριμοι**, p. 232, *disciples, pupils*. A synonym for the more usual ἀκροαταί or ἑταῖροι.

**γοργιάσειν**, p. 30, *to write like Gorgias*, cf. p. 178 κριτιάσειν, *to write like Critias*, said of Herodes Atticus.

**δευνότης** *passim*, *oratorical skill, mastery*. This word as a rhetorical term has no invidious sense, but sums up the highest qualities of eloquence. It is especially ascribed to Demosthenes by the technical writers, and always implies vigour. δεινός, however, when used of Antiphon (p. 42), retains, as the context shows, the classical sense of "over ingenious," and therefore distrusted by the crowd. Hermogenes, *On the Forms of Oratory*, 304. On p. 10 Philostratus seems to use δεινότης in this earlier sense of "too great cleverness."

**διάλεκτις** *passim*. In late writers on rhetoric this word has two distinct meanings: (1) *philosophical discourse, dissertation*. This was a popular discourse on an abstract theme and was not extemporaneous. Philostratus says (p. 4) that this διάλεκτις was characteristic of the earlier

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- sophists. *διαλέγεσθαι* is used in this sense, and is opposed to the forensic style, pp. 184, 186. Philostratus uses the phrase *θερική υπόθεσις* as a synonym for *διδλεξις*.
- (2) But it is the regular term also for the prooemium, which the sophist delivered before the formal declamation; it was often an encomium of the city to which he came as a visitor or a newly-appointed professor, *cf.* p. 194. Philostratus wrote a volume of such introductory "talks" which has perished. Evidently the formal *μελέτη*, the declamation itself, ranked much higher as a form of composition.
- διατίθεσθαι*, pp. 124, 272, 306, *to deliver a speech*, like *ἀπαγγέλλειν* or *ἐρμηνεύειν*. So often in Dionysius of Halicarnassus; not in Ernesti.
- ἐκφυλον*, p. 206, *alien, outlandish*, *cf.* *ἐκφύλωι ἀπτικίζειν*, p. 50, and Lucian, *Lexiphanes* xxiv. Used of a word or phrase such as a latinism foreign to classical Attic usage and so avoided by a purist.
- Ἕλληνες, οἱ* or *τὸ Ἑλληνικόν*, pp. 192, 228, 280, 288, *students of rhetoric*. This is often used by Philostratus; *cf.* Eusebius, p. 500.
- ἐπιστραμμένη*, pp. 16, 52, *vehement*; *cf.* *ἐπιστροφή* and *ἐπιστροφήτης*. A classical usage revived by Philostratus, *cf.* Longinus, *On the Sublime*, xii. 3 *ἐπίστραπται*. Not in Ernesti.
- ἐπιβολή*, *abundant use of synonyms*. Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* xviii. 14, praises Xenophon for this characteristic. The participle *ἐπιβεβλημένος* is used in this sense to express copiousness, Philostratus, p. 70. This is quite separate from and seems opposed to its more frequent rhetorical meaning, "a direct and simple approach" to one's subject, as opposed to *περιβολή*. *Cf.* Hermogenes, *On the Forms of Oratory*, i. 28.
- ἐπιδείξει* p. 208, *display of rhetoric, Vortrag*. The regular term for a public declamation by a sophist; *ἀκρόασις* is also used in this sense.
- ἐπὶ πάντων* or *τὸ ἐπὶ πάντων* *passim*, *epilogue, peroration, concluding clause or argument*. A favourite expression in Philostratus. Not in Ernesti.
- ἐπιστροφή*, pp. 54, 82, *vehemence or emphasis*; *cf.* *ἐπιστραμμένη* above.

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- ἐπιχειρηματικόν**, p. 98, *dialectical, argumentative*. The *ἐπιχείρημα* is the rhetorical syllogism used or "essayed" as a form of proof. The adjective is rare.
- ἐσχηματισμένη (ὑπόθεσις) *passim, sermo coloratus***. *Veiled argument, covert allusion*. So *σχηματίζειν λόγον*, "to compose a speech with veiled meaning." *ἐσχ. ὑπόθεσις κατ' ἐμφασιν* is the full expression in Hermogenes, *On Invention*, p. 259 Spengel (the wider meaning "figured speech," i. e. in which figures of speech and thought are used, is ignored by Philostratus). In such a speech the true intent should show or "shimmer" through. The device may be used throughout a speech or only in certain passages: for safety, when one aims at tyrants; for piquancy, or as a test, e. g. Agamemnon's exhortation to flight in the *Iliad*, the first instance in literature of a speech *ἐν σχήματι*; for covert criticism (cf. Demetrius, *On Style*, 288, 294). It was useful for the βασιλικὸς λόγος, and perhaps the Emperor Julian in his fulsome panegyrics of Constantius was playing this dangerous game. Herodes presumed on the clemency of Marcus Aurelius, and scorned to "schematize" when he scolded the emperor. Synonyms in Philostratus are *ἐπαμφοτέρως εἰπεῖν, ὑποθέσεις κατὰ σχῆμα προηγμένα* or *συγκείμεναι*. It is skating on thin ice, and to fail to keep one's footing is *ἐκφέρεσθαι τῆς ὑποθέσεως*, p. 132. It is distinct from *εἰρωνεία* and offers more of a riddle to the audience. It was considered a very difficult type of speech. A great orator like Demosthenes employed it as a matter of course, but in the sophistic speech it becomes mere frigid ostentation.
- εὔροια**, p. 26, *fluency, volubility, fine flow of words*. Every declaimer must have this talent; so that the term becomes a synonym for the ready eloquence of the successful sophist, and is always used as praise.
- ἤχώ**, pp. 178, 234 (where it is opposed to *κρότος*), 184, *sonorosity, assonance*. This is always used of effects of sound or rhythm, whether of pronunciation or diction; cf. *ἡ κριταῖζουσα ἤχώ*. On p. 198 *τὴν ἤχὴν τῆς διαλέξεως προσῆρεν* means that Herodes raised the pitch of his eloquence so as to intensify the effects of sound

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and rhythm. ἤχη is used, more rarely, in the same sense.

**θετικός** *passim*, *ai θετικαὶ ὑποθέσεις*, described as characteristic of ancient sophistic on p. 6, *cf.* p. 296 τὰ θετικὰ τῶν χωρίων. Themes that maintain a general philosophical thesis, as opposed to *ai ἐς ὄνομα ὑποθέσεις*, *quaestiones definitivae*, p. 6. The former were more generally called *θέσεις*. Philostratus in general uses *ὑπόθεσις* for any sort of theme, but occasionally distinguishes the special from the general.

**κομματίας**, p. 296, *one who uses brief, incisive phrases*; *cf.* κομματικῶς, Dionys. of Hal. *Demosthenes*, 39; Cicero, *Orator*, lxii. *incise membratimque dicere*; Demetrius, *On Style*, 9. The adjective is used only by Philostratus. This is the glaring fault of the style of Hegesias who used it to excess. Philostratus is fond of words ending in *-ias*, *e.g.* δογματίας, ἀγαλματίας.

**κριτικός**, pp. 94, 122, 178, *an expert in grammar and criticism*. Julius Pollux, rhetorician and grammarian, might be thus described. This is the more scholarly type of grammarian who examined questions of authenticity of authorship. Such a scholar was evidently highly respected, and on friendly terms with the sophists. A λόγος κριτικός is a treatise on some question of criticism and is not sophistic.

**κρότος**, pp. 120, 178, 234, *the grandiose manner*. In the last passage it is opposed to ἤχώ. The other meaning of κρότος is *applause*, and the verb retains this sense in Philostratus, *cf.* Eunapius, pp. 472, 474. Usually κρότος and ἤχώ are synonyms; *cf.* the adjective ἐπικρότος "sonorous," p. 124, Eunapius, *Prohaeresius*, p. 494 κατὰ τὸν κρότον ἀναπαύων ἐκάστην περίοδον, means that he closed his periods with harmonious effects of sound.

**μελέτη**, p. 262, *a declamation*; also *a lesson in declamation*, or a practice speech on a fictitious theme; *cf.* μελετηρὰ συνουσίαι, p. 100, lessons in declamation, at which the teacher himself declaimed.

**ὁμοιοτέλευτα**, p. 38, *similar endings*. Used especially in

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precisely balanced clauses of equal length, which give almost the effect of rhyme. This assonance is part of the attempt to supersede poetry by poetical prose. It was an excessive use of this figure, combined with antithesis in balanced clauses, that in Gorgias offended the taste of the Atticists, and finally became a mark of Asianism; cf. *κάρισα* below.

*πανηγυρική ἰδέα λόγου*, p. 16, *the type of speech suited to a religious festival*. This is not necessarily a panegyric in the later sense, but it praised the god in whose honour the festival was held, the city and so on, hence a festival speech is likely to be an encomium. The style is not argumentative but highly rhetorical, and has its own appropriate commonplaces and mannerisms. Heracleides, p. 278, is praised for avoiding excessive sensationalism in the ideas (*ἐννοιαί*) that he used in this type of speech. The *Panathenaicus* of Aristides is a good example.

*κάρισα*, p. 38, *clauses of equal length*. In symmetrical clauses, assonance of the endings (*ὁμοιοτέλευτα*) and antithesis were often combined; e.g. Aristotle, *Rhetoric* iii. 9. 9 *τί ἂν ἐπαθῆς δεινόν, εἰ ἄνδρ' εἶδες ἀργόν*; A good example of carefully measured clauses used to excess is the passage quoted from Isaeus the Syrian by Philostratus, p. 70. This is what Aulus Gellius, xviii. 8, says the rhetoricians *faciunt immodice et rancide*.

*περιβολή*, pp. 50, 64 and *passim*, *fulness of expression, expansion, amplification, circumducta or circumiecta oratio*. There is no one word or phrase that exactly defines this method of amplifying a statement, and one can only describe here one of the many ways in which *περιβολή* is effected. When the main statement is held up while the speaker swings round the circle, collecting every possible illustration or circumstance, positive and negative, and then resumes the thread, that is technically "peribletic." "Amplification," which is merely *ἀξήριος*, is quite inadequate to translate *περιβολή* as described and illustrated by Aristides and Hermogenes. But in the  *Lives* Philostratus uses the term rather vaguely for rhetorical ornament and fulness of statement in general.

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So, too, the verb, e.g. p. 234 τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς λέξεως . . . περιεβάλλετο, where the metaphor is of an "ample garment" of style. The style that eschews περιβολή is "pure" (καθαρός), and is naturally rarely found in the sophists. The excess of περιβολή is a vice, *plethora*, *redundancy*.

πνεῦμα and πνεῖν, pp. 50, 244, *inspiration*, *energy*, *vis et spiritus*. This word has lost in late rhetoric its earlier specialized meaning, and is a synonym of ἀκμή or ἰσχύς, the quality of energy in a speech.

πόσιμος, pp. 248, 294, ποτίμιος, p. 26, *sweet and fresh style* of speech. This is a favourite usage with the late sophists and the Christian fathers, and is always a more or less conscious echo of Plato, *Phaedrus*, 243 D; cf. Libanius, *Or. parent.* § 9 ἀκελεύσατο τῷ ποτίμῳ λόγῳ. The adjective is constantly used with λόγος or with νῆμα metaphorically.

προβάλλειν, pp. 104, 292, *to propose a theme* for declamation. Any member of a sophist's audience could suggest a theme. The choice was naturally left to any distinguished visitor; otherwise a vote was taken, and the theme thus chosen was ἡ νενικηκυῖα or σπουδασθεῖσα ὑπόθεσις, *the theme that won most votes*. Cf. δίδουαι ὑπόθεσιν in the same sense. The sophist ἀτρέϊ, "invites," the audience to name a theme.

προσβολή, p. 30. This figure is not defined by the rhetoricians or Ernesti. But it is evidently a kind of asyndeton, and twice Philostratus brackets it with ἀπόσταισι (cf. *Letters*, p. 287) as characteristic of the style of Gorgias; cf. προσβάλλειν in the same sense: ἀσυνδέτως χωρῖον προσβάλλειν evidently means an abrupt attachment of clauses or words, a heaping up without regular connectives. The natural order was abandoned, and unexpected things were put together. προσβολή and ἀπόσταισι are mentioned together by Apsines i. 359. No author except Philostratus ascribes these figures to Gorgias.

ροῖος, p. 244, *rush*, *impetus*. This is a very rare rhetorical term and in the single instance here cited has lost its onomatopoeic force when it represented the use of the letter ρ ("Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched

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straw"). In Philostratus it is a synonym for πνεῦμα or δεινότης in the sense of "vigour."

σκηνή, pp. 120, 244, *outfit* or *get-up* of a sophist who declaims. The term includes all the "theatrical properties" of the sophist; his voice, expression, smile, dress, and any mannerism of diction or delivery. It is twice used of Polemo, who was the model, the mirror of fashion for the sophists; they imitated his effects as though he had been a popular actor.

σοφιστικός, pp. 22, 198 and *passim*, *suitable for a declaimer*. As applied to a speech (λόγος), a theme (ὑπόθεσις), a rhetorical image (εἰκὼν), or the temperament (φύσις) of an orator, in Philostratus this epithet is the most flattering possible, since for him the declamation is the highest and most difficult type of oratory. He uses it to distinguish the declamation from the forensic speech and the dialectical discourse. Ernesti ignores this late specialized meaning. Cf. Philostratus, p. 182 of ὑπερσοφιστεύοντες λόγοι = "purely declamatory speeches."

στάσις *passim*, *status*, *constitutio*. The precise meaning of στάσις as a rhetorical term is discussed by the rhetoricians, especially Hermogenes. Cf. Quintilian iii. 6, where he says it is the equivalent of the Latin *quaestio* or *constitutio* or *status*. Roughly speaking, it is the "stand" taken by a speaker when he defines his case. In Eunapius, *Life of Prohaeresius*, p. 506, Anatolius implies that there are thirteen possible στάσεις of the "case" or problem that he had proposed; cf. Eunapius, *Prohaeresius*, p. 496 for καράστασις in the same sense.

τόνος, p. 198, *intensity*, *high pitch of eloquence*. A synonym of κρότος and πνεῦμα, cf. Longinus, *On the Sublime*, ix. 13.

τυμπανίζαν, p. 84, *to beat the drum* of eloquence. An allusion to the loud instruments used in the worship of Cybele and Dionysus. The style of Scopelian was criticized for its frenzied and Bacchic violence; cf. κορυβαυτιᾶν often used of emotional eloquence.

φιλοτιμία, pp. 28, 223, *affectation*, *artificiality*, *excessive care*



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for effects of style. Philostratus, *Letter i.*, says that *φιλοτιμία* is out of place in a letter, *i.e.* its style should not be artificial. Used as a synonym of *κακοζηλία*, for bad taste in rhetorical style. In Julian, *Letters* (Papadopoulos iv.), *To Priscus*, *φιλοτιμία* was charged against Iamblichus by Theodorus (of Asine?) his pupil. It is a form of misdirected ambition to shine by effects of style rather than by treatment of the subject matter.

ψῆς, pp. 28, 68, 232, *sing-song*. The Asianists from the first (Cicero, *Orator* xxvii.) indulged in a sort of chant which suited their metrical rhythms; this seems to have been especially the case in the epilogue, where all the rhetorical effects, especially of pathos, reached the highest pitch. Cf. Lucian, *Demonax* 12; *Guide to Rhetoric* 19. This was sometimes too much even for Philostratus; see p. 296, *Life of Varus*, where the ψῆς is called *καμψαὶ ἀσμάτων*, "turns or twists of song."

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