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PHILOSTRATUS
APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

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PHILOSTRATUS

APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

LETTERS OF APOLLONIUS • ANCIENT
TESTIMONIA • EUSEBIUS'S REPLY
TO HIEROCLES

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
CHRISTOPHER P. JONES

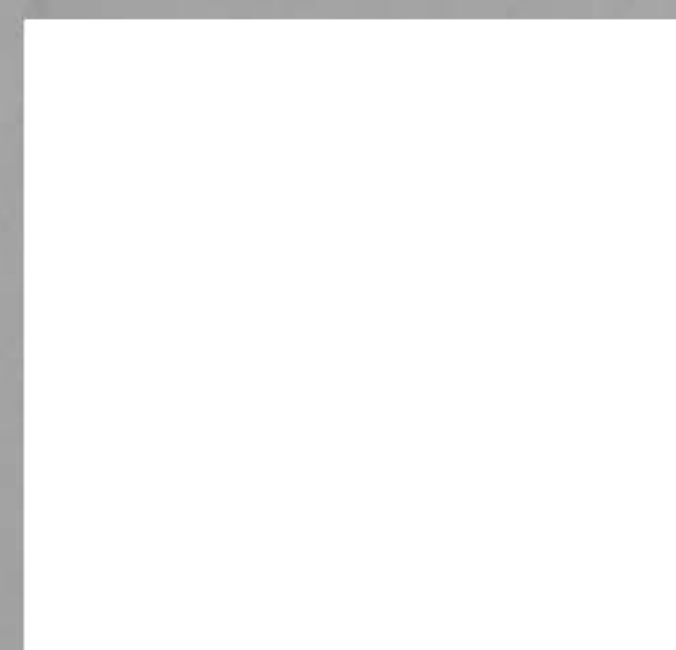


HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
LONDON, ENGLAND
2006

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Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 2004060863
CIP data available from the Library of Congress



ISBN 0-674-99617-8

*Composed in ZephGreek and ZephText by
Technologies 'N Typography, Merrimac, Massachusetts.
Printed and bound by Edwards Brothers, Ann Arbor, Michigan*

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As with the first two volumes of this edition and translation, I am grateful to all those to whom I owe support and assistance. Above all I thank Glen Bowersock, who has read the manuscript of this volume as well as of the two first, and improved it greatly by his comments. Matthew Polk again gave me valuable help with the Index.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As with the first two volumes of this series, I am grateful to all those to whom I am indebted for their assistance. Above all, I thank the University of Toronto for the award of the Killam Foundation Fellowship, which made it possible for me to complete this work.

APOLLONIUS OF TYANA
LETTERS

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APOLLONIUS OF TYANA
LETTERS

BY
[Name]

1950

INTRODUCTION

From the rediscovery of writing in Greece in the eighth century, letters formed an integral part of life as well as literature; the only certain example of writing mentioned in Homer is a letter from a Greek king to a ruler of Lycia (*Iliad* 6.168–169). The earliest known Greek letters, written on lead, are from the sixth century BCE, and in the later fifth century the first historians whose works survive, Herodotus and Thucydides, both incorporate letters into their narratives. The idea that collected letters could be a form of literature can be traced to fourth-century Athens. Sometimes they are due to the writer himself, as in the formal letters of Isocrates, and sometimes apparently to anonymous people interested in the personal and intimate words of great figures such as Plato and Demosthenes. When the authors themselves do not publish their own collections, there is the possibility of more or less serious forgery, sometimes detectable with sophisticated methods of criticism and sometimes not. The supposed letters of the sixth-century tyrant Phalaris were famously unmasked by Richard Bentley, whereas the authenticity of Plato's seventh letter is still disputed.

The letters attributed to Apollonius of Tyana are very heterogeneous both in subject and provenance. They survive partly as quotations in Philostratus's *Life* and in the an-

LETTERS

thology of moral reflections assembled by John Stobaeus in the fifth century, but mainly from a large number of medieval manuscripts. Robert Penella has shown that these form two groups. The first, Penella's Group I, comprises comparatively early manuscripts, the oldest being of the tenth century, while those of Group II are all of the fifteenth or sixteenth. Differences can be marked; for example, Group I gives a version of the first letter that omits about a quarter of the version in Group II. From the first edition of the Letters, that of Bartholomeus Justinopolitanus in 1498, most printed editions have followed the order of Group II, though with various modifications. G. Olearius, whose edition of Philostratus was the standard one for the eighteenth century, and C. L. Kayser, whose edition was similarly standard for much of the nineteenth and twentieth, omitted letters also contained in the *Life*, and hence these letters are now numbered 42a to 42h and 77a to 77f. Furthermore, all editors have added the twenty or so letters preserved in Stobaeus, using the order in which they appear in his collection and numbering them as 78 to 100.

Besides the complexity of the manuscript tradition, all kinds of question surround the authenticity of the letters, if "authentic" is understood to denote one originally written or dictated by Apollonius, even though later abbreviated or excerpted, as opposed to one wrongly ascribed to him either with intent to deceive or by innocent error. There seems no reason to question Philostratus's statement that the historical Apollonius wrote letters to "kings [which as usually in this period can mean Roman emperors as well as foreign kings], sophists, philosophers, Eleans, Delphians, Indians, and Egyptians, on the subject of gods,

about customs, morals, and laws, setting upright whatever had been overturned among such people" (VA 1.2.3). It is unlikely that Apollonius made collections of his own letters, as for example the Younger Pliny did of his, but there is no doubt that others did so either before or after his death. According to Philostratus, the emperor Hadrian owned "certain of Apollonius's letters, but not all" (VA 8.20). The biographer cites or alludes to many such letters in the *Life*, some of which recur in the medieval copies. The biographer's contemporary, namesake, and relative, sometimes called Philostratus of Lemnos, begins a short disquisition on letter-writing with these words: "After the ancients, those who have best considered the epistolary style of discourse are the Tyanean and Dio among philosophers, Brutus, or whoever Brutus used in writing, among generals, and among emperors the divine Marcus in those letters that he wrote himself."¹ This seems to imply that some collection of Apollonius's letters was generally accessible, and later in the third century the neo-Platonist Porphyry (*Testimonia* 13) quotes one sent by Apollonius to the Indian king Iarchas, unless this is a hazy recollection of a letter cited by Philostratus in the *Life* (VA 3.51).

The letters preserved in the two groups of manuscripts must be considered separately from those preserved by Stobaeus. In Group II more than in I, some attempts at classification are visible, e.g. Letters 1 to 8 and 14 to 18 are to the Stoic Euphrates, 9 to 10 to Dio of Prusa; in the *Life*, both men appear before Vespasian together with

¹ *Testimonia* 8. On Philostratus of Lemnos as the author, F. Solmsen, *Pauly-Wissowa* 20 (1941) 134.

Apollonius (5.31–37). Letter 11 is addressed to the *probouloi* (senior magistrates) of Caesarea Maritima in Palestine, 12 and 13 to the same magistrates of Seleuceia Pieria in Syria. When the manuscript letters are considered as a whole, most of them fall into a small number of classes, though with some overlapping. The largest class is of letters addressed to private persons such as Euphrates and Dio; a large subgroup of these consists of the writer's brothers and acquaintances in Tyana (35, 44, 45, 55, 72, 73). Six letters are addressed to Roman emperors, three to Vespasian (42f to 42h), one to Titus (77d) and two to Domitian (20, 21); one is to a "Scythian king," unidentifiable but not necessarily imaginary (28). One, by far the longest in the collection and perhaps not authentic, is a letter of consolation to a proconsul of Asia (58), and a few are admonitory letters addressed to Roman provincial officials of lower rank (30, 31, 54). One is sent to an unnamed "law-giver," perhaps a specially appointed magistrate in a city of Greece or Asia (29). Several are addressed to groups that may be called "intellectual" or "literary": Platonists (42), "the wise men in the Museum" (34), "those who think themselves wise" (43), "learned authors" (57). Others go to political bodies of various kinds, "leagues" of the "Peloponnesians" (25) and the "Ionians" (71); cities of Greece, Asia, or (in one case) Egypt; or to particular bodies or groups within cities such as the *probouloi* of Caesarea and Seleuceia (11–13), "the priests at Delphi" (27), "those Ephesians in the sanctuary of Artemis" (65–67). Three are neither by nor to Apollonius: one from a certain Claudius (perhaps not the emperor but some city magistrate) to Tyana "attesting" his excellence as a teacher (53), "Garmos the king of the Babylonians to Neogyndes the king of the

Indians" (59), "King Phraotes to his teacher Iarchas" (77b, probably lifted directly from the *Life*).

The twenty-three letters preserved by Stobaeus are strikingly different. A few of the addressees overlap with those in the main collection, for example Euphrates, Dio, and Apollonius's brothers (82, 90, 94, 95), but most are persons who appear neither in the other collections nor in the *Life*, and none can be identified. Almost all these letters are very brief, rarely exceeding a couple of lines. Stobaeus may well have made his choice from the same collection of letters as the one mentioned by Philostratus of Lemnos, but it is impossible to tell whether his letters are more or less authentic than the manuscript ones.

In the search for a "historical" Apollonius behind the hero of Philostratus's biography, the letters have sometimes been invoked as an alternative source of information, and sometimes regarded as more or less fictitious. The best procedure is to judge each on its own merits and without preconceptions.² It can be argued that some show so detailed a knowledge of contemporary life, and in particular religious customs, that they are unlikely to be forgeries. For example, three letters addressed to the city of Sardis refer to the city's soil "bringing crops" (*karpos*) for it, to the city as the realm of the goddess Demeter, and to the citizens as "Demeter's own" (56, 75, 75a), allusions that puzzled commentators until in 1998 an inscription revealed that the city had an important cult of Demeter Karpophoros ("Bringer of Crops"). More difficult to judge are those letters that appear to contradict or at least to

² For a balanced discussion, Penella 23–29.

amplify the picture given by Philostratus: these might be evidence of his tendency to construct an Apollonius of his own, or they could merely be constructions by other hands. If there are any traits that emerge strongly from the letters and not the *Life*, they are two: first, Apollonius's close contacts with family and friends in Tyana, and his native city in general, and second, his activity as a well-known and widely respected teacher of philosophy. It would not surprise if, in the feverish religious atmosphere of the Severan court, Philostratus had turned a remarkable but not exceptional Pythagorean teacher of the first century into a holy man for a new age.

Unlike the *Life*, the *Letters of Apollonius* have received an excellent modern edition and commentary from Robert Penella (see Bibliography below), on which I have relied for my knowledge of the manuscript and of the authors of conjectures (except for a couple of my own). In all three parts of the volume I have followed the same method of noting deviations from the manuscript tradition as in Volumes I and II of this edition. Deletions are indicated by *del(ovit)* followed by the author's name, additions are indicated by angle brackets followed by the author's name, and emendations are indicated by the author's name followed by the reading of all or most of the manuscripts. In the apparatus of the *Letters* I have used the following abbreviations:

Cob. = Cobet

Jon. = the present editor

Kay. = Kayser

Ol. = Olearius

Pen. = Penella

APOLLONIUS

I have used the following abbreviations in all three parts of this volume:

- BT = Bibliotheca Teubneriana
 Budé = Collection des Universités de France
 CH = Eusebius, *Contra Hieroclem*
 CSEL = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Latinorum*
 FGrHist = F. Jacoby and others, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*
 GCS = *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*
 LCL = Loeb Classical Library
 PG = J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae Cursus Completus*
 PL = J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus*
 SC = *Sources Chrétiennes*
 VA = Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*

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Ἐπιστολαὶ Ἀπολλωνίου
τοῦ Τυανέως

1. Ἀπολλώνιος Εὐφράτη. Ἐμοὶ πρὸς φιλοσόφους ἐστὶ φιλία, πρὸς μέντοι σοφιστὰς ἢ γραμματιστὰς ἢ τι τοιοῦτον γένος ἕτερον ἀνθρώπων κακοδαιμόνων οὔτε νῦν ἐστὶ φιλία, μήτε ὑστερόν ποτε γένοιτο. τάδε μὲν οὖν οὐ πρὸς σέ, πλὴν εἰ μὴ καὶ σὺ τούτων εἷς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ καὶ πάνυ πρὸς σέ· θεράπευέ σου τὰ πάθη καὶ πειρῶ φιλόσοφος εἶναι καὶ μὴ φθονεῖν τοῖς ὄντως φιλοσοφοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ σοὶ καὶ γῆρας ἤδη πλησίον καὶ θάνατος.

2. τῷ αὐτῷ. Ἡ ἀρετὴ φύσει, μαθήσει, [κτῆσει]¹ χρήσει, δι' ἣν ἕκαστον ἂν εἴη τῶν προειρημένων ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον. σκεπτέον, εἴ τί σοι τούτων ἐστίν, ἢ σοφιστείας πανστέον λοιπὸν ἢ προῖκά γε χρηστέον αὐτῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, ἐπεὶ περ ἤδη σοὶ καὶ τὰ Μεγαβύξου.²

3. τῷ αὐτῷ. Ἐπήλθες ἔθνη τὰ μεταξὺ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπὸ Συρίας ἀρξάμενος, ἐπιδεικνὺς σεαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ βασιλέως λεγομέναις διπλαῖς. τρίβων δέ σοι

¹ [κτῆσει] del. Ol.

² Μεγαβύξου Pen.: Μεγαβύζου

LETTERS OF APOLLONIUS
OF TYANA

1. To Euphrates:¹ I feel friendship towards philosophers, but towards sophists, teachers of literature, or any other such kind of godforsaken people I neither feel friendship now, nor may I ever do so in future. Now all this is not aimed at you, unless you are one of these people, but the following is very much so: control your emotions, and try to be a philosopher and not to resent real philosophers, since old age and death are already near you.

2. To the same: Virtue comes by nature, learning, and practice, and thanks to virtue all of the aforesaid may deserve approval. Ask yourself whether or not you have any of them, or else give up the sophistic career forthwith, or at least practice it without charging your hearers, seeing that you already have the wealth of Megabyxus.²

3. To the same: You have traveled the provinces as far as Italy starting from Syria, showing yourself off in so-called "king's robes."³ Once you had a cheap cloak, a long white

¹ Stoic philosopher of Tyre (Phoenicia, now Lebanon), and inveterate enemy of Apollonius.

² Persian name implying immense wealth.

³ Possibly purple garments, for which the wearer required imperial permission.

πότε³ καὶ πώγων λευκὸς καὶ μέγας, πλέον δὲ οὐδέν. εἶτα πῶς διὰ θαλάττης νῦν ὑποστρέφεις, ἄγων φορτίδα μεστήν ἀργυρίου, χρυσίου, σκευῶν παντοδαπῶν, ἐσθήτων ποικίλων, κόσμου τοῦ λοιποῦ, τύφου καὶ ἀλαζονείας καὶ κακοδαιμονίας; τίς ὁ φόρτος καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῆς καινῆς ἐμπορίας; Ζήνων τραγημάτων ἦν ἔμπορος.

4. τῷ αὐτῷ. Ὀλίγων δεῖ σοῦ τοῖς παισίν, εἰ φιλοσόφου παῖδες εἶησαν. ἔδει μὲν οὖν μηδὲ φροντίσαι πλείω σοι γενέσθαι τῶν ἱκανῶν ἄλλως τε καὶ μετὰ ἀδοξίας τινός. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐγένετο, δεύτερον ἂν εἶη μεγάλη σπουδῆ νεῖμαί σε τισὶ ἔνια τῶν ὄντων. ἔχεις δὲ καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους.

5. τῷ αὐτῷ. Τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων ὁ περὶ ἡδονῆς οὐδενὸς ἔτι συνηγόρου δεῖται τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Κήπου καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου διατριβῆς, πέφηνε γὰρ ὢν καὶ κατὰ τὴν Στοᾶν ἀληθέστατος. εἰ δὲ ἀντιλέγων προκομιεῖς τὰς Χρυσίππου σχολὰς καὶ δόγματα, γέγραπταί τι καὶ ἐν τοῖς βασιλικαῖς γράμμασιν. “Εὐφράτης ἔλαβε” καὶ “πάλιν ἔλαβεν.” Ἐπίκουρος δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἔλαβεν.

6. τῷ αὐτῷ. Ἡρόμην πλουσίους τινάς, εἰ πικραίνονται.⁴ “τί δ’ οὐ μέλλομεν;” ἔφασαν. ἡρόμην οὖν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀνάγκης. ἡτιῶντο τὸν πλοῦτον. σὺ δ’, ὦ τάλαν, νεόπλουτος.

³ ποτε Ol.: τότε

⁴ πικραίνονται Kay.: περαίνονται

⁴ Founder of Stoicism, who lived from 335 to 263.

beard, and nothing more. So how is it that you now return by sea with a boatload of silver, gold, vessels of every kind, embroidered clothing, all kinds of furniture, clothing of various colors, every other sort of adornment, conceit, effrontery, disgrace? What kind of cargo or trafficking does this novel trade involve? Zeno was a merchant in dried fruits.⁴

4. To the same: You do not need much for your children, if only they are the children of a philosopher. You should therefore not even have cared about gaining more than a competence, especially when doing so comes with some disgrace. But now that you have gained one, the next best thing you could do would be to distribute some of your possessions to others as soon as possible, and you have a native city and friends.

5. To the same: Among Epicurus's treatises, *On Pleasure* no longer needs an advocate from the Garden and his own school, for in the Stoa there has emerged an infallible one.⁵ But if by way of rebuttal you produce Chrysippus's lectures and doctrines,⁶ there is also something written in the imperial accounts: “Payment to Euphrates,” “Another payment to Euphrates.” There would have been no “Payment to Epicurus.”

6. To the same: I asked certain rich men if they felt embittered. “How could we not?” they said. So I asked them what caused this anguish. They blamed their wealth. And you, poor wretch, have just come into wealth.

⁵ I. e. Euphrates, though a Stoic, is devoted to the Epicurean ideal of pleasure.

⁶ Chrysippus (ca. 280–207) was a voluminous writer and the first great systematizer of Stoic thought.

7. τῷ αὐτῷ. Ἐὰν [ὅτι τάχος]⁵ εἰς Αἰγάς ἀφίκη καὶ κενώσης ἐκεῖ τὴν ναῦν, ἰτέον ἐστὶ σοι πάλιν ὅτι τάχος εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ κολακευτέον ὁμοίως νοσοῦντας, γέροντας, γραῦς, ὀρφανούς, πλουσίους, θρυπτομένους, Μίδας, Γέτας. πάντα φασὶ δεῖν τὸν ἔμπορον κάλων σείειν. ἐμοὶ δὲ εἴη τὴν ἀλίαν τρυπᾶν ἐν Θέμιδος οἴκῳ.

8.1. τῷ αὐτῷ. Ἄρά τι καὶ σὺ γράψαι⁶ ἄν; εἰ γὰρ οὕτω γένοιο γενναῖος. καὶ ἔχους δ' ἄν εἰπεῖν τὰ συνήθη ταῦτα καὶ πρόχειρα. "λουτρὸν ἅπαν Ἀπολλώνιος παραιτεῖται." καὶ τῆς οἰκίας οὐδέποτε πρόεισι καὶ σωζομένους ἔχει τοὺς πόδας. "οὐδὲν ὁράται τῶν τοῦ σώματος κινῶν." δι' ὅλου γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν κινεῖ. "κομᾶ τὴν κεφαλὴν." καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἕλληνας, ὅτι Ἕλληνας καὶ οὐ βάρβαρος. "ἐσθήτα φορεῖ λινῆν." καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ καθαρῶτατα. "μαντικῇ χρῆται." πλείω γὰρ τὰ ἄδηλα, καὶ ἄλλως ἀμήχανον προαισθῆσθαι τι τῶν ἐσομένων. "ἀλλ' οὐ πρόπον φιλοσόφῳ τὸ τοιοῦτον." ὃ πρόπον καὶ θεῷ;

8.2. "καὶ σωμάτων δὲ ὀδύνας ἀφαιρεῖ καὶ πάθη παύει" τοῦτό που καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν κοινὸν τὸ ἔγκλημα. "σιτεῖται μόνος." οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐσθίουσι. "βραχέα λέγει καὶ ἐπὶ βραχύ." σιγῆσαι γὰρ ἐστὶ

⁵ [ὅτι τάχος] del. Pen.

⁶ γράψαι Kay.: γράψαις

7. To the same: When you have arrived in Aegeae⁷ and unloaded your ship there, you have to return with all speed to Italy and pay indiscriminate flattery to the sick, to old men, to old women, to orphans, to the wealthy, to effeminate, to every Midas and Getas.⁸ They say the merchant must go full sail, but for me it is enough to wear out a salt cellar in the house of Justice.⁹

8.1. To the same: Would you, too, indict me? If only you were honorable enough to do so. You could make these hackneyed, easy charges: "Apollonius avoids every bathing establishment." Yes, and he never emerges from his house, and keeps his feet safe. "You never see him moving any part of his body." Yes, because he keeps his soul in constant motion. "He wears his hair long." And so did the Greek, because he was a Greek and not a barbarian.¹⁰ "He wears linen clothes." Yes, and these are the purest of holy things too. "He practices divination." Yes, because many things are obscure, and otherwise it is impossible to perceive the future. "But such activity is not right for a philosopher." What, when it is right for God?

8.2. "He relieves pains and calms passions." Well, no doubt that charge also applies to Asclepius. "He feeds alone." Well, others eat.¹¹ "He speaks little and briefly." Yes, because he has the power to be silent. "He abstains

⁷ Harbor city of Cilicia in southern Turkey (modern Yumurtalik, previously Ayas).

⁸ Typical slave names.

⁹ I.e. live the simplest possible life compatible with virtue.

¹⁰ Probably an allusion to the Spartans at Thermopylae (Herodotus 7.208-209).

¹¹ I.e. (probably), "That does not prevent others from eating."

δύνατος.⁷ "σαρκῶν ἀπέχεται πασῶν καὶ θηρίων πάντων." διὰ τοῦτο ἄνθρωπός ἐστι. εἰ ταῦτα ἐρεῖς, Εὐφράτα, γεγράφθαι, ἴσως ἐκείνο προσθήσεις "εἴ τι ἦν, ἔλαβεν ἂν ἀργύριον, ὡς ἐγώ, δωρεάς, πολιτείας." εἴ τι ἦν, οὐκ ἂν ἔλαβεν. "ἀλλὰ τῇ πατρίδι μὲν ἔλαβεν ἂν," οὐ πατρὶς δέ, ἢ μὴ οἶδεν, ὃ ἔχει.

9. Δίῳ. Λύλοις καὶ λύρα κρείττον ἐστὶ τέρπειν ἢ λόγῳ, τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡδονῆς ὄργανα καὶ μουσικὴ τοῦ νομα τῇ τέχνῃ, λόγος δὲ ἀληθὲς εὐρίσκει. τοῦτό σοι πρακτέον, τοῦτό σοι ῥητέον, ἦν καὶ περὶ τούτου φιλοσοφῆς.

10. τῷ αὐτῷ. Ζητοῦσί τινες τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν πέπαιμαι διαλεγόμενος ἐν πολλοῖς. εἰδέτωσαν οὖν, οἷς ἂν εἰδέναι μέλη τὸ τοιοῦτον· ἀδύνατος ὠφελῆσαι λόγος ἅπας, ὅς ἂν εἷς ὢν μὴ καὶ πρὸς ἓνα λέγηται. ὁ τοίνυν ἄλλως διαλεγόμενος δόξης ἤττων ὢν διαλέγοιτ' ἂν.

11.1. Καισαρέων προβούλοις. Πρῶτον εἰς πάντα θεῶν ἄνθρωποι δέονται καὶ περὶ παντός, ἔπειτα πόλεων, τιμητέον γὰρ δεύτερον πόλεις μετὰ θεοῦς καὶ τὰ

⁷ δύνατος Ol.: ἀδύνατος

¹² I.e. animal products such as leather or wool.

¹³ Cities often gave honorary citizenships and other privileges to distinguished philosophers, athletes, and the like. Such honors were regarded as enhancing the repute of the honorand's ancestral city (*patris*).

¹⁴ Dio Chrysostom, the Stoic philosopher and orator, noted

from all meat and from all animals."¹² That is what makes him a human. If you claim to have filed these charges, Euphrates, perhaps you will add this: "If he was of any account, he would have taken money, gifts, citizenships, as I have." If he was of any account, he would not have taken them. "Still, he would have taken such things for his ancestral city's sake." But it is not an ancestral city if it does not know what it possesses.¹³

9. Apollonius to Dio:¹⁴ Soothe with the pipe and the lyre, not with language, for the former are instruments of pleasure, and the art of playing them is called music, whereas language finds the truth. That is what you must practice, that is what you must speak, if truth is your reason for being a philosopher.

10. To the same: Some people look for the reason why I have stopped speaking before large audiences. Well, here is the answer for those who care to know such a thing. Every argument is incapable of helping unless it is singular and addressed to a single person. Therefore one who discourses in any other way presumably does so from love of reputation.

11.1 Apollonius to the councilors of Caesarea:¹⁵ Above all humans need gods, for every purpose and above every thing, and secondly they need cities, for cities should be honored next after the gods, and every sensible person

for his charm of speech, whence his nickname "Golden-Mouth," *Chrysotomos*. The beginning of this letter is quoted in VA 5.40.

¹⁵ Herod the Great founded Caesarea Maritima on the site of an earlier Greek city, and it retained a strong Greek culture. It later became the capital of the Roman province of Judaea, and Vespasian gave it the status of a Roman colony.

πόλεως προκριτέον παντὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι. εἰ δὲ μὴ πόλις μόνον εἶη, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγίστη τῆς Παλαιστίνης, ἀρίστη τε τῶν αὐτόθι μεγέθει καὶ νόμοις καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασι, καὶ προγόνων κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρεταῖς, ἔτι τε ἤθεσι κατ' εἰρήνην, καθάπερ ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις, μάλιστα πασῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἐμοί τε⁸ θαυμαστέα τιμητέα τε καὶ ἄλλω δὲ ὁμοίως παντὶ νοῦν ἔχοντι.

11.2. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐκ λόγου κοινοῦ τὸ προκριτικὸν ἂν εἶη,⁹ τὸ κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῶν πολλῶν. ὅταν δὲ καὶ ἄρχῃ πόλις ποτὲ τῆς πρὸς ἓνα τιμῆς ἀνδρα, ποιούσα¹⁰ τοῦτον ἑαυτῆς ξένον καὶ ἄποθεν, τί ἢ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν ἢ ὑμῶν πρὸς τίσιν¹¹ ἄξιον εἶη; τοῦτο μόνον ἴσως, εἰ θεοφιλῆς τις ὢν τύχοι διὰ τινα φύσεως ἐπιτηδειότητα, τὸ εὐχέσθαι τῇ πόλει τὰ ἀγαθὰ τυγχάνειν τε τῆς εὐχῆς, ὅπερ ἂν διατελέσαιμι καὶ γὰρ πράττων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἐπεὶπερ ἤσθην ἤθεσιν Ἑλληνικοῖς φαίνουσι τὸ ἴδιον ἀγαθὸν καὶ διὰ γραμμάτων κοινῶν. Ἀπολλωνίδην δὲ τὸν Ἀφροδισίου, νεανίαν ἐρρωμενεστάτης φύσεως ἀξίας τε τοῦ ἡμετέρου ὀνόματος, πειράσομαι χρήσιμον ὑμῖν παρασκευάζειν εἰς ἕκαστα μετὰ καὶ τύχης τινὸς ἀγαθῆς.

12. Σελευκέων τοῖς προβούλοις. Πόλις, ἣτις ἂν οὕτω πρὸς τε θεοὺς ἔχῃ καὶ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοὺς ἀξίους ἀποδοχῆς, αὐτὴ τε εὐδαίμων καὶ εἰς ἀρετὴν ὠφέλησε τοὺς μαρτυρηθέντας. ἄρξασθαι μὲν οὖν χά-

⁸ ἐμοί τε Spengel: ἐμοίγε ⁹ εἶη Kay.: ἦ
¹⁰ ποιούσα Wilamowitz: πόλις οὔσα καὶ

must give priority to the affairs of his city. But if it is not just a city, but the greatest one in Palestine, and the best of those there in respect of size, laws, and customs, and in its ancestors' bravery in war and their morals in peacetime as well, as your city is, then I must both admire and honor it above all others, and so also must every other sensible person.

11.2. This then by common consent is the ground for preferring it—the comparison of it with the majority. But whenever a city actually takes the first step to honor a man, making him its own guest even from a distance, what would be a worthy return from such a man or a worthy payment to you? Perhaps only this: if he happens to have the gods' favor because of a certain fitness of character, that he should pray for blessings on the city and have his prayer granted. That I could constantly do for you, since I was delighted by your Greek customs, which reveal your particular excellence by means of your public letter. As for Apollonides the son of Aphrodisius, a young man possessing a very firm nature and one worthy to share my name, I shall try to make him serviceable to you in every respect, with the help of some good fortune.

12. To the councilors of Seleuceia:¹⁶ A city that is disposed as you are towards the gods and towards those men who deserve approval is both fortunate in itself and helps those to whom it testifies to attain virtue. To initiate an act

¹⁶ Probably Seleuceia Pieria, the port city of Antioch. Apollonius visits it in VA 3.58.

¹¹ ὑμῶν πρὸς τίσιν Kay.: ὑμῖν ἀλλήλοις τισὶν

ριτος οὐ δυσχερές, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις τὸ κάλλιστον, ἀμοιβὴν δ' οὐ μόνον οὐ ῥάδιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ὁμοίαν εὐρεῖν ἀδύνατον, τὸ γάρ που τῇ τάξει δεύτερον οὐδέποτε τῇ φύσει πρῶτον. ὥστε θεὸν ἀνάγκη παρακαλεῖν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀμείψασθαι τοὺς οὐ τῇ δυνάμει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις κρείττους γενομένους, ἀνθρώπων γὰρ οὐδεὶς τά γε τηλικαῦτα δυνατός. καὶ τὸ ἐθελῆσαι δ' ἂν με παρ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι τῆς ὑμῶν ἂν εἴη χάριτος καὶ αὐτὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἔγωγ' ἂν εὐξαίμην παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ γεγεννηῆσθαι. οἱ πρέσβεις ὑμῶν τιμιώτεροι, διότι καὶ φίλοι, Ἱερώνυμος καὶ Ζήνων.

13. τοῖς αὐτοῖς. Στράτων μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων οἴχεται, πᾶν ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ θνητὸν ἐπὶ γῆς καταλιπών. χρῆ δὲ τοὺς ἔτι κολαζομένους ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε, ζῆν ἄλλως λεγομένους, ἔχειν τινὰ τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν. ἄλλοις μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι ἔργον δικαίως γένοιτο νῦν ἢ καὶ ὕστερον, οἷς μὲν ὡς οἰκείοις, οἷς δ' ὡς αὐτὸ μόνον ἀνδράσι φίλοις οὐκ ἐν ἑτέρῳ γνωσθησομένοις χρόνῳ, τούτων εἴπερ ἦν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀληθές τι καὶ πρόσθεν. ἐγὼ μέντοι καὶ ταύτη βουλόμενος ἐξαιρέτως ὑμέτερος εἶναι, τὸν ἐκ Σελευκίδος υἱὸν αὐτῷ γενόμενον Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτὸς ἀναθρέψω καὶ μεταδώσω παιδείας τῆς ἐμῆς. πάντως δ' ἂν μετέδωκα καὶ χρημάτων ὃ τὰ μείζονα δούς, εἴπερ ἔχειν ἦν ἄξιον.

14. Εὐφράτη. Πυυθάνονται μου πολλοὶ πολλάκις, τίνος ἔνεκεν οὐ μετεπέμφθην εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ἢ οὐ μεταπεμφθεὶς ἀφικόμην, ὥσπερ σὺ καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος. ἐγὼ

of kindness is not hard, but rather the finest of human actions. But to find a proper return is so far from being easy that finding one exactly equivalent to it is impossible, for of course what is second in order can never be first in kind. I am obliged therefore to call upon God on your behalf so that he may reward you, who have proved yourself superior not only potentially but in actual fact as well, for no human can reward such acts. Your wish that I should visit you is in itself a part of your kindness towards me, so that personally I would have prayed to have you as my native city. Your envoys, Hieronymus and Zeno, are all the more estimable for being my friends.

13. To the same persons: Strato has departed the human condition, leaving all that was mortal in him on earth. But we who are still being punished here, or in other words are still alive, should take some care of his affairs. It would therefore be right for each of us to undertake some task either now or later, some of us as his relatives, others simply as his true friends. We will never have another time to prove ourselves to be that, at least if either of those appellations was true in the past. Since, however, I particularly want to help you in the following way too, I shall personally educate Alexander, his son by Seleucis, and impart my knowledge to him. Of course, since I am giving him greater things, I would certainly have given him money too, if it were right for him to have it.¹⁷

14. Apollonius to Euphrates: Many people frequently ask me why I have had no invitation to Italy or, if I have had, why I did not go, like you and anyone else. The first

¹⁷ I.e. if he were not above material considerations.

δὲ περὶ τοῦ προτέρου μὲν οὐκ ἀποκρινούμαι, μὴ καὶ δόξω τισὶν εἶδέναι τὴν αἰτίαν, οὐδ' εἶδέναι μοι μέλον, περὶ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τί ἂν καὶ δεοίμην ἕτερον λέγειν, ἢ ὅτι μᾶλλον ἂν μετεπέμφθην ἢ ἀφικόμην; ἔρρωσο.

15. τῷ αὐτῷ. Τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀδέσποτον εἶναι Πλάτων ἔφησεν. εἰ δὲ μὴ τιμᾶ τοῦτό τις καὶ γέγηθεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄνιος γίνεται χρημάτων, πολλοὺς δεσπότας ἑαυτοῦ ποιεῖ.

16. τῷ αὐτῷ. Μάγους οἷε δεῖν ὀνομάζειν τοὺς ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου φιλοσόφους, ὧδέ που καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Ὀρφέως. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς οἶμαι δεῖν ὀνομάζεσθαι μάγους, εἰ μέλλουσιν εἶναι θεῖοί τε καὶ δίκαιοι.

17. τῷ αὐτῷ. Μάγους ὀνομάζουσι τοὺς θεῖους¹² οἱ Πέρσαι. μάγος οὖν ὁ θεραπευτὴς τῶν θεῶν ἢ ὁ τὴν φύσιν θεῖος, σὺ δ' οὐ μάγος, ἀλλ' ἄθεος.

18. τῷ αὐτῷ. Ἡράκλειτος ὁ φυσικὸς ἄλογον εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν ἔφησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀληθές, ὥσπερ ἐστὶν ἀληθές, ἐγκαλυπτέος ἕκαστος ὁ ματαίως ἐν δόξῃ γενόμενος.

19. Σκοπελιανῷ σοφιστῇ. Πέντε εἰσὶ σύμπαντες οἱ τοῦ λόγου χαρακτῆρες, ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὁ ἱστορικός, ὁ δικανικός, ὁ ἐπιστολικός, ὁ ὑπομνηματικός. ἐγκειμένων δὲ τῶν γενικῶν χαρακτήρων τῇ τάξει, πάλιν

¹² θεῖους Kay.: θεοὺς

¹⁸ Republic X 617 E.

question I myself will not answer, so that no one may think I know the reason, when I do not even care to. As to the second question, however, what need I say other than that I would rather have been invited than have arrived? Good bye.

15. To the same: Plato said that virtue has no master.¹⁸ If a person does not honor this principle and rejoice in it, but is purchasable for money, he creates many masters for himself.

16. To the same person: You think that you should call philosophers who follow Pythagoras Magi, and similarly, no doubt, those who follow Orpheus. But I think that even those who follow Zeus should be called Magi, if they plan to be godly and righteous.¹⁹

17. To the same: The Persians call godly men Magi, so that one who worships the gods or has a godly nature is a sorcerer. But you are not a sorcerer, but an atheist.

18. To the same: The natural philosopher Heraclitus said that man is naturally irrational. If this is true, as it is true, then everyone who enjoys futile glory should hide his face.

19. Apollonius to Scopelian the sophist:²⁰ The categories of speech are five in all: the philosophical, the historical, the forensic, the epistolary, and the bureaucratic. Now when these formal styles are ranked, in fact the first proves

¹⁹ The Magi were a Persian clan responsible for upholding religion, but the Greeks identified them with "magicians" or wonder-workers. Like Pythagoreans, devotees of Orpheus were supposed to dabble in the supernatural.

²⁰ Noted sophist of the late first century CE, cf. VA 1.23.3.

γίνεται πρῶτος μὲν ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστου δύναμιν ἢ φύσιν ἴδιος ὢν, δεύτερος δὲ ὁ ἐν μιμῆσει τοῦ ἀρίστου, τῶν ἐκ φύσεως εἴ τις ἐνδεὴς εἴη. τὸ δὲ ἄριστον δυσεῦρετόν τε καὶ δυσεπικρίτον, ὥστε οἰκειότερος ἐκάστῳ χαρακτήρ ὁ ἴδιος, ἐπεὶ περ καὶ βεβαιότερος.

20. Δομετιανῶ. Εἴ σοι δύναμις ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ἐστίν, καὶ φρόνησιν ἂν εἴη σοι κτητέον· καὶ γὰρ εἰ φρόνησις ἦν, δύναμις δὲ ἀπῆν, ὁμοίως ἔδει σοι δυνάμεως. δέεται γὰρ ἀεὶ τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου, ὥσπερ ὄψις φωτὸς καὶ φῶς ὄψεως.

21. τῷ αὐτῷ. Βαρβάρων ἀφεκτέον καὶ οὐκ ἀρκτέον αὐτῶν. οὐ γὰρ θέμις αὐτοὺς βαρβάρους ὄντας εὖ πιάσχειν.

22. Λεσβώνακτι. Δεῖ πένεσθαι μὲν ὡς ἄνδρα, πλουτεῖν δὲ ὡς ἄνθρωπον.

23. Κρίτωνι. Τὸ θειότατον Πυθαγόρας ἰατρικὴν ἔφασκεν. εἰ δὲ ἰατρικὴ τὸ θειότατον, καὶ ψυχῆς ἐπιμελητέον μετὰ σώματος, ἢ τὸ ζῶον οὐκ ἂν ὑγιαίνοι τῷ κρείττονι νοσοῦν.

24. Ἑλληνοδίκαις καὶ Ἡλείοις. Ἀξιούτέ με τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν Ὀλυμπίων παραγενέσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπέμψατε πρέσβεις. ἐγὼ δὲ παρεγενόμην ἂν ἐπὶ σωμαίων θέαν καὶ ἄμιλλαν, εἰ μὴ τὸν μείζονα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀγῶνα καταλείψειν ἔμελλον.

²¹ Philostratus makes Apollonius express a similar view about barbarians to Domitian in his speech of defense, VA 8.7.25.

to be the one proper to each person by reason of his abilities or nature, and the second is the one consisting in imitation of the best, if someone happens to be deficient in the gifts of nature. The best, however, is difficult to find and to determine, so that it is the personal style that is the more appropriate to each person, being also the more consistent.

20. Apollonius to Domitian: If you have power, as in fact you do, you should perhaps also acquire foresight. For, you see, if you had foresight but no power, even so you would need power. For each of these always needs the other, just as sight needs light and light needs sight.

21. To the same: You must shun barbarians and not govern them since, barbarians as they are, it is not right that they should receive a benefit.²¹

22. To Lesbonax:²² One should bear poverty like a man, and wealth like a human being.

23. To Crito:²³ Pythagoras said that medicine is the most godlike of arts. But if the most godlike, it should tend to the soul as well as the body, or else a living thing must be unhealthy, being diseased in its higher part.

24. To the Judges of the Hellenes²⁴ and the Eleans: You request my presence at the Olympic Games, and for that reason you have sent envoys. For myself, I would come for the spectacle of physical struggle, except that I would be abandoning the greater struggle for virtue.

²² Unknown, also addressed in Letter 61. The name Lesbonax recurs in a prominent family of Mytilene.

²³ T. Statilius Crito, celebrated physician of the reigns of Domitian and Trajan.

²⁴ Umpires of the Olympic Games: cf. VA 3.30.2.

25. Πελοποννησίοις. Ὀλύμπια τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐγένεσθε πολέμοι, τὸ δεύτερον δὲ οὐ φίλοι.

26. τοῖς ἐν Ὀλυμπία θεηκόλοις.¹³ Θεοὶ θυσιῶν οὐ δέονται. τί οὖν ἂν τις πράττων χαρίζοιτο αὐτοῖς; φρόνησιν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κτώμενος ἀνθρώπων τε τοὺς ἀξίους εἰς δύναμιν εὖ ποιῶν. ταῦτα φίλα θεοῖς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἀθέων.

27. τοῖς ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερεῦσιν. Αἵματι βωμοὺς μαινοῦσιν ἱερεῖς, εἴτα θαυμάζουσί τινες, πόθεν αἱ πόλεις ἀτυχοῦσιν, ὅταν μεγάλα δυστυχήσωσιν. ὦ τῆς ἀμαθίας. Ἡράκλειτος ἦν σοφός, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος Ἐφεσίους ἔπεισε μὴ πηλῶ πηλὸν καθαίρεσθαι.

28. βασιλεῖ Σκυθῶν. Ζάμολξις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ φιλόσοφος, εἴ γε μαθητῆς Πυθαγόρου ἐγένετο, καὶ εἰ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ἐκὼν ἂν ἐγένετο φίλος. εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας οἶει δεῖν ἀγῶνα καὶ πόνον ἔχειν, ἄκουε φιλόσοφος, τουτέστιν ἐλεύθερος.

¹³ θεηκόλοις Kay.: θεηκόροις

²⁵ Probably a league or confederation of cities of the Peloponnese.

²⁶ Meaning obscure, but probably a reference to faction between cities. During the Olympics it was customary to observe a sacred truce (*echecheiria*).

²⁷ *Theēkoloi*, a type of priest mainly associated with the cult of Olympian Zeus. The practice against which Apollonius warns

25. To the Peloponnesians:²⁵ The Olympics are here again. The first time around, you behaved as enemies, and the second time around, not as friends.²⁶

26. To the cult personnel²⁷ of Olympia: The gods do not need sacrifices, so what might one do to please them? Acquire wisdom, it seems to me, and do all the good in one's power to those humans who deserve it. That is what pleases the gods, but your actions are those of atheists.²⁸

27. To the priests at Delphi:²⁹ Priests pollute altars with blood, and then some people wonder why their cities are unfortunate when they suffer great misfortune. What ignorance! Heraclitus was wise, but not even he could dissuade the Ephesians from cleaning mud with mud.³⁰

28. To the king of the Scythians:³¹ Zamolxis was a good man and a philosopher, if he was a pupil of Pythagoras.³² And if in those days the Roman had been similar, Zamolxis would have willingly been his friend. But if you suppose you must endure struggle and pain for the sake of freedom, make yourself known as a philosopher, that is a free man.

them seems to be blood-sacrifice, the subject of the next two letters. For his abhorrence of blood sacrifice, VA 1.10, 1.31.2, etc.

²⁸ Probably a reference to blood sacrifice.

²⁹ Delphic Apollo had two priests who served for life.

³⁰ I.e. from using blood sacrifice in order to wash away blood pollution.

³¹ "Scythians" was a general term for peoples north of the Black Sea, especially in the Crimea. The Romans fought many campaigns against them, and this may be some local king defending the freedom of his realm.

³² Zamolxis was a Scythian divinity who, according to a Greek tradition, had once been a slave of Pythagoras (Herodotus 4.95).

29. νομοθέτη. Αἱ ἑορταὶ νόσων αἰτίαι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ πόνους ἀνιάσι, τὸ ἐμπίπλασθαι δὲ αὐξουσιν.

30. ταμίαις Ῥωμαίων. Ἀρχὴν ἄρχετε πρώτην. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄρχειν ἐπίστασθε, διὰ τί τὸ παρ' ὑμᾶς χεῖρον ἑαυτῶν αἱ πόλεις ἔχουσιν; εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐπίστασθε, μαθεῖν ἔδει πρῶτον, εἶτα ἄρχειν.

31. διοικηταῖς Ἀσίας. Τί ὄφελος ἀγρίων δένδρων φνομένων ἐπὶ βλάβη τοὺς κλάδους κόπτειν, ἔαν δὲ τὰς ρίζας;

32. Ἐφεσίων γραμματεῦσιν. Λίθων ἐν πόλει, καὶ γραφῶν ποικίλων, καὶ περιπάτων, καὶ θεάτρων, οὐδὲν ὄφελος, εἰ μὴ νοῦς ἐνεῖη καὶ νόμος. νοῦς δὲ καὶ νόμος περὶ τούτων ἐστίν, οὐ ταῦτα.

33. Μιλησίοις. Οἱ παῖδες ὑμῶν πατέρων δέονται, οἱ νέοι γερόντων, αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνδρῶν, οἱ ἄνδρες ἀρχόντων, οἱ ἄρχοντες νόμων, οἱ νόμοι φιλοσόφων, οἱ φιλόσοφοι θεῶν, οἱ θεοὶ πίστεως. προγόνων ἀγαθῶν ἐστε, τὰ παρόντα μισεῖτε.

34. τοῖς ἐν Μουσειῶ σοφοῖς. Ἐγενόμην ἐν Ἄργει καὶ Φωκίδι καὶ Λοκρίδι καὶ ἐν Σικυῶνι καὶ ἐν Μεγάροις, καὶ διαλεγόμενος τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἐπανσάμην ἐκεῖ. τί οὖν, εἴ τις ἔροιτο, τὸ αἴτιον; ἐγὼ φράσαιμ' ἂν ὑμῖν τε καὶ Μούσαις· “ἐβαρβαρώθην” οὐ

³³ In Greek cities of the imperial period, a “lawgiver” (*nomothētēs*) was sometimes appointed to revise the laws.

³⁴ The quaestorship gave entry to the Roman senate, and each year a quaestor was assigned to each of the “public” or “senatorial” provinces of the Empire to assist the proconsul.

29. To a lawgiver:³³ Festivals cause diseases, since they lighten cares but increase gluttony.

30. To the Roman quaestors:³⁴ You are holding your first office. Well, if you know how to hold office, how is it that thanks to you the cities are worse off than ever? But if you do not know, you should have learned first and held office later.

31. To the procurators of Asia:³⁵ What is the point, when wild trees are causing damage by their growth, of cutting back the branches and leaving the roots?

32. To the scribes of the Ephesians:³⁶ Multicolored stones and paintings, walkways, and theaters are useless in a city unless it also contains wisdom and law. Such things are the subject of wisdom and law, not equivalent to them.

33. To the Milesians: Your sons need fathers, your young men elders, your women men, your men magistrates, your magistrates laws, your laws philosophers, your philosophers gods, your gods belief. You have fine ancestors, but you detest your present circumstances.

34. To the wise men in the Museum:³⁷ I have visited Argos, Phocis, Locris, Sicyon, and Megara, and though I used to lecture in former days, I stopped doing so there. What is the reason, someone might ask? I may tell both you and the Muses: “Barbarian have I become,” not “by long

³⁵ Roman officials chiefly concerned with the collection of provincial taxes.

³⁶ Magistrates of Ephesus, cf. *Acts* 19.35. Ephesus was one of the most prosperous cities of Asia.

³⁷ There were several “Museums,” sanctuaries of the Muses to which learned men were attached, but this is probably the famous one in Alexandria.

“χρόνιος ὢν ἀφ’ Ἑλλάδος,” ἀλλὰ χρόνιος ὢν ἐν Ἑλλάδι.

35. Ἐστιάϊω. Ἀρετὴ καὶ χρήματα παρ’ ἡμῖν ἀλλήλοισι ἐναντιώτατα, μειούμενον γὰρ τὸ ἕτερον αὖξει τὸ ἕτερον, ἀξανάμενον δὲ μειοῖ. πῶς οὖν δυνατὸν ἀμφοτέρα περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι; πλὴν εἰ μὴ τῷ τῶν ἀνοήτων λόγῳ, παρ’ οἷς καὶ ὁ πλοῦτος ἀρετὴ. μὴ δὴ τοσοῦτον ἡμῶν ἀναισθητεῖν ἐπίτρεπε τοῖς αὐτόθι, μηδὲ ἕα πλουσίους ἡμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνειν μᾶλλον ἢ φιλοσόφους. καὶ γὰρ αἰσχιστον ἀποδημεῖν ἡμᾶς διὰ χρήματα δοκεῖν, ἐνίῳν, ἵνα μνήμην ἑαυτῶν καταλίπωσι, μηδὲ ἀρετὴν ἀσπασαμένων.

36. Κορινθίῳ Βάσσῳ. Ἦν Πραξιτέλης Χαλκιδεὺς μαινόμενος ἄνθρωπος. οὗτος ἦλθέ ποτε ξιφήρης ἐπὶ θύρας τὰς ἐμὰς ὑπὸ σοῦ σταλεῖς τοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτου τῶν Ἰσθμίων. τοῦ φόνου δ’ ἦν μισθὸς δεδομένος ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς σου κοινωνία, καί, μιὰρὲ Βάσσε, πολλάκις εὐεργέτης ἐγενόμην σου.

37. τῷ αὐτῷ. Εἰ πυνθάνοιτο Κορινθίων τις, πῶς ὁ Βάσσου πατὴρ ἀπέθανεν, ἐροῦσιν ἅπαντες οἱ ἀστικοὶ καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι “φαρμάκῳ.” τίνας δόντος; ἐροῦσι καὶ οἱ ὄμοροι “τοῦ φιλοσόφου.” καὶ ὁ μιὰρὸς τῷ πτώματι τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπόμενος ἔκλαιεν.

³⁸ Adapted from Euripides, *Orestes* 485.

³⁹ Apollonius’s brother, recipient of several letters, and presumably the unnamed elder brother of VA 1.13.

⁴⁰ Tyana.

absence from Greece,”³⁸ but by long presence *in* Greece.

35. To Hestiaeus:³⁹ In my judgement excellence and wealth are direct opposites, since when the one shrinks the other grows, and when one grows the other shrinks. How then is it possible for both to be found in the same person, except by the reasoning of fools, who equate wealth with excellence? Do not allow people there⁴⁰ to form such a wrong impression of me, or let them suppose that I am a wealthy man rather than a lover of wisdom. It would indeed be a disgrace that I should seem to remain abroad for the sake of money, when some people who wish to leave a memorial of themselves have not even embraced virtue.⁴¹

36. Apollonius to Bassus the Corinthian:⁴² Praxiteles of Chalcis⁴³ was a man demented. This man once came to my door armed with a sword, sent by you, a philosopher and president of the Isthmian Games. The reward given for my murder was intercourse with your wife, even though I have often done you favors, you scoundrel Bassus!

37. To the same: If anyone should ask the Corinthians how Bassus’s father died, one and all will say, whether natives or aliens, “By poison.” And if anyone should ask by whose hand, even the people in the neighboring cities will answer, “The philosopher’s.” And yet that scoundrel wept as he followed his father’s corpse.

⁴¹ I.e., Apollonius is traveling not to make money, but to promote virtue, whereas some who spend money in order to be remembered by their fellow citizens neither travel nor pursue virtue.

⁴² Ally of Apollonius’s enemy Euphrates, cf. VA 4.26.

⁴³ Mentioned again in Letters 60 and 77, but otherwise unknown. Chalcis is presumably the most important city of that name, on Euboea.

38. τοῖς ἐν Σάρδεσιν. Ἀρετῆς μὲν ὑμῖν πρωτεῖον οὐκ ἔστι, ποίας γὰρ ἀρετῆς; εἰ δὲ κακίας φέρεσθε τὰ πρῶτα, πάντες ὑφ' ἐν φέρεσθε. τίνες τοῦτο φήσουσι περὶ τῶν ἐν Σάρδεσιν; οἱ ἐν Σάρδεσιν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδενὶ τῶν αὐτόθι φίλος, ὥστ' ἀρνεῖσθαί τι τῶν ἀτόπων δι' εὐνοίαν.

39. τοῖς αὐτοῖς. Αἰσχροὶ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ταγμάτων ὑμῶν. Κότταροι, Ξυρισίταυροι. ταῦτα τοῖς τέκνοις τίθεσθε τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ εὐχεσθε¹⁴ γίνεσθαι τούτων ἄξιοι.

40. τοῖς αὐτοῖς. Κότταροι καὶ Ξυρισίταυροι. Τὰς δὲ θυγατέρας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας πῶς ἂν προσ-αγορεύοιτε; τῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν ταγμάτων εἰσὶ καὶ αὐταὶ καὶ θρασύτεραι.

41. τοῖς αὐτοῖς. Οὐδὲ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑμῖν εὐνοεῖν εἰκός, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οἰκέται, εἶθ' ὅτι τῶν ἐναντίων ταγμάτων οἱ πλείστοι. κακῆνοι γὰρ ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ἀπὸ γένους.

42. Πλατωνικοῖς. Ἐάν τις Ἀπολλωνίῳ χρήματα διδῶ, καὶ ὁ διδοὺς ἄξιός νομίζεται, λήψεται δεόμενος. φιλοσοφίας δὲ μισθὸν οὐ λήψεται, κἂν δέηται.

42a. Ἀπολλώνιος ἐφόροις χαίρειν. Ἀνδρῶν μὲν τὸ μὴ ἀμαρτάνειν, γενναίων δὲ τὸ ἀμαρτάνοντας αἰσθῆσθαι.

¹⁴ εὐχεσθε Kay.: εὐτυχεῖτε

38. To those in Sardis:⁴⁴ You have no first prize for goodness, for what kind of goodness do you have? But if you win first place for wickedness, you do so in a dead heat. Who will say this about those in Sardis? Those in Sardis will. For no one there is so well disposed to his neighbor as to deny his wickednesses out of goodwill.

39. To the same: Even the names of your clubs are disgraceful—"Koddaroi," "Bull-Shavers."⁴⁵ These are the first names that you give to your children, and you pray for them to prove worthy of such names.

40. To the same: "Koddaroi" and "Bull-Shavers." And your daughters and your wives—what will you call them? For they join the same clubs, and are even more shameless than you are.

41. To the same persons: Not even your servants can be expected to feel kindly towards you, first because they are servants, and second because most of them belong to the opposing clubs. For they, like you, have their ancestors.

42. Apollonius to the Platonists: If someone gives money to Apollonius, and the giver is someone considered respectable, he will take the money if he needs it. But he will not accept a fee for philosophy even if he does need it.

42a.⁴⁶ To the ephors: It is the mark of true men not to err, and of noble ones to realize their errors.

⁴⁴ No less than eight of the letters concern civil strife in Sardis. There is evidence for an especially strong outbreak of this under Domitian.

⁴⁵ "Koddaroi" is unexplained, but "Bull-Shavers" probably means "those who shave their genital hair."

⁴⁶ This letter also appears in VA 4.27.

42b. Ἀπολλώνιος Μουσωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν. βούλομαι παρὰ σὲ ἀφικόμενος κοινωνῆσαί σοι λόγου καὶ στέγης, ὥς τι ὀνήσαιμί σε, εἴ γε μὴ ἀπιστεῖς ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ποτε Θησέα ἐξ Ἄιδου ἔλυσε. γράφε, τί βούλει. ἔρρωσο.

42c. Μουσώνιος Ἀπολλωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν. ὦν μὲν ἐνενοήθησ ἀποκείσεται σοι ἔπαινος, ἀνὴρ δὲ ὁ ὑπομείνας ἀπολογία καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖ δείξας ἑαυτὸν λύει. ἔρρωσο.

42d. Ἀπολλώνιος Μουσωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν. Σωκράτης Ἀθηναῖος ὑπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων λυθῆναι μὴ βουληθεὶς παρήλθε μὲν ἐς δικαστήριον, ἀπέθανε δέ.

42e. Μουσώνιος Ἀπολλωνίῳ φιλοσόφῳ χαίρειν. Σωκράτης ἀπέθανεν, ἐπεὶ μὴ παρεσκεύασεν ἐς ἀπολογία ἑαυτόν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογήσομαι.

42f. Ἀπολλώνιος Οὐεσπασιανῶ. Ἐδουλώσω¹⁵ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὥς φασι, καὶ πλέον μὲν οἶει τι ἔχειν Ξέρξου, λέληθας δὲ ἔλαττον ἔχων Νέρωνος. Νέρων γὰρ ἔχων αὐτὸ παρητήσατο. ἔρρωσο.

42g. τῷ αὐτῷ. Διαβεβλημένος οὕτω πρὸς Ἑλληνας ὡς δουλοῦσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρους ὄντας, τί ἐμοῦ ξυνόντος δέη; ἔρρωσο.

42h. τῷ αὐτῷ. Νέρων τοὺς Ἑλληνας παίζων ἠλευθέρωσε, σὺ δὲ αὐτοὺς σπουδάζων ἐδουλώσω. ἔρρωσο.

43. τοῖς οἰησισόφοις.¹⁶ Εἰ λέγει τις εἶναι γνώριμος ἐμός, λεγέτω καὶ μένειν ἔνδον, ἀπέχεσθαι λουτροῦ

42b.⁴⁷ Apollonius to Musonius:⁴⁸ I wish to come to you and share your conversation and your roof so as to help you, at least if you admit that Heracles once liberated Theseus from Hades. Write and tell me your wish. Goodbye.

42c. Musonius to Apollonius: Praise awaits you for your intentions. But a true man who undertakes his defense and proves his innocence is his own liberator. Goodbye.

42d. Apollonius to Musonius: Socrates of Athens preferred not to be liberated by his friends, and so came to trial, but died.

42e. Musonius to Apollonius: Socrates died because he was not prepared to defend himself, but I will defend myself.

42f. Apollonius to Vespasian:⁴⁹ Apollonius greets the emperor Vespasian. You have enslaved Greece, I am told. You think you possess more than Xerxes did, but without realizing it you possess less than Nero did. Nero both had it and refused it. Goodbye.

42g. To the same: If you think so ill of the Greeks as to make them slaves when they are free, why do you need my presence? Goodbye.

42h. To the same: Nero freed the Greeks in play, but you have enslaved them in earnest. Goodbye.

43. To those who think themselves wise: If anyone claims to be my pupil, let him also claim that he remains

⁴⁷ Letters 42b-e also appear in VA 4.46.2-5.

⁴⁸ Celebrated Stoic philosopher, cf. VA 4.35, 5.19.2.

⁴⁹ Letters 42f-h also appear in VA 5.41.2-4.

¹⁵ ἐδουλώσω Pen. (e VA 5.41.2): ἐδουλώσας

¹⁶ οἰησισόφοις Kay.: οἰησόφοις

παντός, ζῶα μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἔδειν σάρκας, ἀπαθῆς εἶναι φθόνου κακοηθείας μίσους διαβολῆς ἔχθρας, τοῦ τῶν ἐλευθέρων ὀνομάζεσθαι γένους, ἢ φυλακτέος πλάσματα φέρων τρόπου τε καὶ ἠθους καὶ λόγων ψευδῶν ἀλλοτρίου βίου πίστιν.

44.1. Ἐστιαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ. Τί θαυμαστόν, εἴ με τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἰσόθεον ἡγουμένων, τινῶν δὲ καὶ θεόν, μόνη μέχρι νῦν ἡ πατρίς ἀγνοεῖ, δι' ἣν ἐξαιρέτως ἐσπούδασα λαμπρὸς εἶναι; τουτὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὑμῖν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ὡς ὄρω, γέγονε φανερόν, ὡς εἶμι ἀμείνων πολλῶν λόγους τε καὶ ἠθος. ἐπεὶ πῶς ἂν μου κατεγινώσκετε χαλεπὴν κατάγνωσιν <ὡς>¹⁷ ὑπομνήσεως τὴν ἀρχὴν δεομένου,¹⁸ περὶ ᾧ μόνων οὐδὲ τῶν ἀμαθεστάτων ἂν τις περιμένειε διδαχθῆναι; λέγω δὲ πατρίδος τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν.

44.2. καίτοι οὐ λέληθεν ὑμᾶς, ὡς καλῶς ἔχον ἐστὶ πᾶσάν τε γῆν πατρίδα νομίζειν καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδελφοὺς καὶ φίλους, ὡς ἂν γένος μὲν ὄντας θεοῦ, μιᾶς δὲ φύσεως, κοινωνίας δ' οὔσης λόγου τε παντὶ καὶ πᾶσι <καὶ>¹⁹ παθῶν τῆς αὐτῆς, ὅπη γε καὶ ὅπως ἂν τις τύχη γενόμενος, εἴτε δὴ βάρβαρος, εἴτε καὶ Ἑλληγ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀνθρώπος. ἀλλ' ἐστὶ γὰρ πως τὸ συγγενὲς ἀκατασόφιστον καὶ πᾶν ἀνακλητικὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ οἰκεῖον. οὕτως ὁ Ὀμηρικὸς Ὀδυσσεύς,

¹⁷ <ὡς> Kay.

¹⁸ δεομένου Kay.: δεομένων

¹⁹ <καὶ> Kay.

indoors, avoids all bathing, does not kill animals or eat their flesh, is free from envy, malignity, hatred, scandal-mongering, and hostility, and is considered to belong to the class of free men. Otherwise he must be shunned as using the mask of nature, character, and fake doctrines as evidence for a life that is not his own.

44.1. To Hestiaeus, his brother: Why is it surprising that most of humanity thinks me close to a god, and some an actual god,⁵⁰ and yet up to now only my ancestral city fails to recognize me, when it is for her that I have particularly striven to distinguish myself? No, because not even to you, my brothers, so I see, has it become clear that I am superior to most people in principles and character. Otherwise how could you condemn me so severely as to suppose I needed reminding at all about the one class of matters on which not even the greatest fool could bear being instructed? That is, about one's city and brothers.

44.2. And yet you are well aware that it is an honorable thing to regard the whole earth as one's ancestral city and all humans as his brothers and friends, since we are all akin to God, have a single nature, and have the same community of thought and emotions with each and every person, wherever and however we may have come into existence, whether barbarian or Greek, so long as we are human. No, kinship cannot be argued away, and everything that is akin responds to its own kind. Hence Homer's Odysseus, so

⁵⁰ In the *Life*, various people "reverence" Apollonius (*proskunein*) or consider him "godlike" (*theios*), but he is not regarded as a god.

ὡς φασιν, οὐδὲ ἀθανασίαν ὑπὸ θεᾶς διδομένην Ἰθά-
κης προὔτιμησεν.

44.3. ὁρῶ δ' ἔγωγε τὸν νόμον τόνδε καὶ διὰ τῶν
ἀλόγων ζώων πεφοιτηκότα. οὐ γάρ, ὅποσον πτηνόν,
καλιῶν ἀπόκοιτον ἰδίω, πᾶν τε βύθιον παρασύρεται
μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ φέροντος, ἐπάνεισι δὲ μὴ νικηθέν, θηρία
μὲν γὰρ οὔτε λιμὸς οὔτε κόρος ἔπεισεν ἔξω φωλεῶν
μείναι. ἕνα²⁰ τούτων ἢ φύσις ἤνεγκεν ἄνθρωπον καὶ
ταῦτα σοφὸν λεγόμενον, ᾧ κἂν πάντα τὰ λοιπὰ γῆ
πᾶσα παρέχη, μνήματα οὐκ ἔχει δεῖξαι τὰ πατέρων.

45. τῷ αὐτῷ. εἰ τῶν ὄντων τὸ τιμιώτατον φιλο-
σοφία, πεπιστεύμεθα δ' ἡμεῖς φιλοσοφεῖν, οὐκ ἂν
ὀρθῶς ὑπολαμβανοίμεθα μισάδελφοι, καὶ ταῦτα δι'
αἰτίαν ἀγεννή τε ἅμα καὶ ἀνελεύθερον. χρημάτων γὰρ
δήπου χάριν ἢ ὑποψία, τούτων δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ φιλο-
σοφεῖν ἐπειρώμεθα καταφρονεῖν, ὥστε τοῦ μὴ γρά-
φειν εὐλογώτερον ἂν εἶη πρόφασιν ἑτέραν ὑπονοεῖν.
ἐφυλαττόμην γὰρ ἀληθῆ μὲν γράφων ἀλαζῶν δοκεῖν,
ψευδῆ δὲ ταπεινός, ὧν ἑκάτερον ἐπίσης ἀνιαρὸν ἀδελ-
φοῖς τε καὶ φίλῳ παντί. νυνὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο δηλῶ
(συγχωροίη γὰρ ἂν ἴσως τὸ δαιμόνιον) ὅτι συμβαλὼν
τοῖς ἐν Ῥόδῳ φίλοις μετ' ὀλίγον ἐκεῖθεν ἐπάνειμι πρὸς
ὑμᾶς λήγοντος ἔαρος.

46. Γορδίῳ. Ἦδικῆσθαί φασιν Ἑστιαῖον ὑπὸ σοῦ

²⁰ ἕνα Pen.: τίνα

they say, did not even value the immortality given to him
by a goddess more than he valued Ithaca.

44.3. I myself observe that this law has gained cur-
rency among irrational animals too. For no winged crea-
ture sleeps away from its own nest; every creature of the
deep may be carried by the current, but returns if not
swept away; and wild beasts are induced by neither hunger
nor satiety to stay away from their dens. One such creature
brought forth by nature is man, who is called "wise" too,
and yet even if the whole earth supplies him with every-
thing else, it cannot show him the tombs of his ancestors.⁵¹

45. To the same: If philosophy is the most valuable
thing in existence, and I am considered a philosopher, I
could not properly be supposed to hate my brothers, espe-
cially not for an ignoble and mean reason. For clearly
money is the cause of this suspicion, and yet I tried to de-
spise it even before becoming a philosopher, so that it
would be more logical to suspect another reason for my not
writing. I was anxious not to seem boastful by writing the
truth, and not to seem meek by writing falsehood, since to
be either is equally vexatious both to brothers and to every
friend. Now however I can announce this, and perhaps the
powers above will allow it: after meeting with my friends in
Rhodes,⁵² I shall return from there to you soon at the end
of spring.

46. To Gordius:⁵³ They say that Hestiaeus has been

⁵¹ I.e. even a citizen of the world can only find his ancestor's
tombs in his native city.

⁵² Apollonius stays on Rhodes in
VA 5.21-23.

⁵³ The Gordius and Aristocleides of this letter,
the Diotimus and Lysias of 48, and the "Ferocianus" of 49 must all
be acquaintances of Apollonius from his youth in Tyana.

καὶ ταῦτα φίλου γεγονότος, εἴ γε σύ τινος φίλος. ὄρα δὴ, Γόρδιε, μὴ πείραν λάβης ἀνδρὸς οὐ δοκοῦντος, ἀλλὰ ὄντος. ἄσπασαι τὸν υἱὸν Ἀριστοκλείδην, ὃν εὐχομαι μὴ παραπλησίον σοι γενέσθαι. καὶ σὺ δ' ἦς νέος ἄμεμπτος.

47. Τυανέων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Προστάτουσιν ὑμῖν ἐπανιέναι πείθομαι. ἴτούτο γὰρ δὴ πρὸς ἓνα πόλει† πρεπωδέστερον εἶη, εἰ ἔνεκα τιμῆς μεταπέμποιτο πολίτην ἑαυτῆς. καὶ ὃν ἀποδεδήμηκα δὲ χρόνον, ἀπεδήμησα περιποιῶν ὑμῖν, εἰ καὶ ἐπαχθὲς εἰπεῖν, εὐκλειάν τε καὶ ὄνομα καὶ εὐνοίαν καὶ φιλίαν πόλεων ἐπιφανῶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν. εἰ δὲ καὶ μείζονος ἔτι καὶ κρείττονος ὑμεῖς ὑπολήψεως ἄξιοι, τό γε ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῆς ἐμῆς φύσεως ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξήρκει μόνον δυνάμεώς τε καὶ σπουδῆς.

48.1. Διοτίμῳ. Ἐπλανήθης οἰηθεὶς δεῖσθαί με τινος ἢ παρ' αὐτοῦ σοῦ, πρὸς ὃν οὐδὲν ἦν μοί ποτε κοινόν τι γεγονός, ἢ παρ' ἄλλου τινὸς ὁμοίου τε καὶ ὁμοίως. ἦν δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ ἀναλωθὲν εἰς τι τῶν σοι σωτηρίων πολὺ τι. χαριεῖ δὴ μοι παθῶν εὐ²¹ δίχ' ἀναλώματος, τηρήσεις²² γάρ μου τὸ ἔθος μόνως οὕτως. ὅτι δὲ τοῦτον ἔχω τὸν τρόπον καὶ ταύτην τὴν διάθεσιν πρὸς ἅπαντάς μου τοὺς πολίτας, ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν ὡς καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ἔξεστι μαθεῖν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν εὐ²³ παθόντων μὲν, ὅσάκις ἐδεήθησάν τινος, ἀμοιβὴν δὲ

²¹ χαριεῖ . . . εὐ Kay.: χάριν . . . οὐ

²² τηρήσεις Pen.: τηρήσει

wronged by you, though you were his friend, if you really are anyone's friend. Take care, Gordius, not to find by experience what a real man is as opposed to the appearance of one. Greet your son Aristocleides from me. I pray he may not turn out like you, since you, too, were once an irreproachable young man.

47. To the assembly and people of Tyana: You order me to return, and I obey, for of course what could be more proper than this, that a city should summon its own citizen to do him honor?⁵⁴ For the whole time of my travels abroad, even if I annoy you by saying so, I traveled in order to win you goodwill, fame, and the friendship of distinguished cities and also of distinguished men. And if you deserved an even greater and higher reputation, my own person and my own talents alone would have sufficed to raise you to such influence and admiration.

48.1. To Diotimus: You were wrong to think that I needed anything either from yourself, with whom I have never had anything in common, or from anyone else like you and under similar circumstances. In fact I did not even spend very much on something to save you.⁵⁵ So you will do me a favor by receiving a benefit and not paying me back, for this is the only way you will help observe my custom.⁵⁶ This is my practice and this is my disposition to all my fellow citizens (I refrain from adding, "to all mankind"), as you may find from my other compatriots who have received a benefit from me whenever they needed

⁵⁴ Translation uncertain.

⁵⁵ It is unclear whether this is a spiritual or some other kind of "salvation."

⁵⁶ I.e., "my custom is only to give, never to receive."

αἰτηθέντων μηδεμίαν.

48.2. μὴ δὴ δυσχεράνης, εἰ δεόντως ἐπιτιμηθεὶς ὁ ἐμὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ προσέσθαι τι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀπέδωκεν εὐθὺς ὃ ἔλαβε Λυσία τῷ φίλῳ σου, φίλῳ δὲ καὶ ἐμοῦ, ἐπεὶ μηδένα ἠπίστατο τῶν καταλελειμμένων σου παίδων. εἰ δὲ δύο λόγοι περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγονται, λεχθήσονται δὲ καὶ ἐς ὕστερον, τί θαυμαστόν; ἀνάγκη γὰρ περὶ παντὸς ἄκρου δοκοῦντος καθ' ὅτιοῦν ἐναντίους λέγεσθαι λόγους. οὕτως περὶ Πυθαγόρου, περὶ Ὀρφέως, περὶ Πλάτωνος, περὶ Σωκράτους οὐκ ἐλέχθη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐγράφη τὰ ἐναντία, ὅπου γε <μῆ>²³ τὰ ὅμοια καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ.

48.3. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ δέχονται τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον, ὡς ἂν ἔχοντές τι συγγενές, οἱ δὲ φαῦλοι τὸν ἐναντίον, καὶ ἔστι τοῦ τοιούτου γένους καταγελᾶν, λέγω δὲ τοῦ χείρονος. τοσοῦτο μόνον δίκαιον ὑπομνήσαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ τὸ νῦν, ὅτι περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ θεοῖς εἴρηται ὡς περὶ θείου ἀνδρὸς οὐ μόνον ἰδίᾳ τισὶ πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίᾳ. ἐπαχθὲς λέγειν τι περὶ αὐτοῦ πλείον ἢ μείζον. ὑγιαίνειν σε εὐχομαι.

49. †Φερουκιανῶ.† Πάνυ τοῖς πεμφθείσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ γράμμασιν ἤσθην, πολλὴν γὰρ οἰκειότητα καὶ γένους ἀνάμνησιν εἶχε, καὶ πέπεισμαι δι' ἐπιθυμίας εἶναί σοι θεάσασθαι με καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ θεαθῆναι. αὐτὸς οὖν ἀφίξομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅτι τάχιστα, καὶ ταύτη που καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ παραινοῦντος, ὅθεν ἔχου τῶν αὐτόθι. συμμίξεις

²³ <μῆ> Hamaker

something, but were never asked for a return.

48.2. Do not therefore be annoyed that my servant, after being properly reprimanded for accepting anything at all, immediately gave away what he had accepted to Lysias, your friend and mine, since he did not know any of the servants whom you left behind. But if two different stories are being told about me, as they will be in the future too, what is surprising about that? It is inevitable, whenever someone is thought outstanding in any respect, that he becomes the subject of contradictory stories. Take for example Pythagoras, Orpheus, Plato, Socrates: contradictory accounts were given of them not only in speech but in writing. Why, discordant accounts are given of God himself.

48.3. Good people, however, accept the true version, having an affinity with it, but bad people accept the contrary one, and we may laugh their kind to scorn, I mean the inferior one. I should properly mention only this about myself for the present, that gods have often spoken of me as of a godlike man not just privately to individuals on many occasions, but publicly as well. It would give annoyance to say anything further or loftier about oneself. I pray for your good health.

49. To Ferocianus:⁵⁷ I was very pleased by the letter that you sent me, since it showed such friendliness and recollection of our blood tie. I am convinced of your eagerness to see me and be seen by me. I will therefore come in person to you all as soon as possible, especially since God seems so to advise me, so please remain where you are. As

⁵⁷ Cichorius's suggestion for the "Ferucianus" of the manuscripts.

δέ μοι πλησίον γενομένω πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων οἰκείων τε καὶ φίλων, ἐπεὶ καὶ προσήκει σοι τὸ τοιοῦτο.

50. Εὐφράτη. Ἐν γένει δαιμόνων καὶ ὁ σοφώτατος Πυθαγόρας ἦν. σὺ δ' ἔτι μοι δοκεῖς πορρωτάτω φιλοσοφίας εἶναι καὶ ἀληθινῆς ἐπιστήμης, ἢ οὐκ ἂν οὔτε ἐκείνον κακῶς ἔλεγες, οὔτε τινὰς τῶν ζηλούντων αὐτὸν διετέλεις μισῶν. ἄλλο τί σοι νῦν πρακτέον ἂν εἴη φιλοσοφίας γὰρ "ἤμβροτες, οὐδ' ἔτυχες" μᾶλλον ἢ Μενελάου Πάνδαρος ἐν τῇ τῶν Ὀρκῶν Συγχύσει.

51. τῷ αὐτῷ. Ἐπιτιμῶσί σοί τινες, ὡς εἰληφότι χρήματα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὅπερ οὐκ ἄτοπον, εἰ μὴ φαίνοιο φιλοσοφίας εἰληφέναι μισθὸν καὶ τοσαντάκις, καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, καὶ παρὰ τοσοῦτων, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πεπιστευκότος εἶναί σε φιλόσοφον.

52. τῷ αὐτῷ. Ἐάν τις ἀνδρὶ Πυθαγορείω συγγένηται, τίνα παρ' αὐτοῦ λήψεται καὶ ὅποσα; φαίην ἂν ἔγωγε νομοθετικὴν, γεωμετρίαν, ἀστρονομίαν, ἀριθμητικὴν, ἀρμονικὴν, μουσικὴν, ἰατρικὴν, πᾶσαν θείαν μαντικὴν, τὰ δὲ καλλίω μεγαλοφροσύνην, μεγαλοψυχίαν, μεγαλοπρέπειαν, εὐστάθειαν, εὐφημίαν, γνῶσιν θεῶν, οὐ δόξαν, εἶδησιν δαιμόνων, οὐχὶ πίστιν, φιλίαν ἑκατέρων, αὐτάρκειαν, ἐκτένειαν, λιτότητα, βραχύτητα τῶν ἀναγκαίων, εὐαισθησίαν, εὐκινησίαν, εὐπνοιαν, εὐχροίαν, ὑγείαν, εὐψυχίαν, ἀθανασίαν. παρὰ σοῦ δέ, Εὐφράτα, τί λαβόντες ἔχουσιν οἱ ἰδόν-

I come near, you will meet with me before the rest of my intimates and friends, since that privilege is yours by right.

50. To Euphrates: The class of higher beings included the most wise Pythagoras. You, however, still seem to me far removed from philosophy and true understanding, since otherwise you would not revile him, nor pursue a vendetta against certain of his disciples. You should find some other business now, for you have "missed without hitting" philosophy more even than Pandarus did with Menelaus in *The Breaking of the Oaths*.⁵⁸

51. To the same: Some criticize you for having accepted money from the emperor. That would not be immoral if you did not appear to have done so as a fee for philosophy, and to have done it so often, to such a degree, from so many people, and from someone who took you for a philosopher.

52. To the same: If someone associates with a true Pythagorean, what will he will get from him, and in what quantity? I would say: statesmanship, geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, harmonics, music, medicine, complete and god-given prophecy, and also the higher rewards—greatness of mind, of soul, and of manner, steadiness, piety, knowledge of the gods and not just supposition, familiarity with blessed spirits and not just faith, friendship with both gods and spirits, self-sufficiency, persistence, frugality, reduction of essential needs, ease of perception, of movement, and of breath, good color, health, cheerfulness, and immortality. But what do those who see you come away with, Euphrates? Is it not obviously the excel-

⁵⁸ *Iliad* 5.287, though *The Breaking of the Oaths* properly refers to Book 4.

τες; ἢ δηλονότι τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἣν ἔχεις;

53. Κλαύδιος Τυανέων τῇ βουλῇ. Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν ὑμέτερον πολίτην, Πυθαγόρειον φιλόσοφον, καλῶς ἐπιδημήσαντα τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τοὺς νέους ἡμῶν ὠφελήσαντα, τιμήσαντες ἀξίαις τιμαῖς, αἷς πρέπει τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ἀληθῶς προῖσταμένους φιλοσοφίας, τὴν εὐνοίαν ἡμῶν ἠθελήσαμεν ὑμῖν δι' ἐπιστολῆς φανερὰν γενέσθαι. ἔρρωσθε.

54. Ἀπολλώνιος διοικηταῖς Ῥωμαίων. Λιμένων, καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων, καὶ περιβόλων, καὶ περιπάτων, ἐνίοις ὑμῶν πρόνοια, παίδων δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἢ νέων, ἢ γυναικῶν, οὐθ' ὑμῖν οὔτε τοῖς νόμοις φροντίς. ἢ καλὸν ἂν εἶη τὸ ἄρχεσθαι.

55.1. Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ ἀδελφῷ. Φύσιν ἔχει τῶν τελειωθέντων ἕκαστον ἀπιέναι,²⁴ καὶ τοῦτο παντὶ γῆράς ἐστι, μεθ' ὃ μηκέτι μένει. μὴ δὴ σε λυπέιτω τῆς γυναικὸς ἢ ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀποβολή, μηδέ, ἐπεὶ θάνατός τι λέγεται, κρεῖττον αὐτοῦ τὸ ζῆν ὑπολάβαι, χεῖρον ὃν τῷ παντὶ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι. γενοῦ δὴ ἀδελφὸς τὸ μὲν κοινότατον φιλοσόφου, τὸ δ' ἐξαιρέτον Πυθαγορείου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου, καὶ σου τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν αὐτὴν ποίησον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐνεκαλοῦμέν τι τῇ προτέρᾳ, κἂν εἰκότως ἐδοκοῦμεν ἀποδειλιᾶν, εἰ δ' ἡμῖν σεμνὴ τε διετέλεσεν οὔσα καὶ φίλανδρος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιζητήσεως ἀξία, τί καὶ διανοηθέντες οὐκ ἂν ὅμοια καὶ περὶ τῆς μελλούσης προσδοκοίημεν; ἢν εἰκὸς ἂν ἐθε-

²⁴ ἀπιέναι Kay.: ἀπέιναι

lence that you already possess?⁵⁹

53. Claudius⁶⁰ to the senate of Tyana: Your citizen Apollonius, the Pythagorean philosopher, has made an excellent visit to Greece and has improved our youth. Having bestowed upon him due honors, such as befit men of virtue who truly represent philosophy, we wanted to make our goodwill evident to you by letter. Goodbye.

54. Apollonius to the Roman procurators.⁶¹ Some of you have the supervision of harbors, buildings, enclosures, and walkways, but the children in the cities, the youth, and the women, are of no concern either to you or to the laws. Otherwise, it would be good to be governed.

55.1. Apollonius to his brother: It is natural for everything that has reached fulfillment to pass away, and for everyone this is old age, after which they remain no more. Do not therefore be grieved by having lost your wife in the prime of life, or suppose that, just because there is something called death, life is superior to it, when really in the opinion of intelligent people it is in every way inferior. Show yourself to be the brother of one who is ordinarily called a philosopher, but more honorably called a Pythagorean and Apollonius, and make your house the same as before.⁶² For if we had found any fault with your former wife, it would not seem unreasonable for us to hang back. But since we thought her always respectable, devoted to her husband, and hence deserving to be missed, what possible consideration would lead us not to expect the same of your future wife? She will probably wish to prove herself better

⁵⁹ I.e. no excellence at all. ⁶⁰ Perhaps a magistrate of a Greek city rather than the Roman emperor.

⁶¹ See Letter 31. ⁶² I.e., remarry.

λήσαι καὶ ἀμείνονα γενέσθαι, μηδαμοῦ τῆς προτέρας ἀμελεία κακωθείσης.

55.2. δυσωπείτω δέ σε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν οὕτω μέχρι νῦν ἔχοντα. τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ γάμος οὐδέπω, τῷ νεωτάτῳ δὲ ἐλπίς μὲν ἔτι παιδοποιίας, ἐν προκοπῇ δὲ γε τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐνὶ τρεῖς γεγόναμεν, τρισὶ δ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲ εἷς. ἴσος δὲ καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τῷ βίῳ τῷ μεθ' ἡμᾶς. εἰ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἀμείνους τοῦ πατρός (ἄλλως δέ, καθ' ὃ πατήρ, χείρους), πῶς οὐκ ἂν βελτίους ἐξ ἡμῶν εἰκὸς ἂν ὑπάρξαι; γενέσθωσαν οὖν τινες, οἷς παραθησόμεθα γούν ὀνόματα, ὡς ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι συνύφηναν. ὑπὸ δακρύων οὐχ οἷός τε ἐγενόμην πλείονα γράφαι, καὶ οὐδὲ εἶχον ἀναγκαιότερα τούτων.

56. Σαρδιανοῖς. Κροῖσος ἀπέβαλε τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχὴν Ἄλυν διαβάς, ἐλήφθη ζῶν, ἐδέθη πέδαις, ἐπὶ πυρὰν²⁵ ἀνεβιβάσθη, τὸ πῦρ εἶδεν ἡμμένον, αἰρόμενον εἰς ὕψος· ἔζησεν, ἐδόκει γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τετιμημένος. τί οὖν ὕστερον; οὗτος ὁ πρόγονος ὑμῶν ἅμα καὶ βασιλεύς, ὁ τοσαῦτα παθὼν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν, τραπέζης ἐκοινώνησε τῷ πολεμίῳ, σύμβουλος ἦν εὖνους, πιστός, φίλος. ὑμῖν δὲ ἄσπονδα καὶ ἀκήρυκτα καὶ ἀμείλικτα ἔτι τε ἀνίερα καὶ ἄθεα τὰ πρὸς γονεῖς, πρὸς τέκνα, πρὸς ἀδελφούς, πρὸς γυναῖκας, τὰ πρὸς φίλους συγγενεῖς φυλέτας. ἐχθροὶ γεγόνατε μήτε τὸν Ἄλυν διαβάντες, μήτε δεξάμενοί τινα ἄνθρωπον ἔξωθεν, καὶ

²⁵ πυρὰν scriba ignotus: πῦρ

than her predecessor, since your former wife was never made worse by neglect.

55.2. You should also feel abashed at the way your brothers have fared up to now. For the oldest of us has not even married yet, and the youngest has prospects of having children, but only in the course of time. We are three sons of a single father, but the three of us have not a single son. In addition, there is equal danger for our ancestral city and for the generations after us. For if we are better than our father was (though generally speaking we are inferior to him in that he was our father), must we not expect that those born from us will be better? So let there be some people to whom at least we shall leave our names, just as our forebears contrived for us. My tears prevent me from writing any more, and in fact I have no more pressing subject to write about.

56. To the Sardians: Croesus lost his kingdom of Lydia by crossing the Halys. He was taken alive, bound in chains, placed on a pyre, and saw the fire being lit and rising high. But he lived, for he seemed to be a man honored by the god. And what happened later? This man, both your ancestor and your king, who had so many undeserved sufferings, became his enemy's table companion, and was his benevolent, faithful, friendly counselor.⁶³ You, however, have a war without truce, treaty, or reconciliation towards parents, children, brothers, wives, friends, relatives, and fellow tribesmen. You have become enemies without crossing the Halys or receiving any person from abroad, and yet

⁶³ In Herodotus, Croesus, king of Lydia, is overthrown by Cyrus the Great, and then becomes his advisor.

ἡ γῆ φέρει καρπὸν ὑμῖν. ἄδικος ἡ γῆ.

57. συγγραφεῦσι λογίοις. Φῶς παρουσία πυρός, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως γένοιτο. πῦρ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος, καὶ ὧ γίνεται, καίεται γοῦν, φῶς δὲ ταῖς ὄψεσι μόνον αὐγὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρέχεται μὴ βιαζόμενον αὐτάς, ἀλλὰ πείθον. τοίνυν καὶ λόγος ὁ μὲν ὡσπερ πῦρ καὶ πάθος, ὁ δὲ ὡσπερ αὐγὴ καὶ φῶς ἐστίν· ὁ κρείττον ὄν, εἰ μὴ μείζον εὐχῆς τὸ ῥηθησόμενον, εἴη μοι.

58.1. Οὐαλερίω. Θάνατος οὐδεὶς οὐδενὸς ἢ μόνον ἐμφάσει, καθάπερ οὐδὲ γένεσις οὐδενὸς ἢ μόνον ἐμφάσει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ οὐσίας τραπὲν εἰς φύσιν ἔδοξε γένεσις, τὸ δὲ ἐκ φύσεως εἰς οὐσίαν κατὰ ταῦτα θάνατος οὔτε γιγνομένου κατ' ἀλήθειάν τινος, οὔτε φθειρομένου ποτέ, μόνον δὲ ἐμφανοῦς ὄντος ἀοράτου τε ὕστερον τοῦ μὲν διὰ παχύτητα τῆς ὕλης, τοῦ δὲ διὰ λεπτότητα τῆς οὐσίας, οὔσης μὲν αἰεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς, κινήσει δὲ διαφερούσης καὶ στάσει.

58.2. τοῦτο γὰρ που τὸ ἴδιον ἀνάγκη, τῆς μεταβολῆς οὐκ ἔξωθεν γινομένης ποθέν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ὅλου μεταβάλλοντος εἰς τὰ μέρη, τῶν μερῶν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὅλον τρεπομένων ἐνόητι τοῦ παντός. εἰ δὲ ἐρήσεται τις, "τί τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ποτὲ μὲν ὄρατόν ποτὲ δὲ ἀόρατον

⁶⁴ Halys: river of northern Asia Minor, which Croesus crossed in an ill-fated campaign against the Persian king Cyrus; before that, he had given hospitality to the Phrygian Adrastus, in whose company his son Atys was killed. "Crops" probably refers to the Sardinian cult of Demeter "Bringer of Crops" (Karpophoros), see Letter 75.

the earth brings you crops.⁶⁴ The earth is unjust.

57. To learned authors:⁶⁵ Light is the presence of fire, for otherwise it could not exist. Well then, fire is simply an effect, and whatever feels the effect certainly burns. Light however merely offers its radiance to the eyes, not by compulsion but by persuasion. It follows that discourse is either like fire, an effect, or like light, a radiance. The second is preferable, and unless what I am about to say is beyond praying for, may I possess it.

58.1. To Valerius.⁶⁶ There is no death of anything except only in appearance, just as there is no coming-to-be of anything except in appearance only. For the passage from substance into nature seems like coming-to-be, and likewise the passage from nature into substance seems like death. Yet nothing ever really comes to be or passes away; it merely is now visible and later invisible, the first by reason of its material density, the second by reason of its light substance. Substance is always the same, and changes only as it moves or stands still.

58.2. This, I suppose, has to be its characteristic quality, since its change does not have an external origin, but rather occurs when the whole dissolves into its parts, or when the parts return to the whole because of the oneness of the all. Suppose someone asks, "What is this that becomes visible at one time and invisible at another, either

⁶⁵ For Apollonius's low opinion of certain authors, see VA 4.30.

⁶⁶ Probably Valerius Asiaticus Saturninus, consul in 94 and proconsul of Asia in 108/09, though such a date does not accord with Philostratus's chronology in the *Life*; C. Cichorius's proposal of Valerius Festus, consul in 71 and again in 85, might be correct, though he is not attested as proconsul of Asia.

ἢ τοῖς αὐτοῖς γινόμενον ἢ ἄλλοις;" φαίη τις ἄν, ὡς ἔθος ἐκάστου ἐστὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε γενῶν, ὃ πληρωθὲν μὲν ἐφάνη διὰ τὴν τῆς παχύτητος ἀντιτυπίαν, ἀόρατον δὲ ἐστίν, εἰ κενωθείη διὰ λεπτότητα τῆς ὕλης βίᾳ περιχυθείσης ἐκρυσταλλώσῃ τε τοῦ περιέχοντος αὐτὴν αἰωνίου μέτρου, γεννητοῦ δ' οὐδαμῶς, οὐδὲ φθαρτοῦ.

58.3. τί δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς πλάνης ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀνελεγκτον; οἴονται γάρ τινες, ὃ πεπόνθασιν, αὐτοὶ τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, μὴ εἰδότες, ὡς ὁ γεννηθεὶς διὰ γονέων γεγέννηται, οὐχ ὑπὸ γονέων, καθάπερ τὸ διὰ γῆς φυτόν οὐκ ἐκ γῆς φύεται, πάθος τε οὐδὲν τῶν φαινομένων περὶ ἕκαστον, ἀλλὰ μάλλον περὶ ἐν²⁶ ἐκάστου. τοῦτο δὲ τί ἄν ἄλλο τις εἰπὼν ἢ τὴν πρώτην οὐσίαν ὀρθῶς ἂν ὀνομάσειεν; ἢ δὴ μόνη ποιεῖ τε καὶ πάσχει πᾶσι γινομένη πάντα διὰ πάντων, θεὸς αἰδῖος, ὀνόμασι καὶ προσώποις ἀφαιρουμένη τὸ ἴδιον ἀδικουμένη τε.

58.4. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἔλαττον, τὸ δὲ κλαίεται τις, ὅταν θεὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου γένηται τόπου μεταβάσει καὶ οὐχὶ φύσεως. ὡς δὲ ἔχει τὸ ἀληθές, οὐ πενθητέον σοὶ θάνατον, ἀλλὰ τιμητέον καὶ σεβαστέον. τιμὴ δὲ ἢ ἀρίστη τε καὶ πρέπουσα, εἰ ἀφείδεις θεῶ τὸν ἐκεῖ γινόμενον ἀνθρώπων τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰ νῦν ἄρχοις, ἢ πρότερον ἦρχες. αἰσχρόν, εἰ χρόνῳ μὴ λογισμῶ γένοιο βελτίων, εἰ χρόνος καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς λύπης ἔπαν-

²⁶ ἐν Ol.: ἐνός

for the same observers or for different ones?" One can reply that it is the way of each earthly species, when being filled, to become visible because of the resistance caused by density, whereas it becomes invisible on being rarefied because of the lightness of its constituent material, for this is forcibly dispersed and escapes from the eternal measure that contained it, and yet it is in no way capable of coming to be or of perishing.

58.3. How then does error go uncorrected for so long? For some people think that they themselves have caused what they have experienced, forgetting that what is engendered is engendered *through* its parents, not *by* its parents, just something that grows *through* the earth does not grow *from* the earth, forgetting too that nothing that appears relates to an individual, but each individual's experience relates to the One. And what could anyone call this in order to name it properly other than "the first substance"? This alone both acts and is acted upon, becoming all things for all beings everywhere, eternal godhead, which names and appearances only deprive of its essence and do it wrong.

58.4. That however is minor, but the fact is this: a person is lamented when he becomes a god instead of a human being, by a change of place and not of nature. The truth is that you should not grieve over death, but honor and revere it. The best and most fitting honor is that you resign to God someone who has gone there,⁶⁷ and now govern the people entrusted to you in the way you did before. It would be a disgrace to be made a better person by time and not by reflection, since time cures even bad people of

⁶⁷ I.e., has gone to be with God.

σε. μέγιστον ἀρχὴ ἰκανή, καὶ περὶ μεγίστων ἄρχων ἄριστος, ὃς ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἄρχῃ.

58.5. πού δὲ καὶ ὅσιον ἀπεύχεσθαι τὸ βουλήσει θεοῦ γενόμενον; εἰ τάξις ἐστὶ τῶν ὄντων, ἔστι δέ, καὶ θεὸς ἐπιστατεῖ ταύτης, ὁ δίκαιος οὐ βουλήσεται τὰ ἀγαθὰ, πλεονεκτικὸν γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τάξιν τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἡγήσεται δὲ τὰ γινόμενα συμφέρειν. πρόελθε καὶ θεράπευσαι δίκας, καὶ παρηγόρησον τοὺς αἰτίους, τῶν δὲ δακρύων οὕτως ἀποτρέψῃ.²⁷ οὐ τὰ ἴδια τῶν κοινῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἰδίων προτιμητέον. οἶον δέ σοι καὶ τὸ τῆς παραμυθίας εἶδος· σὺν ὄλω τὸν υἱὸν ἔθνευ πεπένθηκας.

58.6. ἀμειψαὶ τοὺς μετὰ σοῦ λελυπημένους, ἀμείψῃ δέ, ἔὰν λυπούμενος παύσῃ, τάχιον <ἦ>²⁸ ἔὰν μὴ προέλθῃς. φίλους οὐκ ἔχεις; υἱὸν δὲ ἔχεις. “καὶ νῦν τὸν τεθνηκότα;” φήσῃ τις τῶν νοῦν ἔχόντων. τὸ γὰρ ὄν οὐκ ἀπόλλυται, διὰ τοῦτο ὄν, ὅτι ἔσται διὰ παντός, ἢ καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν γίνεται, πῶς δ’ ἂν γένοιτο μὴ ἀπολλυμένου τοῦ ὄντος; εἶπεν ἂν ἕτερός τις, ὡς ἀσεβεῖς τε καὶ ἀδικεῖς. ἀσεβεῖς μὲν τὸν θεόν, ἀδικεῖς δὲ τὸν υἱόν, μάλλον δὲ κάκεινον ἀσεβεῖς· βούλει δὲ μαθεῖν οἶόν ἐστι θάνατος; ἀνελέ με πέμψας μετὰ ταύτην τὴν φωνήν, ἢν ἔὰν μὴ μεταμφιέσῃ, παραχρῆμα κρείττονά με σεαυτοῦ πεποίηκας.

58.7. ἔχεις χρόνον, ἔχεις γυναῖκα ἔμφρονα, φίλαν-

²⁷ ἀποτρέψῃ Valck.: ἀποτρέψεις

²⁸ <ἦ> Spengel

sorrow. Good government is a weighty matter with weighty concerns, and the best governor is he who begins by governing himself.

58.5. How too could it possibly be right to deprecate what comes about by God's will? If there is an order of existing things, as there is, and God presides over this order, the just man will not wish for the good, for to do so would be greedy and and contrary to the order: instead he will regard all that happens as proper. Appear in public, reconcile disputes, calm the guilty, and in this way you will leave your tears behind. We must not put our own interests before the general ones, but the general ones before our own. And consider what kind of consolation you have: the whole province has joined you in grieving your son.

58.6. Repay those who have grieved alongside yourself, as you will if you cease grieving, and sooner than if you fail to appear in public. Have you no friends? Well, you have a son even now. “What, the one who has just died?” Yes, so anyone of good sense will tell you. For what has existence does not perish, since that is why it exists—because it will exist for ever. Otherwise it would be that the nonexistent came into existence, and how could it do that unless what existed perished? Someone else might have said that you commit impiety and injury, impiety to God and injury to your son, or rather impiety to him too. Do you want to know the nature of death? Then summon and kill me after this remark of mine, which you must take on like new clothing, or else you have immediately made me better than yourself.⁶⁸

58.7. You have time, you have a wife who is wise and de-

⁶⁸ Meaning obscure.

δρον, ὀλόκληρος εἶ, παρὰ σεαυτοῦ λαβὲ τὸ λείπον.
Ῥωμαῖός τις τῶν πάλαι γεγονότων, ἵνα σώσῃ τὸν τῆς
ἀρχῆς νόμον τε καὶ κόσμον, υἷὸν ἴδιον ἀπέκτεινε καὶ
στεφανώσας ἀπέκτεινε. πόλεων ἄρχεις πεντακοσίων
Ῥωμαίων ὁ εὐγενέστατος. ταῦτα σαυτὸν διατίθης, ἐξ
ᾧ οὐδ' οἰκίας τις εὐσταθῶς ἄρξει, μήτι γε πόλεων τε
καὶ ἐθνῶν. Ἀπολλώνιος εἰ παρήν, Φαβούλλαν ἂν μὴ
πενθεῖν ἔπεισεν.

59. Βασιλεὺς Βαβυλωνίων Γάρμος Νεογύνδη Ἰν-
δῶν βασιλεῖ. Εἰ μὴ περίεργος ἦς, οὐκ ἂν ἦς ἐν τοῖς
ἀλλοτρίοις πράγμασι δίκαιος, οὐδὲ ἂν ἄρχων ἐν Ἰν-
δοῖς ἐδίκαζες Βαβυλωνίοις. πόθεν γάρ σοι γνώριμος
ἦν ὁ ἡμέτερος δῆμος;²⁹ νῦν δὲ ἐπέρασας ἀρχὴν τὴν
ἐμὴν ὑποκοριζόμενος ἐπιστολαῖς, καὶ τοιαύτας ἀρχὰς
καθιείς, καὶ πρόσχημα ποιούμενος τῆς πλεονεξίας τὴν
φιλανθρωπίαν. περανεῖς δὲ οὐδέν, οὐδὲ³⁰ γὰρ λαθεῖν
δύναιο.

60. Εὐφράτη. Ἦν Πραξιτέλης Χαλκιδεὺς μαινόμε-
νος ἄνθρωπος. οὗτος ᾤφθη παρὰ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς
ἐμαῖς ξίφος ἔχων ἐν Κορίνθῳ μετὰ σοῦ γνωρίμου. τίς
οὖν ἢ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αἰτία;

²⁹ δῆμος Ol.: δῆμιος

³⁰ οὐδὲ Hercher: οὔτε

⁶⁹ T. Manlius Torquatus, consul in 340 BCE, put his son to death for disobeying military orders.

⁷⁰ The province of Asia was sometimes regarded as containing five hundred cities, probably an exaggeration.

voted, you have good health, the rest you must obtain from yourself. A certain Roman who lived long ago, because he wanted to maintain the rights and dignity of his office, killed his own son, and did so after crowning him.⁶⁹ You govern five hundred cities,⁷⁰ and have the finest pedigree in Rome.⁷¹ But you are behaving in such a way as not even to rule your own household with a steady hand, let alone cities and districts. If Apollonius had been present, he would have persuaded Fabulla⁷² not to mourn.

59. Garmus, king of the Babylonians, to Neogyndes, king of the Indians.⁷³ If you were not given to interfering, you would not be administering justice⁷⁴ in other people's concerns, or be sitting in judgment on Babylonians as ruler of India. For how on earth could our people be known to you? As it is, you have made an attempt on my realm, sending cajoling letters, dispatching officials of various kinds, and using friendliness as a mask for greed. But you will achieve nothing, for you cannot even avoid detection.

60. Apollonius to Euphrates: Praxiteles of Chalcis was a person deranged.⁷⁵ He appeared at my door, sword in hand, in Corinth together with your pupil. So what is the excuse for this plot?

⁷¹ Valerius Asiaticus (n. 66) came from a wealthy and well-connected family of Vienna in Gaul (modern Vienne).

⁷² Presumably the proconsul's wife.

⁷³ No such kings are known; a Garmus king of Babylon is found in Iamblichus's novel, *Babyloniaca*, and this letter might have crept in from a similar source.

⁷⁴ Meaning uncertain.

⁷⁵ Cf. Letter 36.

οὐ γὰρ πρόποτε σὰς βοῦς ἤλασα . . .
 ἔπει ἦ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ
 οὐρεά τε σκίοεντα θάλασσά τε ἠχῆεσσα”

τῆς τε ἐμῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῆς σῆς.

61. Λεσβώνακτι. Ἀνάχαρσις ὁ Σκύθης ἦν σοφός, εἰ
 δὲ Σκύθης, ὅτι καὶ Σκύθης.

62.1. Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀπολλωνίῳ. Τῶν δεδομενῶν
 τιμῶν σοι ἀπεστάλκαμεν τόδε ἀντίγραφον σαμανάμε-
 νοι τῆ δαμοσίᾳ σφραγίδι, ἵνα εἴδῃς.³¹

62.2 Ψήφισμα Λακεδαιμονίων, καθὼς οἱ γέροντες
 ἐπέκριναν Τυνδάρεω εἰσηγησαμένῳ ταῖν ἀρχαῖν ἔδο-
 ξε, τέλεσί τε καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, Ἀπολλώνιον Πυθαγόρειον
 ἡμεῖν πολίταν ἔχειν τε καὶ γᾶς³² καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτασιν.³³
 ἔστάκαμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπίσημον εἰκόνα γραπτῶν καὶ χαλ-
 κῶν ἀρετῆς χάριν. ὧδε γὰρ οἱ πατέρες ἀμῶν ἐτίμων
 ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς. ἐνόμιζον γὰρ ἡμεῖν Λυκούργῳ παῖ-
 δας, ὅσοι σύμφωνον θεοῖς τὸν βίον αἰρέοντο. [ταῦτα
 ἀναγνοὺς οὐκ ἔχαννώθη ταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις,
 ὥστε ἀποκρίνεσθαι τὰ κεχαρισμένα καὶ μὴ ἀληθῆ,
 ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις οὐ πάνυ Λακωνικούς, οὐχ
 ἡσθεῖς αὐτοῖς ἀνεπιτίθησι τήνδε τὴν ἐπιστολήν.]

63. Ἀπολλώνιος ἐφόροις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις. Ἄν-
 δρας ὑμῶν ἐθεασάμην ὑπήνην μὴ ἔχοντας, τοὺς μη-
 ροὺς καὶ τὰ σκέλη λείους τε καὶ λευκούς, μαλακὰς

³¹ εἴδῃς Cob.: ἴδῃς

³² γᾶς Cob.: γάνος

³³ οἰκίας ἔγκτασιν Cob.: οἰκων ἔκτασιν

For never did I drive away your herds . . .
 since many a mountain lies
 deep-shaded, and resounding sea between⁷⁶

my philosophy and yours.

61. To Lesbos: Anacharsis⁷⁷ the Scythian was a wise
 man, and if he was a Scythian, that was why he was wise.

62.1. The Lacedaemonians to Apollonius: We have sent
 this copy of the honors we are giving you, sealing it with
 the public seal for your information:

62.2. A decree of the Lacedaemonians, as decided by
 the Elders on the motion of Tyndareus: It was resolved by
 the two authorities, that is, the magistrates and the people,
 that Apollonius the Pythagorean should be a citizen and
 have the right to own land and house. We have also set up a
 conspicuous portrait of him painted on bronze because of
 his excellence. For thus our fathers honored good men,
 thinking all who chose a life consonant with the gods to be
 descendants of Lycurgus.⁷⁸ [On reading this, he was not
 carried away by the praises and the honors so as to send an
 answer that was pleasing rather than honest. Seeing that
 the ambassadors were not truly Spartan, and displeased
 with them, he replied with the following letter.]⁷⁹

63. Apollonius to the ephors and Lacedaemonians: I
 observed that your men did not have beards, that their legs
 and thighs were smooth and white, that they were dressed

⁷⁶ *Iliad* 1.154, 156–57.

⁷⁷ Legendary Scythian prince of the sixth century BCE, famed
 as a barbarian sage.

⁷⁸ The legendary Spartan lawgiver.

⁷⁹ This “filler,” preserved in several manuscripts (Penella 4 n.
 15), appears to have no ancient authority.

χλαρίδας ἡμφιεσμένους <καὶ>³⁴ βαπτᾶς, δακτυλίους πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς περικειμένους, ὑποδεδεμένους ὑπόδημα τὸ Ἴωνικόν. οὐκ ἐπέγνων οὖν τοὺς λεγομένους πρέσβεις, ἢ δὲ ἐπιστολὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφασκεν.

64. τοῖς αὐτοῖς. Καλεῖτέ με πολλάκις βοηθὸν ὑμῖν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν νέων ἐσόμενον. ἢ Σόλωνος δὲ πόλις οὐ καλεῖ με. Λυκούργον αἰδεῖσθε.

65. Ἐφεσίων τοῖς ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος.³⁵ Ἔθος ὑμῖν ἅπαν ἀγιστείας, ἔθος δὲ βασιλικῆς τιμῆς. ἄλλ' ὑμεῖς ἐστι-
ἄτορες μὲν καὶ δαιτυμόνες οὐ μεμπτοί, μεμπτοὶ δὲ <οἱ>³⁶ σύνοικοι τῇ θεῷ νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὁ κλέπτης τε καὶ ληστής καὶ ἀνδραποδιστής καὶ πᾶς, εἴ τις ἄδικος ἢ ἱερόσυλος, ἦν ὀρμώμενος αὐτόθεν· τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀποστερούντων τείχος³⁷ ἐστίν.

66. τοῖς αὐτοῖς. Ἦλθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνὴρ Ἕλληνα τὴν φύσιν, οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος, οὐδὲ Μεγαρεύς γε, λῶον δ' ὄνομα³⁸ παροικήσων ὑμῶν τῇ θεῷ. δότε μοι τόπον, ἔνθα μὴ καθαρσίων δεήσει μοι καίπερ ἔνδον αἰεὶ μένοντι.

67. τοῖς αὐτοῖς. Ἀνείται θύουσι τὸ ἱερόν, εὐχομέ-
νοις, ὑμνοῦσιν, ἰκέταις, Ἕλλησι, βαρβάροις, ἐλευθέρ-
ροις, δούλοις. ὑπερφνωῶς θεῖος ὁ νόμος. ἐπιγινώσκω τὰ

³⁴ <καὶ> Kay.

³⁵ Ἀρτέμιδος Ol.: Ἀρτέμιδι

³⁶ <οἱ> Wilamowitz

³⁷ τείχος Ol.: τύχης

³⁸ γε, λῶον δ' ὄνομα Kay.: γελοῖον ὄνομα

in soft, dyed cloaks, that they wore many fine rings and had Ionian shoes.⁸⁰ I did not therefore recognize the so-called ambassadors, though the letter called them Lacedaemonians.

64. To the same persons: You often summon me to assist your laws and your youth, while Solon's city does not do so.⁸¹ Revere Lycurgus.

65. To the Ephesians in the Sanctuary of Artemis: You observe every detail of religion, every detail of honor to the emperor. But while *you* are beyond reproach as "Feast Givers" and "Dinner Guests,"⁸² the reproach lies with those who lodge with the Goddess night and day, since otherwise the thief, the bandit, the kidnapper, everyone of a sinful and sacrilegious nature, would not be issuing from there. Why, the sanctuary is a robbers' castle.⁸³

66. To the same: Someone Greek by nature has come from Greece, not an Athenian or a Megarian, but someone with a better name planning to reside with your goddess.⁸⁴ Give me a place where I shall not need purification, even though I always stay indoors.⁸⁵

67. To the same: The sanctuary is open to those who sacrifice, pray, sing hymns, take refuge, to Greeks and barbarians, free men and slaves. This custom is exceptionally

⁸⁰ Ionia was notorious for its luxurious products.

⁸¹ Athens. For opposition to Apollonius there, VA 4.18, 5.20.

⁸² Apparently titles of those who participated in sacred feasts honoring Artemis. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.13.1, also mentions "Feast Givers" (*histiatores*) at Ephesus.

⁸³ Suppliants in the Temple of Artemis of Ephesus were immune from seizure (*asyloi*), so that the place was a favorite haunt of fugitives from justice. ⁸⁴ I.e. Apollonius himself.

⁸⁵ On this habit of Apollonius, see Letter 8.1.

σύμβολα τὰ <τῆς>³⁹ Διός τε καὶ Λητοῦς, εἴαν ἢ μόνα ταῦτα.

67a. Λουκίῳ Μεστρίῳ Φλώρῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ παρὰ Λουκίου Πομπηίου Ἀπολλωνίου Ἐφεσίου. μυστήρια καὶ θυσίαι, κύριε, καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπιτελοῦνται ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Δήμητρι Καρποφόρῳ καὶ Θεσμοφόρῳ καὶ θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς ὑπὸ μυστῶν μετὰ πολλῆς ἀγνείας καὶ νομίμων ἐθῶν σὺν ταῖς ἱερίαις, ἀπὸ πλείστων ἐτῶν συντηρημένα ἀπὸ βασιλέων καὶ Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνθυπάτων, καθὼς αἱ παρακείμεναι ἐπιστολαὶ αὐτῶν περιέχουσιν. ὅθεν, ἐπειγόντων καὶ ἐπὶ σοῦ τῶν μυστηρίων, ἀναγκαίως, κύριε, ἐντυγχάνουσί σοι δι' ἐμοῦ οἱ ὀφείλοντες τὰ μυστήρια ἐπιτελεῖν, ἵνα ἐπιγνοὺς αὐτῶν τὰ δίκαια . . .

68. Μιλησίοις. Σεισμὸς ὑμῶν τὴν γῆν ἔσεισεν, καὶ γὰρ ἄλλων πολλῶν πολλάκις. ἀλλ' ἔπασχον μὲν ἂ ἠτύχουν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἐλεοῦντες δέ, οὐ μισοῦντες ἀλλήλους ἐφαίνοντο. μόνοι δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ θεοῖς ὄπλα καὶ πῦρ ἐπηνέγκατε καὶ θεοῖς τοιούτοις, ὧν καὶ οἱ ἐτέρωθεν δέονται καὶ μετὰ κινδύνου καὶ πρὸ κινδύνων. ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλόσοφον ἄνδρα †προ ἡμεῖς Ἑλλήνων δύο† δημοσίᾳ τὸ πάθημα φήναντα καὶ πολλάκις, καὶ προαγο-

³⁹ <τῆς> Pen.

⁸⁶ Artemis.

⁸⁷ This letter is preserved in an inscription of Ephesus (Wilhelm Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*³ 820; R. Merkelbach and others, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* no. 213).

godly. I recognize the marks of the daughter of Zeus and Leto,⁸⁶ if these are the only ones.

67a.⁸⁷ To Lucius Mestrius Florus proconsul, from Lucius Pompeius Apollonius of Ephesus.⁸⁸ Mysteries and sacrifices, my lord, are performed every year in Ephesus to Demeter Bringer of Crops and Giver of Laws and to the deified emperors by celebrants with great holiness and law-abiding customs together with the priestesses, (and have been) preserved by kings and Augusti and the yearly proconsuls, as their attached letters demonstrate. Wherefore, as the mysteries are approaching in your term also, those who are due to perform the mysteries necessarily appeal to you through me so that, recognizing their rights. . .

68. To the Milesians: An earthquake⁸⁹ has shaken your land, as has often happened to many other peoples. But the misfortune that overtook them was inevitable, and they showed pity for one another rather than hate. You alone have brought weapons and fire even against the gods, and what is more, against gods of such a kind that people from elsewhere call on them both before and after danger.⁹⁰ And when a notable philosopher. . .⁹¹ publicly and repeatedly foretold the disaster, and prophesied that the earth-

The identification of the writer with Apollonius of Tyana is conjectural. ⁸⁸ Mestrius Florus was a Roman senator, best known as a friend of Plutarch. If the writer of this letter is Apollonius of Tyana, he had received both Roman citizenship and the citizenship of Ephesus.

⁸⁹ Perhaps the same earthquake as in VA 4.6.

⁹⁰ Public disasters sometimes inflamed popular anger and led to attacks on temples and divine statues.

⁹¹ I.e. Apollonius himself. The following words are corrupt.

ρεύσαντα γενομένους τοὺς σεισμούς, αὐτόν, ὅτε ἔσει-
σεν ὁ θεός, ποιεῖν ἐλέγετε καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν. ὦ τῆς
δημοσίας ἀμαθίας. καὶ πατὴρ ὑμῶν λέγεται Θαλῆς.

69. Τραλλιανοῖς. Πολλοὶ πολλαχόθεν ἄλλοι κατ'
ἄλλας αἰτίας νεώτεροί τε καὶ πρεσβύτεροι φοιτῶσι
παρ' ἐμέ. τὰς φύσεις οὖν ἐνὸς ἐκάστου σκέπτομαι καὶ
τοὺς τρόπους, ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα συνετώτατα, τό τε πρὸς
τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἐκάστου δίκαιον ἦθος ἢ τοῦναντίον.
εἰς τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι προκρίναι Τραλ-
λιανῶν ὑμῶν οὐ Λυδούς, οὐκ Ἀχαιοὺς, οὐκ Ἴωνας,
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοὺς τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδος Θουρίους Κρο-
τωνιάτας⁴⁰ Ταραντίνους, ἢ τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν ἐκεῖ λε-
γομένων εὐδαιμόνων Ἰταλιωτῶν ἢ ἐτέρων τινῶν. τίς
οὖν ἡ αἰτία, δι' ἣν ἀποδέχομαι μὲν ὑμᾶς, οὐ γίνομαι δὲ
τοιούτοις ἀνδράσι σύνοικος, καίπερ ὢν γένος ὑμέτε-
ρον; ἄλλοτέ ποτ' ἂν εἶποιμι, νῦν δὲ μόνον ὑμᾶς ἐπαι-
νεῖν καιρὸς ἀνδρας τε τοὺς ἡγουμένους ὑμῶν, ὡς πολὺ
κρείττους τῶν παρ' ἐτέροις ἀρετῇ καὶ λόγῳ, καὶ μάλ-
λον <τῶν>⁴¹ παρ' οἷς γεγένηται.

70. Σαίταις. Ἀθηναίων ἀπόγονοί ἐστε, καθάπερ ἐν
Τιμαίῳ Πλάτων φησίν, οἱ δὲ τὴν κοινὴν ὑμῶν θεὸν
ἐξορίζουσι τῆς Ἀττικῆς Νηϊθ⁴² μὲν τὴν ὑφ' ὑμῶν,
Ἀθηναίαν δὲ τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὀνομαζομένην, οὐ μένοντες

⁴⁰ Κροτωνιάτας Kay.: Κρότωνας

⁴¹ <τῶν> Kay.

⁴² Νηϊθ Ol.: Νῆιν

quakes would occur, then after the god had sent the quake,
you said day after day that he was responsible. What public
ignorance! And they say that Thales was your ancestor.⁹²

69. To the Trallians:⁹³ Many people from many places
and for all kinds of reason, both young and old, follow me.
So I observe the nature and character of each person as
shrewdly as any one person can, and also his disposition to-
wards his native city, whether dutiful or the opposite. To
this day I cannot rank anyone above you Trallians, not
Lydians, not Achaeans, not Ionians, not even the Thurians,
Crotoniates, or Tarentines of old Greece nor any of the
other fortunate Italians, as they are called there, nor any-
one else. What then is the reason why I approve of you, but
do not take up residence with men of such worth, though I
am related to you?⁹⁴ I might tell you some other time, but
now is the moment simply to praise you, and also to praise
your leaders for being far superior to leaders elsewhere in
virtue and speech, and superior to a greater degree to the
leaders with whom they have consorted.⁹⁵

70. To the people of Sais: You are descendants of the
Athenians, so Plato says in the *Timaeus*.⁹⁶ They however
banish from Attica the goddess whom they share with you,
called Neith by you and Athena by them, and thus they no

⁹² Natural philosopher of Miletus famous for predicting an
eclipse in 585 BCE.

⁹³ Tralles was an important city of Caria (modern Aydın).

⁹⁴ Possibly referring to some mythical connection between
Tralles and Tyana. ⁹⁵ Unclear, but perhaps a veiled refer-
ence to the Roman authorities.

⁹⁶ Sais was an important
city in the Nile Delta, and the Greeks had long ago identified its
war goddess Neith with Athena. Plato: *Timaeus* 21 E.

Ἕλληνες. ὅπως δ' οὐ μένοντες, ἐγὼ φράσω γέρων
σοφὸς οὐδεὶς Ἀθηναῖος, οὐ γὰρ ἔφυ γένυς⁴³ πᾶσα
παντός, ὅτι μηδεμία μηδενός. ὁ κόλαξ παρὰ ταῖς
πύλαις, ὁ συκοφάντης πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν, ὁ μαστροπὸς
καὶ πρὸ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν, ὁ παράσιτος πρὸ τῆς
Μουνυχίας καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, ἢ θεὸς δὲ οὐδὲ
Σούνιον ἔχει.

71. Ἴωσιν. Ἕλληνες οἴεσθε δεῖν ὀνομάζεσθαι διὰ
τὰ γένη καὶ τὴν ἔμπροσθεν ἀποικίαν, Ἕλλησι δ'
ὥσπερ ἔθνη καὶ νόμοι καὶ γλώττα καὶ βίος ἴδιος, οὕτω
καὶ σχῆμα καὶ εἶδος ἀνθρώπων. ἀλλ' ὑμῶν γε οὐδὲ τὰ
ὀνόματα μένει τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς νέας ταύτης
εὐδαιμονίας ἀπολωλέκατε τὰ τῶν προγόνων σύμβολα.
[καλῶς]⁴⁴ οὐδὲ τοῖς τάφοις ἐκεῖνοι δέχονται ἂν ἄτε
ἀγνώτας αὐτοῖς γενομένους, εἴ γε πρότερον ἠρώων ἦν
ὀνόματα καὶ ναυμάχων καὶ νομοθετῶν, ἢ δὲ Λου-
κούλλων τε καὶ Φαβρικίων⁴⁵ καὶ Λευκανίων τῶν μακα-
ρίων. ἐμοὶ μὲν εἴη μᾶλλον ὄνομα Μίμνερος.

72. Ἐστιαίω. Ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἀπολλώνιος ἦν τρὶς
τοῦ Μηνοδότου, σὺ δὲ ἅπαξ ἐθέλεις ὀνομάζεσθαι Λου-
κρήτιος⁴⁶ ἢ Λουπερκός. τίνος σὺ τούτων ἀπόγονος;
αἰσχρόν, εἰ ὄνομα μὲν ἔχῃς τινός, τὸ δὲ εἶδος αὐτοῦ
μὴ ἔχῃς.

⁴³ γένυς Ol.: γυνή ⁴⁴ [καλῶς] del. Cob.

⁴⁵ Φαβρικίων Cob.: Φαυρικίων

⁴⁶ Λουκρήτιος Cichorius: Λουκρίτιος

⁹⁷ Piraeus is the general port area of Athens south west of the

longer remain Greek, and I shall explain what I mean by
"not remaining." There is no wise elder in Athens, for no
one at all has a bushy beard, since no one has any beard.
The flatterer stands by the gates, the informer in front of
their gates, the pimp before the Long Walls, the hanger-on
before Munychia and the Piraeus. The goddess does not
even dwell in Sounion.⁹⁷

71. To the Ionians:⁹⁸ You think that you have the name
"Ionians" because of your pedigrees and the emigration of
long ago,⁹⁹ but Greeks have the shape and look of human
beings just as they have their particular customs, laws, lan-
guage, and way of life. Most of you, however, do not even
keep your names, and your recent prosperity has made
you lose the marks of your ancestors. Those would not
even welcome you in their tombs, since you have become
strangers to them. Your names used once to be those of
heroes, admirals, and lawgivers, but now are those of a
Lucullus, a Fabricius, a Lucanius, the lucky people! For
me "Mimnermus" would be a preferable name.¹⁰⁰

72. To Hestiaeus: Our father Apollonius was the son,
grandson, and great-grandson of a Menodotus, but you
wish simply to be called "Lucretius" or "Lupercus." Which
of these are you descended from? It would be disgraceful
to have someone's name and yet not to look like them.

city, and Munychia one of its several harbors. Sounion is the cape
in southern Attica where Athena might be expected to make her
last stand.

⁹⁸ This complaint of Apollonius against the
Ionian League forms the subject of VA 4.5.

⁹⁹ The Ionians were believed to have emigrated from Greece
under the leadership of Ion, son of Apollo.

¹⁰⁰ Poet probably of the seventh century from Smyrna in
Ionia, and so someone with an authentic Ionian name.

73. τῷ αὐτῷ. Πατρίδος ἐσμὲν πορρωτέρω σὺν δαίμονι, ἤδη δὲ τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα ἐν νῷ ἐβαλάντα λελόγησιν τιμάν." ἄρξει δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν παιδάρια καὶ μικρὸν ἐπάνω τούτων μείρακες. ἐνταῦθά που δέος, μὴ σφαλῆ τὰ ὑπὸ νέων κυβερνώμενα. σοὶ δ' οὐ δέος, ἐπεὶ βεβιώκαμεν.

74. τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς. ὦρα καὶ λιμὸς ἦν Βάσσῳ καίπερ ὄντων τῷ πατρὶ συχνῶν χρημάτων. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἔφυγε Μέγαράδε σὺν ἐνὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἐραστῶν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ μαστροπῶν (τροφῆς γὰρ ἀμφοτέροις ἔδει καὶ ἐφοδίῳ), ἔπειτα ἐκείθεν εἰς Συρίαν. ὑπεδέχετο δὲ τὸν ὠραῖον Εὐφράτης, καὶ εἴ τις ὁμοίως ἐδεῖτο τοῦ τότε καλοῦ, ὥστε ἂν αἰρεῖσθαι τι τῶν ἀτόπων δι' εὐνοίαν.

75. τοῖς ἐν Σάρδεσιν. Ὁ παῖς Ἀλυάττεω σῶσαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἀδύνατος ἐγένετο καὶ ἀμήχανος καίπερ ὢν βασιλεύς τε καὶ Κροῖσος, ὑμεῖς δὲ ποίῳ πεποισθότες ἄρα λέοντι πόλεμον ἄσπονδον ἤρασθε παῖδες, νέοι, ἄνδρες, γέροντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρθένοι καὶ γυναῖκες; Ἐρινύων νομίσαι ἂν τις τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, καὶ οὐχὶ Δήμητρος. ἡ δὲ θεὰ φιλάνθρωπος· ὑμῖν δὲ τίς οὗτος ὁ χόλος;

75a. Αἰτίαν ἔχετε τὴν πατρίαν θεὰν σέβειν τε καὶ

73. To the same: I am rather far from my ancestral city, by heaven's will, but I recently began to think about the city's affairs. "Fate travels towards the life's end of the men who have obtained the highest office."¹⁰¹ Hereafter boys will rule, and soon after them youths. Then no doubt there is a danger that a government of the young may stumble. But you need feel no danger, since we have lived our lives.

74. To the Stoics: Bassus had good looks and starvation, though his father had plenty of money. First, therefore, he fled to Megara along with one of his so-called lovers, simultaneously of his pimps, since the two of them needed food and their fare. After that he went to Syria, where Euphrates gave the pretty boy shelter, and so did anyone who needed him for similar reasons, handsome as he was then. He would have been ready for any perversion to get goodwill.

75. To those in Sardis: The son of Alyattes had no power or means to save his city, though he was king and he was Croesus. But you, what sort of lion¹⁰² are you trusting in so as to enter a war to the death, boys, youths, adults, old men, even young women and wives? One would think that your city was the realm of the Furies, not of Demeter.¹⁰³ The goddess loves mankind, so what is this anger of yours?

75a. To the same: You have a reputation for worshiping

¹⁰¹ Quotation from an unknown lyric poet, David A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric* (LCL) V no. 946 (transl. Campbell).

¹⁰² According to Herodotus (1.84), a king of Sardis had been told that the acropolis of the city could not be taken if he carried a lion cub around the walls. He failed to do so in one part, and in Croesus's reign the Persians breached them at this very point.

¹⁰³ See on Letter 56.

τιμάν, ἢ δὲ Μήτηρ⁴⁷ ὀνομάζεται παρ' οἷς μὲν θεῶν, παρ' οἷς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, παρὰ πᾶσι δὲ καὶ καρπῶν· ἢ δὲ μία κοινή τε καὶ πάντων. εἶτα πῶς μόνων ὑμῶν ἐχθρὰ τὰ γένη νόμῳ τε καὶ φύσει καὶ ἔθει, τῶν Δήμητρος ἰδίων;

76. τοῖς αὐτοῖς. Εἰκὸς εἰς πόλιν ἀρχαίαν τε καὶ μεγάλην ἐθελῆσαι φιλόσοφον ἀρχαῖον παραγενέσθαι, καὶ παρεγενόμενῳ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκὼν κληθῆναι μὴ περιμείνας, ὡς ὑφ' ἐτέρων πολλῶν, εἰ ποιήσῃ μίαν ὑμῶν τὴν πόλιν ἔμελλον ἤθει καὶ φύσει καὶ νόμῳ καὶ θεῶ. καὶ τὸ ὅσον ἐπ' ἐμοὶ πάντως ἂν ἐποίησα, στάσις δέ, ὡς ἔφη τις, πολέμου χαλεπώτερον.

77. Φοιτηταῖς. Διὰ φιλοσοφίαν εἴρηται τῶν εἰρημένων ἕκαστον, οὐ δι' Εὐφράτην. μὴ τὸ Πραξιτέλους ξίφος ἢ τὸ Λυσίου φάρμακον πεφοβῆσθαι μέ τις δόξη. καὶ τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν Εὐφράτου.

77a. Σιτοκαπήλοις. ἢ γῆ πάντων μήτηρ, δικαία γάρ, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἄδικοι ὄντες πεποίησθε αὐτὴν αὐτῶν μόνων μητέρα, καὶ εἰ μὴ παύσεσθε, οὐκ ἔασω ὑμᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ⁴⁸ ἐστάναι.

77b. Βασιλεὺς Φραώτης Ἰάρχα διδασκάλῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν σοφοῖς. Ἀπολλώνιος ἀνὴρ σοφώτατος σοφωτέρους ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ ἡγείται καὶ μαθησόμενος ἤκει τὰ ὑμέτερα. πέμπετε οὖν αὐτὸν εἰδότα ὅποσα ἴστε ὡς

⁴⁷ ἢ δὲ Μήτηρ Jon. (ἢ δὲ M. Pen.): ἢ Δημήτηρ

⁴⁸ ἐν αὐτῇ: ἐπ' αὐτῆς VA 1.15.3

and honoring your ancestral goddess. Now she is called by some people "Mother of the Gods," by others "Mother of Humanity," and by all "Mother of Crops,"¹⁰⁴ but she is one, universal and belonging to all. So how is it that you alone have families that are hostile to law, nature and custom, you who are Demeter's own?

76. To the same: When a city is old and great, an old-fashioned philosopher naturally wishes to visit it. I would gladly have visited it myself, not waiting to be invited as I have been by many other cities, if only I had the prospect of making your city one in behavior, nature, law, and religion. Though I would certainly have done all I could, faction, as somebody said, is more intractable than war.¹⁰⁵

77. To his pupils: Every word I have spoken has been for philosophy's sake, not for Euphrates's. Let no one suppose that I was cowed by Praxiteles's sword or Lysias's poison. That too comes from Euphrates.¹⁰⁶

77a.¹⁰⁷ To the corn merchants: The earth in her justice is the mother of all, but you in your injustice have made her mother to yourselves alone. If you do not stop I will not even let you stand on the earth's face.

77b.¹⁰⁸ King Phraotes greets his teacher Iarchas and his wise companions. Apollonius, a very wise man, thinks you wiser than himself, and is coming to learn your lore. When he leaves you, make sure he knows all that you do. He will

¹⁰⁴ An altar mentioning the cult of Demeter Karpophoros ("Bringer of Crops") was found at Sardis in 1984. And see Letters 67a and 75a. ¹⁰⁵ Plato, *Laws* I 629D.

¹⁰⁶ I.e., is one of Euphrates's slanders. For Praxiteles see Letter 36; Lysias is unknown. ¹⁰⁷ Also in VA 1.15.3.

¹⁰⁸ Also in VA 2.41.

ἀπολείται οὐδὲν τῶν μαθημάτων ὑμῖν, καὶ γὰρ λέγει
ἄριστα ἀνθρώπων καὶ μέμνηται. ἰδέτω δὲ καὶ τὸν
θρόνον, ἐφ' οὗ καθίσαντί μοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἔδωκας,
Ἰάρχα πάτερ. καὶ οἱ ἐπόμενοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἄξιοι ἐπαίνου,
ὅτι τοιοῦδε ἀνδρὸς ἤττηνται.

77c. Ἀπολλώνιος τοῖς αὐτοῖς. ἀφικομένῳ μοι περὶ
πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεδώκατε⁴⁹ τὴν θάλατταν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφίας
τῆς ἐν ὑμῖν κοινωνήσαντες δεδώκατε καὶ διὰ τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ πορεύεσθαι. μεμνήσομαι τούτων καὶ πρὸς
Ἕλληνας, κοινωνήσω τε λόγων ὡς παροῦσιν <ὑμῖν>,⁵⁰
εἰ μὴ μάτην ἔπιον τοῦ Ταντάλου.

77d. Μὴ βουληθέντι σοι ἐπ' αἰχμῇ κηρύττεσθαι
μηδ' ἐπὶ δηίων⁵¹ αἵματι δίδωμι ἐγὼ τὸν σωφροσύνης
στέφανον, ἐπειδὴ ἐφ' οἷς δεῖ στεφανοῦσθαι, γινώ-
σκεις.

77e. Δημητρίῳ κυνί. Δίδωμί σε βασιλεῖ Τίτῳ δι-
δάσκαλον τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἠθους, σὺ δ' ἀληθεῦσαι
τέ μοι πρὸς αὐτὸν δίδου καὶ γίγνου αὐτῷ, πλὴν ὀργῆς,
πάντα.

77f. Ἀυτοκράτωρ Οὐεσπασιανὸς Ἀπολλωνίῳ φιλο-
σόφῳ χαίρειν. εἰ πάντες, Ἀπολλώνιε, κατὰ ταῦτά σοι
φιλοσοφεῖν ἠθέλον, σφόδρα ἂν εὐδαιμόνως ἔπραττε⁵²
φιλοσοφία τε καὶ πενία· φιλοσοφία μὲν ἀδεκάστως
ἔχουσα, πενία δὲ αὐθαιρέτως.

⁴⁹ ἔδωκατε: δεδώκατε VA 3.51

⁵¹ δηίων: δηίῳ VA 6.29.2

⁵² ἔπραττον: ἔπραττε VA 8.7.11

⁵⁰ <ὑμῖν> Pen.

not forget any of your lessons, since he is the most eloquent
of humans and the most retentive. Let him see the throne
on which I sat when you gave me my kingdom, father
Iarchas. His companions also deserve praise for their de-
votion to such a Master.

77c. Apollonius to the same:¹⁰⁹ I came to you by land,
and you have given me the sea; but you also shared your
special wisdom with me, and showed me a path through
heaven. I will recall all this to the Greeks, and enjoy your
conversations as if you were present, unless it was for noth-
ing that I drank to Tantalus.¹¹⁰

77d.¹¹¹ To Titus, the general: Since you did not want to
be proclaimed for military prowess or for enemy blood, I
give you the crown for modesty, because you know what
deeds merit crowning.

77e.¹¹² To Demetrius the Cynic: I grant you to the em-
peror Titus so that he may learn the ways of kingship.
Grant me the favor of speaking truth to him, and be all in
all to him except for your anger.

77f.¹¹³ The emperor Vespasian greets the philosopher
Apollonius. If everyone were willing to be a philosopher of
your kind, Apollonius, it would be well both for philosophy
and for poverty, since philosophy would be incorruptible
and poverty voluntary.

¹⁰⁹ Also in VA 3.51.

¹¹⁰ For the "water of Tantalus," see VA 3.32.2.

¹¹¹ Also in VA 6.29.2.

¹¹² Also in VA 6.33.

¹¹³ Also in VA 8.7.11.

78. γράφων γὰρ τοῖς Βραχμᾶσιν ὄρκον τινὰ ὀμνύει· "οὐ μὰ τὸ Ταντάλιον ὕδωρ, οὗ με ἐμνήσατε."

79. Ἀπολλώνιος Γλαύκῳ. καλὸν μάζα καὶ τρίβων, μὴ κατ' ἐπιτήδευμα δοξοκοπικὸν καλλωπιζόμενα,⁵³ ἀλλ' ὅταν τὰ πράγματα ἄγῃ πρὸς αὐτά, σεμνῶς φορούμενα.

80. Ἀπολλώνιος Ἡρωδιανῶ. μὴ φεύγε διὰ τοὺς ἰασημάντους† χρήσιμος εἶναι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς· ἱκανοὶ γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων χάριτας διδόναι.

81. Ἀπολλώνιος Νουμηνίῳ. οὐ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἢ χάρις τίκτει χάριν.

82. Ἀπολλώνιος Εὐφράτῃ. Οὐκ ἐπιλογιζομένη ἢ ψυχὴ τὸ τοῦ σώματος αὐταρκες οὐ δύναται ἐαυτὴν αὐτάρκη ποιῆσαι.

83. Ἀπολλώνιος Δηλίῳ. Ψεύδεσθαι ἀνελεύθερον, ἀλήθεια γενναῖον.

84. Ἀπολλώνιος Εἰδομένῃ. Ἐζηλώσαμεν τὴν αὐτάρκειαν, οὐχ ὅπως τοῖς εὐτελέσι καὶ λιτοῖς πάντως χρώμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅπως θαρρῶμεν πρὸς αὐτά.

85. τοῖς γνωρίμοις. Μηδέν με δόξῃτε ῥαδίως ἄλλοις παραινεῖν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς μαζῆς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς

⁵³ καλλωπιζόμενα Wachsmuth: καλούμενα

¹¹⁴ Quoted by the Neoplatonist Porphyry, *de Styge* (Stob. *Anth.* 1.3.56), though this may be a recollection of Letter 77c.

¹¹⁵ All the following letters are known only from the *Anthology* of John Stobaeus (see Introduction), as follows: 79 = 2.15.34; 80 = 2.46.20; 81 = 2.46.21; 82 = 3.10.63; 83 = 3.11.28; 84 =

78. In writing to the Brahmans he [i.e., Apollonius] swears an oath: "not by the water of Tantalus, into which you inducted me."¹¹⁴

79. Apollonius to Glaucus:¹¹⁵ Unleavened bread and a philosopher's cloak are good if not paraded as a habit to attract attention, but when circumstances make them appropriate and they are worn with dignity.

80. Apollonius to Herodianus: Just because of . . . people, do not shrink from being useful to good ones, since these are sufficient to thank you on behalf of the other kind.

81. Apollonius to Numenius: It is not with many people that a favor begets a favor.¹¹⁶

82. Apollonius to Euphrates: The soul that does not take account of the self-sufficiency of the body cannot make itself self-sufficient.

83. Apollonius to Delius: To lie is base, while truth is noble.

84. Apollonius to Idomeneus: We have practiced self-sufficiency not so that we should always live in cheap and humble circumstances, but so that we might have courage to bear them.

85. Apollonius to his pupils: Do not suppose that I give advice to others lightly. It is because I myself live on un-

3.17.13; 85 = 3.17.14; 86 = 3.20.48; 87 = 3.20.49; 88 = 3.20.50; 89 = 3.23.4; 90 = 3.29.82; 91 = 3.29.83; 92 = 3.33.13; 93 = 3.36.28; 94 = 3.36.29; 95 = 3.38.54; 96 = 4.16.16; 97 = 4.32.9; 98 = 4.53.34; 99 = 4.56.35; 100 = 4.56.37. On these letters and their addressees, see Introduction.

¹¹⁶ Borrowed from the fourth-century comic poet Anaxandridas (fr. 69 Kassel-Austin).

ἀκολουθου ταύτη διαίτης ὧν τοιαῦτα ὑμῖν παρεγγυῶ.
86. Ἀπολλώνιος Μακεδόνη. Τῆς ὀξύθυμίας τὸ ἄνθος
μανία.

87. Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀριστοκλεῖ. Τὸ τῆς ὀργῆς πάθος
μὴ καθομιλούμενον μηδὲ θεραπευόμενον φυσικὴ νό-
σος γίνεται.

88. Ἀπολλώνιος Δημοκράτει. Ὁ ὑπὲρ μικρῶν ἀμαρ-
τημάτων ἀνυπερβλήτως ὀργιζόμενος οὐκ ἔα διαγνώ-
ναι τὸν ἀμαρτάνοντα, πότε ἔλαττον καὶ πότε μείζον
ἠδίκησεν.

89. Ἀπολλώνιος Σατύρω. Οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
τῶν μὲν ἰδίων ἀμαρτημάτων συνήγοροι γίνονται, τῶν
δὲ ἀλλοτρίων κατήγοροι.

90. Ἀπολλώνιος Δίωνη. Τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ
γενέσθαι πόνος.

91. Ἀπολλώνιος Δαναῶ. Οὐ κάμνει τὰ πράγματα
πρασσόμενα.

92. Ἀπολλώνιος τοῖς γνωρίμοις. Πολλὴν ἐπιμέ-
λειαν ποιεῖσθε περὶ τοῦ μὴ λέγειν ἢ μὴ δεῖ, παντελῶς
γὰρ ἀπαιδευτοῦ τινός ἐστι τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι σιγεῖν,
ἀλλ' ἐκλαλεῖν τὰ μὴ καλῶς ἔχοντα.

93. Ἀπολλώνιος τοῖς γνωρίμοις. Πολυλογία πολλὰ
σφάλματα ἔχει, τὸ δὲ σιγᾶν ἀσφαλές.

94. Ἀπολλώνιος Εὐφράτῃ. Οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν ἀν-
θρώπων βραχυλογώτατοι. οἱ οὖν ἀδολέσχει εἰ ἠνιῶν-
το, ὡς ἀνιῶσι, οὐκ ἂν ἐμακρηγόρουν.

95. Ἀπολλώνιος τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. Οὐδενὶ φθονητέον.

leavened bread, and in general on a diet that goes with it,
that I recommend such things to you.

86. Apollonius to Macedo: Madness is irascibility in full
bloom.

87. Apollonius to Aristocles: The passion of anger, if not
tamed and cured, becomes a physical disease.

88. Apollonius to Democrates: One who gets exces-
sively angry over small wrongs prevents the offender from
distinguishing his major faults from his minor ones.

89. Apollonius to Satyrus: Most people are defenders of
their own faults and prosecutors of other people's.

90. Apollonius to Dio: Not to come into existence is
nothing, but existence is pain.

91. Apollonius to Danaus: Actions never tire of being
performed.¹¹⁷

92. Apollonius to his pupils: Take great care not to say
what you should not. For it is the absolute mark of an un-
cultured person not to be unable to stay silent and to blurt
out improprieties.

93. Apollonius to the same. Talkativeness causes many a
mistake, but silence is safe.

94. Apollonius to Euphrates. The best people use the
fewest words. That is why, if chatterers felt as much annoy-
ance as they cause, they would not make long speeches.

95. Apollonius to his brothers: You should envy no one,

¹¹⁷ Meaning uncertain.

ἀγαθοὶ μὲν γὰρ <εὐπραξιῶν>⁵⁴ ἄξιοι, κακοὶ δ' ἂν
εὐτυχῶσι, κακῶς ζῶσι.

96. Ἀπολλώνιος Διονυσίῳ. Καλὸν πρὶν παθεῖν δι-
δαχθῆναι πηλίκον ἐστὶν ἡσυχία.

97. Ἀπολλώνιος Λύκῳ. Οὐ τὸ πένεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν
αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ δι' αἰσχρὰν αἰτίαν πένεσθαι ὄνει-
δος.

98. Ἀπολλώνιος Κορνηλιανῶ. Βραχὺς ὁ βίος ἀν-
θρώπῳ εὖ πράττοντι, δυστυχοῦντι δὲ μακρός.

99. Ἀπολλώνιος Νουμηνίῳ. Οὐ θρηνητέον οἶων
φίλων ἐστερήθημεν, ἀλλὰ μνημονευτέον, ὅτι μετὰ τῶν
φίλων τὴν καλλίστην βιοτὴν ἐβιοτεύσαμεν.

100. Ἀπολλώνιος Θεαιτήτῳ. Τὸ λυπούμενον ἄλλο-
τρίοις κακοῖς παραμυθοῦ.

⁵⁴ <εὐπραξιῶν> Wachsmuth

for the good are deserving of success, but if the wicked do
well, they live badly.

96. Apollonius to Dionysius: Before you suffer, it is
good to learn the value of tranquillity.

97. Apollonius to Lycus: Being poor is not inherently
shameful: the disgrace is to be poor for a shameful reason.

98. Apollonius to Cornelianus: Life is short for a person
with good fortune, long for one in bad fortune.

99. Apollonius to Numenius: We should not mourn for
those friends we have lost, but remember that we lived the
best of lives with our friends.

100. Apollonius to Theaetetus: Comfort whatever is
grieved by the misfortunes of others.

APOLLONIUS OF TYANA
TESTIMONIA

INTRODUCTION

The following is a collection of allusions to Apollonius down to the year 500, with some items from the medieval *Souda* that contain earlier information. After 500 knowledge of Apollonius in the east concentrates on his activities as a magician and as the author of supposed "talismans," and in the west he is totally forgotten. Taken together, the Greek references show that, after the publication of Philostratus's *Life* about 220, opponents of Christianity such as Porphyry and Hierocles fastened on him as a counter-figure to Jesus, though, curiously, this did not cause him to fall from favor in either east or west. The continuing popularity of Philostratus's *Life*, and its picture of an ascetic, pious seeker after wisdom, meant that even ecclesiastical authors such as Eusebius and Augustine could approve certain sides of his character. With lay Christians he seems to have created all the more interest because of a firm belief in his powers as a magician, and from the fifth century onwards references to his talismans abound, though clerics such as Nilus of Ancyra (no. 43) sternly denounce them. However, attitudes to Apollonius in the east and in the west quickly go separate ways. In the west, Christians such as Lactantius couple him with Apuleius of Madaura, who was better known because of his *Metamorphoses* and other works. If the pagan Nicomachus actually

made a translation of the *Life* (see on no. 51 (1)), rather than a mere copy of the Greek, it seems to have had little impact. In the east as in the west, pagans continue to admire Apollonius, but less as a counter to Christ than as one of the great exemplars of Greek culture and thought; it is an error to assume that when either eastern or western pagans refer to him, they are necessarily thinking of Christianity. A corollary of this is that Eusebius's *Reply to Hierocles* appears to have had remarkably little impact, and drops completely out of sight until the copy made for Arethas, the archbishop of Caesarea, in 914 (see introduction to the *Reply*).

I have arranged the entries approximately in chronological order, though with some flexibility recommended by similarity of theme. In giving citations of one author by another (for instance, of Moeragenes by Origen), I have followed the date of the later author, and similarly I have not attempted to distinguish *testimonia* from "fragments," since these constitute a dubious category in which the distinction between original and quotation is often impossible to draw.

With each *testimonium* I have indicated the printed edition on which I have drawn, putting the most recent last in case of several such editions. I have usually relied on the most recent edition as my source for the text and for the origin of conjectures. Quotations from the *Souda* refer to the standard edition of A. Adler, while quotations attributed to Porphyry's *Against the Christians* refer to the edition of A. von Harnack, *Porphyrius, Gegen die Christen, Abhandlungen der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse*, Berlin 1916, no. 1.

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TESTIMONIA

1. *Souda* A 3420 (*FGrHist* IV A 1064 T 9). Ἀπολλώνιος, Τυανεύς, φιλόσοφος, υἱὸς Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ μητρὸς πολίτιδος τῶν ἐπιφανῶν . . . συνέταξε δὲ τοσαῦτα: Τελετὰς ἢ Περὶ θυσιῶν, Διαθήκην, Χρησμούς, Ἐπιστολάς, Πυθαγόρου βίον.

2. *Agreophon* (second or third century?), *Suda* A 3421 (*FGrHist* IV A 1081 T 1). Ἀπολλώνιος ἕτερος, Τυανεύς, φιλόσοφος νεώτερος, γεγονὼς ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς Ἀγρεοφῶν¹ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ὀμωνύμων.

3. *Lucian* (ca. 120—ca. 180), *Alexander the False Prophet* 5 (*FGrHist* IV A 1064 T 1). ἦν δὲ ὁ διδάσκαλος ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐραστὴς τὸ γένος Τυανεύς, τῶν Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ [Τυανεῖ]² πάνυ συγγενομένων καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τραγωδίαν εἰδόντων.

4. *Cassius Dio* (ca. 164 – after 229), *Histories* 67, 18, 1 (VIII 356 Cary, LCL; *FGrHist* IV A 1064 T 2). ὁ δ' εἶπον

¹ Ἀγρεοφῶν Bechtel: Ἀγρεοφῶν

² [Τυανεῖ] del. Fritsche

TESTIMONIA

1 (*Souda*). Apollonius of Tyana, philosopher, son of Apollonius and of a mother who was a citizen, people of distinguished rank.... He wrote *Initiations* or *On Sacrifices*, a *Will*, *Oracles*, *Letters*, a *Life of Pythagoras*.¹

2 (*Souda*). Apollonius, another Tyanean, a more recent philosopher who lived in the time of the emperor Hadrian, as *Agreophon* (says) in his work *On People with the same Name*.²

3 (*Lucian*). Now that teacher and lover of his was a Tyanean by origin, one of those who had associated with the famous Apollonius and knew all his bag of tricks.³

4 (*Cassius Dio*). The thing I mentioned as having sur-

¹ Philostratus attests to all these works except for *Oracles* (unless that refers merely to Apollonius's quasi-oracular pronouncements) and the *Life of Pythagoras*, for which see below, no. 10. I have omitted those parts of the entry copied directly from the *Life*.

² This writer is only known from this citation in the Byzantine lexicon called the *Souda*, but there is no good reason to doubt the existence either of him or of this second Apollonius.

³ Alexander of Abonuteichos was a charismatic who established a cult of the healing god Glycon in Paphlagonia (northern Turkey). This reference shows that Apollonius was already famous as a miracle-worker by the mid-second century.

ὅτι ὑπὲρ πάντα τᾶλλα θαυμάσας ἔχω, τόδ' ἐστίν· Ἀπολλώνιος τις Τυανεύς, ἔν τε ἡμέρα ἐκείνη καὶ τῇ ὥρᾳ αὐτῇ ἐκείνη ἐν ἧ ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἐσφάττετο (τοῦτο γὰρ ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν γενομένων ἠκριβώθη) ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τινα λίθον ὑψηλὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, ἧ καὶ ἐτέρωθι, καὶ συγκαλέσας τὸ πλῆθος ταῦτα εἶπε· “καλῶς Στέφανε, εὖ γε Στέφανε· παῖε τὸν μαιφόνον, ἔπληξας, ἔτρωσας, ἀπεκτείνας.” τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἐγένετο, κἂν μυριάκις τις ἀπιστήσῃ.

5. Cassius Dio 77, 18, 4 (IX 326 Cary, LCL; FGrHist IV A 1064 T 5). τοῖς δὲ μάγοις καὶ γόησιν οὕτως ἔχαιρεν ὡς Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Καππαδόκην τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Δομιτιανοῦ ἀνθήσαντα ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν, ὅστις καὶ γόης καὶ μάγος ἀκριβῆς ἐγένετο, καὶ ἠρῶον αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαι.

6. Philostratus of Athens (ca. 180–250), *Lives of the Sophists* I 21 (88 Wright, LCL). Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τυανεύς, ὑπερενεγκῶν σοφία τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν, τὸν Σκοπελιανὸν ἐν θαυμασίοις τάττει.

7. Philostratus, *Sophists* II 5 (190 Wright, LCL). ἐρασθῆναι τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης καὶ ἐτέρους μὲν, ἐπιδήλως δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον φασι τὸν Τυανέα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπαξιῶσαι, τῷ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ξυγγενέσθαι δι' ἔρωτα εὐπαιδίας, ἐπειδὴ θειότερος ἀνθρώπων. τοῦτο

prised me more than anything is this. A certain Apollonius of Tyana, on that day and at that very hour when Domitian was being slaughtered, as was exactly confirmed later from what happened in both places, went up onto a high stone in Ephesus, or perhaps somewhere else, and calling the crowd together said, “Well done, Stephanus! Bravo, Stephanus! Strike the murderer! You have hit him, wounded him, killed him.” This really happened, even though one should doubt it a thousand times.⁴

5 (Cassius Dio). But he took such pleasure in magicians and charlatans that he praised and honored Apollonius the Cappadocian, who flourished in the time of Domitian, though he was a complete magician and charlatan, and he built a heroic tomb for him.⁵

6 (Philostratus of Athens). Apollonius of Tyana, who surpassed human nature in wisdom, classifies Scopelian as a marvel.⁶

7 (Philostratus of Athens). They say that several people fell in love with this woman, Apollonius of Tyana doing so openly, and that she looked down on the others but had intercourse with Apollonius in her longing for fine children.

⁴ Domitian was assassinated on 18 September 96. Philostratus, VA 8.26–27, tells the same story.

⁵ The emperor in question is Caracalla (sole emperor 211–217). This “heroic tomb” must be the monument mentioned at the very end of the Life (VA 8.31.3).

⁶ Scopelian of Clazomenae, a sophist who flourished under Domitian. Cf. VA 1.23.3, Lr. 19. Apollonius perhaps expressed this opinion in a letter now lost.

μὲν δὴ ὁπόσοις τρόποις ἀπίθανον εἴρηται σαφῶς ἐν τοῖς ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον.

8. Philostratus of Lemnos (first half of third century), *On the correct style for writing letters* (II 257, Kayser, BT). τὸν ἐπιστολικὸν χαρακτήρα τοῦ λόγου μετὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἀριστερά μοι δοκοῦσι διεσκέφθαι φιλοσόφων μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Τυανεὺς καὶ Δίων, στρατηγῶν δὲ Βρούτος ἢ ὅτῳ Βρούτος ἐς τὸ ἐπιστέλλειν ἐχρήτο, βασιλέων δὲ ὁ θεσπέσιος Μάρκος ἐν οἷς ἐπέστελλεν αὐτός.

9. Origen (ca. 185 – 255), *Against Celsus* 6, 41 (GCS Origenes 2, 110 = FGrHist IV A 1067 T 3). περὶ μαγείας φημὲν ὅτι ὁ βουλόμενος ἐξετάσαι πότερόν ποτε καὶ φιλόσοφοι ἀλωτοί εἰσιν αὐτῇ ἢ μή, ἀναγνώτω τὰ γεγραμμένα Μοιραγένει τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως ἀπομνημονευμάτων ἐν οἷς ὁ μὴ Χριστιανὸς ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφος ἔφησεν ἀλῶναι ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Ἀπολλωνίῳ μαγείας οὐκ ἀγεννεῖς φιλοσόφους ὡς πρὸς γόητα αὐτὸν εἰσελθόντας ἐν οἷς οἶμαι καὶ περὶ Εὐφράτου <τοῦ>³ πάνυ διηγήσατο καὶ τινος Ἐπικουρείου.

10. Porphyry of Tyre (234 – after 300), *Life of Pythagoras* 2 (18 Nauck, BT = 37 des Places, Budé = FGrHist IV A 1064 F 1). Ἀπολλώνιος δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ μητέρα ἀναγράφει Πυθαΐδα, ἀπόγονον Ἀγκαίου τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ τῆς Σάμου, τινὰς δ' Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτὸν ἱστο-

³ <τοῦ> Koetschau

I have shown in my work on Apollonius on how many grounds this is incredible.⁷

8 (Philostratus of Lemnos). After the ancients, those who have best considered the epistolary style of discourse are the Tyanean and Dio among philosophers, Brutus, or whoever Brutus used in writing, among generals, and among emperors the divine Marcus in those letters that he wrote himself.⁸

9 (Origen). About sorcery we say that anyone wanting to know if philosophers are susceptible to sorcery should read Moeragenes's memoirs of Apollonius of Tyana, the sorcerer and philosopher. There the man, not a Christian but a philosopher, said that not inconsiderable philosophers were beguiled by the sorcery in Apollonius after they had approached him as a quack magician; among these, I believe, he talked about the famous Euphrates and a certain Epicurean.⁹

10 (Porphyry). Apollonius in his work *On Pythagoras* gives his mother as Pythais, a descendant of Ancaios the founder of Samos, but says that some record him as the son

⁷ Philostratus is describing the sophist Alexander of Seleuceia, who was extremely good-looking and vain.

⁸ Dio is Dio of Prusa, but no letters by him have survived. There exists a series of letters between Brutus and cities of Asia Minor, but its authenticity is very doubtful, and these are unlikely to be the letters mentioned here.

⁹ Probably a reference to the story told in VA 5.39 about Euphrates's attempt to hit Apollonius with a stick.

ρείν καὶ Πυθαΐδος τῷ γόνῳ, λόγῳ δὲ Μνησάρχου
φησὶν Ἀπολλώνιος. τῶν γούν ποιητῶν τῶν Σαμίων
εἰπεῖν τινα·

Πυθαγόραν θ' ὃν ἔτικτε Διὶ φίλον Ἀπόλλωνι
Πυθαΐς, ἣ κάλλος πλείστον ἔχει Σαμίων.

διακοῦσαι δ' οὐ μόνον Φερεκύδου καὶ Ἑρμοδάμαντος,
ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρου φησὶν οὗτος.

11. Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 2, 34, 2 (101 Bouffartigue, Budé = *FGrHist* IV A 1064 F 3 a). θύσομεν
τοῖν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ θύσομεν, ὡς προσήκει, δια-
φόρους τοὺς θυσίας ὡς ἂν διαφόροις δυνάμεσι προσ-
άγοντες, θεῷ μὲν τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι, ὡς τις ἀνὴρ σοφὸς ἔφη,
μηδὲν τῶν αἰσθητῶν μήτε θυμιῶντες μήτε ἐπονο-
μάζοντες· οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἔνυλον ὃ μὴ τῷ αὐτῷ εὐθύς
ἐστιν ἀκαθάρτον. διὸ οὐδὲ λόγος τούτῳ ὃ κατὰ φωνὴν
οἰκείος, οὐδ' ὃ ἔνδον, ὅταν πάθει ψυχῆς ἢ μεμολυσμέ-
νος· διὰ δὲ σιγῆς καθαρᾶς καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ καθα-
ρῶν ἐννοιῶν θρησκευόμεν αὐτόν.

12. Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 3, 3, 6 (155 Bouffartigue,
Budé). καίτοι εἰ δεῖ πιστεύειν τοῖς παλαιοῖς καὶ τοῖς
ἐφ' ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν πατέρων γεγονόσιν, εἰσὶν οἱ λέγον-
ται ἐπακοῦσαι καὶ σύνεσιν ἔχειν τῆς τῶν ζώων φθέγ-
ξεως· ὡς ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν παλαιῶν ὁ Μελάμπους καὶ ὁ
Τειρεσίας καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι, οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ δὲ Ἀπολλώ-
νιος ὁ Τυανεύς, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ λέγεται ὅτι τοῖς ἐταίροις

of Apollo and Pythais in actual birth, and only by repute
the son of Mnesarchus. One of the Samian poets, he says,
wrote:

Pythagoras, whom Pythais bore to Apollo, a son dear
to Zeus,

Pythais, who was the greatest beauty of Samos.

And he says that Apollonius studied not only with
Pherecydes and Hermodamas, but also with Anax-
imander.¹⁰

11 (Porphyry). We too will therefore sacrifice, but we
shall do so as is proper, in that we make different sacrifices
to different powers. To the supreme God, as a wise man
said,¹¹ we will sacrifice nothing perceptible either by burn-
ing or naming it, for there is nothing material that is not
in itself impure to the immaterial Being. Therefore the
speech uttered by voice is not appropriate for him, not
even internal speech when it is defiled by workings of the
soul: we worship him by pure silence and by pure thoughts
about him.

12 (Porphyry). And yet if one ought to believe the an-
cients and those who lived in our time and our fathers'
time, there are people who are said to have heard and
understood the language of animals, for instance Melam-
pous, Teiresias, and others like them, and not so long ago
Apollonius of Tyana. In his time it is said that, when he was

¹⁰ Pherecydes of Syros wrote on the birth of the gods and the
creation of the cosmos, and Anaximander of Miletus wrote a work
On Nature; Hermodamas of Samos is mainly known as a teacher
of Pythagoras. ¹¹ Apollonius, see no. 22.

συνόντος, χελιδόνος ἐπιπτώσης⁴ καὶ φθεγγομένης, εἶπεν ὅτι μηνύει ἢ χελιδὼν ταῖς ἄλλαις ὄνον πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεως πεπτωκέναι σίτου βαστάζοντα φορτίον, ὃ δὴ κεχύσθαι εἰς τὴν γῆν τοῦ ἀχθοφοροῦντος πεπτωκότος.

13. Porphyry, *On the River Styx* (= Stobaeus 1.3.56 = FGrHist III C 719, p. 645 = A. Smith, *Porphyrii Philosophi Fragmenta*, BT, fr. 376). οἶμαι δὲ τούτου καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Τυανέα μεμνήσθαι τοῦ ὕδατος, τοῦ ἐν τῷ σπηλαιῷ λέγω. γράφων γὰρ τοῖς Βραχμάσιν ὄρκον τινὰ ὀμνύει: "οὐ μὰ τὸν Ταντάλειον ὕδωρ, οὐ με ἐμνήσατε" (Lr. 78). οἶμαι γὰρ Ταντάλου λέγειν τοῦτο διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ τῇ προσδοκίᾳ κολάζειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθεῖν ἐσπουδακότας κακ τούτου ποτὸν ἀρύσασθαι.

14. Porphyry, *Against the Christians*, fragments 4, 46, 60, 63: see nos. 32, 33, 48, 49.

15. Porphyry, *On extracting philosophy from Oracles* (?) = *Tübingen Theosophy* 44 (Scott and Ferguson, *Hermetica* IV 227-229 = 29 Erbse, BT). ὅτι πρὸς τὸν ἐρωτήσαντα, εἰ δι' ἐπιμελείας βίου δύναται γενέσθαι θεοῦ ἐγγύς, εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων.

Ἴσόθεον δίξῃ γέρας εὐρέμεν· οὐ σοι ἐφικτόν.
Αἰγύπτου τόδε μῦθος ἔλεν γέρας αἰνετὸς
Ἑρμῆς,
Ἑβραίων Μωσῆς καὶ Μαζακέων σοφὸς ἀνὴρ,

⁴ ἐπιπτώσης Felicianus: ἐπιστάσης

talking to his companions, a swallow flew down and gave voice, whereupon he said that the swallow was informing the other ones that a donkey had fallen down outside the town carrying a load of grain, which had spilled on the ground as the animal carrying it fell.¹²

13. I think that Apollonius of Tyana also mentioned this water too, the one in the cave I mean. For when writing to the Brahmans he swears a certain oath: "Not by the Water of Tantalus, into which you inducted me." For I think he says "of Tantalus" since it always punishes with anticipation those who yearn to come to it and draw drinking water from it.¹³

14. (Porphyry, *Against the Christians*).

15. (Porphyry, *On Oracles*?).¹⁴ To the man who inquired if by a careful course of life he can become close to god, Apollo replied:

Thou seek'st a godlike guerdon; it is not vouched to thee.
Honored Egyptian Hermes alone attained this guerdon,
And Moses of the Hebrews, and Mazaca's wise Master,

¹² Virtually the same story appears in VA 4.3.

¹³ See on Letter 78.

¹⁴ This work of Porphyry is lost, but is thought to be a source for the fifth- or sixth-century Christian work known as the *Tübingen Theosophy*. I have tried to reproduce the hieratic language of the oracle.

ὄν ποτε δὴ χθῶν θρέψεν ἀριγνώτιο Τυήνης.
 θνητοῖς γὰρ χαλεπὸν φύσιν ἄμβροτον
 ὀφθαλμοῖσιν
 εἰσιδέειν, ἣν μή τις ἔχη σύνθημα θείιον.

16. Iamblichus of Chalcis (ca. 245–325). *On the Life of Pythagoras* 254–265 (FGrHist IV A 1064 F 2).

(254.) ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὅπου διαφωνεῖ, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ προστίθησι τῶν μὴ εἰρημένων παρὰ τούτοις, φέρε δὴ καὶ τὴν τούτου παραθώμεθα διήγησιν περὶ τῆς εἰς τοὺς Πυθαγορείους ἐπιβουλῆς. λέγει τοίνυν ὡς ἐκείνῳ παρηκολούθει μὲν εὐθύς ἐκ παίδων ὁ φθόνος παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι, μέχρι μὲν διελέγετο πᾶσι τοῖς προσιοῦσι Πυθαγόρας, ἠδέως εἶχον, ἐπεὶ δὲ μόνοις ἐνετύγγανε τοῖς μαθηταῖς, ἠλαττοῦτο. καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἠκοντος συνεχώρουν ἠττάσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἐγχωρίοις πλείον φέρεσθαι δοκοῦσιν ἤχθοντο, καὶ καθ' αὐτῶν ὑπελάμβανον γίνεσθαι τὴν σύνοδον. ἔπειτα καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων ὄντων ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀξιώμασι καὶ ταῖς οὐσίαις προεχόντων, συνέβαινε προαγούσης τῆς ἡλικίας μὴ μόνον αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις βίοις πρωτεύειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν οἰκονομεῖν, μεγάλην μὲν ἑταιρείαν συναγηγοχόσιν (ἦσαν <γὰρ>⁵ ὑπὲρ τριακοσίους), μικρὸν δὲ μέρος τῆς πόλεως οὔσι, τῆς οὐκ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔθεσιν οὐδ' ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐκείνοις πολιτευομένης.

⁵ <γὰρ> Scaliger

Whom once the soil nourished of far-renowned Tyana.
 For hard it is for mortal eye to discern immortal nature
 Except for one who has received the password of the gods.

16 (Iamblichus).

254. Since, however, Apollonius¹⁵ gives a somewhat different account of these same events, and adds much that is not said by those (other authorities), then let me also set out his account of the plot against the Pythagoreans.¹⁶ Well, he says that other people from their childhood looked on them with malignity. So long as Pythagoras talked to all those who came to him people were well disposed, but when he started conversing only with his pupils, liking for him declined. As someone who had come from abroad, they accepted their inferiority to him, but they resented the local people who appeared to be promoted over them, and suspected that their meetings were aimed at themselves. In addition, since as young men they had been among those who were first in standing and in wealth, as they grew older it came about that, as well as belonging to the upper class in private life, in the public sphere also they wanted to run the city. They formed a large group, there being over three hundred of them, but were only a small part of the citizenry, which conducted itself with customs and manners different from them.

¹⁵ It has been doubted whether this Apollonius is Apollonius of Tyana. ¹⁶ These events are supposed to have occurred at Croton, a city on the Bay of Tarentum.

(255.) οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μέχρι μὲν οὖν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν
 χώραν ἐκέκτηντο καὶ Πυθαγόρας ἐπεδήμει, διέμενεν ἢ
 μετὰ τὸν συνοικισμόν κεχροτισμένη κατάστασις, δυ-
 σαρεστουμένη καὶ ζητούσα καιρὸν εὐρασθαι μεταβο-
 λῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ Σύβαριν ἐχειρώσαντο, κακείνος ἀπήλθε,
 καὶ τὴν δορίκτητον διωκῆσαντο μὴ κατακληρουχη-
 θῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν πολλῶν, ἐξερράγη τὸ
 σιωπώμενον μῖσος, καὶ διέστη πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸ πλή-
 θος. ἡγεμόνες δὲ ἐγένοντο τῆς διαφορᾶς οἱ ταῖς συγ-
 γενείαις <καὶ>⁶ ταῖς οἰκειότησιν ἐγγύτατα καθεστηκό-
 τες τῶν Πυθαγορείων. αἴτιον δ' ἦν, <ὅτι>⁷ τὰ μὲν
 πολλὰ αὐτοὺς ἐλύπει τῶν πραττομένων, ὥσπερ καὶ
 τοὺς τυχόντας, ἐφ' ὅσον ἰδιασμόν εἶχε παρὰ τοὺς
 ἄλλους, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις καθ' αὐτῶν μόνον ἐνόμι-
 ζον εἶναι τὴν ἀτιμίαν. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῷ μηδένα τῶν
 Πυθαγορείων ὀνομάζειν Πυθαγόραν, ἀλλὰ ζῶντα μὲν,
 ὁπότε βούλονται δηλῶσαι, καλεῖν αὐτὸν 'θεῖον,' ἐπεὶ δὲ
 ἐτελεύτησεν, 'ἐκείνον τὸν ἄνδρα,' καθάπερ Ὀμηρος
 ἀποφαίνει τὸν Εὐμαιὸν ὑπὲρ Ὀδυσσεύως μεμνημένον,

τὸν μὲν ἐγών, ὦ ξεῖνε, καὶ οὐ παρεόντ' ὀνομάζειν
 αἰδέομαι πέρι γάρ μ' ἐφίλει καὶ ἐκήδετο λίην,

(256.) ὁμοτρόπως δὲ μηδ' ἐκ τῆς κλίνης ἀνίστα-
 σθαι⁸ ὕστερον ἢ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνίσχειν, μηδὲ δακτύλιον
 ἔχοντα θεοῦ σημεῖον φορεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν παρατη-
 ρεῖν ὅπως ἀνιόντα προσεύξονται, τὸν δὲ μὴ περιτίθε-
 σθαι, φυλαττομένους μὴ προσενέγκωσι πρὸς ἐκφορὰν
 ἢ τινα τόπον οὐ καθαρὸν, ὁμοίως δὲ μηδ' ἀπροβούλευ-

255. Nonetheless, so long as they owned their present property and Pythagoras remained there, the long standing constitution, established after the unification, persisted, though it bred resentment and only waited the moment to change. Once the Pythagoreans had conquered Sybaris, however, and Pythagoras left, and they determined that the land acquired in war should not be parceled out according to the desire of the majority, the suppressed hatred broke out, and the commons rebelled against them. The originators of the split were those who were closest to the Pythagoreans by reason of family connections or friendship. The reason was that they were vexed by many of their practices, as ordinary people were too, in that these practices made them different from others, but above all they thought that they alone were being singled out for dishonor. For none of the Pythagoreans would mention Pythagoras by name, but called him divine so long as he lived, and after his death they called him "that Master," as Homer makes Eumaeus recall Odysseus (*Od.* 14.145-146):

Stranger, I blush to name him, though not here;
 dearly he loved and greatly cherished me.

256. Similarly, the fact that they did not even get out of bed before the sun rose, and did not wear a ring with the image of a god, observing the sun in order to pray to it at its rising, and not wearing such a ring so as not to bring it to a funeral or to a place that was impure; likewise, that they

⁶ <καὶ> Arcerius ⁷ <ὅτι> Küster

⁸ ἀνίστασθαι Küster: ἀνισταμένοις

τον μηδ' ἀνυπεύθυνον μηδὲν ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ πρωὶ μὲν προχειρίζεσθαι τί πρακτέον, εἰς δὲ τὴν νύκτα ἀναλογίζεσθαι τί διωκῆκασιν, ἅμα τῷ σκοπεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν μνήμην γυμναζομένους, παραπλησίως δ', εἴ τις τῶν κοινωνούντων τῆς διατριβῆς ἀπαντῆσαι κελεύσειεν εἰς τινα τόπον, ἐν ἐκείνῳ περιμένειν, ἕως ἔλθου, δι' ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, πάλιν ἐν τούτῳ τῶν Πυθαγορείων συνεθιζόντων μεμνήσθαι τὸ ῥηθὲν καὶ μηδὲν εἰκῆ λέγειν,

(257.) ὅλως δ' ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς εἶναί τι προστεταγμένον· κατὰ τὸν ὕστατον <γὰρ> καιρὸν παρήγγελλε μὴ βλασφημεῖν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγωγαῖς οἰωνίζεσθαι μετὰ τῆς εὐφημίας, ἣνπερ ἐποιοῦντο οἱ διωθόμενοι τὸν Ἀδρίαν.⁹ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα, καθάπερ προεῖπον, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐλύπει κοινῶς ἅπαντας, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐώρων¹⁰ ἰδιάζοντας ἐν αὐτοῖς τοὺς συμπεπαιδευμένους. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ μόνοις τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις τὴν δεξιὰν ἐμβάλλειν, ἐτέρῳ δὲ μηδενὶ τῶν οἰκείων πλὴν τῶν γονέων, καὶ τῷ τὰς οὐσίας ἀλλήλων μὲν παρέχειν κοινὰς, πρὸς ἐκείνους δὲ ἐξηλλοτριωμένας, χαλεπώτερον καὶ βαρύτερον ἔφερον οἱ συγγενεῖς. ἀρχόντων δὲ τούτων τῆς διαστάσεως, ἐτοίμως οἱ λοιποὶ προσέπιπτον εἰς τὴν ἔχθραν. καὶ λεγόντων ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν Χιλίων¹¹ Ἰππάσου καὶ Διοδώρου καὶ Θεάγουσ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντας κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας

⁹ οἱ διωθόμενοι τὸν Ἀδρίαν Obrecht: διωθουμένους τὴν ἀνδρείαν

did nothing without prior consideration and examination, but pondered what they had to do in the morning, and at nightfall thought over what they had accomplished, exercising their memories and meditating all at the same time; in the same way, that if one of the members of the school told them to wait for him in a certain place, they remained there night and day until he came; and again, that in this way the Pythagoreans trained themselves to remember their own words and to say nothing at random;

257. and in general that they had a rule (to this effect) up to the moment of death, for Pythagoras had ordered that they should not blaspheme in their last hours, but as if embarking on a voyage watch for omens with the same auspicious language that they observed when crossing the Adriatic—such practices, as I said before, inflamed everyone generally, all the more as they saw people that they had gone to school with acting as a club among them. As for their practice of shaking hands only with Pythagoreans, and with none of those close to them except their parents, and of treating their own property as held in common, but as alienated from their relatives: all this these relatives found even more offensive and vexing, and after these had begun the feud the rest readily joined them in their vendetta. When therefore actual members of the Thousand¹⁷ spoke in favor of allowing everyone access to office and to

¹⁷ The governing council of Croton.

¹⁰ ἐώρων Nauck: ἔωσαν

¹¹ Χιλίων Deubner: χρόνων

καὶ διδόναι τὰς εὐθύναις τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν τοῖς ἐκ πάντων¹² λαχοῦσιν, ἐναντιουμένων δὲ τῶν Πυθαγορείων Ἀλκιμάχου καὶ Δεινάρχου καὶ Μέτωνος καὶ Δημοκῆδους, καὶ διακωλύοντων¹³ τὴν πατριὸν πολιτείαν μὴ καταλύειν, ἐκράτησαν οἱ τῷ πλήθει συνηγοροῦντες.

(258.) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνιόντων¹⁴ τῶν πολλῶν, διελόμενοι τὰς δημηγορίας κατηγόρουσι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ῥητόρων Κύλων καὶ Νίνων. ἦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῶν εὐπόρων, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν. τοιοῦτων δὲ λόγων, μακροτέρων δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Κύλωνος ῥηθέντων ἐπήγευ ἄτερος, προσποιούμενος μὲν ἐζητηκέναι τὰ τῶν Πυθαγορείων ἀπόρρητα, πεπλακῶς δὲ καὶ γεγραφῶς ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἤμελλε διαβάλλειν, καὶ δοὺς τῷ γραμματεῖ βιβλίον ἐκέλευσεν ἀναγινώσκειν.

(259.) ἦν δ' αὐτῷ ἐπιγραφὴ μὲν "λόγος ἱερός", ὁ δὲ τύπος τοιοῦτος τῶν γεγραμμένων. τοὺς φίλους ὥσπερ τοὺς θεοὺς σέβασθαι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία χειροῦσθαι· τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην γνώμην ὑπὲρ Πυθαγόρου μεμνημένους ἐν μέτρῳ τοὺς μαθητὰς λέγειν·

τοὺς μὲν ἐταίρους ἦγεν ἴσον μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι,
τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἡγείτ' οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὔτ' ἐν
ἀριθμῷ.

(260.) τὸν Ὅμηρον μάλιστ' ἐπαινεῖν ἐν οἷς εἶρηκε "ποιμένα λαῶν". ἐμφανίσκειν γὰρ βοσκήματα τοὺς ἄλλους ὄντας, ὀλιγαρχικὸν ὄντα· τοῖς κυάμοις¹⁵ πολεμεῖν ὡς ἀρχηγοῖς γεγονόσι τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τοῦ καθι-

the assembly, and of the magistrates rendering their accounts before a board chosen by lot from the whole citizenry, the Pythagoreans Alcimachos, Deinarchos, Meton, and Democedes spoke in opposition and tried to prevent the ancestral constitution from being broken, but those who supported the majority won the day.

258. After that, in an assembly of the commons, two of the regular politicians, Cylon and Ninon, one from the party of the rich and the other from the people's, denounced the Pythagoreans, dividing the charges between them. When these two had made their speeches, the longer one being Cylon's, the other continued, claiming that he had investigated the secrets of the Pythagoreans, though in fact he had forged and written the charges with which he intended to slander them most, and gave the document to the scribe, telling him to read it out.

259. Its title was *The Sacred Book*, and the nature of the contents was as follows. "One should honor his friends as he does the gods, and treat everyone else like animals. Precisely this opinion the disciples express in verse when recalling Pythagoras:

Companions he treated like the blessed gods;
Others he held of no account or notice.

260. "They praise Homer particularly for the lines in which he speaks of 'a shepherd of the people,' since with his oligarchic sympathies he indicated that outsiders were like cattle. They make war on beans, since beans are the

¹² πάντων Cobet: παντὸς ¹³ διακωλύοντων Arcerius:
διαλυόντων ¹⁴ συνιόντων Scaliger: συνιόντων
¹⁵ κυάμοις Obrecht: ἀγάμοις

στάναί τοὺς λαχόντας ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπιμελείας τυραννίδος ὀρέγεσθαι παρακαλοῦντας κρείττον εἶναι φάσκειν γενέσθαι μίαν ἡμέραν ταῦρον ἢ πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα βούνη παυεῖν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων νόμιμα, κελεύειν δὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἐγνωσμένοις. καθάπαξ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν αὐτῶν συνωμοσίαν ἀπέφαινε κατὰ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ παρεκάλει μηδὲ τὴν φωνὴν ἀνέχεσθαι συμβουλευόντων, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμείσθαι διότι τὸ παράπαν οὐδ' ἂν συνῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, εἰ τοὺς Χιλίους ἔπεισαν ἐκεῖνοι κυρῶσαι τὴν συμβουλήν. ὥστε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων δύναμιν κεκωλυμένοις τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούειν οὐ προσήκειν εἰς αὐτοὺς λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δεξιὰν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποδεδοκιμασμένην πολεμίαν ἐκείνοις ἔχειν, ὅταν τὰς γνώμας χειροτονῶσιν ἢ τὴν ψῆφον λάβωσιν, αἰσχρὸν εἶναι νομίζοντας, τοὺς τριάκοντα μυριάδων περὶ τὸν Τράεντα¹⁶ ποταμὸν περιγενομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ χιλιοστοῦ μέρους ἐκείνων ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει φανῆναι κατεστρασιασμένους.

(261.) τὸ δ' ὅλον οὕτω τῇ διαβολῇ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐξηγρίωσεν, ὥστε μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, Μουσεία θνόντων αὐτῶν ἐν οἰκίᾳ παρὰ τὸ Πύθιον, ἀθρόοι συνδραμόντες οἰοί τ' ἦσαν τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ποιήσασθαι. οἱ δὲ προαισθόμενοι, οἱ μὲν εἰς πανδοκεῖον ἔφυγον, Δημοκῆδης δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐφήβων εἰς Πλατέας ἀπεχώρησεν. οἱ δὲ καταλύσαντες τοὺς νόμους ἐχρῶντο ψηφίσμασιν, ἐν οἷς αἰτιασάμενοι τὸν Δημοκῆδην

¹⁶ Τράεντα Bentley; Τετράεντα

source of the lot and of putting people chosen by lot into positions of responsibility. Urging people to aim at tyranny, they say that it is better to be a bull for one day than a cow all one's life. They praise the institutions of others, but order that only those laid down by themselves should be used." In short, he presented their philosophy as a conspiracy against the majority, and urged his hearers not even to allow them speech when they gave advice, but to recollect that those people would not even have come to the assembly if they had persuaded the Thousand to approve their plot; those who had been prevented by the Pythagoreans when they were in power from hearing others should not let them speak; rather they should keep their right hands, which the Pythagoreans had looked down upon, in enmity against them when giving a show of hands or casting a vote, and they should consider it a disgrace to allow those who had defeated three hundred thousand men by the river Tetraeis¹⁸ to be victims of a plot hatched by people one-thousandth of that number.

261. In general, he so inflamed his listeners by these slanders that, a few days later, when the Pythagoreans were sacrificing to the Muses in a house by the temple of the Pythian,¹⁹ the people collected *en masse* and seemed about to make an assault on them. But the Pythagoreans, anticipating this, fled most of them to an inn, while Democedes and the ephebes retreated to Plataea. The people annulled the laws and passed decrees in which they accused Democedes of forming a party of young men for

¹⁸ River between Croton and Sybaris.

¹⁹ Apollo.

συνεστακέναι τοὺς νεωτέρους ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, τρία τάλαντα ἐκήρυξαν δώσειν, εἴαν τις αὐτὸν ἀνέλη, καὶ γενομένης μάχης, κρατήσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸν κίνδυνον [ὑπὸ]¹⁷ Θεάγους, ἐκείνῳ τὰ τρία τάλαντα παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐμέρισαν.

(262.) πολλῶν δὲ κακῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ὄντων, εἰς κρίσιν προβληθέντων τῶν φυγάδων καὶ τρισὶ πόλεσι τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς παραδοθείσης, Ταραντίνους, Μεταποντίνους, Καυλωνιάταις, ἔδοξε τοῖς πεμφθείσιν ἐπὶ τὴν γνώμην ἀργύριον λαβοῦσιν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς τῶν Κροτωνιατῶν ὑπομνήμασιν ἀναγέγραπται, φεύγειν τοὺς αἰτίους. προσεξέβαλον δὲ τῇ κρίσει κρατήσαντες ἅπαντας τοὺς τοῖς καθεστῶσι δυσχεραίνοντας καὶ συνεφυγάδενσαν τὴν γενεάν, οὐ φάσκοντες δεῖν ἀσεβεῖν οὐδὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ τῶν γονέων διασπᾶν. καὶ τὰ τε χρέα ἀπέκοψαν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀνάδαστον ἐποίησαν.

(263.) ἐπιγενομένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐτῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Δείναρχον ἐν ἐτέρῳ κινδύνῳ τελευτησάντων, ἀποθανόντος καὶ Λιτάτους, ὅσπερ ἦν ἡγεμονικώτατος τῶν στασιασάντων, ἔλεός τις καὶ μετάνοια ἐνέπεσε, καὶ τοὺς περιλειπομένους¹⁸ αὐτῶν ἡβουλήθησαν κατάγειν. μεταπεμπόμενοι δὲ πρεσβευτὰς ἐξ Ἀχαιῶν δι' ἐκείνων πρὸς τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας διελύθησαν καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκαν.

(264.) ἦσαν δὲ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν καὶ περὶ ἐξήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν οἱ κατελθόντες ἄνευ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ἐν οἷς ἐπὶ τὴν ἰατρικὴν τινες κατενεχθέντες καὶ διαίτη

the purpose of becoming tyrant, and they announced a reward of three talents to anyone who killed him. A battle followed in which Theages himself led the fray, and so they paid the three talents from the city to him.

262. But since the city and its territory had suffered much damage, the exiles were put on trial and the inquiry was entrusted to three cities, Tarentum, Metapontum, and Caulonia. The judges who were sent, having been bribed for their verdict, as is recorded in the annals of Croton, sentenced the condemned men to exile. The others, having won their case, further exiled all those who were discontented with the situation, and exiled them together with their families, saying that it was wrong to act impiously by separating children from parents; they also canceled debts and divided up the land.

263. Many years later, when Deinarchos and his associates had died in another battle, and Litates, the most active among the leaders of the faction, had died too, a certain sympathy and repentance set in, and they decided to bring back the surviving Pythagoreans. They summoned intermediaries from Achaëa, and through their agency made peace with the exiles, and set up the oaths at Delphi.

264. Those of the Pythagoreans that returned were about sixty in number, not counting the old men, of whom some had turned to medicine and treated their patients

¹⁷ del. Deubner

¹⁸ περιλειπομένους Nauck: παραλειπομένους

τοὺς ἀρρώστους ὄντας θεραπεύοντες ἠγεμόνες κατ-
έστησαν τῆς εἰρημένης καθόδου.¹⁹ συνέβη δὲ καὶ τοὺς
σωθέντας, διαφερόντως παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εὐδοκι-
μοῦντας, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν, ἐν ᾧ λεγομένου πρὸς τοὺς
παρανομοῦντας "οὐ τάδε ἐστὶν ἐπὶ Νίνωνος" γενέσθαι
φασὶ ταύτην τὴν παροιμίαν, κατὰ τοῦτον ἐμβαλόντων
τῶν Θουρίων κατὰ χώραν ἐκβοηθήσαντας καὶ μετ'
ἀλλήλων κινδυνεύσαντας ἀποθανεῖν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν
οὕτως εἰς τοῦναντίον μεταπεσεῖν, ὥστε χωρὶς τῶν
ἐπαίνων, ὧν ἐποιοῦντο περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὑπολαβεῖν
μᾶλλον ταῖς Μούσαις κεχαρισμένην ἔσεσθαι τὴν ἐορ-
τήν, <εἰ>²⁰ κατὰ τὸ Μουσεῖον τὴν δημοσίαν ποιοῖντο
θυσίαν, ὃ κατ' αὐτοὺς²¹ ἐκείνους πρότερον ἰδρυσάμε-
νοι τὰς θεὰς ἐτίμων. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς κατὰ τῶν
Πυθαγορείων γενομένης ἐπιθέσεως τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

17. Sossianus Hierocles (*floruit* ca. 280–310): see Eusebius, *Reply to Hierocles*, and no. 20.

18. Soterichos of Oasis (ca. 300; *Souda* Σ 877). Σω-
τήριχος, Ὀασίτης, ἐποποιός, γεγονὼς ἐπὶ Διοκλητιαν-
οῦ. Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Διοκλητιανόν, Βασσαρικὰ ἤτοι
Διονυσιακὰ βιβλία δ', Τὰ κατὰ Πάνθειαν τὴν Βαβυ-
λωνίαν, Τὰ κατὰ Ἀριάδνην, Βίον Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ
Τυανέως, Πύθωνα ἢ Ἀλεξανδριακόν· ἔστι δὲ ἱστορία

¹⁹ καθόδου Delatte: μεθόδου

²⁰ <εἰ> Kiessling

²¹ ὃ κατ' αὐτοὺς Küster: καθ' αὐτοὺς

with diet, and these became the leaders of the return men-
tioned above. It also came about that that the survivors
gained an exceptional reputation among the populace at
this time, so that the saying that was used against lawbreak-
ers, "These are not the days of Ninon" became the well-
known proverb.²⁰ At this time the Thurians invaded the
territory, and the Pythagoreans lent their help and died
after fighting side by side. The city swung so far in the op-
posite direction that, apart from the praises that they be-
stowed on the Pythagoreans, they thought that the festival
would be more pleasing to the Muses if they made a public
sacrifice at the Temple of the Muses which they had previ-
ously built on the advice of the Pythagoreans to honor the
goddesses. Let that be enough about the assault made on
the Pythagoreans.

17. (Hierocles).

18. (*Souda*). Soterichos, from Oasis, epic poet,²¹ who
lived under Diocletian. (He wrote): *Panegyric of Diocle-
tian, Bassarica* or *Dionysiaca* in four books, *On Pantheia
the Babylonian, On Ariadne, Life of Apollonius of Tyana,
Python* or *Alexander-Poem*, of which the plot concerns Al-

²⁰ The Greek is uncertain.

²¹ Poet from Oasis Magna in Upper Egypt, otherwise only
known from other references in the *Souda*. It is possible, how-
ever, that a papyrus fragment (Oxyrhynchus Papyri 4352) comes
from his *Panegyric of Diocletian* (E. Livrea, *Zeitschrift für Papy-
rologie und Epigraphik* 125 [1999] 69–73). His poem must have
drawn on Philostratus, and is probably linked to the contemporary
Lover of Truth by Sossianus Hierocles.

Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνα, ὅτε Θήβας παρέλαβε
καὶ ἄλλα.

19. Arnobius, *Against the Gentiles* I 52 (ca. 300) (PL 5, 789–791 = J. Bidez and J. Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés* II 15, B4). Age nunc, ueniat quaeso²² super igneam zonam magus interiore ab orbe Zoroastres, Hermippo ut assentiamur auctori (FGrHist IVA 1026 F 58), Bactrianus et ille conueniat, cuius Ctesias res gestas historiarum exponit in primo (FGrHist III C 688 F 1f), Armenius Zostriani nepos, et familiaris Pamphylus Cyri, Apollonius, Damigero, et Dardanus, Belus, Iulianus et Baebulus, et si quis est alius, qui principatum et nomen fertur in talibus habuisse praestigiiis... Experiri libet et recognoscere, an cum suis efficere diis possint, quod ab rusticis Christianis iussionibus factum est nudis.

20. Lactantius (ca. 315), *Divine Institutes* 5, 3, 7–16 and 21 (SC 204, 140–144 = FGrHist IV A 1064 T 4). (7) Idem cum facta eius mirabilia destrueret nec tamen negaret, uoluit ostendere Apollonium uel paria uel etiam maiora fecisse. Mirum quod Apuleium praetermisit, cuius solent et multa et mira memorari. (8) Cur igitur, o delirum caput, nemo Apollonium pro deo colit, nisi forte tu solus, illo scilicet deo dignus, cum quo te in sempiternum deus puniet? (9) Si magus Christus, quia mirabilia fecit, peritior utique Apollonius, qui, ut describis, cum Domitianus eum punire

²² quaeso super Salmasius: quae super

²² In this list, the best known apart from Apollonius is Zoroaster, the author of the Old Persian *Gathas*; Julian is a younger con-

exander the Great when he captured Thebes, and other works.

19 (Arnobius). Well then, pray let Zoroaster come through the fiery zone from the inner part of the sphere, if we may follow Hermippus as our authority; let that Bactrian come too, whose achievements Ctesias describes in his first book; let Armenius, the grandson of Zostrianus and Cyrus's Pamphylian friend; let Apollonius, Damigero, Dardanus, Velus, Julian, and Baebulus, and any one else there is who is said to have had primacy and repute in spells of this kind... I would like to test and to find out whether they with their gods can perform what was done by uneducated Christians using simple commands.²²

20 (Lactantius). (7) This same person,²³ when trying to do away his [Christ's] miracles, wanted to show that Apollonius had done things either equal or even greater. I am surprised he overlooked Apuleius,²⁴ of whom many marvelous deeds are customarily recorded. (8) Why then, you raving wretch, does no one worship Apollonius as a god? Except perhaps you alone, clearly worthy of that god of yours, whom God will punish together with you for all eternity. (9) If Christ is a sorcerer because he did miracles, certainly Apollonius who, as you narrate, when Domitian wanted to punish him, suddenly disappeared from the

temporary of Apollonius. This or no. 20 (Lactantius) is the first mention of Apollonius in Latin literature.

²³ Sossianus Hierocles.

²⁴ Apuleius of Madaura (ca. 125–170), author of *The Golden Ass* (*Metamorphoses*) and *Self-Defense* (*Apologia*), rebutting the charge of using love-magic.

uellet, repente in iudicio non comparuit, quam ille qui et comprehensus est et cruci affixus. (10) At enim ex hoc ipso fortasse insolentiam Christi uoluit arguere, quod deum se constituerit, ut ille uerecundior fuisse uideatur, qui cum maiora faceret, ut hic putat, tamen id sibi non arrogauerit. (11) omitto nunc ipsa opera comparare, quia in secundo et in superiore libro de fraude ac praestigiis artis magicae dixi. (12) Nego esse quemquam qui non optet in primis id sibi post mortem contingere quod etiam reges maximi concupiscunt. (13) Cur enim sibi homines sepulchra magnifica, cur statuas, cur imagines comparant? Cur aliquibus claris factis aut etiam pro ciuibus morte suscepta student opiniones hominum promereri? Cur denique ipse ingenii tui monumentum hoc detestabile, stultitia tamquam caeno aedificatum, constituere uoluisti, nisi quod immortalitatem de memoria nominis speras? (14) Stultum igitur est id putare Apollonium noluisse quod optaret utique, si posset, quia nemo est qui immortalitatem recuset, maxime cum eum dicas et adoratum esse a quibusdam sicut deum, et simulacrum eius sub Herculis Alexicaci nomine constitutum ab Ephesiis etiam nunc honorari. (15) Non potuit ergo post mortem deus credi, quia et hominem et magum fuisse constabat, et ideo alieni nominis titulo affectauit diuinitatem, quia suo nec poterat nec audebat. Noster uero et potuit deus credi, quia magus non fuit, et creditus est, quia

²⁵ Cf. VA 4.10.3.

courthouse, was more skilled than one who was both arrested and nailed to the cross. (10) But perhaps our author hoped to prove the arrogance of Christ precisely from the fact that he presented himself as God, in order to make that other one seem more modest because he did not make that claim for himself, even though, so you say, he did greater things. (11) I forbear now to compare their actual deeds, because in my second book and the one before that I have spoken of the deceit and tricks of the magic art. (12) There is no one, so I say, who does not wish above everything to receive after death the thing that even the greatest rulers desire. (13) For why do humans prepare magnificent tombs for themselves? Why statues? Why portraits? Why do they hope to earn the good opinion of humans by some noble deeds or even by accepting death on behalf of their compatriots? Why, finally, did you want to erect this hateful monument to your own genius, constructed out of stupidity as if out of dung, unless you hope to get immortality from the memory of your name? (14) It is stupid therefore to think that Apollonius did not want what he would certainly have wanted if he could, since there is no one who would refuse immortality, especially when you say that he was worshiped by certain people as a god, and that his image was set up by the Ephesians with the name of "Hercules Averter of Evil,"²⁵ and still receives cult from them. (15) He could not therefore be thought a god after his death, because he was agreed to be a human and a sorcerer, and that is why he aimed at divinity under another's name, because he neither could nor dared do so under his own. Our Savior, however, both could be believed to be God, because he was not a sorcerer, and was so believed, because he really was (God). (16) "I am

uere fuit. (16) Non, inquit, hoc dico, idcirco Apollonium non haberi deum, qui noluerit, sed ut appareat nos sapientiores esse, qui mirabilibus factis non statim fidem diuinitatis adiunximus, quam uos, qui ob exigua portenta deum credidistis . . . (21) Non igitur suo testimonio (cui enim de se dicenti potest credi?) sed prophetarum testimonio, qui omnia quae fecit ac passus est multo ante cecinerunt, fidem diuinitatis accepit, quod neque Apollonio neque Apuleio neque cuiquam magorum potuit aut potest aliquando contingere.

21. Bordeaux Pilgrim (333). (CSEL 39, 16; *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* 175, 10). Ciuitas Thyana . . . Inde fuit Apollonius magus.

22. Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 260 – 339), *Preparation for the Gospel* IV 12–13 (SC 262, 142–144: a slightly shorter version in *Gospel Demonstration* 3, 3, 11, GCS Eusebius 6, 111–112). ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἀδελφὰ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ συγγεινῇ περὶ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μεγάλου θεοῦ ἐν τῷ Περὶ θνσιῶν ὁ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀδόμενος αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ Τυανεύς Ἀπολλώνιος τάδε γράφειν λέγεται “Οὕτως τοίνυν μάλιστα ἂν τις, οἶμαι, τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιοῖτο τοῦ θείου, τυγχάνοι τε αὐτόθεν ἰλεώ τε καὶ εὐμενοῦς αὐτοῦ παρ’ ὄντινα οὖν μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπων, εἰ θεῷ μὲν, ὃν δὴ πρῶτον ἔφαμεν, ἐνὶ τε ὄντι καὶ κεχωρισμένῳ πάντων, μεθ’ ὃν γνωρίζεσθαι τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀναγκαῖον, μὴ θύοι τι τὴν ἀρχὴν μήτε ἀνάπτοι πῦρ μήτε καθόλου τι τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐπονομάζοι (δείται γὰρ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν κρειτ-

not maintaining,” says he, “that Apollonius is not considered a god because he did not want it, but in order to make clear that we, because we did not immediately attach a belief of divinity to his miraculous deeds, are wiser than you, who believed (Christ) a god because of some paltry signs” . . . (21) So it is not by his (Christ’s) affirmation (for who can be believed when he talks about himself?) but by the affirmation of the prophets, who foretold long in advance everything that he did and suffered, that he received belief in his divinity. That is something that neither could nor can ever happen to Apollonius or Apuleius or any sorcerer.

21 (Bordeaux Pilgrim). The city of Tyana. The sorcerer Apollonius was from there.²⁶

22 (Eusebius). That, then, is what he (Porphyry) says. Very similar and related to that is what the well-known Apollonius of Tyana, celebrated by many people, is said to write about the first and greatest god in his *On Sacrifices* (cf. no. 1): “One might best therefore, so I think, pay the fitting attention to the divine, and in consequence more than any human by comparison find him favorable and kindly, if he was not to sacrifice in any way to God (to Him whom we so name), who is one and superior to all, second to whom we must necessarily suppose the other gods, nor address any perceptible thing to him at all, for he needs nothing even from those who are superior to us, nor is

²⁶ The Bordeaux Pilgrim is an anonymous author who listed his stopping places in a pilgrimage from Burdigala (Bordeaux) to the Holy Land in 333.

τόνων ἢ περ ἡμεῖς· οὐδ' ἔστιν ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνίησι γῆ
φυτὸν ἢ τρέφει ζῶον ἢ ἀήρ, ᾧ μὴ πρόσσεστί γέ τι
μίαισμα), μόνῳ δὲ χρῶτο πρὸς αὐτὸν αἰεὶ τῷ κρείττονι
λόγῳ, λέγω δὲ τῷ μὴ διὰ στόματος ἰόντι, καὶ παρὰ
τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν ὄντων διὰ τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν ἐν
ἡμῖν αἰτοίη τὰ ἀγαθὰ· νοῦς δὲ ἔστιν οὗτος, ὄργανον
μὴ δεόμενος, οὐκοῦν κατὰ ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς τῷ μεγάλῳ
καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ θυτέον."

23. Libanius of Antioch (314 – ca. 393), *Oration* 16, 56
(II 182 Förster, BT = I 246 Norman, LCL). τοιοῦτον
ἐχθρὸν ἐγὼ κἂν ἰδιώτην ἔδεισα. οὐκ ἔστι τοῦ Τυανέως
πόρρω κατὰ τὸν βίον, ὅς δυοῖν ῥήμασιν ἔστιξε τὴν
ἡμετέραν.

24. Libanius, *Oration* 4, 4 (I 288 Förster, BT). ἢ σύ γε
τολμήσεις εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐλήρει μὲν Πλάτων, ἐλήρει δὲ
Ἰσοκράτης, ἐλήρει δὲ Σοφοκλῆς, οὐκ ἐσωφρόνει δὲ ὁ
Γοργίας, οὐκ ἤδει δ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ Τυανεὺς ἐκείνος;

25. Themistius (ca. 317- ca. 388), *Or.* 6, 72d (I 107
Downey, BT). ὥσπερ οἱ λίαν μελαγχολῶντες ἀποκλεί-
ουσι τοὺς θεραπεύοντας, οὕτω σοφίαν τυραννὶς οὐ
προσίσταται. Πλάτωνα γοῦν ἐπίπρασκε Διονύσιος, καὶ
Νέρων Μουσώνιον, καὶ εἶργε τὸν ἐκ Τυάνων ὁ ἀδελ-
φοκτόνος.

26. Ammianus Marcellinus (ca. 330 – ca. 395), *Histories*
21, 14, 5 (II 168 Rolfe, LCL). Itidem ex sempiternis Ho-
meri carminibus intellegi datur, non deos caelestes cum

there any plant or animal at all that the earth grows or that
the air nourishes to which no pollution is attached. One
should always use with Him the superior kind of discourse,
I mean that which does not issue through the mouth, but
ask for His blessing with the noblest element in us, and this
is Mind, which needs no instrument. For these reasons
one should in no way sacrifice to the great God who is
above all."

23 (Libanius). I would have feared even an ordinary cit-
izen as an enemy. In his manner of life he is not far from
the Tyanean, who pilloried our city in two lines.²⁷

24 (Libanius). Or will you dare to say that Plato bab-
bled, Isocrates babbled, Sophocles babbled, Gorgias had
no self-control, that famous man from Tyana did not "know
himself"?²⁸

25 (Themistius). Just as the severely disturbed shut out
those who look after them, so tyranny does not let philoso-
phy in. Dionysius sold Plato, Nero banished Musonius,
and the fratricide tried to imprison the man from Tyana.²⁹

26 (Ammianus). Similarly we are given to understand
from the immortal poems of Homer that the heavenly

²⁷ Libanius refers to the emperor Julian's anger towards
Antioch, and to Philostratus's report of Apollonius's rebuke to the
same city (VA 1.16.2).

²⁸ Libanius is defending himself against the charge of having
become a babbler in his old age.

²⁹ Domitian, cf. VA 6.32.2.

uiris fortibus conlocutos, nec adfuisse pugnantibus uel iu-
uisse, sed familiaris genios cum isdem uersatos, quorum
Socrates, Numaque Pompilius, et superior Scipio et, ut
quidam existimant, Marius et Octavianus, cui Augusti uo-
cabulum delatum est primo, Hermesque Termaximus et
Tyaneus Apollonius atque Plotinus.

27. Ammianus, *Histories* 23, 6, 19 (II 358 Rolfe, LCL).
Apud Asbamaei quoque Iouis templum in Cappadocia,
ubi amplissimus ille philosophus Apollonius traditur natus
prope oppidum Tyana, stagno effluens fons cernitur, qui
magnitudine aquarum inflatus seseque resorbens num-
quam extra margines intumescit.

28. *Historia Augusta* (late 4th century?), *Life of Alexan-
der Severus* 29, 2 (II 234 Magie, LCL = *FGrHist* IV A 1064
T 9). usus uiuendi eidem hic fuit: primum [ut],²³ si facultas
esset, id est si non cum uxore cubuisset, matutinis horis in
larario suo, in quo et diuos principes (sed optimos electos)
et animas sanctiores, in quis Apollonium et, quantum
scriptor suorum temporum dicit, Christum, Abraham, et
Orpheum et huiuscemodi ceteros habebat et maiorum
effigies, rem diuinam faciebat.

29. *Historia Augusta*, *Life of Aurelian* 24, 2-9 (III 240-
242 Magie, LCL = *FGrHist* IV A 1064 T 10). (2) Taceri non
debet res, quae ad famam uenerabilis uiri pertinet. (3)

²³ [ut] del. Peter

gods did not mix with or assist the combatants, but familiar
spirits consorted with them. It was their support, it is said,
that caused the eminence of Pythagoras, Socrates, Numa
Pompilius, the elder Scipio, and (so some think) Marius,
Octavian, who was the first to be granted the name of "Au-
gustus," Hermes the Thrice Greatest, Apollonius of Tyana,
and Plotinus.³⁰

27 (Ammianus). Also at the temple of Asbamaean Jupi-
ter in Cappadocia, where that greatest of philosophers
Apollonius is said to have been born near Tyana, a spring
may be seen issuing from a lake. Growing in the volume of
its waters, and then receding on itself, it never overflows its
edges.³¹

28 (*Historia Augusta*). He had the following way of life.
First, if he had the opportunity, that is, if he had not slept
with his wife, he sacrificed in the early morning hours in
the sanctuary of his household gods, in which he kept (im-
ages of) the deified emperors, having chosen only the best,
and souls of unusual sanctity, including Apollonius and, so
a writer of his time reports, Christ, Abraham, Orpheus and
others of this kind, and the portraits of his ancestors.³²

29 (*Historia Augusta*). (2) There is something relevant
to the fame of a venerable man that must not be passed

³⁰ Celebrated Neoplatonic philosopher (205-269/70), author
of the *Enneads* and teacher of Porphyry and many others.

³¹ Cf. VA 1.6.

³² The *Life of Severus Alexander* is largely fictional, but this
story might be true, since Orpheus appears in Christian art as a
prototype of Christ.

Fertur enim Aurelianum de Tyanae ciuitatis euersione uere dixisse, uere cogitasse; uerum Apollonium Tyanaeum, celeberrimae famae auctoritatisque sapientem, ueterem philosophum, amicum uerum deorum, ipsum etiam pro numine frequentandum, recipienti se in tentorium ea forma, qua uidetur, subito adstitisse, atque haec Latine, ut homo Pannonius intellegeret, uerba dixisse: (4) "Aureliane, si uis uincere, nihil est quod de ciuium meorum nece cogites. Aureliane, si uis imperare, a cruore innocentium abstine. Aureliane, clementer te age, si uis uiuere." (5) Norat uultum philosophi uenerabilis Aurelianus atque in multis eius imaginem uiderat templis. (6) Denique statim attonitus et imaginem et statuas et templum eidem promisit atque in meliorem rediit mentem. (7) Haec et a grauibus uiris conperi et in Ulpiae bibliothecae libris relegi, et pro maiestate Apollonii magis credidi. (8) Quid enim illo uiro sanctius, uenerabilius, antiquius diuiniusque inter homines fuit? Ille mortuis reddidit uitam, ille multa ultra homines et fecit et dixit. Quae qui uelit nosse, Graecos legat libros, qui de eius uita conscripti sunt. (9) Ipse autem, si uita suppetit atque ipsius uiri fauori usque [quaque]²⁴ placuerit, breuiter saltem tanti uiri facta in litteras mittam, non quo illius uiri gesta munere mei ser-

²⁴ [quaque] *del.* Magie

³³ Emperor of Rome from 270 to 275. In 272 he defeated the Palmyrene forces under Zenobia, which had advanced as far as Ankara but were now retreating across the Taurus. Tyana dominated the entrance to the main pass through the Taurus into Cilicia.

over. (3) They say that Aurelian³³ had really spoken and really thought of sacking the city of Tyana, but Apollonius of Tyana, a wise man of most celebrated fame and authority, an ancient philosopher, the true friend of the gods, who himself deserves to be worshiped as a higher power, when Aurelian was retiring to his tent suddenly stood before him in the form in which he appears, and spoke these words in Latin, so that a man from Pannonia might understand: (4) "Aurelian, if you wish to be victorious, there is no need for you to plan the slaughter of my fellow citizens. Aurelian, if you wish to be emperor, abstain from shedding innocent blood. Aurelian, act with clemency if you wish to live." (5) Aurelian recognized the features of the venerable philosopher and had seen his image in many a temple.³⁴ (6) And so, immediately amazed, he promised him an image, statues, and a temple and changed his mind for the better. (7) This I have both learned from men of standing, and have read in books of the Ulpian Library. I have believed it all the more because of the majesty of Apollonius. (8) For who among mortals was more holy, more venerable, more like the ancients, more like a god? He gave life back to the dead, he both did and said many things that surpass human capability, and anyone who wishes to learn about them should read the books written in Greek that have been written about his life. (9) I myself, if I live so long, and if the favor of the great man himself assists me, will set down in writing the deeds of so great a man even if only briefly,

³⁴ For known representations of Apollonius, R. R. R. Smith, *Journal of Roman Studies* 80 (1990) 143 and n. 42 there.

monis indigeant, sed ut ea, quae miranda sunt, omnium uoce praedicentur.

30. Jerome (ca. 342 – 420), *Chronicle* on Olympiad 218, 4 = 96 (*GCS Eusebius* 7, 192). Apollonius Tyaneus et Euphrates insignes philosophi habentur.

31. Jerome, *Letters* 53, 1, 3–4 (*CSEL* 54, 444). Apollonius, siue ille magus, ut uulgar loquitur, siue philosophus, ut Pythagorici tradunt, intrauit Persas, transiuit Caucasum, Albanos, Scythas, Massagetas, opulentissima Indiae regna penetrauit, et ad extremum latissimo Phison amne transmisso peruenit ad Bragmanas, ut Hiarcam in throno sedentem aureo et de Tantali fonte potantem inter paucos discipulos de natura, de moribus et de siderum cursu audiret docentem; inde per Elamitas, Babylonios, Chaldaeos, Medos, Assyrios, Parthos, Syros, Phoenices, Arabas Palaestinam reuersus Alexandriam peruenit; Aethiopiam adiuit, ut gymnosophistas et famosissimam Solis mensam uideret in sabulo. inuenit ille uir ubique quod disceret, ut semper proficiens semper se melior fieret. scripsit super hoc plenissime octo uoluminibus Philostratus.

32. Jerome, *Against John of Jerusalem* 34 (*PL* 23, 404). Apollonius Tyaneus scribitur cum ante Domitianum staret in consistorio repente non comparuisse. Noli potentiam Domini magorum praestigiis adaequare.

³⁵ Another name for the river Indus.

³⁶ A meadow in Ethiopia where the rulers put boiled meat that any of their subjects could take away and eat (*Herodotus* 3.18). Philostratus does not in fact mention it.

not because the doings of that man need the tribute of my words, but so that these amazing things may be on everybody's lips.

30 (Jerome). Apollonius of Tyana and Euphrates are considered notable philosophers.

31 (Jerome). Apollonius of Tyana, whether he was a magician, as the vulgar say, or a philosopher, as the Pythagoreans say, entered Persia, traversed the Caucasus, Albanians, Scythians, and Massagetae, penetrated the most opulent kingdoms of India, and after crossing the very wide river Phison³⁵ came to the Brahmans, so that he might hear Iarchas, while sitting on a golden throne and drinking from the fountain of Tantalus, discourse amid a few disciples about nature, about customs, and about the course of the stars. Then, returning through the Elamites, Babylonians, Chaldaeans, Assyrians, Parthians, Syrians, Phoenicians, and Arabs to Palestine he reached Alexandria. He went to Ethiopia, so that he might see the Gymnosophists and the very famous Table of the Sun³⁶ amid the sand. Everywhere that great man found something to learn, in order that by always improving he might always become better than himself. Philostratus writes in great detail about him in eight books.

32 (Jerome). It is written that when Apollonius of Tyana was standing before Domitian in his consistory, he was suddenly nowhere to be seen.³⁷ Do not put the power of the Lord on a par with the tricks of magicians.

³⁷ VA 8.5.4. Pseudo-Ambrose (no. 37) makes the same point in almost the same words.

33. Jerome, *Homily on Psalm 81* (PL 26, 1130 = *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* 78, 89 = Porphyry, *Against the Christians* fr. 4): Dicat aliquis: "hoc totum lucrifecerunt." Hoc enim dicit Porphyrius: "Homines rustici et pauperes, quoniam nihil habebant, magicis artibus operati sunt quaedam signa. Non est autem grande facere signa, nam fecerunt signa et in Aegypto magi contra Moysen, fecit et Apollonius, fecit et Apuleius, et infinita signa fecerunt." Concedo tibi, Porphyri, magis artibus signa fecerunt, ut diuitias acciperent a diuitibus mulierculis quas induxerant, hoc enim tu dicis.

34. Augustine of Hippo (354–430), *Letters* 102, 32 (PL 33, 383 = CSEL 34, 572 = Porphyry, *Against the Christians* fr. 46). et tamen si hoc, quod de Iona scriptum est, Apuleius Madaurensis uel Apollonius Tyaneus fecisse diceretur, quorum multa mira nullo fideli auctore iactitant (quamuis et daemones nonnulla faciunt angelis sanctis similia, non ueritate sed specie, non sapientia sed plane fallacia): tamen si de istis, ut dixi, quos magos uel philosophos laudabiliter nominat, tale aliquid narraretur, non iam in buccis creparet risus sed typhus.

35. Marcellinus in Augustine, *Letter* 136 (PL 33, 514: CSEL 44, 94). Sed tamen etiam ego in hac parte, quia plurimis quidquid rescripseris profuturum esse confido, precator accesserim, ut ad ea uigilantius respondere digneris, in quibus nihil amplius Dominum quam alii homines facere poterint gessisse mentiuntur, Apollonium siquidem

³⁸ That is, his surviving for three days inside a whale.

33 (Jerome). Someone may say, "They did all this for profit." For this is what Porphyry says: "Poor yokels who owned nothing used magic arts to work certain miracles. Well, the Magi in Egypt worked miracles against Moses too, so did Apollonius, so did Apuleius, and they worked innumerable ones." I concede to you, Porphyry, that they worked miracles by means of magic arts, in order to get riches from rich females whom they had tricked, since that is what you say.

34 (Augustine). Nonetheless, if it were to be said that what is written about Jonah³⁸ had been said to be done by Apuleius of Madaura or Apollonius of Tyana, whose many miracles they boast of on no trustworthy authority, even though demons do some things that are like what the holy angels do, not in reality but in appearance, not by wisdom but by outright deceit—if something of the kind were to be narrated about those two, as I said, whom they honorably call "philosophers" or "magicians," the mouths of pagans would ring not with laughter but with insolence.

35 (Marcellinus).³⁹ But on this subject I am confident that whatever you reply will be of use to many people, and so I too come to you as a suppliant, asking that you deign to reply with particular care to those points on which they falsely claim that the Lord did nothing more than other

³⁹ Flavius Marcellinus, the writer of this letter, held the high position of *tribunus et notarius* of the western Empire from 410 to 413. He was active in Africa, was a close friend of Augustine, and received the dedication of the first two books of *The City of God*.

suum nobis et Apuleium aliosque magicae artis homines in medium proferunt, quorum maiora contendunt exstitisse miracula.

36. Augustine, *Letter* 138, 18 (PL 33, 533; CSEL 44, 145). Quis autem uel risu dignum non putet, quod Apollonium et Apuleium ceterosque magicarum artium peritissimos conferre Christo, uel etiam praeferre conantur? Quamquam tolerabilius ferendum sit, quando istos ei potius comparant quam deos suos: multo enim melior, quod fatendum est, Apollonius fuit, quam tot stuprorum auctor et perpetrator, quem Iouem nominant.

37. Pseudo-Ambrose (4th or 5th century?), *On the Trinity* 29 (PL 17, 570). Dicunt enim homines saeculi istius quod Apollonius magus, cum ante Domitianum imperatorem in consistorio staret, repente non comparuisset.

38. Eunapius of Sardis (ca. 345 – 414 or later), *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists* 2, 1, 4 (346 Wright, LCL, 2–3 Giangrande). Φιλόστρατος μὲν ὁ Λήμνιος τοὺς τῶν σοφιστῶν²⁵ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς μετὰ χάριτος παρέπτυσσε βίους, φιλοσόφων δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀκριβῶς ἀνέγραψεν ἐν οἷς Ἀμμώνιος τε ἦν ὁ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, Πλούταρχου τοῦ θειοτάτου γεγονὸς διδάσκαλος, Πλούταρχός τε αὐτός, ἡ φιλοσοφίας πάσης ἀφροδίτη καὶ λύρα, Εὐφρατῆς τε ὁ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ Δίων ὁ ἐκ Βιθυνίας ὃν ἐπεκάλουν Χρυσόστομον, Ἀπολλώνιος τε ὁ ἐκ Τυάνων, οὐκέτι φιλόσοφος, ἀλλ' ἦν τι θεῶν τι καὶ ἀνθρώπου μέσον. Τὴν γὰρ Πυθαγόρειον φιλοσοφίαν ζηλώσας, πολὺ τὸ

²⁵ σοφιστῶν Wyttenbach: ἀρίστων

humans. For they produce their Apollonius and Apuleius, and other men who belong to the magic art, and contend that their miracles were greater.

36 (Augustine). Who however would not think it even ridiculous that they try to compare or actually to prefer Apollonius, Apuleius, and others very skilled in the magic arts, to Christ? Still, one must show all the more patience in tolerating this considering that it is those men that they compare to Him, rather than their gods. One must admit that Apollonius was far superior to that source and agent of so many indecencies whom they call Jupiter.

37 (Pseudo-Ambrose). For the men of that era say that the magician Apollonius, when he was standing before Domitian in his consistory, was suddenly nowhere to be seen.

38 (Eunapius). Philostratus of Lemnos jotted down the lives of the best sophists in a cursory way, but no one has described the lives of philosophers in detail. These include Ammonius of Egypt,⁴⁰ the teacher of the most divine Plutarch, Plutarch himself, the charm and harp of all philosophy, Euphrates of Egypt,⁴¹ Dio from Bithynia whom they called "Golden Mouth," and Apollonius of Tyana, not a philosopher, but a being intermediate between the gods and a human. He followed the Pythagorean philosophy,

⁴⁰ Ammonius is often mentioned by Plutarch, but no works by him survive.

⁴¹ Euphrates was in fact from Tyre in Phoenicia.

θειότερον καὶ ἐνεργὸν κατ' αὐτὴν ἐπεδείξατο. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐς τοῦτον ὁ Δῆμνιος ἐπετέλεσε Φιλόστρατος, "Βίον" ἐπιγράψας "Ἀπολλωνίου" τὰ βιβλία, δέον "Ἐπιδημίαν ἐς ἀνθρώπους Θεοῦ" καλεῖν.

39. Eunapius, *Lives* 23, 1, 8 (542 Wright, LCL, 91-92 Giangrande). ἐντεῦθεν ἀφήκεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ θεῶν γνῶσιν καὶ σοφίαν ἧς Πυθαγόρας τε ἐφρόντιζεν καὶ ὅσοι Πυθαγόραν ἐζήλωσαν, Ἀρχύτας τε ὁ παλαιὸς καὶ ὁ ἐκ Τυάνων Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ οἱ προσκυνήσαντες Ἀπολλώνιον, οἵτινες σῶμά τε ἔδοξαν ἔχειν καὶ εἶναι ἄνθρωποι.

40. Synesius (ca. 370 – ca. 413). *On his Baldness* 6 (199-200 Terzaghi, 618-620 Garzya). "Ἐξεστί δὲ τοὺς ἐν μουσεῖῳ θεάσασθαι πίνακας, τοὺς Διογένας λέγω καὶ τοὺς Σωκράτας καὶ τοὺς οὔστινας βούλει τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος σοφῶν· φαλακρῶν γὰρ ἂν εἶναι δόξειε θεάτρον. Ἀπολλώνιος μὴ ἐνοχλείτω τῷ λόγῳ, μηδ' εἴ τις ἕτερος γόης καὶ περιπτὸς τὰ δαιμόνια. καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντες οὔτοι κομήται δύνανται φαίνεσθαι τὰ πλήθη καταπολιτευόμενοι· τάχα δὲ οὐδὲ σοφία τὸ τῶν γοήτων, τερατουργία δὲ τίς ἐστί, καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστήμη τις, ἀλλὰ δύναμις. οὕτω γὰρ οἱ νομοθέται σοφίαν μὲν τῶν τιμιωτάτων ἐνόμιζον· ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς γόητας ἔτρεφον τοὺς δημίους. ὥστε εἰ καὶ κομήτης ἦν Ἀπολλώνιος, οὐδὲν πρὸς λόγον· καίτοι φίλα μοι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ βουλοίμην ἂν αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῦ καταλόγου.

and revealed that side of it that was far more divine and effective. Philostratus gave a full account of him, entitling his books *The Life of Apollonius*, when he should have called them *A God's Visit to Humanity*.

39 (Eunapius). After that (the study of Plato and Aristotle) he⁴² devoted himself to the knowledge of the gods and to the wisdom of which the guardians were Pythagoras and those who followed Pythagoras, Archytas of long ago and Apollonius of Tyana, and those who revered Apollonius, men who only seemed to have a body and to be humans.

40 (Synesius). It is possible to see pictures in a museum, I mean ones of Diogenes and Socrates and any one you like who has ever been counted a wise man, and you would see a veritable gallery of baldies. Do not let Apollonius upset the argument, or anyone else who was a sorcerer and skilled in supernatural matters: even if such people had not been long-hairs, they might still have hypnotized the masses, and perhaps sorcerers' craft is not wisdom, but conjuring, not knowledge but power. That is why lawgivers counted wisdom among the most prized objects, but maintained public executioners to use against sorcerers. So even if Apollonius was a long-hair, that is irrelevant to the argument. I am on good terms with the gentleman, though, and would like to have him in the catalog, since from what I have said my argument might seem to be well and truly self-refuting: if someone is wise, he's a baldhead, but if he's not a baldhead, he's not wise.

⁴² Eunapius's own teacher, Chrysanthius.

41. Inscription from Mopsouhestia, Cilicia (4th or 5th century). *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 28 (1978) no. 1251; P. Burian and N. J. Richardson, *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 22 (1981) 283–285; G. Dagron and D. Feissel, *Inscriptions de Cilicie* (Paris, 1987) 137–141, no. 88 with plate 36; *FGrHist* IV A 1064 T 6; D. Berges and J. Nollé, *Tyana* (Bonn, 2000) 420–422, no. 112.

[οὔτο]ς²⁶ Ἀπ[ό]λλωνος μὲν ἐπώνυμος, ἐκ Τυάνων
δέ

λάμπας ἀνθρώπων ἔσβεσεν ἀμπλακίας.

[.]ΦΟΣ²⁷ Τυάνων, τὸ δ' ἐτήτυμον οὐρανὸς
αὐτόν

[.]πως²⁸ θνητῶν ἐξελάσιε πόνους.

42. K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Magicae Graecae* II 54–55, no. 11a (= *FGrHist* IV A 1064 T 8: 4th or 5th century). γραῦς Ἀπολλωνίου Τυανέως ὑπηρέτις· λαβὼν Τυφῶνος κρανίου κατάγραφε τοὺς χαρακτῆρας τούτους αἵματι κυνὸς μελάνος . . . ἢ πρᾶξις δεδοκίμασται.

43. Nilus of Ancyra (? - ca. 430), *Letter* 148 (PG 79, 270). πολλάκις σοι εἶρηκα, καὶ νῦν δέ φημι, ὅτι τὰ διὰ τῆς μαγείας ὑπὸ τοῦ Τυανέως Ἀπολλωνίου γεγενημένα τελέσματα, μηδὲν παντελῶς οὐράνιον ἔχοντα εὐεργέτημα, μηδέ τι πρὸς ψυχὴν ἀναφέροντα κέρδος, οὐδὲν διαφέρειν δόξειε δρακὸς κριθῶν χάριτος τοῖς πρὸς τὰ ἐπουράνια ἐκείνα καὶ ἄφθαρτα καὶ λύσιν μὴ σχήσοντα ἀγαθὰ κεχρηνοῖσι σοφοῖς τε καὶ εὐσεβέσιν ἀνθρώποις. μὴ τοίνυν θαύμαζε τὰ ἔργα τῆς γοητείας,

41 (inscription from Mopsouhestia). This man, named after Apollo, and shining forth from Tyana, extinguished the errors of mankind. The . . . of Tyana . . . (him), but in truth heaven . . . him to drive out the sorrows of mortals.⁴³

42 (magical papyrus). An old woman, the servant of Apollonius of Tyana. Take the skull of Typhon⁴⁴ and write the following characters with the blood of a black dog [the spell follows]. This spell has been tested.⁴⁵

43 (Nilus). I have often told you, and I say now, that the talismans performed through magic by Apollonius of Tyana contain absolutely no heavenly benefit, nor do they bring any profit to the soul. They would appear to be no different from the grace (derived from) a handful of barley in the judgment of wise, pious people who yearn for those things that are heavenly, imperishable, and not subject to decay. Do not therefore admire the works of sorcery, or be

⁴³ The missing words in lines three and four have been variously restored, so that the epigram either says that Apollonius was born in Tyana, but in fact was sent by heaven, or that that he was buried at Tyana, but in fact dwells in heaven. Among many discussions note P. Burian and N. J. Richardson, *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 22 (1981) 283–285, and D. Berges and J. Nollé, *Tyana* (Bonn, 2000) 420–422 no. 112. ⁴⁴ I.e., of a donkey.

⁴⁵ The spell is for making a goddess appear who will turn into an old woman and serve the user. The title might also mean, “The old serving woman: (a spell) of Apollonius of Tyana.”

²⁶ *suppl.* E. L. Bowie ²⁷ [μνήμ' ἔδα]φος *suppl.* W. Burkert; [γαῖα τρο]φὸς *suppl.* B. M. W. Knox; *alii alia*

²⁸ [δεξαθ' ὄ]πως *suppl.* Bowie; [γείναθ' ὄ]πως *suppl.* N. J. Richardson; *alii alia*

μηδὲ θροοῦ ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἀπάλλαξον δὲ σεαυτὸν τῆς εὐπτοήτου γνώμης καὶ τοῦ μεираκιώδους φρονήματος.

44. Cyril of Alexandria (? – 444), *Against Julian* 3 (PG 76, 633–636). Φιλόστρατος δὲ τὸν Ἀπολλωνίου βίον ἐξειλεγμέναις καλλιπερίαις κατασεμύνειν ἐπιχειρῶν καὶ εἰς λῆξιν ἀναφέρων τοῦ παντὸς θαύματος, ἀποκομίζει μὲν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀνωτάτω τέρμασι τῆς Θηβαίων γῆς, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔφη τοῖς ποταμοῦ καταδούποις ἐμβαλεῖν, συγγένεσθαι δὲ τοῖς αὐτόθι Γυμνοσοφισταῖς, εὐεῖδόσι καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀριστεύειν ἐν γοητείαις. εἰτά φησιν τὸν τῶν ὄλων προεστηκότα (Θεσπεσίων οὗτος ἦν) πρὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον εἰπεῖν αὐταῖς οὕτω φωναῖς (VA 6.10.3). “Ὅτι δ’ οὐκ ἀδυνατοῦμεν σοφίζεσθαι, τὸ δεῖνα’ ἔφη ‘δένδρον,’ πτελέα δὲ ἦν, τρίτον ἀπ’ ἐκείνου, ὑφ’ ᾧ διελέγοντο, ‘πρόσειπε τὸν σοφὸν Ἀπολλώνιον,’ καὶ προσεῖπε μὲν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐκελεύσθη τὸ δένδρον, ἡ φωνὴ δὲ ἦν ἑναρθρὸς τε καὶ θῆλυς.”

45. Isidore of Pelusium (? – ca. 440), *Letters* 148 (PG 78, 406). κενοῖς²⁹ τινες λόγοις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠπάτησαν τὸν ἐκ Τυάνων εἰσαγάγοντες Ἀπολλώνιον πολλαχόσε πολλὰ τελεσάμενον, ἐπ’ ἀσφαλείᾳ φησὶ τῆς οἰκίσεως. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ἔχουσι δεῖξαι παρ’ ἐκείνου γεγόμενον, οἱ γάρ καὶ λόγους ψιλοῦς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀναγράφαντες, καὶ πάντα τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀκριβώσαντες, οὐκ ἂν τὰς θρυλλουμένας παρέλιπον πράξεις. ἔχεις δὲ τὸν Φιλόστρατον ἀκριβῶς τὰ ἐκείνου ἐκθέμενον, καὶ μάθανε ὡς σαφῆ συκοφαντίαν μαγγανειῶν ἐχθροὶ τοῦ

disturbed by them, and rid yourself of your easily shaken opinion and juvenile way of thinking.

44 (Cyril). Philostratus, trying to glorify the life of Apollonius with longwinded flourishes and to elevate it to the realm of the highest wonder, carries him off to the furthest ends of the land of Thebes,⁴⁶ and says that he approached the very Falls of the river, and met with the Gymnosophists there, since they too knew how to excel in sorcery. Then, so he says, the chief of them all, who was Thespesion, said to Apollonius in these very words, “‘However, to show that we do not lack the power to work miracles, you tree there,’ he said to an elm which was third along from the one under which they were conversing, ‘Speak to the wise Apollonius.’ The tree spoke to him as it was told, and its voice was articulate and feminine.”

45 (Isidore). Some people have deceived mankind with empty words, bringing in Apollonius of Tyana, who has made many talismans in many places allegedly for the protection of the house. But they cannot show anything of which he is the source, since those who have recorded the man’s own words, and made exact note of everything about him, would not have omitted the deeds that are talked about. You have Philostratus, who set out his history exactly, and you may see that in all likelihood his enemies de-

⁴⁶ Egyptian Thebes, modern Luxor.

²⁹ κενοῖς Jon.: καινοῖς

ἀνδρός, ὡς εἰκός, κατεσκεύασαν.

46. Pseudo-Nonnus (ca. 500?), *On Gregory of Nazianzen, Against Julian I 70* (PG 36,1021; *Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca* 27, 139). Τὴν δὲ μάγειαν φασὶν εὖρον Μῆδοι εἶτα Περσαι, διαφέρει δὲ μαγεία γοητείας καὶ γοητεία φαρμακείας τούτοις, ὅτι ἡ μὲν μαγεία ἐπικλήσις ἐστὶ δαιμόνων ἀγαθοποιῶν πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τινος σύστασιν, ὥσπερ τὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Τυανέως θεσπίσματα δι' ἀγαθοῦ γέγονασι.

47. Basil of Seleuceia (attributed to: ? – after 468), *Life and Miracles of Saint Thecla* 22 (PG 85, 540–541; *Dagron, Subsidia Hagiographica* 62, 256). καὶ εἴ τις ἔγνω τὸν ἐκ Τυανέων τῶν Καππαδοκῶν Ἀπολλώνιον παρὰ τοῖς τὸν ἐκείνου βίον ἀναγεγραφόσιν (ἵνα ἐκ τῶν πάνυ πολλῶν τὸ περιφανέστερον εἴπωμεν), ἔγνω πῶς πάντως καὶ τῆς παρὰ τὴν γοητείαν τοῦ ἀνδρός τέχνης τὰ μιὰ καὶ δυσαγῆ ἀποτελέσματα, θεαγωγίας τε τινος καὶ ψυχαγωγίας καὶ δαιμόνων ἐπικλήσεις καὶ λανθανούσας ἀνοσιουργίας, ὡς καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐν Αἰθίοπι καὶ Ἰνδοῖς Γυμνοσοφιστῶν μήτε εἰσδεχθῆναι σπουδαίως, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ θάττον ἀποπεμφθῆναι, ὡς οὐκ εὐαγῆς αὐδὲ ὄσιος ἄνθρωπος, οὐδὲ φιλόσοφος ἀληθῶς, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν γοητείαν μιάσματος ἔχων.

48. Pseudo-Justin Martyr, *Questions and Answers* 24 (PG 6, 1269–72; 3, 2, 34–39 Otto: 5th century?). (1.) Εἰ θεός ἐστὶ δημιουργὸς καὶ δεσπότης τῆς κτίσεως, πῶς

vised an obviously false charge of magical practices.

46 (Pseudo-Nonnus). They say that magic was invented by the Medes and then the Persians. Magic differs from sorcery and sorcery from witchcraft. Magic is calling on beneficent demons who do good for the attainment of some good purpose, as the talismans of Apollonius of Tyana exist for a good purpose.

47 (Basil). Anyone who knows Apollonius of Tyana from those who have written up his life, merely to mention the best known out of very many, must certainly know the vile, polluted talismans of the man's art of sorcery—his calling up of gods and souls, his summoning of demons, his unseen abominations. Hence he did not get an eager welcome from the Gymnosophists in Egypt and India, but in fact a prompt dismissal, as a person neither sanctified nor holy, nor even a true philosopher, but with much of the stain of sorcery about him.

48 (Pseudo-Justin). (1) If God is the architect of Cre-

τὰ Ἀπολλωνίου τελέσματα ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς κτίσεως
 δύνανται; καὶ γὰρ θαλάττης ὀρμᾶς καὶ ἀνέμων φοράς
 καὶ μινῶν καὶ θηρίων ἐπιδρομᾶς, ὡς ὀρώμεν, κωλύου-
 σι καὶ εἰ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου μὲν γινόμενα θαύματα ἐν
 μόνη τῇ διηγήσει φέρεται, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἐκείνου πλείστα
 καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν δεικνύμενα τῶν πραγμάτων, πῶς οὐκ
 ἀπατᾷ τοὺς ὀρώοντας; καὶ εἰ μὲν κατὰ θείαν τοῦτο
 συγχώρησιν γέγονε, πῶς ὁδηγὸς πρὸς Ἑλληνισμὸν
 οὐ γέγονεν ἢ τοιαύτη συγχώρησις; εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο,
 πῶς οὐ δυνάμει τῶν δαιμόνων ἐκεῖνα γεγένηται; πάλιν
 δέ, εἴπερ Θεὸς ὡς ἀγαθῶ τῷ γινομένῳ ἠδόμενος ἐκείνῳ
 συνήργησε, διὰ τί μὴ διὰ προφητῶν ἢ δι' ἀποστόλων
 τὰ τοιαῦτα γεγένηται; εἰ δὲ μὴ ἠρέσκετο ὡς φαύλῳ,
 τίνας ἔνεκεν τὸ φαῦλον ἢ εὐθὺς οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν, ἢ μετὰ
 βραχὺ οὐ κατέλυσεν, ἀλλ' ἕως αἰῶνος τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς
 κτίσεως κρατεῖν συνεχώρησεν;

(2.) Ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος, ὡς ἀνὴρ ἐπιστήμων τῶν
 φυσικῶν δυνάμεων καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς συμπαθειῶν τε
 καὶ ἀντιπαθειῶν, κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστήμην τὰ τελέ-
 σματα ἐποιεῖτο, οὐ κατὰ τὴν θείαν ἀθθεντίαν. διὸ ἐν
 ἅπασιν τοῖς ἀποτελέσμασιν ἐδεήθη τῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
 ὑλῶν παραλήψεως, συνεργούσης αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ
 τελουμένου ἐκπλήρωσιν. ὁ δὲ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν Χριστός,
 κατὰ τὴν θείαν αὐτοῦ ἀθθεντίαν ποιῶν τὰ θαύματα,
 οὐδαμῶς ἐδεήθη ὑλης, ἀλλὰ τοῖς προστάγμασί τε καὶ
 προρρήσεσιν αὐτοῦ ἠκολούθει καὶ ἀκολουθοῦσι τὰ
 πράγματα. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου γεγονότα
 τελέσματα, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην γεγένηνται

ation, how is it that the talismans of Apollonius have power
 in the regions of Creation? For we see that they check the
 waves of the sea, the passage of the winds, and attacks of
 flies and animals. And if the miracles performed by the
 Lord are handed down only in narrative, while those of
 Apollonius are very numerous and can be observed in ac-
 tual reality, how can they fail to deceive observers? And if
 this occurs with God's permission, how does such permis-
 sion not lead to paganism? Or at any rate, how do such
 things not occur by the power of demons? Or again, if God
 was pleased by what he did as something good, and collab-
 orated with him, why have such things not been done by
 prophets or apostles? If, however, He was displeased with
 him as an evil man, for what reason did He either not stop
 the evil immediately, or not undo it a short time later, but
 allowed it to rule the realm of Creation for ever?

(2) As a man expert in natural powers and the sympa-
 thies and antipathies that they contain, Apollonius used
 this expertise in making his talismans. He did not do so on
 God's authority, since in all this he needed the collabora-
 tion of the requisite materials. But our Savior Christ did
 his miracles through his own divine authority, and needed
 no material, and objects obeyed his orders and predic-
 tions, and still do. The Lord did not annul the talismans
 made by Apollonius, since they were made in accordance

τῶν φυσικῶν δυνάμεων πρὸς τὴν σωματικὴν ἐργασίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ ἀνέτρεψεν ὁ Κύριος· αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν δαίμονα τὸν ἐν τῷ ἐκείνου ἀγάλματι ἰδρυμένον, τὸν ἐν ταῖς μαντείαις ἀπατήσαντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡς θεὸν σέβειν καὶ τιμᾶν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ἐφίμωσε, καταργήσας αὐτοῦ τὰς μαντείας· σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν δαιμόνων τῶν ἐν τῷ θεῶν ὀνόματι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τιμωμένων καθεῖλε τὴν δυναστείαν, καθὼς ὁράται τὰ πράγματα. ἔχοντες δὲ ἐν τούτοις τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως τὰ γνωρίσματα, οὐ χρὴ λέγειν τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ θαύματα ἐν ψιλῇ κείσθαι διηγήσει.

49. Macarius of Magnesia, *The Only-Begotten, or Reply to the Pagans* ("Apocriticus"), III 1 (33 Harnack = 72 Goulet = Porphyry, *Against the Christians* fr. 63). τίνος ἔνεκεν ὁ Χριστὸς οὔτε τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ προσαχθεὶς οὔτε τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἄξιόν τι σοφοῦ καὶ θείου ἀνδρὸς ἐφθέγγατο, δυνάμενος καὶ τοὺς παρεστῶτας παιδεῦσαι καὶ βελτίους ἐργάσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἠνέσχετο καλάμῳ τύπτεσθαι καὶ περιπτύεσθαι καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι ἀκάνθαις, καὶ μὴ καθάπερ Ἀπολλώνιος μετὰ παρρησίας τῷ αὐτοκράτορι λαλήσας Δομετιανῷ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς ἀφανῆς ἐγένετο, καὶ μεθ' ὥρας οὐ πολλὰς ἐν πόλει Δικαιαρχία, νῦν δὲ Ποτιόλοις καλουμένη, ὤφθη ἐπιφανέστατος; ὁ δὲ γε Χριστὸς εἰ καὶ παθεῖν εἶχε κατ' ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐχρήν μὲν ὑπομεῖναι τὴν τιμωρίαν, οὐ μὴν <δ> ἄνευ παρρησίας ὑποστῆναι τὸ πάθος, ἀλλὰ σπουδαῖά τινα καὶ σοφὰ διαφθέγγασθαι πρὸς

with his knowledge of natural powers for their corporeal effect on human beings. But the demon itself he gagged, since it had been set up inside Apollonius's image, and by means of its oracles deceived people into revering and honoring Apollonius as a god, and He closed down its oracles. Along with it He overthrew the rule of the other demons that were honored by the Greeks under the name of gods, as the facts show. Since these deeds give us evidence of Christ's power, one should not say that His miracles depend on mere "narrative."

49 (Macarius). How is it that Christ uttered nothing worthy of a wise and divine man either when brought before the High Priest or before the governor, when he could in fact have instructed the bystanders and made them better people? Why instead did he tolerate being hit with a reed, spat on, crowned with thorns, and not act like Apollonius, who spoke freely to the emperor Domitian, and then was nowhere to be seen in the royal chamber, and a few hours later appeared very clearly in the city of Dicaearchia, now called Puteoli? As for Christ, even if he had to suffer in accordance with God's commands, still he did not have to undergo his suffering without speaking freely. He could have pronounced some words of goodness

Πιλᾶτον τὸν δικαστὴν καὶ μὴ ὡς εἰς τῶν ἐκ τριόδου
χυδαίων ὑβρισθῆναι.

50. Macarius, IV 5 (76 Harnack = 246 Goulet = Porphyry, *Against the Christians* fr. 60). ἐνὶ καὶ ἕτερον ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ λαβεῖν ἀμφίβολον ὧδε ῥημάτιον, ἐνθα φησὶν ὁ Χριστός, "βλεπετε μή τις ὑμᾶς πλανᾷσῃ· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου λέγοντες 'ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ Χριστός,' καὶ πολλοὺς πλανήσουσι." καὶ ἰδοὺ τριακόσια ἢ καὶ περαιτέρω δι᾿ ἵππευσεν ἔτη καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ τοιοῦτος ἐπέστη, μή τί γε Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Τυανέα φήσετε ἄνδρα φιλοσοφία πάσῃ κεκοσμημένον, ἕτερον δ' οὐκ ἂν εὔροιτε· ἀλλ' οὐ περὶ ἐνὸς ἀλλὰ περὶ πολλῶν λέγει "ἐγερθήσονται."

51. Sidonius Apollinaris (ca. 430 – ca. 486), *Letters* 8, 3, 1 and 4–6 (II 404–413 Anderson, LCL).

Sidonius Leoni suo salutem.

(1) Apollonii Pythagorici uitam, non ut Nicomachus senior e Philostrati sed ut Tascius Victorianus e Nicomachi schedio exscripsit, quia iusseras, misi; quam, dum parare festino, celeriter eiecit in tumultuarium exemplar turbida et praeceps et opica translatio . . .

(4) exuere utcumque continuatissimis curis et otium tuum molibus aulicis motibusque furare. historiam flagitam tunc recognosces opportune competenterque, si cum

⁴⁷ Leo was influential at the court of the Visigothic king Euric, and had recently obtained Sidonius's release from prison. While

and wisdom to Pilate, his judge, and not be insulted like some commoner from the street corner.

50 (Macarius). One can find another evidently ambiguous saying here, when Christ says: "Take care that no one leads you astray, for many will come in my name saying, 'I am the Christ,' and they will lead many astray" (Matthew 24, 4–5). Why look, three hundred or more years have passed, and no one of that sort has appeared, unless you mean to say Apollonius of Tyana, a man adorned with every kind of wisdom; you cannot find another. Yet he does not talk of one person but many, (saying) "They will arise" (Matthew 24, 11).

51 (Sidonius).

Sidonius greets his friend Leo.⁴⁷

1. I have sent you the *Life of Apollonius the Pythagorean*, since you requested it, not in the transcription that Nicomachus the Elder made from Philostratus's copy but in the one that Tascius Victorianus made from Nicomachus's. I was in such a hurry to finish up that it is a crude, rushed, and uncouth translation, hastily copied out.

4. Somehow shake off your endless cares, and steal some leisure of your own from the toils and commotions of the court. You will only read this account that you asked for at the right time and in the proper frame of mind if you devote yourself entirely to reading, and if you travel in per-

there, Sidonius had either translated (perhaps in an abbreviated version) Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius* into Latin, using copies made by the notable pagan Nicomachus the Elder in the fourth century and Tascius Victorinus in the fifth, or he had copied or abbreviated an already existing Latin version by one of these two.

Tyaneo nostro nunc ad Caucasum Indumque, nunc ad Aethiopum gymnosophistas Indorumque braemanas totus lectioni uacans et ipse quodammodo peregrinare. (5) legentium fidei catholicae pace praefata in plurimis similem tui, id est a diuitibus ambitum nec diuitias ambientem; cupidum scientiae, continentem pecuniae; inter epulas abstemium, inter purpuratos linteatum, inter alabastrorum censorium; concretum hispidum hirsutum in medio nationum delibutarum, atque inter satrapas regum tiaratorum murrhatos, pumicatos, malobathratos, uenerabili squalore pretiosum; cumque proprio nihil esui aut indutui de peduce conferret, regnis ob hoc, quae pererrauit, non tam suspicioni, quam [fuisse]³⁰ suspectui; et a fortuna regum sibi in omnibus obsecundante illa tantum beneficia poscentem, quae magis sit suetus oblata praestare quam sumere. (6) quid multis? si uera metimur aestimamusque, fors fuit an philosophi uitae scriptor aequalis maiorum temporibus accesserit, certe par saeculo meo per te lector obuenit. uale.

³⁰ del. Luetjohann

son with our man of Tyana now to the Caucasus and India, now to the Gymnosophists of Ethiopia and the Brahmins of India. 5. Read of a man, if I may say so with respect to the Catholic faith, who in many ways was like you, that is, pursued by the rich but not pursuing riches; thirsty for knowledge but abstinent from money; abstemious at dinners, wearing linen among wearers of purple, censorious among vessels of alabaster; matted, rough, hirsute in the midst of perfumed peoples, and extravagantly filthy among the perfumed, pumiced, and pomaded satraps of tiara'd kings; one who took nothing for his own consumption or clothing from an animal and yet for this reason was not so much suspected but respected among the kingdoms that he traveled; and who from the wealth of kings, freely offered to him everywhere, took only those kindnesses that once granted he was more accustomed to give to others than to take for himself. 6. In short, if we calculate and measure correctly, it may be that a philosopher's life has found a writer equal to our ancestor's days, but it is certain that it has found a reader worthy of my day. Farewell.

EUSEBIUS
REPLY TO HIEROCLES

INTRODUCTION

Eusebius of Caesarea is mainly remembered as the author of the first history of the Christian Church, the *Ecclesiastical History*, but also for his exegetical works such as the *Preparation for the Gospels*, and an important but tententious biography of the emperor Constantine. Little is known about his origin and early life. Probably born about 260 in Caesarea Maritima (Palestine), Eusebius became a pupil of a certain Pamphilus, a priest who in turn had been a pupil of the great Origen and had inherited his library. Eusebius survived the persecution of Christians that began under Diocletian in 303 and continued over much of the empire until Constantine and Licinius issued their edict of toleration in 313, the so-called Edict of Milan. Immediately thereafter he was elected bishop of Caesarea, and continued to play a large role in ecclesiastical politics until his death about 339.¹

The *Reply to Hierocles* is transmitted separately from the *Life of Apollonius*. The earliest manuscript was made for Arethas, a medieval archbishop of Caesarea and a celebrated student of the Greek classics, and it bears the date of 914. The manuscript gives as the title *The reply of*

¹ A. M. Cameron gives a succinct summary of his life and works in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*³ (1996) 575–576.

Eusebius, pupil of Pamphilus, to the work of Philostratus on Apollonius, concerning the comparison between him and Christ handed down by Hierocles. Aldus Manutius in his *editio princeps* of Philostratus (1501–1502) was the first to join the two works, and his reasons are instructive: “Since the book [i.e. the *Life*] was circulating like a poison without an antidote (for the tract of Eusebius was not there to moderate it, refute it, and show its falsity), it seemed worthwhile to publish from our house both the books of Philostratus and that very same tract of Eusebius, so that if anyone had imbibed any poison from the books of Philostratus they would have Eusebius to resort to, as a weasel resorts to rue when bitten by a snake.”

Sossianus Hierocles was an active anti-Christian in the administration first of Diocletian (284–305) and later of that emperor’s successor in the eastern empire, Galerius (305–311). His earliest known position, held not earlier than 293, was as governor of the province that included Palmyra (perhaps Augusta Libanensis). Next he became a *vicarius*, that is, a governor with overall responsibility for one of the groupings of provinces devised by Diocletian. He then became governor of Bithynia, which included the imperial capital of Nicomedia, and was there when Diocletian began his Great Persecution in 303. He is last heard of as governor of Egypt in 311, and if he lived beyond 312, the year of Constantine’s conversion to Christianity, he may have fallen into disgrace.² While still *vicarius*, Hierocles published an anti-Christian tract in two books called *The Lover of Truth* (*Philalēthēs*; Eusebius often applies this epithet ironically to the author, in which

² For Hierocles’s career, Barnes (1976); Furrat (1986) 11–18.

case I have translated it “truth-loving”).³ It has been thought that Eusebius wrote his riposte soon after, but his text does not require that inference, and the triumphant tone of chapter 4 suggests a date after Constantine’s conversion in 312 and Licinius’s publication in 313 of their joint declaration of religious freedom.⁴

Hierocles’s title shows that he placed himself in a line of anti-Christian polemicists. The first of these that can be identified is Celsus, probably a Platonist of the later second century, whose work called *The True Doctrine* (*Alēthēs Logos*) appears to have been a defense of traditional paganism as well as an attack on the new faith.⁵ The great Christian scholar Origen replied to this in his massive *Against Celsus*, written in the later 240’s, a work that Eusebius evidently had in mind when writing his own reply to Hierocles. Later, at a date that some have put as early as 270, others as late as 300, the Neoplatonist Porphyry wrote an even more massive work *Against the Christians*, which was banned by Constantine and is now only known from quotations. Hierocles appears to have borrowed some of his arguments from Porphyry, but his own attack seems to have been slight by comparison, as indeed Eusebius’s reply is dwarfed by the gravity and power of Origen.

³ Hierocles *vicarius*: CH 4.4. and 20. Barnes (1976), 244–245, seems to infer from the perfect participles in these two passages that he was still in office when Eusebius wrote, but this is not necessary.

⁴ For a date very soon after 312, Furrat (1986) 20–26; an even later date is possible.

⁵ H. Chadwick, *Origen: Against Celsus* (Oxford, 1953) ix–xxix.

Eusebius does not claim that Hierocles's comparison between Apollonius and Jesus was more than part of his attack, and the contemporary African Christian, Lactantius, shows that he used a range of arguments. Thus, drawing on Porphyry, he alleged contradictions between different parts of the Bible, and also included, perhaps at the end of the work, a paean to Zeus as the supreme god. Moreover, he adopted a tone of anxious reasonableness with the Christians, preferring to write "to" them rather than "against" them.⁶ This pose recalls those Roman governors in Christian martyrdoms who try to argue Christians out of their beliefs, and urge them to sacrifice to Zeus or Air.

By selecting only one part of Hierocles's work, his comparison of Apollonius and Christ, Eusebius gave himself a considerable polemical advantage. Firstly, as an author more comfortable dealing with texts than with abstract questions, he could more effectively engage Hierocles by shifting the debate away from his arguments to the text of Philostratus. Secondly, his strategy allowed him to impale his opponent on a dilemma. Hierocles had claimed that, despite the miracles attributed to Apollonius by Philostratus, pagans regarded him merely as an extraordinary human, while by contrast Christians worshiped Jesus as a god on the basis of less impressive miracles, and ones recounted by his credulous and uneducated followers. Hence the dilemma seized on by Eusebius. If what Philostratus said about Apollonius was true, then the man was a sorcerer in league with evil powers: if it was untrue, then Hierocles and other admirers of Apollonius were more credulous than the Christians. Their faith did not

⁶ Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 2.12–3.26 = SC 204, 138–147.

have merely texts and long-past miracles to support it: it had the prophecies of "the wise men of the Jews" before Jesus's birth, and the power of his preaching after his death. This he manifested not least by "proving himself mightier and far stronger than the unbelievers who cruelly persecuted us," that is, presumably, by the end of persecution and the disgrace of its agents such as Hierocles.

The structure of the *Reply to Hierocles* is fairly simple. Eusebius begins with a general discussion of his opponent's work, justifying his concentration on the one aspect of the comparison (1–7). It is only in this part that he mentions Christ and the Christians, perhaps trying to counter Hierocles's pose of tolerant reasonableness. He then proceeds book by book through Philostratus's *Life*, naturally spending as much time as possible on the more incredible incidents and the evidence of Apollonius's sorcery (8–44). The close (45–48) concentrates on one side of Apollonius's teaching as transmitted by Philostratus, his exaltation of the omnipotence of the Fates. Eusebius again uses this for a double purpose. If the Fates ruled all, then Apollonius's supposed miracles would be no miracles at all, but inexorably predetermined. Moreover, to accept a doctrine of determinism would undermine morality, since personal choice would not matter. Cunningly, to substantiate his argument for free moral choice, Eusebius appeals not to Christianity but to Plato: "It is not the constraints of Fate or of Destiny that are answerable for our impulses to action: 'The reason is in the chooser, not in God'" (47.2). By appealing to the most eloquent pagan proponent of an ideal morality, Eusebius is able to strike the same pose of reasonable broadmindedness that Hierocles had taken in his own work.

A question remains: is Eusebius actually the author of the work? Despite the unanimity of the manuscripts on this point, he never mentions this work elsewhere, and the lively tone and occasionally *recherché* language have struck many observers as uncharacteristic. The tone, however, suits the genre: this was a work of controversy, and such devices as the direct addresses to his opponents and the figures of speech belong in the polemical tradition. As for the language, certainly there is a sprinkling of now disused forms, such as the dual, and of forms of address borrowed from Attic literature, for example the "my dear friend" ($\omega\ \phi\iota\lambda\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma$) of the opening sentence.⁷ But these again are devices justified by the argument, in which Eusebius is trying to show that Christians are not the uncultured hayseeds that so-called Hellenes such as Hierocles make them out to be. A similar explanation applies to the lack of direct reference to Christianity: Eusebius rebuts his opponents with their own weapons, appealing to logic, to inconsistency, to the immorality of fatalism, and to the authority of Plato. To attribute the work to an unknown author, still more to an otherwise unknown contemporary also called Eusebius, strains credulity beyond the limit.⁸

The text of the *Reply* is in a much better state than that of the *Life*. The most recent editor, Édouard des Places, uses a total of six manuscripts, but one, the M(arcianus), appears to have no independent authority, and in those places where it alone preserves an independent reading

⁷ Similarly $\omega\ \omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (29.1), $\omega\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (45.2), and the very rare η , "Hey there!" (47.1).

⁸ Hägg (1992); T. D. Barnes in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 3 (1995) 1009.

not one deserves putting in the text.⁹ As with Robert Penella's edition of the letters, I have followed this edition fairly closely, only indicating the readings of the manuscripts where I depart from them in favor of a conjecture. I have also taken over Kayser's divisions into chapters, but divided these into sections.¹⁰ In the apparatus I have abbreviated the names Jon(es), Kay(ser), Ol(earius), R(ei)sk(e).

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⁹ Forrat, p. 84, holds that the readings of M are "often original [and] always interesting," and des Places once or twice follows it against the unanimity of the other manuscripts (e.g. $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\nu\tau\iota$ in ch. 24). On the contrary, I see no place in which it is alone in providing the correct reading, and its variants merely clutter the apparatus.

¹⁰ Forrat and des Places also use Kayser's chapter divisions, whereas Conybeare adopted different ones.

Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου

πρὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Φιλοστράτου εἰς Ἀπολλώνιον διὰ τὴν
Ἱεροκλεῖ παραλειφθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ
Χριστοῦ σύγκρισιν

1.1. Ἄρ' οὖν, ὦ φιλότης, κακέϊνά σε τοῦ συγ-
γραφέως ἄξιον ἀποθαυμάζειν, ἃ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Σωτήρῳ
τε καὶ διδασκάλῳ τὸν Τυανέα συγκρίνων παρεδοξο-
λόγει; πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ Φιλαλήθει,
οὕτω γὰρ εὖ ἔχειν αὐτῷ τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιγράφειν
ἔδόκει λόγον, οὐδὲν ἂν εἶη σπουδαῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόν-
τος ἴστασθαι μὴ αὐτοῦ ἴδια τυγχάνοντα, σφόδρα δὲ
ἀναιδῶς ἐξ ἐτέρων οὐκ αὐτοῖς μόνον οὐχὶ νοήμασιν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥήμασι καὶ συλλαβαῖς ἀποσεσυλημένα.
τύχοι μὲν ἂν καὶ αὐτὰ τῆς προσηκούσης κατὰ καιρὸν
ἀπελέγξεως, δυνάμει δ' ἤδη καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἰδίας κατ'
αὐτῶν γραφῆς ἀνατέτραπται καὶ προαπελήλεγκται ἐν
ὄλοις ὀκτῶ συγγράμμασι τοῖς Ὀριγένει γραφεῖσι
πρὸς τὸν ἀλαζονικώτερον τοῦ Φιλαλήθους ἐπιγεγραμ-
μένον Κέλσου Ἀληθῆ Λόγον, ᾧ τὰς εὐθύνας ἀπαρα-

¹ The pupil of Origen with whom Eusebius studied, and whose name he took in place of a patronymic.

THE REPLY OF EUSEBIUS

Pupil of Pamphilus,¹ to the work of Philostratus on
Apollonius, concerning the comparison between him
and Christ handed down by Hierocles.

1.1. Well, my dear friend,² do you think that part too³ of
the author's work to be worthy of admiration: – his prepos-
terous comparison of our savior and teacher with the man
of Tyana? As for the other contents of *The Lover of Truth*
(since that is how it pleased him to entitle his tract against
us), it would not be worthwhile to take a stand for the mo-
ment. They are not in fact his own, but quite shamelessly
plundered from other people, not just as to the ideas them-
selves, but right down to words and syllables. These parts
too might receive the appropriate refutation in time, but in
effect they have already been overturned and disproved in
advance, even without a special work devoted to them.
Origen wrote no less than eight books against *The True
Doctrine* of Celsus (a title even more boastful than *The
Lover of Truth*). The said writer submitted the work to an

² This addressee is never named, and is perhaps a literary
fiction.

³ The comparison of Apollonius and Christ was only a part of
Hierocles's work, see Introduction.

λείπτως, ἐν ὅσοις εἰρήκαμεν, ὁ δεδηλωμένος παραγα-
γὼν συλλήβδην ὅσα εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν παντὶ τῷ
εἴρηταί τε καὶ εἰρήσεται προλαβὼν διελύσατο.

1.2. Ἐφ' ἃ τοὺς ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς δια-
γνῶναι φιλαλήθως ἔχοντας ἀναπέμφαντες, φέρε μό-
νην ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τὴν κατὰ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τοῦ Φιλαλήθους τουτουὶ λόγου
παράθεσιν ἐπισκεψώμεθα, μηδέν τι σπουδαῖον ἡγού-
μενοι πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐτέρωθεν ὑποσεσλημένων
αὐτῷ διαμάχεσθαι. μόνα δὲ εἰκότως νυνὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν
Ἀπολλώνιον ἐποψόμεθα, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνῳ παρὰ τοὺς
πώποτε καθ' ἡμῶν γεγραφότας ἐξαιρέτος νῦν τούτῳ
γέγονεν ἢ τοῦδε πρὸς τὸν ἡμέτερον Σωτῆρα παρά-
θεσίς τε καὶ σύγκρισις.

2.1. Θαυμάζει γοῦν καὶ ἀποδέχεται, "θεία τινὶ καὶ
ἀρρήτῳ σοφία, οὐχὶ δὲ γοητείας σοφίσμασι τεθραυμα-
τουργηκέσαι" φάσκων αὐτόν, καὶ ταῦτα ἀληθῶς οὕτως
ἔχειν ὡς ἔτυχε πιστεύων καὶ ἀναποδείκτως ἀπισχυρι-
ζόμενος. ἄκουε δ' οὖν ἃ φησιν αὐταῖς συλλαβαῖς·
"ἄνω δὲ καὶ κάτω θρυλοῦσι σεμνύνοντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν
ὡς τυφλοῖς ἀναβλέψαι παρασχόντα καὶ τινα τοιαῦτα
δράσαντα θαυμάσια." εἰτά τινα μεταξὺ εἰπὼν ἐπι-
λέγει· "ἐπισκεψώμεθά γε μὴν ὅσῳ βέλτιον καὶ συν-
ετώτερον ἡμεῖς ἐκδεχόμεθα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἦν περὶ
τῶν ἐναρέτων ἀνδρῶν ἔχομεν γνώμην." καὶ ἐπὶ τού-
τοις, τὸν Προκοονήσιον Ἀριστέαν καὶ Πυθαγόραν ὡς

unremitting examination in all the books I mentioned, and
thus refuted in advance once and for all anything that any-
body has said or will say on the same subject.

1.2. I refer to those books persons whose "love of truth"
prompts them to desire insight into our doctrines. For the
time being, let us merely examine the contrast contained
in this "truth-loving" treatise about Jesus Christ, not con-
sidering it at all worthwhile to contend against the rest
of what he has purloined from elsewhere. We will now
only consider what he says about Apollonius, as is reason-
able, since only he, among all those who have ever written
against us, has produced a formal contrast and comparison
of Apollonius with our savior.⁴

2.1. Expressing his admiration and approval of Apollo-
nius, he says that "he performed his miracles through some
divine, ineffable wisdom, not by the tricks of sorcery," be-
lieving and insisting without proof that somehow or other
these things really occurred. Just listen to what he says in
his own words: "They talk of Jesus up hill and down dale,
revering him for giving sight to the blind and doing some
such miracles as these." Then some sentences later he
says, "Well, let us consider how much better and more in-
telligent we are in our understanding of such matters, and
in the opinion we form of men of virtue." After this he
passes over Aristeas of Proconnesus⁵ and Pythagoras as

⁴ Even if Porphyry had compared the two, which is not certain
(cf. Testimonia nos. 49, 50), Hierocles may have made a more
thorough comparison of them, like the *synkriseis* that end some of
Plutarch's *Lives*.

⁵ A shamanistic figure of early Greece from Proconnesus in
the Sea of Marmara, cf. Herodotus 4.13-15.

ἂν ἀρχαιοτέρους παρελθόν, ἐπιφέρει λέγων· “ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν Νέρωνος βασιλείαν Ἀπολλώνιος ἤκμασεν ὁ Τυανεύς, ὃς ἐκ παιδὸς κομιδῆ νέου καὶ ἀφ’ οὐπερ ἐν Αἰγαίς τῆς Κιλικίας ἱεράσατο τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ τούτῳ Ἀσκληπιῷ, πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ διεπράξατο, ὧν τὰ πλείω παρὲς ὀλίγων ποιήσομαι μνήμην.”

2.2. Εἶτα καταλέγει ἀπὸ πρώτου ἀρξάμενος τὰ παράδοξα, μεθ’ ἃ καὶ ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν· “τίνος οὖν ἔνεκα τούτων ἐμνήσθην; ἵν’ ἐξῆ συγκρίναι τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀκριβῆ καὶ βεβαίαν ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ κρίσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν κουφότητα, εἴπερ ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸν τὰ τοιαῦτα πεποιηκότα οὐ θεόν, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς κεχαρισμένον ἄνδρα ἡγούμεθα, οἱ δὲ δι’ ὀλίγας τερατείας τινὰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν θεὸν ἀναγορεύουσι.” τούτοις ἐπιφέρει μεθ’ ἕτερα φάσκων· “κἀκεῖνο δὲ λογίσασθαι ἄξιον, ὅτι τὰ μὲν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος καὶ τινες τούτων παραπλήσιοι κεκομπάκασιν, ἄνθρωποι ψεύσται καὶ ἀπαίδευτοι καὶ γόητες, τὰ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου Μάξιμος ὁ Αἰγιεύς, καὶ Δάμις ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁ συνδιατρέψας αὐτῷ, καὶ Φιλόστρατος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος παιδεύσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἤκοντες τὸ δ’ ἀληθὲς τιμῶντες, διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν ἀνδρὸς γενναίου καὶ θεοῖς φίλου πράξεις μὴ βουλόμενοι λαθεῖν.” ταῦτα ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς Ἱεροκλεῖ τῷ τὸν καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐπιγεγραφότι Φιλαλήθῃ Λόγον εἴρηται.

3. Δάμις μὲν οὖν ὁ τὰ πολλὰ “ξυνδιατρέψας” τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσσυρίων γῆς ὀρμώμενος, αὐ-

too ancient, and continues: “But in our ancestors’ time, Apollonius of Tyana came to maturity in the reign of Nero. For when he was a very young boy, and from the time when he served this kindly Asclepius in Aigai of Cilicia, he did many admirable things of which I will mention a few, omitting the majority.”

2.2. Then he catalogs his remarkable deeds, beginning with the first, before saying the following in these very words: “Why then have I mentioned all this? So that the reader can compare our careful and sober judgment in respect to each with the gullibility of the Christians. We do not think a man who performed such deeds to have been a god, but only a man pleasing to the gods; while they are led by a few illusions to declare Jesus a god.” After this he continues: “The following too should be taken into account. While the deeds of Jesus have been exaggerated by Peter, Paul, and people of their stripe—liars, yokels, sorcerers—the deeds of Apollonius have been recorded by Maximus of Aegae, Damis the philosopher who studied with him, and Philostratus of Athens. All of these reached a very high level of culture and honored truth, and from motives of humanity did not wish the acts of a virtuous man, a friend of the gods, to go unknown.” These are the very words of Hierocles, who entitled his attack on us *The Lover of Truth*.

3. Well, Damis who “studied with” Apollonius for a long time originated from the Assyrian land, and having first

τόθι τε πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας χώρας αὐτῷ συμμίξας, τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γενομένην αὐτῷ συνουσίαν ἱστόρησεν, ὃ δὲ Μάξιμος κομιδῇ βραχέα τῶν κατὰ μέρος αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων ἀνεγράψατο, ὃ γε μὴν Ἀθηναῖος Φιλόστρατος, τὰ φερόμενα πάντα ὁμοῦ ἀπὸ τε τῶν Μαξίμου καὶ αὐτοῦ Δάμιδος καὶ ἄλλων συναγαγεῖν ἑαυτὸν φήσας, πάντων μάλιστα ἐντελῆ τὴν ἀπὸ γενέσεως καὶ μέχρι τελευτῆς ἱστορίαν τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα βίου πεποίηται.

4.1. Εἰ δὴ οὖν ἄξιον¹ τὴν ἐπικατηγορουμένην ἡμῶν “εὐχέριάν τε καὶ κουφότητα” καὶ τὴν τοῦ Φιλαλήθους “ἀκριβῆ καὶ βεβαίαν ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ” παραθεῖναι “κρίσιν,” φέρε διαπυθώμεθα, οὐχ ὅστις θειότερος γέγονει, οὐδ’ ὁποῖος θαυμασιώτερά τε καὶ πλείω διεπράξατο παράδοξα, οὐδ’ ὡς μόνος παρὰ τοῖς ἀνέκαθεν πρὸ μυρίων ὅσων <ἐτῶν>² γενομένοις Ἑβραίων σοφοῖς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἤξειν εἰς ἀνθρώπους κατὰ θείαν ἐπίπνοιαν προπεφήτευτο, οὐδ’ ὡς πλείους ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς θείας διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ λόγον προὔτρεψατο, οὐδ’ ὡς γνησίους καὶ ὄντως ἀληθεῖς ἐκτήσατο φοιτητάς, μόνον οὐχὶ καὶ ὑπεραποθνήσκειν ἐτοίμως τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ παρεσκευασμένους, οὐδ’ ὡς μόνος σώφρονος βίου διδασκαλεῖον καὶ εἰς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον συνεστήσατο, (4.2), οὐδ’ ὡς τῇ ἰδίᾳ θεότητί τε καὶ ἀρετῇ πᾶσαν ἔσωσε τὴν οἰκουμένην, [καὶ]³ εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν μυρία πλήθη πανταχόθεν ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν ἑαυτοῦ διδασκαλίαν ἐπαγόμενος, οὐδ’ ὡς τῶν πώποτε μόνος πρὸς ἀπάντων σχεδὸν

met him there in his own country, narrated the course of the acquaintance that he had with the man from that time on. Maximus, however, wrote up a few particulars of his doings, while Philostratus of Athens claims to have assembled absolutely everything recorded by Maximus, Damis himself, and others, and has given by far the fullest account of the man’s life from birth to death.

4.1. Now, if the “superficiality and gullibility”⁶ that he ascribes to us is worthy of comparison with the Lover of Truth’s “careful and minutely accurate verdict,” let us first discuss, not which of the two was more divine, or which was naturally able to perform more prodigious and more numerous miracles; or the fact that only our savior and lord Jesus was prophesied to be coming among humanity by the wise men of the Jews, speaking by divine inspiration, who lived many thousands of years ago; or that he himself converted many to acceptance of his divine teaching, or that he acquired genuine and truly sincere followers, prepared almost to die willingly on behalf of his doctrines; or how he alone founded a school of modest living for future ages too; (4.2) or that he saved the whole world by his own godliness and virtue, and even to this day attracts countless numbers from everywhere to his divine teaching; or that he alone, after being attacked for very many years by almost all hu-

⁶ 2.2, where only “superficiality” is quoted: cf. also 4.4, 17.

¹ ἄξιον Jon. (cf. 1.1, 4.3, etc): ἐξὸν

² <ἐτῶν> Kay.

³ [καὶ] secl. Kay.

εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων, ἀρχόντων τε καὶ ἀρχομένων, πλείστοις ἔτεσιν ἤδη πολεμούμενος κρείττων καὶ πολὺ δυνατώτερος τῶν πικρῶς ἐλαυνόντων ἀπίστων ἀποδεδεικται, θεία καὶ ἀρρήτῳ δυνάμει τοὺς μὲν κατὰ καιρὸν ἐπανισταμένους αὐτοῦ τῇ θείᾳ διδασκαλίᾳ ῥαδίως μετιῶν, τὸν δὲ παγέντα πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ παραδοθέντα θείον λόγον εἰς ἄπειρον αἰῶνα καθ' ὅλης κρατύνων τῆς οἰκουμένης, οὐδ' ὡς εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν τῆς ἐνθέου δυνάμεως τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείκνυται, μοχθηροὺς τινας καὶ φαύλους δαίμονας, ψυχαῖς ἀνθρώπων καὶ σώμασιν ἐφεδρεύοντας, ἀπελαύνων διὰ μόνης τῆς ἀρρήτου προσηγορίας αὐτοῦ, ὡς αὐτῇ πείρα κατειλήφαμεν· ταῦτα γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ζητεῖν, μὴ καὶ τὸ ἐρωτᾶν, ἀνόητον.

4.3. Μόνην δὲ ἐπισκεψώμεθα τὴν τοῦ Φιλοστράτου γραφήν, δι' ἧς εὐθυνοῦμεν, ὡς οὐχ ὅτι γε ἐν φιλοσόφοις, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν ἐπιεικέσι καὶ μετρίοις ἀνδράσιν ἄξιον ἐγκρίνειν, οὐχ ὅπως τῷ σωτήρι ἡμῶν Χριστῷ παρατιθέναι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ τοῦ παρὰ τῷ Φιλαλήθει "παιδείσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἤκοντος," τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς μὴ τιμῶντος συγγραφέως. τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Φιλόστρατος, ἐξ οὗ ῥαδίως ἂν καταμάθοιμεν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν "παιδείσεως μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἠκόντων," αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἐξητασμένως μὴ ἀπηκριβωμένων τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἱστορίας.

4.4. Τούτων γὰρ ἡμῖν διευκρινηθέντων, ὁμοῦ τοῦ τε Φιλαλήθους, τὰ ἀνωτάτω τε καὶ καθ' ὅλων δικαστήρια

mankind, one may say, both rulers and subjects, proved himself mightier and far stronger than the unbelievers who cruelly persecuted him, and by his divine and ineffable power easily punishes those who periodically resisted his divine teaching, and implants for all ages throughout all the world the divine doctrine which he established and handed on; or that, even to this day, he shows the excellence of his heavenly power, driving out certain pestilent and evil demons, which lie in wait for human souls and bodies, merely by the mysterious invocation of his name, as we have perceived by actual experience. Why, to look for such things in Apollonius, in fact even to put the question, is folly.

4.3. Let us then merely review the work of Philostratus, by which we shall confirm that Apollonius is not worthy to be ranked with philosophers, or in fact even with men of virtue and moderation, let alone to be compared with our savior Christ, as far as we can tell from the work of the author who "reached a very high level of culture," in the words of the Lover of Truth, but had no regard for the truth. For that is what Philostratus the Athenian and the others too are for Hierocles, and from Philostratus we can easily form an idea of the others too who, in Hierocles's view, "reached a very high level of culture," though they did not make a detailed investigation of the facts about Apollonius.

4.4. For when we have subjected all these persons to a thorough examination, that will make clear, on the one

διειληφότος, ἢ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν “βεβαία” καὶ, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ δοκεῖ, “ἀκριβῆς ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ κρίσις” φανε-
ρὰ καταστήσεται ἡμῶν τε αὐτῶν, οἱ μωροὶ καὶ βεβουκο-
λημένοι νενομίσμεθα παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ἢ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπι-
καλουμένη “εὐχέρειά τε καὶ κουφότης.”

5. Ἄλλος μὲν οὖν ὁμοίως χωρῶν αὐτόθεν διέβαλλεν
ἂν βλασφημῶν ὡς ἐχθρὸν αὐτῷ καὶ πολέμιον τὸν καθ’
οὗ τὸν λόγον ἐποιεῖτο, ἐγὼ δέ, ἑταῖρε, σοφὸν τινα τὰ
ἀνθρώπινα τὸν Τυανέα γεγονέναι ἡγούμην, καὶ ἔτι γε
<τῆς>⁴ αὐτῆς ἔχεσθαι διανοίας ἐκὼν εἶναι βουλοίμην,
καὶ σοὶ τὴν αὐτὸς ἐμαυτοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐκθείην
ἂν ἐρωτῶντι φιλοσόφων μὲν ὅτι τις βούλοιο κατα-
λέγειν τὸν ἄνδρα, πέρα μηδὲν διανοχλῶν ταῖς περὶ
αὐτοῦ μυθολογίαις, μὴ φθονεῖν· εἰ δ’ ὑπερπηδᾶν τοὺς
ὄρους καὶ φιλοσοφίας ὑπέρτερα φρονεῖν εἴτε τις Δά-
μις Ἀσσύριος, εἴτε Φιλόστρατος, εἴτε τις συγγραφεὺς
ἢ λογογράφος θρασύνοιο, λόγῳ μὲν ἐκτρεπόμενος
γοητείαν, ἔργοις δὲ πλέον ἢ ῥήμασιν ἐπιφορτίζων τὸν
ἄνδρα, προσωπίου δίκην τὴν Πυθαγόρειον ἐπιμορ-
φαζόμενος ἀγωγῆν, οἰχήσεται μὲν ἡμῖν ὁ φιλόσοφος,
ὄνος δ’ ἀντὶ τοῦ λέοντος ἐπικρυπτόμενος δέρρει, σοφι-
στής τις ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγείρων κατὰ τὰς πόλεις, αὐτό τε
τοῦτο γόης ἀτεχνῶς ἀντὶ φιλοσόφου φωραθήσεται.

6.1. Πῶς δὲ τοῦτό φημι καὶ πόθεν ὀρμώμενος,
ἐρωτᾶς; μάνθανε. ὅροι φύσεως, ἀρχὰς καὶ μέσα καὶ

⁴ <τῆς> Kay.

hand, how “careful and minutely accurate” (at least in his
opinion) is the verdict passed on the Christians by the
Lover of Truth, a man appointed to the highest court with
general powers,⁷ and on the other hand it will make clear
the “superficiality and gullibility” that they ascribe to us,
whom they consider benighted fools.

5. Someone else going into combat would have be-
gun with an immediate attack, slandering the man against
whom he was writing as his adversary and enemy. But I, my
friend, used to think that the man from Tyana had a certain
wisdom on the human level, and I would gladly wish to ad-
here to the same opinion even now, and if you asked me my
very own view of him, I would explain it thus. Whichever
of the philosophers someone wishes to rank him with, I
have no objection, and have no further quarrel with the
fairy tales that are told about him. But if some Assyrian
Damis, or a Philostratus, or some author or storyteller has
the nerve to overstep the bounds and to set his sights
higher than philosophy, avoiding explicit claims of sorcery,
but building the fellow up by deeds rather than words,
plastering the Pythagorean way of life on him like a mask,
then our philosopher will vanish, and instead will stand re-
vealed as an ass disguised in a skin, not a lion,⁸ as a verita-
ble sophist begging from city to city, and precisely this: an
out-and-out sorcerer and no philosopher.

6.1. Do you ask what I mean by this and on what basis I
say it? Let me tell you. The boundaries of nature embrace

⁷ As *vicarius* (see Introduction) Hierocles had wide judicial
powers, and in some cases the power to hear appeals from lower
courts.

⁸ Allusion to Aesop’s tale of the ass in a lion’s skin
(Perry, *Aesopica* 358).

τέλη τῆς τῶν ὄλων οὐσίας περιειληφότες, μέτρα καὶ θεσμοὶ⁵ ἅπασι, δι' ὧν τόδε τὸ πᾶν μηχανημά τε καὶ ἀρχιτεκτόνημα τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τελεσιουργεῖται, διατέθενται νόμοις ἀλύτοις καὶ δεσμοῖς ἀρρήκτοις τῆς τὰ πάντα οἰκονομούσης προνοίας τὸ πάνσοφον βούλημα διαφυλάττοντες. οὐκ οὐκ κινήσειέ τι καὶ μεταθείη <τις>⁶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν ἅπαξ διατεθειμένων.

6.2. κεκράτηται δ' οὖν θεσμῶ φύσεως τὸν θεῖον ὑπεραναβαίνειν νόμον πᾶς, ὅτω τις θρασύτερος τῶν ἐπέκεινα <ἐπι>βαίνειν⁷ ἔνεστι πόθος. οὐτ' οὖν παρὰ φύσιν ὁ ἔνυδρος ἐπὶ τὴν χέρσον μεταβὰς βιώνει δυνήσεται ἰχθύς, οὔτε τὸ ἐν χέρσῳ τραφὲν τοῖς ὕδασι καταδύσεται, τὴν ἐκείσε διηνεκῆ μονὴν ἀσπαζόμενον, οὔτε μέγα πηδήσας μετέωρός τις τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀρθήσεται πρὸς ἀέρα, συμπεριπολεῖν ἀετοῖς ἐπιθυμῶν. καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνοί γε κἂν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔλθοιεν, βρίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ κάτω τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τοῦ πτεροῦ χαλάσαντες καὶ ἀνέντες τὴν φύσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο θείοις ὄριστα νόμοις, <ἐκ>⁸ τοῦ ὕψους τὸ μετέωρον ὑποκαταβαίνειν δύνασθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἔμπαλιν τὸ ταπεινὸν καὶ γεῶδες ἐπὶ τὸ μετέωρον αἵρεσθαι.

6.3. Ταύτη δὴ καὶ τὸ θνητὸν ἀνθρώπων γένος, ψυχῆς μετέχον καὶ σώματος, ὅροις περιγέγραπται θείοις. οὐτ' οὖν τῷ σώματι δι' ἀέρος ἔλθοι ποτὲ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς τις καταφρονήσας διατριβῶν μὴ οὐχὶ τοῦπιτίμιον αὐτίκα τῆς ἀνοίας παρασχών, οὔτε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀρθεὶς φρονήματι καθίξεται τῶν ἀνεφίκτων, ἢ μελαγχολίας νοσήματι ἂν περιπέσοι. σωφρονοῖ δ' ἂν ἀρτί-

the beginning, middle and end of the existence of the universe. They are measures and rules for everything, and by them this whole mechanism and construction of the entire world is brought to perfection. And yet they are governed by unalterable laws and unbreakable bonds, and observe the all-wise will of providence that arranges everything.

6.2. No one therefore can alter or change anything in the order of things once established, and anyone who feels an ambitious desire to transgress the limits is constrained by a dictate of nature from overstepping the divine law. The fish in water cannot live against nature by moving onto land, nor can what has been bred on the land plunge into the waters, embracing them as a permanent abode. Nobody can jump so high as to sail up from the earth to the sky, just because he desires to fly around with eagles. And yet these can come to earth if they reduce their power so as to descend, relaxing and resting the nature of their wings, since this too is a decree of the divine laws, that what is above can descend from its height, but on the other hand what is humble and earthly cannot soar into the above.

6.3. In the same way the race of mortal men, which partakes both of soul and of body, is circumscribed by divine laws. Someone cannot therefore go bodily through the sky, despising an earthly habitat, but will immediately pay the penalty for his folly; nor can he raise his soul and reach the unattainable in thought, or he will fall into the disease of madness. He can keep his sanity by walking with his own

⁵ θεσμοὶ Kay.: θεσμοὺς

⁶ <τις> des Places

⁷ ἐπιβαίνειν Kay.: βαίνειν

⁸ <ἐκ> Kay.

οἱ μὲν τὸ σῶμα ποσὶν ἐπὶ γῆς φερόμενος, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν παιδεία καὶ φιλοσοφία σκηρίπτων, εὐξαιτο δὲ καὶ τινα συνεργὸν ἄνωθεν ποθεῖν ἐκ τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν διατριβῶν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖσε διδάσκαλον αὐτῷ φανῆναι σωτηρίας. ἐρρωμένω γάρ τοι παραδείγματι νοσοῦντι μὲν τὸν ἰατρὸν ἐπιφοιτᾶν θέμις, καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον εἰσαγομένω τοῖς μαθήμασι συμφέρεσθαι, καὶ τὸν ἄνω που καὶ ἐν ὑψέι συγκατιέναι τοῖς ταπεινοῖς, οὐ μὴν καὶ ἀνάπαλιν.

6.4. Ὅθεν δὴ θείαν μὲν φύσιν, εὐεργέτιν οὔσαν καὶ σώτειραν καὶ προνοητικὴν τῶν ὄντων, ἀνθρώποις ποτὲ εἰς ὀμιλίαν ἐλθεῖν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀπείργοι λόγος, ὄρω θείας προνοίας καὶ τούτου συγκεχωρημένου, "ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ἦν" κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα, "ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς ἐγγίνεται φθόνος." οὐκ οὐν σωμάτων μόνων ἀγαθὸς ὢν ὁ τόδε τὸ πᾶν διακυβερνῶν ἐπιμελήσεται, πολὺ πλεόν δὲ ψυχῶν, αἷς τὸ ἀθάνατόν τε καὶ αὐτοκρατορικὸν κεχάρισται γέρας. ταύταις δῆτα, οἷα τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀπάσης κύριος ὢν καὶ χαρίτων ὢν ἂν δωρούμενος αὐτὰς εὐεργετῇ⁹ τὴν φύσιν οὔσαις ἀντιληπτικαῖς, ἀκτίνας ὥσπερ τοῦ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ φωτὸς δωρήσεται ἀφθόνως τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν, ἔστιν ὅτε τοὺς μάλιστα προσεχέεις εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ τῆδε σωτηρίαν τε καὶ ἀντίληψιν ἐκπέμπων.

6.5. Ὡς εἴ τω εὐτυχῆσαι γένοιτο, τὴν διάνοιαν οὗτος ἀποκαθαρθείς, καὶ τὴν τῆς θνητότητος ἀποσκεδάσας ἀχλύν, θεῖος ἀληθῶς ἀναγραφῆσεται, μέγαν τινὰ θεὸν ἀγαλματοφορῶν τῇ ψυχῇ. κινήσειε

two feet on the ground, while lifting his soul by education and philosophy. He can also pray that some helper may come down to him from somewhere above in the heavenly realms, and appear to him as a teacher of the salvation that is there. To use a legitimate comparison, as it is right for a doctor to visit an invalid, or for a teacher to associate with someone starting on their studies, so he that is above and on high may come down among the lowly, but not the reverse.

6.4. It follows that for a divine nature, which is beneficent, brings salvation, and has foreknowledge of the future, no reason excludes that it may come to join the company of mankind, since that too is permitted under the law of divine providence. For according to Plato "God was good, and no good being feels envy at anything."⁹ He who governs this universe will not therefore in his goodness care only for bodies, but much more for souls, which have received the privilege of immortality and self-determination. As the lord of all creation, he will freely give to these (since they are capable of apprehending the graces by the gift of which he benefits nature) beams from his immanent light, so to speak, sometimes sending out his most intimate associates for the salvation and defense of those here.

6.5. If one of these is fortunate enough, his intellect will be purged, he will dispel the mist of mortality, and will truly be entitled "divine," since he carries the image of a great god in his soul. Being of such a kind, this person will

⁹ *Timaeus* 29 E.

⁹ εὐεργετῇ Kay.: εὐεργετοῖ

δῆτα οἷα τηλικούτος τὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων γένος, καὶ μᾶλλον ἡλίου τὴν οἰκουμένην καταλάμψει, τοῦργον τῆς αἰδίου θεότητος καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπιόντα συνοραῖσθαι καταλείπων χρόνον, οὐ μείον τῶν ἐξ ἀψύχου ὕλης δημιουργημάτων τὸ τῆς ἐνθέου παράδειγμα φύσεως παρεσχημένος. καὶ ταύτη μὲν ἀνθρωπεία φύσις τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου κοινωνήσαι ἄν, ἄλλως δ' οὐ θέμις τοὺς ὄρους ὑπερβαίνειν, οὐδ' ἄπτερον ἔχοντα τὸ σῶμα τὰ πτηνῶν ἐπιτηδεύειν, οὐδ' ἀνθρώπου ὄντα τὰ δαιμόνων πολυπραγμονεῖν.

7. Τίνα¹⁰ δῆτα ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον εἰσάγεις, ὦ συγγραφεῦ; εἰ μὲν δὴ θεῖον καὶ φιλοσόφου κρείττονα τὴν τε φύσιν ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου, τήρει μοι δι' ὅλης τῆς ἱστορίας τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ τοῦργον εἰσέτι νῦν ἐπιδείκνυθι τῆς θεϊότητος. ἦ γὰρ οὐκ ἀτοπώτατον τεκτόνων μὲν καὶ οἰκοδόμων καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν δημιουργῶν τελευτὴν ἐπὶ μήκιστον τοῦργον διαρκεῖν, ἀθάνατόν που σχεδὸν τῶν συστησαμένων τὴν μνήμην στηλιτεῦον, θείαν δὲ ἄρα φύσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιλάμψασαν σκότιόν που καὶ μιννθάδιον ἀποτελεῖν, οὐχὶ δὲ εἰς αἰῶνα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, μὴ εἰς ἓνα τινὰ Δάμιν ἢ καὶ ἄλλους βραχεῖς πτωχεύουσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' εἰς μυρίων ὄσων ὠφελείας, οὐ τῶν καθ' ὧν ἐγνωρίζετο μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα γενησομένων, τὴν πάροδον ποιουμένην; ταύτη τοι καὶ τοὺς πάλαι σοφοὺς ζηλωτάς τε καὶ διαδόχους ποιήσασθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἀθάνατον ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀνθρώποις παρεσχημένους τὸ κατόρ-

stir up the whole human race, and illuminate the world more than the sun, by leaving the product of eternal godhead for future ages to behold, because he has provided the example of his heavenly nature, which is not inferior to a work of art made from lifeless matter. In this way human nature can participate in a nature more than human, but may not otherwise overstep the limits, and having a wingless body may not act as winged creatures do, or as a human being meddle in the work of demons.

7. That being so, you author,¹⁰ who is this Apollonius that you present us with? If he is divine and superior to a philosopher, and frankly has a more than human nature, then make sure to maintain your thesis through the whole of your account, and show what the results obtained by his divinity are even now. It would be highly paradoxical that the works of carpenters or architects should last for a very long time after their creators' death, and establish an almost permanent memorial to their makers, but that divine nature, having once shone on humanity, should have an obscure and transitory effect, and not display its virtue to all eternity. It should not go begging to some Damis or other nonentities, but make its entrance for the benefit of many thousands, not only those in whose time it was known, but those who were to come afterwards. That is how the wise men of old found imitators and successors, because they truly provided mankind with an everlasting

¹⁰ I.e. Philostratus. Eusebius addresses him directly several times, either as he does here (43.3), or as "you there" (44.2).

¹⁰ τίνα Kay.: τί

θωμα. εἰ δὲ θνητὴν ὑπογράφεις τὰνδρὸς τὴν φύσιν, ὄρα μὴ πλεον ἢ προσῆκεν ταύτῃ χαριζόμενος δίκην ἀποίσεις παραλογίας.

8.1. Ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰσῆκται αὐτῷ θεῖος ἄνθρωπος,¹¹ καὶ θαλαττίου δαίμονος σχῆμά τε καὶ προσωπεῖον ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἀναλαμβάνων. “κνούση γάρ,” ὡς φησι, “τῇ αὐτοῦ μητρὶ φάσμα ἦλθε θαλαττίου δαίμονος, Πρωτεὺς ὁ παρὰ τῷ Ὀμήρῳ ἐξαλλάττων. ἡ δὲ οὐδὲν δείσασα ἤρετο αὐτόν, τί ἀποκνήσοι, ὁ δὲ ἔμὲ εἶπε· σὺ δὲ τίς;” εἰπούσης Πρωτεὺς ἔφη ὁ Αἰγύπτιος.” εἶτα δὲ λειμῶνά τινα, καὶ κύκνους τὴν γυναῖκα μαιεύεσθαι γράφει, ὁπόθεν αὐτὸ τοῦτ’ εἶη ληφθέν, μὴ εἰπὼν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τούτων ὑφηγητὴν Δάμιν τὸν Ἀσσύριον ὑπογράφεται.

8.2. Ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐς μακρὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἱστορίας αὐτῷ Δάμιδι οἷα δὴ θείας ὄντα φύσεως τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον εἰσάγει, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντα· “ἐγὼ, ὦ ἐταῖρε, πασῶν τῶν φωνῶν ξυνίημι μαθὼν οὐδεμίαν,” καὶ “μὴ θαυμάσης, οἶδα γὰρ καὶ ἅ σιωπῶσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι.” καὶ πάλιν ἐν Ἀσκληπιουῦ τιμώμενον πρὸς τοῦ δαίμονος καὶ πρόγνωσιν φυσικὴν τινα καὶ ἀδίδακτον ἔχειν ἐκ παιδός, κρείττονά τε ἀτεχνῶς ἀνθρώπου φύναι αὐτὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς γενέσεως καὶ δι’ ὅλης ἡμῖν τῆς ἱστορίας ὑπογράφει.

8.3. Λύσαντος γοῦν ἑαυτὸν ποτε ἀπὸ δεσμῶν ἐπιφέρει λέγων· “τότε πρῶτον ὁ Δάμις φησὶν ἀκριβῶς

¹¹ ἄνθρωπος Jon.: ἄνθρωπος

success. But if you portray the man's nature as mortal, be sure not to ascribe to it more than it deserves, or you will pay the penalty for fraud.

8.1. But he presents the fellow to us as someone divine, who assumed the shape and mask of a marine demon from his conception. For, so he says, “When his mother was still carrying him, she had a vision of an Egyptian divinity, Proteus who changes shape in Homer. She was not at all frightened, but asked him who her child would be. He replied: ‘Myself.’ When she asked ‘Who are you?’ he said, ‘Proteus, the Egyptian.’”¹¹ Then he mentions some meadow, and how swans assisted the woman's delivery, though without saying what his source might be, since he will not claim Damis the Assyrian as his narrator here too.

8.2. Yet not much later in the same tale he introduces Apollonius to Damis himself, as if Apollonius were a person of divine nature, making him say: “But I, my friend, know every language, and have learned none,” and “Do not be surprised, since I also know all that humans keep unspoken.”¹² Similarly he informs us that, when in the sanctuary of Asclepius, Apollonius was honored by the demon, and had some inborn and untaught power of prophecy from his boyhood, and in general was superhuman from his very birth and throughout the entire account.

8.3. For once when he freed himself from chains, Philostratus adds this: “That was the first time, says Damis,

¹¹ VA 1.4, omitting “god” after “Egyptian.”

¹² VA 1.19.1–2 (altered).

ξυνεῖναι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου φύσεως, ὅτι θεία τε εἶη καὶ κρείττων ἀνθρώπου. μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, πῶς γὰρ ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ; μηδὲ εὐξάμενον, μηδὲ εἰπόντα τι καταγελάσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ." καὶ ἐπὶ τελευτῇ δὲ τάφον μὲν αὐτοῦ μηδόλως ποι γῆς εὐρίσκεισθαι, χωρῆσαι δὲ εἰς οὐρανὸν αὐτῷ σώματι μεθ' ὕμνων καὶ χορείας λέγει. εἰκότως δὴ οὖν οἷα ὄντα τοσοῦτον "θειότερον ἢ Πυθαγόρας Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε καὶ Πλάτων φιλοσοφία" τὸν ἄνδρα προσεληλυθέναι φησίν.

9. Οὐκοῦν ἐν θεοῖς ἡμῖν διὰ τούτων ἀναγεγράφθω ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ φθόνος ἀπέστω τῆς τῶν φωνῶν ἀπασῶν αὐτοφνοῦς καὶ αὐτοδιδάκτου συνέσεως. τί δῆτα οὖν ἐς διδασκάλου ἄγει αὐτόν, καὶ τὸν μηδεμίαν φωνὴν μεμαθηκότα διαβάλλει ὡς ἂν ἐξ ἀσκήσεως καὶ μελέτης ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐκ φύσεως Ἀττικὸν γενόμενον τὴν γλῶτταν; φησὶ γάρ ὡς ἄρα "προϊὼν ἐς ἡλικίαν γράμματα τε καὶ μνήμης ἰσχὺν ἐδήλου καὶ μελέτης κράτος, καὶ ἡ γλῶττα αὐτῷ ἀττικῶς εἶχε," καὶ "γεγονότα δὲ αὐτὸν ἔτη τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἄγει ἐς Ταρσοῦς ὁ πατήρ παρ' Εὐθύδημον τὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης, ὃς ῥήτωρ τε ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ ἐπαίδευε τοῦτον, ὃ δὲ τοῦ διδασκάλου εἶχετο." εἶτα "ξυνεφιλοσόφουν αὐτῷ Πλατώνειοί τε καὶ Χρυσίππειοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου, διήκουε δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἐπικούρου λόγων, οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτους ἀπεσπούδαζε, τοὺς δὲ Πυθαγορείους ἀρρήτω τινὶ σοφία ξυνελάμβανε." τοσαῦτα ὁ μηδεμίαν μαθὼν φωνὴν θεία τε δυνάμει "ἂ καὶ σιωπῶσιν ἄνθρωποι" προλαβὼν ἐξεπαιδεύετο.

that he clearly understood Apollonius's nature to be god-like and more than human. Without sacrifice (for how could he sacrifice in jail?), or prayer, or a single word, he made light of his chains.¹³ And at the end he says that no tomb of Apollonius can be found anywhere on earth, and that he went bodily to heaven accompanied by hymns and choruses.¹⁴ So it is quite natural for him to say that the man achieved philosophic wisdom "more divinely than Pythagoras, Empedocles, and Plato."¹⁵

9. Let us then inscribe the fellow among the gods just for this, and let us not begrudge him his innate and self-taught understanding of every language. But why then does Philostratus take him to a schoolmaster's, and if he has never learned any language slanderously say that he spoke the Attic dialect by study and practice and not by nature? For he says that "as he grew older, he showed literacy, a retentive memory and a power of application; his Greek was of the Attic kind," and "when he reached fourteen, his father took him to Tarsus to study with Euthydemus of Phoenicia, who was a good orator and began to teach him, and he was devoted to his teacher."¹⁶ Next, "his fellow pupils included followers of Plato, Chrysippus, and the Peripatos, and he also heard the doctrines of Epicurus, considering not even these unworthy of his attention. The Pythagorean ones, however, he imbibed by some mysterious faculty."¹⁷ All this formed the education of one who learned no language and by some heaven-sent power anticipated "all even that humans keep unspoken."

13 VA 7.38.2.

14 VA 8.30-31.

15 Cf. VA 1.2.1,

where in fact Philostratus only says "than Pythagoras."

16 VA 1.7.1 (slightly altered).

17 VA 1.7.2.

10.1. Ὁ δὲ διαλιπὼν αὐθις αὐτὸν θαυμάζει ἐς ὅσον συνέσεως τῆς τῶν ζώων φωνῆς ἦλθε, καὶ ἐπιφέρει λέγων "καὶ ἐς ξύνεσιν δὲ τῆς τῶν ζώων φωνῆς ἦλθε, καὶ ἔμαθε δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τῶν Ἀράβων πορευόμενος, ἄριστα γινωσκόντων τε καὶ πραττόντων αὐτό. ἔστι μὲν τῶν Ἀράβων κοινὸν¹² ἤδη καὶ ὀρνίθων μαντευόμενων ἀκούειν, ὅποσα οἱ χρησμοί. ξυμβάλλονται δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων σιτούμενοι τῶν δρακόντων οἱ μὲν καρδίαν φασίν, οἱ δὲ ἥπαρ." ἐνταῦθα πάντως που δρακόντων καρδίας δῆπου καὶ ἥπατος τὸν Πυθαγόρειον, ἐμφύχων τε τροφῆς ἀπεχόμενον καὶ μηδὲ θύειν δαίμοσιν ἐπιτολμῶντα, ἦν εἰκὸς ἀπογεύσασθαι, ὡς ἂν καὶ τῆς παρὰ τούτοις κοινωνήσοι σοφίας. πρὸς γὰρ τοιῶνδε διδασκομένῳ πῶς ἂν ἄλλως μὴ οὐχὶ τὰ ὅμοια τοῖς διδασκάλοις ζηλώσαντι κατωρθοῦτο τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα;

10.2. Ἐχομεν δὴ οὖν πρὸς τοῖς καταλελεγμένοις καὶ τοὺς Ἀράβων σοφοὺς διδασκάλους τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰωνιστικὴν τάνδρὸς ἐπιστήμης, ἀφ' ἧς εἰκότως ὀρμώμενος ὕστερόν ποτε, τὸν στρουθὸν ὅ τι καὶ βούλοιτο συγκαλῶν τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐπὶ τροφήν προειπών, θαῦμα μέγιστον παρέχειν ἔδοξε τοῖς παροῦσι. ταύτη δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπεσφαγμένην ὅσον οὐπὼ λέαιναν ἅμα τοῖς ὀκτὼ σκύμνοις κατὰ τὴν εἰς Ἀσσυρίους ὁδὸν θεασάμενος, αὐτίκα τῷ μαθήματι συμβαλὼν τῆς ἐσομένης παρὰ Πέρσαις αὐτῷ διατριβῆς τὸν χρόνον ἐμαντεύσατο.

11.1. Ἀκόλουθα δὲ τῇ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀραβίοις φοι-

¹² κοινὸν VA 1.20.3: κύκνων

10.1. A little further on, Philostratus again admires Apollonius for his great progress in understanding the language of animals, and adds: "And he attained understanding of the language of animals, in the Arabian way, and he learned this while traveling among these Arabs, who are excellent in the knowledge and practice of this science. For indeed Arabs share the ability to hear birds predicting everything that oracles do, and they understand dumb animals by eating the hearts of snakes, or by another account the livers."¹⁸ Well then, it was doubtless all too plausible that our Pythagorean, who abstained from eating living things and did not even venture to sacrifice to demons, should taste the hearts and the livers of dragons in order to share the wisdom of those tribes. For having been taught by such people, how else would he have succeeded in the practice without imitating the ways of his teachers?

10.2. So as well as the ones already enumerated we have the wise men of Arabia as the man's teachers in the art of prophecy from birds. That was no doubt the basis on which at a later time he predicted what the sparrow meant when it was inviting the others to feed,¹⁹ so that his audience thought him to be producing an amazing miracle. That also was how, when he was on his way to Assyria, and observed the lioness which had just been slaughtered together with its eight cubs, he immediately interpreted the lesson, and prophesied the amount of time that he was to spend among the Persians.²⁰

11.1. The same author records that Apollonius under-

¹⁸ VA 1.20.3.

¹⁹ VA 4.3.

²⁰ VA 1.22. Eusebius's "Assyria" is a slip for "Babylon."

τήσει ἐγχειρεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ Πέρσαις ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς ἱστορεῖ. τῷ γάρ τοι Δάμιδι, ὃς αὐτὸς φοιτητῆς ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐταῖρος, ἀπαγορεύσας παρὰ τοὺς μάγους ἵεναι μόνος αὐτός, ὡς ἂν μὴ μετ' ἀγνώμονος δηλαδὴ τὰ τῆς μαγείας μανθάνοι, μεσημβρίας τε καὶ ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας τὰς μετ' αὐτῶν ἐποιεῖτο σχολάς. ἔτι δὲ Οὐαρδάνη Βαβυλωνίῳ εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντα βασιλεῖ ᾧδὲ πῶς λέγειν αὐτὸν παρατίθεται: "σοφία δέ μοι Πυθαγόρου Σαμίου ἀνδρός, ὃς θεοὺς τε θεραπεύειν ᾧδὲ ἐμὲ ἐδιδάξατο, καὶ ξυνιέναι σφῶν ὀρωμένων τε καὶ οὐχ ὀρωμένων φοιτᾶν τε εἰς διαλέξεις θεῶν." τίς δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα συγχωρήσειεν, ὅτε Πυθαγόρα μὲν οὐδεμία τις τοιαύτη καταλέλειπται γραφή, οὐδ' ἀπόρρητα τινα συγγράμματα, ὡς κἂν ὑπονοῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐξ ἐκείνων ὀρμᾶσθαι, ὁ δὲ γε διδάσκαλος αὐτῷ τῆς κατὰ Πυθαγόραν φιλοσοφίας οὐδέν τι διαφέρει τῶν Ἐπικουρείων πρὸς αὐτοῦ μεμαρτύρηται τοῦ Φιλοστράτου ᾧδὲ πῶς εἰρηκότος: "διδάσκαλος μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ τῶν Πυθαγόρου λόγων οὐ πάνυ σπουδαῖος, οὐδ' ἐνεργῶ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ χρώμενος, γαστρός τε ἤττων καὶ ἀφροδισίων καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἐπίκουρον ἐσχημάτιστο. ἦν δὲ οὗτος Εὐξενος ὁ ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τοῦ Πόντου. τὰς δὲ Πυθαγόρου γνώμας ἐγίγνωσκεν, ὥσπερ οἱ ὄρνιθες ἀμανθάνουσι παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων."

11.2. Φεῦ τῆς ἀτοπίας, εἰ παρὰ τούτου λέγοι τις τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς διαλέξεως τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτὸν εἰληφέναι. ἀλλὰ δὴ συγκεχωρήσθω καὶ ἐτέρων ὑφηγητῶν αὐτὸν ἀκηκοέναι, καίτοι γε τοῦ συγγραφέως τοῦτο

took something similar among the Persians too. For after forbidding Damis, his only disciple and companion, to go to the Magi, he alone, obviously not wishing to learn the secrets of magic in the company of an ignoramus, took his lessons with them at midday and about midnight. And when he had entered into conversation with the Babylonian Vardanes, Philostratus describes him as saying the following: "My own wisdom comes from a Samian Master called Pythagoras. He taught me to reverence the gods as I do, to understand them whether seen or not seen, and to enter into conversation with the gods."²¹ Who would accept this from Apollonius, when Pythagoras has left no work of any such kind, not even some secret writings which one might suppose Apollonius based his knowledge on? Whereas his own instructor in Pythagorean philosophy is recorded by Philostratus himself as being no better than the Epicureans, since he says: "His teacher in the doctrines of Pythagoras was not a very good man or one who put his philosophy into practice, being devoted to gluttony and sex, and patterned after Epicurus. This man, Euxenus from Heracleia on the Pontus, knew the beliefs of Pythagoras as birds know what they learn from humans."²²

11.2. What absurdity, if someone were to claim such a man as the one from whom he obtained the ability to converse with the gods! Well, let us concede that he studied with other teachers, though the author in no way indicates

²¹ VA 1.32.2. For "seen or not seen" cf. 11.2, 28.2.

²² VA 1.7.2.

μηδαμῶς ἐπιστημηναμένον· τίς δὴ οὖν τούτων σύνεσιν τε καὶ φοίτησιν "θεῶν ὄρωντων καὶ οὐχ ὄρωντων" αὐτός τε ὡς ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου εἰδέναι, διδάσκεισθαι τε ἑτέροισι ἐπηγγέλλετο; καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ περιβόητος Πλάτων, πάντων γε μᾶλλον τῆς Πυθαγόρου κεκοινωνηκῶς φιλοσοφίας, οὐτ' Ἀρχύτας, οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ὁ τὰς Πυθαγόρου γραφῆ παραδοὺς ὀμιλίας Φιλόλαος, οὐδ' εἴ τινας ἄλλοι γνώριμοι τάνδρὸς γεγονότες οἱ δόξας τε αὐτοῦ καὶ γνώμας γραφῆ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς παραδεδώκασι, ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ τινὶ ἐσεμνύναντο σοφία.

11.3. Οὐκοῦν ἐτέρωθεν ἄλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου τὰ τοιαδὶ μαθῶν, προσχήματι σεμνολογῶν ἐπιγράφεται τὴν τοῦ φιλοσόφου πρόσρησιν. ἵνα δὲ καὶ παραλογώτατα τὸ ψεῦδος ὡς ἀληθές τις γεγονέναι συγχωρήσειεν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐξ αὐτοῦ λέγων ἐκεῖνου τοῦ Σαμίου πρὸ μυρίων ὄσων ἐτῶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενομένου τὰ περὶ τούτων αὐτὸν μεμαθηκέναι. οὐκοῦν πρὸς τοῖς Ἀραβίοις καὶ τούτον διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ τῆς δὴ νομιζομένης ἀπορρήτου περὶ θεῶν ἐπιστήμης ἐπιγραπτέον. εἰ δὲ οὖν θείας ἦν φύσεως, κατέψευσται αὐτοῦ τοὺς διδασκάλους ὁ λόγος, εἰ δ' ἀληθῆς ἦν οὗτος, ψευδῆς ἦν ὁ μῦθος καὶ οὐκ ἀληθῆς ἢ περὶ τοῦ θείου γεγονέναι αὐτὸν γραφῆ.

12.1. Οὕτω μοι τοῦ Πρωτέως τὸ φάσμα πολυπραγμονεῖν ἔπεισι καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτου πίστιν αἰτεῖν, οὐδὲ τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ κύκνων τὰς ἀποδείξεις, οὓς γελοίως τὴν μητέρα τίκτουσαν αὐτὸν μαιουῖσθαι ἱστο-

as much. Which then of these claimed to have learned from Pythagoras how to understand the gods, or to enter into conversation with them, whether "seen or not seen," or claimed to teach such a faculty to others? Why, not even the celebrated Plato, who more than anyone shared the philosophy of Pythagoras, nor Archytas, nor that celebrated Philolaos who committed the lectures of Pythagoras to writing,²³ nor any others who after being the man's pupils transmitted his views and opinions in writing to future generations, prided themselves on any such wisdom.

11.3. So after learning this kind of thing from some other source, and not from Pythagoras, Apollonius using pretentious and boastful language entitles himself a philosopher; though in order that people should concede against all appearances that this lie was true, he said that that he had learned somehow or other about such things from the famous Samian himself, who had departed mankind countless years before. So that as well as the Arabs, we will have to set down Pythagoras too as his instructor in this supposedly secret knowledge of the gods. If then he was of divine nature, the account has falsified his teachers, but if the account is true, then the fairy tale is false and the statement that he was divine is untrue.

12.1. I am not inclined to inquire closely about the appearance of Proteus or to ask for proof of that, or for evidence concerning Philostratus's swans, about which he comically narrates that they acted as midwives to Apollo-

²³ Pythagorean of the fifth century BCE from Croton in southern Italy.

ρεί, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῆς περὶ τοῦ σκηπτοῦ¹³ μυθολογίας τῶν μάρτυρα παρέχειν ἀξιῶ, οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τούτων, ὡς ἔφην, Δάμις ἡμῖν συνίστωρ ἀφίξεται, μακρῶ ὕστερον ἐν Νίνῳ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας τάνδρῃ συνάψας. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν εὖ μάλα προθύμως τοῖς εἰκόσι τε καὶ ἀληθείας ἔχομένοις πειθόμενος, εἰ καὶ μείζονά τινα καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐς ἔπαινον ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ λέγοιτ' ἄν, πιστὰ καὶ παραδεκτέα εἶναί μοι δοκῶ, ὅτι μὴ μόνα τὰ τερατώδη καὶ λήρου πλέα.

12.2. Οὐκ οὖν φθονοίην, εἴ φησιν ὁ συγγραφεὺς γένος τε ἀρχαίου καὶ τῶν οἰκιστῶν ἀνημμένον τῷ ἀνδρὶ γεγονέναι, καὶ πλουτῶν εἰ οὕτως ἔτυχεν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ἅπαντας, διδασκάλων τε νέον ὄντα οὐ μόνον τῶν δεδηλωμένων τυχεῖν, ἀλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ, καὶ τούτων αὐτὸν διδάσκαλον καὶ καθηγητὴν γεγονέναι. ἔστω δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐντρεχῆς καὶ τὰ κοινά, ὡς τὸν εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ θεραπείας χάριν ἀφιγμένον διὰ γνώμης ἀρίστης ἀπαλλάξαι τῆς ἀρρωστίας, νοσοῦντι γὰρ δὴ ὑδέρου πάθει κατάλληλον ἐγκρατείας ὑποθέσθαι δίαιταν τῷ κάμνοντι καὶ ταύτη αὐτὸν ὑγιᾶ καταστήσαι, καὶ τούτῳ γε τῆς φρονήσεως ἀποδεκτὸν τὸ μειράκιον καὶ ὡς τὸν πολυτελῶς θύειν παρεσκευασμένον εἶρξεν οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ κακία διαβεβοημένον, καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀπάντων πλουσιώτατόν τε καὶ περιφανέστατον αὐτὸν ὑποτίθεται.

12.3. Καὶ ἐν σώφροσι δ' αὐτὸν φθόνος οὐδεὶς ἀναγράφειν, ὅτι τε πρὸς τὸν ἐραστὴν πειρώμενον αὐτοῦ τῆς ὥρας διελοιδορήσατο, καὶ γυναικείας ὅτι καθαρὸν

ninus's mother when she gave him birth. I do not even ask him to produce a witness for his fantasy about the thunderbolt. We cannot expect Damis to corroborate all this, as I said, since he met the man much later in Ninus of Assyria. Personally, I am only too glad to believe what is plausible and has the ring of truth, and even if someone were to make even bolder claims in order to exaggerate the praise of a good man, I would think them credible and acceptable, so long as they are not fantastic and a pack of nonsense.

12.2. So I have no objection if the author says that Apollonius was of an old family going back to the founders, and one richer than any in the region, if that was so, and that he had not only the above mentioned teachers when he was young but, if you like, that he was the teacher and instructor of these himself. In addition, let him be clever in ordinary matters, so that, when someone came to Asclepius's shrine for a cure, he cured him of his illness by excellent advice; the man was ill with dropsy, and Apollonius proposed to the patient a diet consistent with temperance, so that on this score the youth deserves approval for his good sense. So also when someone was preparing to make an extravagant sacrifice, he quite reasonably stopped him as a man well known for his vices, since Philostratus describes the man as the richest and most celebrated person in the region.

12.3. There is also no objection to enrolling him among celibates, since when an admirer made an attempt on his youth he scolded him, and kept himself free from inter-

¹³ τοῦ σκηπτοῦ Kay.: τοὺς κήπους

ἑαυτὸν μίξεως διὰ τέλους, ὡς ὁ λόγος φησὶν, ἤγαγε πιστὰ δ' ἔστω καὶ τὰ τῆς πενταετοῦς κατὰ Πυθαγόραν σιωπῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τά, ὅπως ταύτην διήνυσεν, ἐπαίνου ἄξια. ταῦτα δὲ, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα ἀνθρώπινα καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς φιλοσοφίας καὶ ἀληθείας οὐ πόρρω, δεχοίμην ἄν, περὶ πολλοῦ τὸ εὐγνωμόν τε καὶ φιλάληθες τιμώμενος. τὸ γέ τοι κρεῖττον ἀνθρώπου τὴν φύσιν ὑποτίθεσθαι καὶ παρὰ πόδας ἐναντιολογεῖν τῆς τε δοθείσης ἀμνημονεῖν ὑποθέσεως, ἔχειν ψόγον ἄν καὶ διαβολὴν αὐτῷ τε τῷ γράφοντι καὶ πολὺ πρότερον τῷ γραφομένῳ περιάψειν ἠγοῦμαι.

13. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου συγγράμματος, ἐπίωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου. τὴν ἀπὸ Περσίδος ἐπ' Ἰνδοῦς πορείαν ἄγει παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος. εἶτά τι πεπονθὼς ἀπειρόκαλον, ὥσπερ τι παράδοξον, δαιμόνιον τι, ὃ καὶ ἔμπουσαν ὀνομάζει, κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἰδόντα λαιδορίαις ἅμα τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀπελάσαι φησί, καὶ ζώων δὲ εἰς τροφήν αὐτοῖς προσαχθέντων εἰρηκέναι αὐτὸν τῷ Δάμιδι, ὡς ἄρα συγχωροῖ αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις σιτεῖσθαι τῶν κρεῶν, τὸ γὰρ ἀπέχεσθαι αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς μὲν εἰς οὐδὲν ὀρᾶν προβαῖνον, ἑαυτῷ δὲ εἰς ἃ ὁμολόγηται πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν ἐκ παιδός. καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσειεν, ὅτι μηδ' αὐτόν, ὃν μόνον ἐδόκει τοῦ βίου ζηλωτὴν κεκτῆσθαι καὶ προὔτρεπεν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν, εἶργεν [τε]¹⁴ οἷα φίλτατον τῆς τῶν ἐμψύχων ὡς ἂν οὐχ ὀσίας κατὰ Πυθαγόραν τροφῆς, ὃ δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὁποῖω λόγῳ μόνῳ μὲν οὐ συνοίσειν

course with women to the end, so the account states. Let us accept also his five-year silence in imitation of Pythagoras, and his praiseworthy way of carrying it out. All this and everything else of the kind that is human and not really inconsistent with philosophy and truth I can accept, since I value candor and truthfulness. But to represent him as more than human in nature, to contradict oneself immediately, and forget one's announced thesis—that I think will bring censure and ill-repute on the writer and *a fortiori* on the person he writes about.

13. All this is from the first book, and let us proceed to the contents of the second. The account takes Apollonius on the journey from Persia to India. Then struck by some vulgar idea, as if it were a kind of miracle, Philostratus says that Apollonius saw some demon on the way, which he calls a "vampire," and together with his followers drove it away by rebukes.²⁴ And he also reports that when animals were offered to them as food, Apollonius told Damis that he allowed him and his companions to eat the meat, since he could see they would make no progress by refusing it, whereas he would progress towards the philosophy he had espoused from boyhood.²⁵ And yet who would not be puzzled at this? Here was the only person whom he seemed to have found to follow his lifestyle, whom he was encouraging towards philosophy, and yet he did not restrain him, his very dear friend, from eating animals as food considered unholy by Pythagoras, while for some unfathomable reason he maintained that it was only inappropriate for

²⁴ VA 2.4.

²⁵ VA 2.7.3.

¹⁴ [τε] secl. Kay.

ἑαυτῷ, κείνοις δ' οὐδὲν ὄραν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποχῆς προβαί-
νον ὁμολόγει;

14. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Φιλόστρατος, ὁ τάληθές τιμῶν
πρὸς τοῦ Φιλαλήθους μεμαρτυρημένος, ὅρα τῆς ἀλη-
θείας ὅποια δείγματα παρίστησι γινόμενον παρ' Ἰν-
δοῖς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον παραστήσασθαι φησιν ἑρμηνέα
καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ προσδιαλέγεσθαι Φραώτη (τοῦτο δ'
εἶναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὄνομα), καὶ ὁ μικρῷ
πρόσθεν κατ' αὐτὸν πασῶν γλωσσῶν συνεῖς νῦν αὖ
κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἑρμηνέως δεῖται. καὶ πάλιν ὁ τὰ κατὰ
διάνοιαν ἀνθρώπων εἰδώς, καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸν
παρ' αὐτοῖς θεὸν "κωφοῦ τε ξυνεῖς καὶ οὐ λαλέοντος
ἀκούων," δι' ἑρμηνέως ἀνερωτᾷ, ὅποια τις εἴη τῷ
βασιλεῖ δίαίτα, ἡγεμόνα τε ἀξιοῖ τῆς ἐς Βραχμᾶνας
πορείας γενέσθαι τινὰ αὐτῷ. καὶ μεταξὺ ὁ μὲν τῶν
Ἰνδῶν βασιλεύς, καὶ ταῦτα βάρβαρος ὢν τὴν φύσιν,
τὸν ἑρμηνέα ἐκποδῶν μεταστησάμενος Ἑλλάδι χρή-
ται πρὸς αὐτὸν τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ, παιδείαν καὶ πολυμάθειαν
ἐνδεικνύμενος, ὁ δὲ οὐδ' ὡς ὅτι δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς παρ'
αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀμαθῶς ἔχει φωνῆς δέον ἐπεφιλοτιμή-
σατο, (15) ἀλλὰ καὶ λαλοῦντος Ἑλλάδι γλώσση τοῦ
Ἰνδοῦ ἐκπλήττεται, ἣ φησιν ὁ Φιλόστρατος ἀκόλου-
θα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἑαυτῷ γράφων. πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἐξεπλάγη
μὴ οὐχὶ βάρβαρον οἶηθείς, καὶ θαυμάσας ὅτι δὴ τὸν
τοιούτου οὐποτ' ἂν Ἑλληνίσαι προσεδόκησεν; εἶθ',
ὥσπερ τι παραδόντι παράδοξον καταπλαγείς, καὶ τὸ
τούτου ἔτ' ἀγνοῶν αἴτιον, "εἰπέ μοι" ἔφη ὁ Ἀπολ-
λώνιος "ὦ βασιλεῦ, πόθεν οὕτως ἔχεις φωνῆς Ἑλλά-

him, whereas he saw "they would make no progress by re-
fusing it."

14. Philostratus, who according to the Lover of Truth
"honors truth,"²⁶ now offers samples of truth of the follow-
ing kind. When Apollonius was in India, the author says
that he made the interpreter stand beside him, and with
his help conversed with Phraotes, this being the name of
the Indian king. So that someone who understood every
language shortly before, according to Philostratus, now ac-
cording to the same author needs an interpreter. Similarly,
the man who knew what was in men's minds and practically
(in the words of their god) "understands the deaf and hears
him who speaks not,"²⁷ asks through an interpreter what
the king's diet is, and requests to be given a guide for his
voyage to the Brahmans. Meanwhile the Indian king, even
though a born barbarian, gets rid of the interpreter and
then converses with Apollonius in Greek, displaying his
culture and wide learning. Yet even so Apollonius does not
make a counterclaim that he too was not ignorant of the
local language, as he should have, (15) but instead, when
the Indian talks in the Greek language, he is amazed, so
Philostratus tells us, who thinks that what he writes is con-
sistent. For how could Apollonius have been astonished
unless he had taken the other man for a barbarian, and was
surprised because he would never have expected such a
person to talk Greek? Then, as if he were astonished at
someone performing a miracle, and still did not know the
reason for it, Apollonius said, "Tell me, Majesty, how it is
that you have such command of Greek, and where did you

²⁶ Cf. CH 2.2.

²⁷ Herodotus 1.47.

δος; φιλοσοφία τε ἢ περὶ σὲ πόθεν ἔνταῦθα; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐς διδασκάλους γε, οἶμαι, ἀναφέρεις, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ εἶναι Ἰνδοῖς διδασκάλους τούτου." αὐται αἱ παράδοξοι τοῦ πάντα προγνώσει διειληφότος φωναί, ἃς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀμειβόμενος ὅτι τε σχοίη διδασκάλους, καὶ οἵτινες οὗτοι, ἕκαστά τε πατρόθεν τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν συμβεβηκότων φράζει.

16. Εἶτα καὶ τισι τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ δικάζοντος περὶ θησαυροῦ φωραθέντος ἐν ἀγρῷ, πότερα τῷ πριαμένῳ ἢ τῷ τὸ χωρίον ἀποδομένῳ δέοι νεῖμαι τούτου, ὁ πάντα φιλόσοφος καὶ "θεοῖς κεχαρισμένος" ἐρωτηθεὶς ἐπικρίνει τῷ πριαμένῳ, λογισμὸν δὴ αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐπειπὼν ὡς "οὐκ ἂν οἱ θεοὶ τὸν μὲν ἀφείλοντο καὶ τὴν γῆν, εἰ μὴ φαῦλος ἦν, τῷ δ' αὖ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆν δοῦναι, εἰ μὴ βελτίων ἦν τοῦ ἀποδομένου." ὡς κατ' αὐτὸν δὴ συνάγεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους καὶ πλούτῳ διαφέροντας, κἂν αἰσχροτάτοι καὶ πανωλέστατοι τυγχάνοιεν, τρισευδαίμονας καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ἠγεῖσθαι, μόνους δ' ἄρα κακοδαίμονας τε καὶ ἀθλίους τοὺς πενεστάτους, κἂν Σωκράτης, κἂν Διογένης, κἂν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος Πυθαγόρας τυγχάνη, κἂν ἄλλος, οἱ πάντων ἀνδρῶν σωφρονέστατοι τε καὶ ἐπιεικέστατοι. εἶποι γὰρ ἂν τις ἐπόμενος τῷ λόγῳ μὴ ἂν κατ' αὐτὸν τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς μὲν πένητας, τούτους δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν διήνεγκαν, ἀφελέσθαι καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τροφήν μὴ οὐχὶ πάντως φαύλους ὄντας τὸν τρόπον, τοῖς δὲ τὸ ἦθος ἀκολαστοτέροις ἄφθονα καὶ τὰ μὴ ἀναγκαῖα παρασχεῖν, εἰ μὴ βελτίους ἐτύγχανον τῶν

get your philosophy from in these parts? I do not think you will ascribe it to teachers, since I do not expect there is likely to be anybody to teach this subject in India."²⁸ These are the curious remarks of the man who perceived everything by second sight, in reply to which the king explains that he had teachers, and tells who they were, and everything that had happened to him from his father's time on.

16. Then, when the Indian is judging some people in a case over a treasure found in a field, and whether it should be assigned to the purchaser or the seller of the land, this perfect philosopher and "man pleasing to the gods,"²⁹ when asked his opinion, finds in favor of the buyer, giving his reason in these very words: "The gods would not have deprived one of them of his land as well, unless he was bad, nor would they have given the other what was actually below ground, unless he was better than the seller."³⁰ So that according to him we conclude that well-off and extremely rich people, even if they happen to be very vicious and evil, should be thought triply blessed and favored by heaven, while only the very poor should be thought wretched and pitiful, even if they be Socrates, Diogenes, or the famous Pythagoras himself, or someone else, the most self-controlled and virtuous men in the world. By that argument one might say, according to Apollonius, that the gods would not have deprived the poor, that is, precisely those outstanding for their philosophy, of their bare sustenance unless they were entirely base in character, and would not have provided those of immoral character with superfluities to spare, unless they were better than the former. All

28 VA 2.29.1.

29 Cf. CH 2.2.

30 VA 2.39.3.

προτέρων, ἐξ ὧν παντί τῷ καταφανῆς ἢ τοῦ συμπε-
ράσματος ἀτοπία.

17. Ταῦτα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου παραθέμενοι ἴωμεν
ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον τὰ κατὰ τοὺς βεβοημένους ἐποψόμενοι
Βραχμᾶνας, ἐνθα δὴ τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἄπιστα καὶ εἴ τι
περ ἄλλο τερατώδες ποτε μυθολόγοις τισὶν ἀναπέ-
πλασται, εὖ μάλα πιστὰ καὶ ἀληθέστατα, ὡς ἐν παρα-
θέσει τούτων, ἀναφανήσεται, οἷς καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐπιστή-
σαι ἄξιον τῆς τοῦ Φιλαλήθους ἕνεκεν ἀυθαδείας, ἡμῶν
μὲν "εὐχέρειαν καὶ κουφότητα" τρόπου περιάπτοντος,
αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τοῖς αὐτῷ παραπλησίους τὴν "ἀκριβῆ καὶ
βεβαίαν μετὰ συνέσεως κρίσιν." ὅρα γοῦν ἐφ' οἷς
σεμνύνεται παραδόξοις τῶν ἡμετέρων θείων εὐαγγε-
λιστῶν προκρίνων τὸν Φιλόστρατον, ὡς μὴ μόνον
"παιδείας ἐπὶ πλείστον ἤκοντα," ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθείας
ἐπιμεμελημένον.

18.1. Πρῶτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας
πορείᾳ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου γυνή τις αὐτῷ τὴν χροιάν
εἰσάγεται ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐς ὀσφύν λευκοτάτη, τὸ δὲ
ἕτερον μέρος τοῦ σώματος μέλαινα, τὰ δὲ προϊόντων
τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας ὁδοῦ ὄρη καταπεφυτευμένα
τὸ πέπερι καὶ τούτου πίθηκοι γεωργοὶ καὶ παράδοξοί
τινες τὸ μέγεθος δράκοντες, ὧν ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς λαμπά-
δες ἀπορριπτοῦνται πυρός, οὓς εἴ τις ἀνέλοι, εὖροι ἄν,
φησι, παραδόξους λίθους ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῷ τοῦ
Γύγου τοῦ παρὰ τῷ Πλάτωνι παραπλησίους. καὶ ταῦ-
τα μὲν τὰ πρὸ τοῦ τῶν Βραχμᾶνων λόφου.

18.2. Ὡς δὲ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοντο, σανδαράκινον

of this makes it obvious to anyone how absurd the conclu-
sion is.

17. So after these extracts from the second book, let us
proceed to the third and look at the account of the cele-
brated Brahmans. Here *The Wonders beyond Thule* and
any other fantasy ever concocted by mere romancers will
stand revealed as entirely credible and true in comparison
with all this.³¹ We should pay it the attention it deserves in
view of the effrontery of the Lover of Truth, who accuses
us of "superficiality and gullibility," while for himself and
those like him he claims a "careful and accurate verdict, in-
telligently reached." Just look at the miracles he prides
himself on when he puts our own inspired evangelists sec-
ond to Philostratus, who not only "reached a very high
level of culture" but was also concerned with truth.

18.1. First of all, as Apollonius is traveling to the Brah-
mans, Philostratus brings on a woman completely white
from her head down to her loins, but black over the rest of
her body.³² As they proceed on their way to the Brahmans,
there are mountains planted with pepper, monkeys that
harvest it, and dragons of incredible size, whose heads
shoot fiery torches, and if you were to kill them, he says,
you would find incredible stones in their heads compar-
able to the stone of Gyges in Plato.³³ All this precedes the
Brahmans' hill.

18.2. When they reached it, however, they saw a sul-

³¹ *The Wonders beyond Thule* of Antonius Diogenes (second
century CE?) were a fabulous tale of romance and adventure.

³² VA 3.3.1, where Philostratus in fact says "to her breasts."

³³ VA 3.4.2 (peppers), 3.8 (snakes).

ἐνταῦθα φρέαρ ὕδατος ἰδεῖν παραδόξου καὶ κρατῆρα πλησίον πυρός, οὗ φλόγα ἀναπέμπεσθαι μολιβδώδη, δύο τε πίθους λίθου μέλανος τὸν μὲν ὄμβρων, τὸν δὲ ἀνέμων, ἀφ' ὧν τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας, οἷς ἂν εἶεν τῆς χώρας ἴλεω, χορηγεῖν. ἀλλὰ γε καὶ ἀγάλματα παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου καὶ Διονύσου Ληναίου, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν, Ἰάρχαν δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων διδάσκαλον καλεῖσθαι, ὃν καὶ ἰδεῖν καθεζόμενον πολλοῦ γε δεῖ φιλοσοφικῶ,¹⁵ σατραπικῶ δ' ἂν μᾶλλον σχήματι ἐφ' ὑψηλοτάτου δίφρου χαλκοῦ δὲ μέλανος οὗτος ἦν καὶ πεποίκιλτο χρυσέοις ἀγάλμασιν, οἷα δὲ εἰκὸς τεχνουργῶν βαυάσων τρόπον πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ μοχθοῦντας τοὺς φιλοσόφους τεχνουργεῖν, ἧ καὶ θαυματοποιῶν δίκην αὐτόματον ἀποτελεῖν τὸ δημιούργημα, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν διδασκάλων δίφροι χαλκοῖ μὲν, φησιν, ἄσημοι δ' ἦσαν καὶ ἦττον ὑψηλοί. ἔδει γάρ που πάντως τυράννου σχήματι προνομίας τῆς ἐν ἀγάλμασι καὶ χρυσῶ τὸν τῆς θείας φιλοσοφίας ἀξιούσθαι διδάσκαλον.

19.1. Πρῶτον δὲ τὸν Ἰάρχαν ἰδόντα φησὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἐξ ὀνόματός τε προσειπεῖν Ἑλλάδι τῆ φωνῆ, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ παρὰ Φραώτου κομίζοι ἐπιστολὴν αἰτῆσαι, κατὰ πρόγνωσιν ἤδη τοῦτο προειληφότα, ἐνδείξασθαι τε τὸ ἐνθεον τῆς προγνώσεως προειρηκότα, ὡς ἄρα ἐνὶ γράμματι τῷ δέλτα λείποι ἡ ἐπιστολή, ἄρξασθαι τε ἀπειροκάλως εὐθύς ἀπὸ πρώτης ὁμιλίας ἀπειροπλούτου δίκην ἐνεπιδείκνυσθαι τὸ τῆς

phurous well full of incredible water, and a mixing bowl of flame nearby, which gave off a leaden flame, and two jars of black stone, one containing rains and the other winds, which the Brahmans distributed to such people in the land as they favored. There were also statues of Athena Polias, Pythian Apollo, Dionysus of the Wine Press, and other Greek gods.³⁴ The head teacher was called Iarchas, and they saw him seated in a far from philosophic way, more in the style of a viceroy, on a very high throne. This was of dark bronze adorned with golden figures, just the kind one would expect philosophers to craft by toiling with fire and iron like ordinary craftsmen, unless perhaps, like conjurers, they had made the object out of thin air.³⁵ The seats of the other teachers below him were of bronze, says Philostratus, but plain and less high. Doubtless the teacher of this inspired philosophy had to be rewarded with precedence in the matter of figures and gold so as to resemble a tyrant.

19.1. Iarchas saw Apollonius first, says Philostratus, addressed him by name in Greek and asked for the dispatch he was bringing from Phraotes, which he already knew of by second sight. He displayed this inspired second sight by saying that the dispatch was missing one letter, a delta, and tastelessly began from the start of their conversation, like a *nouveau riche*, showing off his superiority in second sight,

³⁴ VA 3.14 (well, jars, statues).

³⁵ VA 3.16.1.

¹⁵ φιλοσοφικῶ Kay.: φιλοσοφικῶς

προγενέστεως πλεονέκτημα, πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καταλέγοντα τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, γένος τε καὶ τροφήν καὶ παιδείαν, καὶ τὰς κατὰ χρόνους ἀποδημίας, καὶ τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν πορείαν, καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν πεπραγμένα τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὁμιλημένα. εἶτα δὲ φησὶν αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ θαυμασιος συγγραφεὺς τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας ἅμα τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ χρισσαμένους ἠλεκτρίνῳ φαρμάκῳ λούσασθαι, καὶ περιστάντας ὡς ἐν χορῷ τὴν γῆν τύψαι ταῖς βάρβδοις, τὴν δὲ κυρτωθεῖσαν ἀναπέμψαι αὐτοὺς εἰς δίπηχυν τοῦ ἀέρος, ἐστάναι τε αὐτοὺς μετεώρους ἐν αὐτῷ ἀέρι ἐπὶ τι χρόνου διάστημα, ἔλκειν δὲ καὶ πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, ὅτε βούλονται, αὐτομάτως.

19.2. Τούτοις δ' ἐπιφέρει παράδοξον ὁ θαυματολόγος, ὡς ἄρα τρίποδες Πυθικοὶ τέτταρες ἐξεκκληθήσαν αὐτόματοι φοιτῶντες, καὶ εἰκάζει δὴ οὖν αὐτοὺς τοῖς Ὀμηρείοις, οἰνοχόους τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκ χαλκοῦ διακόνους τὴν ὕλην ἴστησι τέτταρας, ἐπιλέγει δέ, ὡς ἄρα καὶ ἡ γῆ αὐτομάτως ὑπεστόρνυτο αὐτοῖς πόας, τῶν δὲ τριπόδων οἱ μὲν δύο, φησὶν, οἴνου ἀπέρρεον, οἱ δὲ ἕτεροι δύο ὁ μὲν ὕδατος θερμοῦ κράσιν παρέιχεν, ὁ δ' αὖ ψυχροῦ, τοὺς δὲ οἰνοχόους τοὺς χαλκοῦς ἀρύεσθαι εὐμέτρως τοῦ τε οἴνου καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, περιελαύνειν τε κύκλῳ τὰς κύλικας, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πότοις.

20. Ταῦτα Ἱεροκλεῖ, τὰ ἀνωτάτω καὶ καθόλου δικαστήρια πεπιστευμένῳ, μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνετάσεως ἀληθῆ καὶ πιστὰ εἶναι δοκεῖ, καὶ ἡμῶν μὲν "εὐχέρεια καὶ κουφότης" πλείστη ὄση κατέγνωσται παρ' αὐτῷ, αὐτὸς δὲ τοιαῦτα Φιλοστράτῳ πιστεύων αὐτοῖς δὴ

by reeling off Apollonius's father, mother, family, upbringing, education, travel at different times, his journey to see himself and what he had done and said in the course of it.³⁶ Then this wonderful author personally says that the Brahmans anointed themselves together with Apollonius using an amber-colored ointment, bathed, and then, forming a circle like a chorus, struck the ground with their staves, whereupon it flexed and shot them two cubits up into the air, so that they actually stood suspended in the air for a certain length of time; and they drew fire from the sun spontaneously whenever they wished to.³⁷

19.2. On this the romancer piles another miracle. Four Pythian urns rolled out, advancing of their own accord, which he compares with the ones in Homer, and in charge of these he sets four servants made of bronze. He also says that the earth spread grass underneath the party of its own accord. Two of the urns, he says, overflowed with wine, and the other two with hot water and with cold for mixing, and the bronze wine waiters drew wine and water in the right proportion, and made the cups travel around as if at a drinking party.³⁸

20. Hierocles, a man appointed to the highest court with general powers, after extensive investigation finds all this to be true and credible, and in his eyes we are condemned for the utmost "superficiality and gullibility," whereas he himself, though taking such tales on trust from

³⁶ VA 3.16.1-3.

³⁷ VA 3.17.1-2.

³⁸ VA 3.27.2.

ρήμασι σεμνύνεται λέγων "σκεψώμεθά γε μήν, ὅσῳ βέλτιον καὶ συνετώτερον ἡμεῖς ἐκδεχόμεθα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἦν περὶ τῶν ἐναρέτων ἀνδρῶν ἔχομεν γνώμην."

21. Ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ δὴ τῷ συμποσίῳ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν Φιλόστρατον βασιλεὺς ἐγχωριάζων Ἰνδοῖς εἰσάγεται συμπίνων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, τοῦτον δὲ ἐνυβρίζει καὶ ἐμπαροινεῖν φιλοσοφία, μεθύσκεισθαι τε παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀντιπαρεξάγειν Ἡλίῳ καὶ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι ἱστορεῖ, καὶ πάλιν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον δι' ἐρμηνέως τὰ παρὰ τούτου μαρθάνειν καὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλέγεσθαι, ὑφερμηνεύοντος τοῦ Ἰάρχα. καὶ πῶς οὐ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, ὅπως τὸν οὕτως ὑβριστὴν καὶ ἀτοπώτατον παροινεῖν καὶ μεθύσκεισθαι παρὰ τηλικούτοις εἰκὸς ἦν, ὃν οὐδὲ παρεῖναι ἄξιον ἐν φιλοσόφων, μή τί γε καὶ ἰσοθέων ἐστία; τί δέ μοι ἰσοθέους τούτους καλεῖν καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἐνυβρίζειν τοὺς ἄνδρας; ὅποτε πνυθόμενου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, τίνας ἑαυτοὺς ἡγοῦνται, θεοὺς ἔφη ὁ Ἰάρχας, ὃς καὶ τοῖς συμπόταις, οἷα δὴ θεὸς φιλοσόφου μὲν ἠκίστα τρόπῳ, πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, μή τί γε μᾶλλον οὐ ἔφησε θεοῦ ἀξίως, "ἄρα ἐπὶ τὴν φιάλην ἐπικύπτων ἐξῆρχεν, ἢ δέ," φησιν ὁ συγγραφεύς, "ὡς ἄρα ἐπότιζεν ἱκανῶς πάντας, ἐπεδίδου, καθάπερ αἱ ἀπόρρητοι πηγαὶ τοῖς ἀνιμωμένοις."

22. Μετὰ ταῦτα κοιναὶ λόγων ὁμιλίας καὶ σπουδαιολογίαι τῶν φιλοσόφων, τοῦ μὲν Ἰάρχα διδάσκον-

¹⁶ <ἐς> Kay.

Philostratus, boasts in these very words, "Let us consider how much better and more intelligent we are in our understanding of such matters, and in the opinion we form of men of virtue."³⁹

21. After a party of this kind, again according to Philostratus, a king visiting India is brought on as a drinking companion of the philosophers. This man, so he records, insulted and outraged philosophy, got drunk in their company, took issue with the Sun God and started boasting; and then Apollonius learned the man's history through an interpreter, and thereafter conversed with him with Iarchas as interpreter.⁴⁰ Is it not really a cause for wonder that such an insulting and bad-mannered fellow was likely to get insolent and drunk in such company, when he did not deserve even to be admitted to the hearth of philosophers, let alone of godlike men? What makes me call these gentlemen "godlike" and insult their dignity? It is that when Apollonius asked them what they considered themselves to be, Iarchas said they were gods. This is the person who, as befitted a god, and in a fashion very unlike a philosopher, far from it, and still less a fashion worthy of this god he claimed to be, "began the round of toasts by stooping over the bowl, and this," according to the author, "as it supplied enough for every thirst, replenished itself as miraculous springs do for those who draw from them."⁴¹

22. All this is followed by general conversations and serious discussions among the philosophers. Iarchas claims

³⁹ CH 2.2.

⁴⁰ VA 3.26-29.

⁴¹ VA 3.32.2 (with a different text).

τος, ὡς ἄρα ποτὲ αὐτῷ ἢ ψυχὴ ἐν ἑτέρῳ ἀνθρώπου βασιλέως γένοιτο σώματι, καὶ τοιαδί τινα αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα εἶη, τοῦ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίου, ὡς νηὸς Αἰγυπτίας ποτὲ γένοιτο κυβερνήτης, καὶ τὰ τοσαῦτα διαπράξαιτο, πεύσεις τε καὶ ἀποκρίσεις ἐκάστου, ὧν καὶ τῆς σοφίας ἄξιον μηδαμῶς παρεκθέσθαι τὴν μνήμην. ἐρέσθαι δὲ φησι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, εἴ ἔστι παρ' αὐτοῖς χρύσειον ὕδωρ (ὃ τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ παραδόξου πύσμα-τος) καὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπων δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκούντων καὶ Πυγμαίων ἄλλων καὶ σκιαπόδων ἀνερωτᾶν, καὶ εἰ γίγνοιτο παρ' αὐτοῖς ζῶον τετράπουν, ὃ λέγεται μαρτιχόρα, ὃ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνθρώπῳ εἰκάσθαι, λέοντι δὲ ὠμοιωσθαι τὸ μέγεθος, τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν ἐκφέρειν πηχυαίας καὶ ἀκανθώδεις τὰς τρίχας, ἃς βάλλειν ὡσπερ τοξεύματα ἐς τοὺς θηρῶντας, καὶ τοιαῦτα μὲν τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀνερωτᾶν, τὸν δὲ Ἰάρχαν διδάσκειν αὐτὸν περὶ μὲν τῶν Πυγμαίων, ὡς ἄρα εἶεν οἰκούντες μὲν ὑπόγειοι, διατρίβοντες δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν Γάγγην ποταμὸν ζῶντες, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς ἀνύπαρκτα εἶη.

23. Ἐριον ἐπὶ τούτοις φυόμενον αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς ἐσθῆτος ὕλην ὁ Φιλόστρατος ἀναγράφει, πάντως δήπου τῶν φιλοσόφων "ἰστὸν ἐποιχομένων" καὶ ταλασιουργίαις ἐς ἐσθῆτος κατεργασίαν ἐκπονουμένων, οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰσῆκται παρ' αὐτοῖς γυναικείον φῦλον, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοῦτο φήσειεν αὐτόματον αὐτοῖς παραδόξως δὴ ἱερὰν¹⁷ ἐς ἐσθῆτα μεταφύεσθαι. φέρειν δ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ῥάβδον καὶ δακτύλιον ἀπόρρητον ἔχοντα ἰσχύν. εἶτα παραδοξοποιῶναι τοῦ Βραχμᾶνος, ὡς δαιμονῶντα

that his soul had once resided in another body that allegedly belonged to a king, and that he had done this and that. Apollonius said that he had once been the captain of an Egyptian vessel and performed various exploits.⁴² There are the questions and answers on each side, though it was not at all consistent with wisdom to set out the record of them. He says that Apollonius asked if they had liquid gold in their land (what a scientific and extraordinary question!) and also inquired about people who lived underground, Pygmies as well, and Shadow Feet, and if there was a quadruped in their land called a "martichoras," which had a head like a human, was the size of a lion, and had a tail producing spiky bristles a cubit long, which the creature shot at its pursuers like arrows. These were Apollonius's questions, and Iarchas informed him about the Pygmies, that they did exist, underground people inhabiting the region beyond the Ganges, whereas the other beings were non-existent.⁴³

23. After this Philostratus describes wool that comes from the earth as clothing material. (No doubt the philosophers "ply the loom"⁴⁴ and toil at weaving to make clothes, since the female sex is not admitted into their community; though perhaps he means that this wool is transformed miraculously and spontaneously into their sacred garments.) Each of them, it appears, carried a rod and a ring with mysterious properties. Next there are incredible exploits of the Brahman, how by merely sending a letter he summoned

⁴² VA 3.19–21, 21–24. This was in fact part of an earlier conversation. ⁴³ VA 3.45. ⁴⁴ Homer, *Odyssey* 5.62.

¹⁷ δὴ ἱερὰν Kay.: δι' ἐρέας

δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἀνακαλέσαιο,¹⁸ ὡς χωλεύοντα καταλή-
σας τὸν γλουτὸν θεραπεύσειεν, ὡς τυφλῶ τὸ βλέπειν
καὶ ἀδρανεῖ τιμὴ τὴν χεῖρα σῶαν χαρίζοιτο.

24. Πολλὰ κάγαθὰ γένοιτο πραγμάτων ἡμᾶς ἀπο-
λύσαντι τῷ συγγραφεῖ· δῆλα γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ
ταῦτα, ὅτε βροντὰς καὶ ἀνέμους ἐν πίθοις, τρίποδας τε
ἐκ λίθου φοιτῶντας αὐτομάτως, καὶ οἰνοχόους ἀπὸ
χαλκοῦ περιελαύνειν ἐν κύκλῳ τὰς κύλικας προιστο-
ρήσας, διὰ τῆς περὶ τούτων ὡς ἀληθῶν ἀφηγήσεως
καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων ἐξέφηνέ τε καὶ διήλεγξε τὴν
μυθολογίαν.

25.1. Εἰρηκέναι δέ φησιν ὁ Φιλόστρατος τὸν Δάμιν
δίχα τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας καὶ τῷ Ἰάρχῃ συμφιλο-
σοφῆσαι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, εἰληφέναι τε παρ' αὐτοῦ
δακτυλίους ἑπτὰ ἐπωνύμους ἀστέρων, οὓς καὶ φορεῖν
αὐτὸν καθ' ἓνα πρὸς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἡμερῶν. ταῦτα δὲ
νῦν εἰπὼν ὁ "τάληθές τιμᾶν" παρὰ τῷ Φιλαλήθει νενο-
μισμένος μεθ' ἕτερα τῆς γραφῆς, ὡς ἂν δὴ γοητεῖαν
τῶν Βραχμάνων καταγνοῦς καὶ ταύτης ἐλεύθερον
καταστῆσαι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον φροντίσας, ἐπιφέρει
φάσκων κατὰ λέξιν "ἰδὼν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τοὺς
τρίποδας καὶ τοὺς οἰνοχόους καὶ ὅσα αὐτόματα ἐσφοι-
τᾶν εἶπον, οὐθ' ὅπως σοφίζονται αὐτά, [οὔτε]¹⁹ ἤρετο,
οὔτε ἐδεήθη μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπήγει μὲν, ζηλοῦν δὲ οὐκ
ἤξιον." καὶ πῶς, ὦ οὔτος, οὐκ ἤξιον ὁ δίχα τοῦ
Δάμιδος σπουδῆν ποιούμενος συμφιλοσοφεῖν αὐτοῖς

¹⁸ ἀνακαλέσαιο Kay.: ἀνακαλέσοιτο

someone possessed by a demon, how he cured a lame man
by stroking his buttock, how he granted a blind man his
sight and a paralyzed one the full use of his arm.⁴⁵

24. My very best wishes to the author for saving us from
trouble. It is obvious how true all this is too. After telling us
first about thunders and winds in jars, urns of stone moving
of their own accord, and wine servers of bronze passing
round the cups, his narrating this as if it were true has
shown up and exposed the fabulous nature of all the rest.

25.1. By Damis's account as given by Philostratus, he
was not present personally when Apollonius had philo-
sophical discussions with Iarchas, and when he received
seven rings from him named after the planets, which he
changed daily according to the day of the week.⁴⁶ After say-
ing that now, this author, who according to the Lover of
Truth "honored truth," in a later part of his account, as if
he condemned the Brahmans for sorcery and was con-
cerned to show Apollonius free of it, continues in these
very words: "When he saw the three-legged urns and the
servers in India and all the other things which I described
moving automatically, he did not ask the locals how they
had been constructed, and did not ask to be told, but sim-
ply praised without seeing fit to imitate them."⁴⁷ But look
here: how was it that he "did not see fit to imitate them"
when he was so keen to have philosophical discussions
with them in Damis's absence, and thought it necessary

⁴⁵ VA 3.15.4 (wool, rod, ring), 38-39 (cures).

⁴⁶ VA 3.41.1.

⁴⁷ VA 5.12.

¹⁹ [οὔτε] secl. Kay.

καὶ τὸν μόνον ἐταῖρον, ὃ τι καὶ πράττοι, λανθάνειν δέον ἡγούμενος; (25.2) πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἡξίου ζηλοῦν ὁ τοὺς τῶν ἀστέρων ἐπωνύμους καταδεχόμενος δακτυλίους, καὶ τούτους ἀναγκαῖον τιθέμενος διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου φέρειν πρὸς τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἡμερῶν, καίτοι γε ἀπόρητον, ὡς φῆς αὐτός, ἔχοντας ἰσχύν; εἰ δὲ καὶ δοθείη τὸ μὴ ζηλοῦν ἡξιωκέναι αὐτόν, ὡς μὴ εὖ πράττοντας οὐκ ἐζήλου δηλονότι. πῶς οὖν ἐπήνει, ἐφ' οἷς μὴ ἡξίου ζηλοῦν; εἰ δ' ὡς θείως ἐνεργούντας ἐπήνει, πῶς οὐκ ἐζήλου τὰ ἐπαίνων ἄξια; ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ τὴν παρά τούτοις διατριβὴν παλινοστοῦντα αὐτὸν ἅμα τοῖς ἐταίροις ἐληλυθέναι φησὶν ἐς τὴν τῶν Ὀρειτῶν χώραν, ἔνθα χαλκαὶ μὲν αὐτοῖς αἱ πέτραι, χαλκῆ δὲ ἡ ψάμμος, χαλκοῦ δὲ ψῆγμα οἱ ποταμοὶ ἄγουσι.

26. Καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸ τρίτον σύγγραμμα, ἐπίωμεν δ' ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. ἐπανελθόντα φησὶν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδῶν χώρας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, κοινῶν τῶν θεῶν πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἀνακεκηρῦχθαι, οἱ καὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας ὡς αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὑγείᾳ παρέπεμπον, καὶ δῆτα ὡς ἐξ Ἀράβων καὶ μάγων καὶ Ἰνδῶν παράδοξόν τινα καὶ θείον ἡμῖν αὐτὸν ἀγαγόν, παραδόξων ἐντεῦθεν ἀφηγημάτων κατάρχεται. καίτοι ἂν τις εἴποι εὐλόγως, ὅτι δὴ εἰ θειότερας ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπου φύσεως ἦν, πάλαι ἄλλ' οὐ νῦν ἔδει, πρὸ τῆς δὲ ἐτέρων μεταλήψεως τῶν θαυμασίων κατάρχεσθαι, περιττὴ δ' ἂν καὶ ἡ ἐξ Ἀράβων αὐτῷ μάγων τε καὶ Ἰνδῶν διὰ σπουδῆς ἐπεχειρεῖτο πολυμαθία, εἰ δὴ τις κατὰ τὴν δοθείσαν ὑπῆρξεν ὑπόθεσιν· ἀλλ' οὗτός γε κατὰ τὸν

to conceal what he was doing from his only companion? (25.2) And how did he "not see fit to imitate them" when he accepted rings named after the planets, and considered it necessary to wear them according to the day of the week throughout his life, although you yourself say that they had a mysterious power? And even granting that "he did not see fit to imitate them," he clearly refrained from asking because the Indians were up to no good. How then did he praise them for things that "he did not see fit to imitate"? But if he praised them as having some divine power, why did he not imitate what was praiseworthy? Anyhow, after his stay among these people, Philostratus says that Apollonius was returning home with his companions when he entered the land of the Oreitae, where the stones are of bronze, the sand of bronze, and the rivers bring down bronze grains.⁴⁸

26. So much for the third book, and let us now proceed to the fourth. The author says that, after returning from India to Greece, Apollonius was pronounced a peer of the gods by the gods themselves. They sent the sick to him to be cured, and in fact, as if bringing Apollonius back for us from Arabs, Magi, and Indians as someone extraordinary and divine, he begins extraordinary stories from this point on. Yet one might reasonably say that, if he had a nature more divine than human, then he should have begun his miraculous deeds long ago and not now, before participating in those of other people. The vast learning of Arabs, Magi, and Indians would have been unnecessary for him to acquire if he had already possessed it, as the basic premise supposed; but lo and behold, it is only now, after his study

48 VA 3.54.

φιλαλήθη συγγραφέα νῦν δὴ πάρεστι μετὰ τοσούτους διδασκάλους τὴν σοφίαν ἐνεπιδεικνύμενος.

27.1. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν οἷα ἐξ Ἀράβων καὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς οἰωνιστικῆς ὀρμώμενος τὸν στρουθόν, ὃ τι καὶ βούλοιο τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐπὶ τροφήν παρακαλῶν ἐφερ-
μηνεύει τοῖς παροῦσιν. εἶτα δὲ λοιμοῦ προαισθόμενος προμαντεύεται τοῖς πολίταις. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν καὶ τούτου ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δομετιανὸν ἀπολογία αὐτὸς παρατίθεται. ἐρομένου γάρ τοι αὐτόν, ὁπόθεν ὀρμώμενος τοῦτο προείποι, "λεπτοτέρα" ἔφη "χρῶμενος, ᾧ βασιλεῦ, δι-
αίτη πρῶτος τοῦ δεινοῦ ἦσθόμην."

27.2. καὶ τρίτον δ' αὐτοῦ²⁰ θαῦμα γεγονὸς ἱστορεῖ, ὡς δὴ ἀλεξήσαντος τὸν λοιμόν, ὅπερ εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλι-
στα ἐν ταῖς ἐπὶ τέλει κατ' αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαις οὐ τέθεικεν ὁ συγγραφεύς, ὅτι μὴ παρήν, ὡς εἰκός, αὐτῷ δι' ἀπολογίας ἀπολύσασθαι τὸ ἔγκλημα. φέρε δ' οὖν ὅμως αὐτοὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐς φανερόν ὑποθώμεθα, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ταύτην εὐθύνοτες. εἴ τιμι γὰρ οὐκ [ἄν]²¹ εἶη σαφές, ὅτι δὴ πολὺ τὸ πλάσμα καὶ ἀπατηλὸν γοη-
τείας τε ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔμπλεων, αὐτὸς ὁ τρόπος ἀπε-
λέγχει τῆς ἱστορίας. τὸν γάρ τοι λοιμόν ὑποτίθεται ἐν εἴδει πτωχεύοντος καὶ ῥάκεσιν ἠμφισμένου πρε-
σβύτου ἀνδρὸς ἐωρᾶσθαι, ὃν καταλεύειν ἐπικελευσα-
μένου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου πρότερον μὲν πῦρ βάλλειν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, εἶθ' ὕστερον βληθέντα λίθοις κύνα συντε-
τριμμένον καὶ παραπτύοντα ἀφρόν, ὡς οἱ λυττῶντες, φανῆναι, εἰρηκέναι δ' αὐτόν περὶ τούτου καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Δομετιανὸν ἀπολογία ταῦτα

with all these teachers, according to the "truth-loving" au-
thor, that Apollonius parades his wisdom.

27.1. First of all, as if basing his knowledge on the Arabs and their bird-prophecy, he interprets for his audience what the sparrow is saying when it invites the other sparrows to eat. Then, he foresees a plague and predicts it to the citizens.⁴⁹ He himself provides the reason for this in his speech before Domitian, for when the emperor asks him on what basis he made this prediction, he says, "I have a rather light diet, Majesty, and so was the first to sense the danger."⁵⁰

27.2. He reports a third miracle that Apollonius per-
formed, that of driving away the plague.⁵¹ The author has not put this among the charges brought against Apollonius in the end, no doubt because he could not rebut the accu-
sation in his speech of defense. Nonetheless, let us indeed place this story in the proper light, scrutinizing it too as fol-
lows (for if there is anyone to whom it is not obvious that this is an outright fabrication and deception, truly full of sorcery, the very manner in which it is related will show it up). Well, he relates that the plague appeared in the form of an old man begging and dressed in rags. When Apollonius gave orders to stone it, it first shot fire from its eyes and then later, after being hit by stones, was revealed as a crushed dog spewing foam in the manner of mani-
acs. According to Philostratus, Apollonius spoke about this as follows in his speech before the emperor Domitian:

49 VA 4.3 (sparrows), 4.4 (plague).

50 VA 8.5.1.

51 VA 4.10.

20 αὐτοῦ Kay.: αὐτῷ

21 [ἄν] secl. Kay.

γράφει· “τὸ γὰρ τοῦ λοιμοῦ εἶδος, πτωχῶ δὲ²² γέροντι εἵκαστο, καὶ εἶδον καὶ ἰδὼν εἶλον οὐ παύσας νόσον, ἀλλ’ ἐξελών.”

27.3. Τίς δὴ οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐ μέγα τὴν τοῦ θαυματοποιοῦ γελάσεται παραδοξοποιῖαν, ζῶον ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ λίθων ὑποπίπτον βολαῖς, συντριβόμενον τε πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἀφρὸν παραπτῦον²³ τὴν τοῦ λοιμοῦ φύσιν ἀκούων, ὃς οὐδ’ ἄλλ’ ὅτιοῦν τυγχάνει ἢ φθορὰ καὶ κάκωσις ἀέρος, ἐπὶ τὸ νοσῶδες τρεπομένου τοῦ περιέχοντος ἐκ πονηρῶν τε καὶ φαύλων ἀναθυμιάσεων, ἢ λόγος ἰατρικὸς παραδίδωσι, συνισταμένου; καὶ ἄλλως δ’ ἂν τὸ φάσμα διευθυνθείη, ἐπεὶ μόνῃ τῇ τῶν Ἐφεσίων πόλει ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖς ὁμόροις τὸν λοιμὸν ἐπισκῆψαί φησιν ὁ λόγος, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν γεγόνοι κάκωσιν τοῦ περιέχοντος πεπονθότος· οὐ γὰρ δὴ κατακλεισθὲν μόνῳ ἂν ἐφῆδρευσε τῷ περὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον ἀέρι τὸ νόσημα.

28.1. Τέταρτον αὐτῷ παράδοξον Ἀχιλλέως ἦν ψυχὴ πρότερον μὲν ἐν χλαμύδι πεντάπηχυς, εἶτα δωδεκάπηχυς τὸ μέγεθος παρὰ τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ μνήματι φαινομένη, Θετταλούς τε κατατιωμένη, ὅτι δὴ τὰ ἐναγίσματα αὐτῷ, ὡς ἔθος ἦν, οὐκ ἐπετέλουν, μηνιῶσά τε εἰσέτι Τρωσὶ τῶν ἐς αὐτὸν πεπλημμελημένων καὶ προστάπτουσα τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ πέντε λόγους, οὓς ἂν αὐτός τε βούλοιο καὶ αἱ Μοῖραι συγχωροῖεν, ἀνερέσθαι. εἶθ’ ὁ πάντα εἰδὼς καὶ τῶν μελλόντων πρόγνωσιν αὐχῶν ἔτι ἀγνοεῖ, εἰ τάφου τύχοι Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ εἰ Μουσῶν θρήνοι καὶ Νηρηίδων ἐπ’ αὐτῷ γεγόνασι, καὶ

“When the disease took the form of an old beggar, I recognized it, and having done so I caught it out. I did not check the disease, but eradicated it.”⁵²

27.3. After this, who will not have a good laugh at the conjurer’s tricks, when he hears the natural state of the plague to be an animal subject to sight and to the impact of stones, crushed by human agency and spewing foam? In fact plague is nothing other than the corruption and pollution of the air, which turns infectious when the atmosphere consists of foul and harmful exhalations, as medical lore relates. The phantom could also be refuted by the fact that the account makes the plague affect only the city of Ephesus and not the neighboring cities too. That could not have happened if the atmosphere had undergone pollution, since the disease could not have been contained so as to affect only the air of Ephesus.

28.1. His fourth trick was the ghost of Achilles, which was dressed in a cloak and was first five cubits tall, then twelve cubits, appearing beside its very own tomb.⁵³ It blamed the Thessalians for not performing heroic sacrifices to him, as was the custom, it was still angry with the Trojans for the wrongs they had done to him, and it ordered Apollonius to ask any five questions that he wanted and the Muses allowed. Thereupon our omniscient friend, who boasts of his foreknowledge, still does not know if Achilles received burial, and whether the account of the Muses and the Nereids mourning for him is really true. He

52 VA 8.7.28.

53 VA 4.16.

22 δὲ Kay.: ὦδε

23 παραπτῦον Kay.: παραπτύοντα

περὶ τούτων αὐτὸν ἀνερωτᾶ καὶ διαπυθάνεται, εἰ Πολυξένη ἐπεσφάγη αὐτῷ καὶ εἰ Ἑλένη ἐς Τροίαν ἐληλύθει, ὡς σεμνά γε καὶ κατεπέιγοντα εἰς τὸν φιλόσοφον βίον τοῦ ἥρωος καὶ²⁴ σπουδῆς ἄξια ἐρωτήματα.

28.2. Θαυμάζει δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις, εἰ τοσοῦτοι ἥρωες παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐνὶ χρόνῳ γεγόνασι, καὶ εἰ ἀφίκετο ἐς Τροίαν Παλαμῆδης. τὸν δὲ "θεῶν ὀρωμένων τε καὶ οὐχ ὀρωμένων" ὁμιλητὴν τοιαῦτα ἀγνοεῖν, καὶ περὶ τοιούτων ἀνερωτᾶν, ποίας οὐχὶ γένοιτ' ἂν αἰσχύνης; εἰ μὴ ἄρα, ἐπειδὴ νεκροῖς ὁμιλῶν εἰσῆκται, ἐπὶ τὸ ψυχρότερον μεταποιεῖ τὰς πεύσεις ὁ συγγραφεύς, ὡς ἂν ὑπεκλύσοι τὴν ὑπόνοιαν τοῦ πέρα τῶν προσηκόντων αὐτὸν περιειργάσθαι δοκεῖν. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀπολογούμενον αὐτὸν ὑπογράφει, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ νεκρομαντείαν ὁ τρόπος αὐτῷ τῆς φανείσης ὄψεως γένοιτο, "οὔτε γὰρ βόθρον" εἶπεν "Ὀδυσσέως ὀρυξάμενος, οὐδ' ἀρνῶν αἵμασι ψυχαγωγήσας, ἐς διάλεξιν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως ἔλθοι, ἀλλ' εὐξάμενος ὅποσα τοῖς ἥρωσιν Ἴνδοί φασι δεῖν εὐξασθαι." καὶ ταῦτα νῦν πρὸς τὸν ἐταῖρον ἀποσεμνύνεται ὁ μηδὲν μαθεῖν παρ' Ἴνδῶν, μηδὲ ζηλῶσαι τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς σοφίαν πρὸς τοῦ συγγραφέως μεμαρτυρημένους.

29.1. Τί δῆτα οὖν, ὦ οὔτος, εἰ μή τις ἦν κακοήθης περιεργία, μηδὲ τὸν ἕνα σοι καὶ γνήσιον καὶ μόνον ἐταῖρον Δάμιν κοινωνὸν ἐποιού τῆς θαυμαστῆς ταύτης ὄψεως τε καὶ ὁμιλίας; τί δ' οὐχὶ καὶ δι' ἡμέρας τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐξῆν, ἀλλὰ τῶν νυκτῶν ἄωρὶ καὶ μόνον; τί δὲ

questions him about these matters and inquires whether Polyxena was slaughtered for his sake and if Helen had come to Troy—very weighty questions, serious and of urgent relevance to the hero's⁵⁴ philosophic life!

28.2. After this he wonders that there had been so many heroes among the Greeks at a single time, and whether Palamedes came to Troy. Isn't it a complete scandal that the man who converses with "gods whether seen or not seen" is ignorant about so much, and asks questions of this kind? Unless the reason is that the author, having introduced Apollonius conversing with the dead, makes his questions more banal in order to dispel the impression that he seemed to be investigating forbidden subjects. For he reports him as saying in his defense that there was no necromancy involved in the way that the vision appeared to him: "I did not dig Odysseus's ditch," he said, "or raise demons with sheep's blood, in order to enter into conversation with Achilles. I made the prayers which the Indians say one should make to the heroes."⁵⁵ That is what he boasts to his companion now, though the author had attested that Apollonius learned nothing from the Indians and did not imitate their type of wisdom.

29.1. Well then, you there, if you were not engaged in sinister investigations, why did not you not let Damis, your single, true, and only companion, share this marvelous vision and conversation? Why could you not do this by day, rather than at the dead of night and alone? And why did

⁵⁴ "Hero" refers not to Achilles but to Apollonius, as also in 33.1. ⁵⁵ VA 4.16.1.

²⁴ καὶ Kay.: τὰ

καὶ ἤλανον τὴν τοῦ ἥρωος ψυχὴν ἀλεκτρυόνων βοαίς·
 “ἀπῆλθε γάρ” φησι “ξὺν ἀστραπῇ μετρία, καὶ γὰρ δὴ
 καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνες ἤδη ᾠδῆς ἤπτοντο.” δαίμοσι μὲν οὖν
 ποιηροῖς γένοιτ’ ἂν ἴσως ὁ τῆς ὥρας ἐπιτήδειος εἰς
 περιέργους ὁμιλίας καιρός, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἡρώϊδι ψυχῇ, ἣν
 τῆς παχείας τοῦ σώματος ἐλευθερωθεῖσαν ὕλης ἀγα-
 θὴν καὶ πανάρετον εἶναι χρεῶν. ὃ γε μὴν εἰσηγμένος
 ἐνταῦθα δαίμων βάσκανος καὶ φθονερός τὸν τρόπον,
 ὀργίλος τε καὶ ταπεινὸς τὴν διάθεσιν ὑποτετύπεται. ἢ
 οὐχὶ τοιοῦτος ὁ τὸν Ἀντισθένην μειράκιόν τι σπου-
 δαῖον ὡς ἂν δὴ φιλοσόφῳ συνέπεσθαι τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ
 πειρώμενον ἀπείργων; προστάττει γὰρ τὸ μὴ ποιεί-
 σθαι αὐτὸν συνέμπορον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίας ἐπιλέ-
 γων τὴν αἰτίαν. “Πριαμίδης τε γάρ” φησιν “ἱκανῶς
 ἔστι καὶ τὸν Ἔκτορα ὑμνῶν οὐ παύεται.”

29.2. Πῶς δὲ οὐκ ὀργίλος καὶ ταπεινὸς ὁ Θετταλοῖς,
 ὅτι μὴ θύοιεν αὐτῷ, θυμούμενος καὶ Τρωσίν, ὅτι δὴ
 πρὸ μυρίων ὄσων ἐτῶν εἰς αὐτὸν διήμαρτον, μὴ
 καταλασσόμενος καὶ ταῦτα θύουσι καὶ συνεχῶς
 σπενδομένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Παλαμῆδους τάφον αὐτῷ
 ἀγάλματι φαύλως ἐρριμμένον²⁵ ἀναλαβεῖν ἐγκελευό-
 μενος;

30.1. Τὸ μέντοι πέμπτον καὶ ἕκτον θαῦμα οὐ πολ-
 λῆς δέοιτο τοῦ λόγου διατριβῆς εἰς ἐνδειξιν τῆς τοῦ
 πραχθέντος εὐχερείας. δαίμονας γὰρ ἀπελαύνει ἄλλῳ
 ἄλλον, ἢ φασι, δαίμονι, τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀκολάστου
 μειρακίου, τὸν δὲ ἐπιπλάστως εἰς γυναικείαν μορφήν
 σχηματιζόμενον, τουτονὶ δὲ τὸν δαίμονα ἔμπουσαν

the crowing of cocks drive off the hero's ghost? Since he
 says that “it disappeared in a slight flash, for the cocks were
 just then beginning to crow.”⁵⁶ Now evil demons might
 find the choice of hour suitable for maleficent meetings,
 but not the soul of a hero, which being free from the crass
 material of the body is of necessity good and virtuous. The
 demon introduced here is represented as malicious and
 malevolent in manner, and irascible and mean in disposi-
 tion, for surely that was the nature of one who wanted to
 exclude Antisthenes, a virtuous young man trying to fol-
 low the philosopher Apollonius? For the ghost orders
 Apollonius not to make him a “participant in his wisdom,”
 giving as a reason that “he is far too much a descendant of
 Priam, and never stops praising Hector.”⁵⁷

29.2. And how is someone other than irascible and
 petty if he is angry with the Thessalians for not sacrific-
 ing to him, and will not forgive the Trojans because they
 wronged him countless years before, even though they sacri-
 ficed and constantly poured libations to him, and yet
 orders Apollonius to restore the tomb of Palamedes, to-
 gether with its statue, when it was a sorry ruin?

30.1. But the fifth and sixth tricks do not need a lengthy
 discussion in order to prove the frivolity of what was done.
 Driving one demon out by another, as the expression is,⁵⁸
 Apollonius drives one demon out of a dissipated youth, and
 the other one, which had deceitfully taken the form of a

⁵⁶ VA 4.16.6. ⁵⁷ VA 4.12.

⁵⁸ Probably a reference to Matthew 9.34, “By the ruler of the
 demons he casts out the demons.”

²⁵ ἐρριμμένον des Places: ἐρριμένῳ

καὶ λάμιαν αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν ὁ σοφώτατος ἀποκαλεῖ.
 30.2. Τό γε μὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως μετὰ
 ταῦτα κόριον, ὃ τι δὴ μετὰ θάνατον ἐπὶ δευτέραν ζωὴν
 ἤγαγεν, ἀπιστότατον καὶ αὐτῷ δόξαν τῷ Φιλοστράτῳ
 παραιτητέον. ἐν δισταγμῷ μέντοι ἀμφιβάλλει, μὴ
 ἄρα σπινθήρ τις ψυχῆς ἐνυπάρχων τῇ παιδί τοὺς
 θεραπεύοντας ἐλελήθει. λέγεσθαι γάρ φησιν “ὡς ψα-
 κάζοι μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἢ δὲ ἀτμίξοι ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου.” καὶ
 γὰρ δὴ εἰ ἀληθῶς αὐτῷ²⁶ τοιόνδε ἐπ’ αὐτῆς Ῥώμης
 ἐπέπρακτο, οὐκ ἂν ἐλελήθει βασιλέα τε πρῶτον καὶ
 τοὺς μετ’ αὐτὸν ὑπάρχους ἅπαντας, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν
 φιλόσοφον Εὐφράτην, ἐγχωριάζοντα κατ’ ἐκείνο και-
 ροῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης διατρίβοντα, ὃς δὴ εἰς ὕστερον
 τὴν κατ’ αὐτοῦ κατηγορίαν, ὡς δὴ κατὰ γόητος, ὑπο-
 βάλλειν ἰστόρηται· πάντως γὰρ ἂν καὶ τοῦτο, εἰ δὴ
 τοῦτο γεγονός ἦν, ταῖς ἄλλαις κατ’ αὐτοῦ διαβολαῖς
 πρὸς τοῦ κατηγοροῦ συγκατείλεκτο.

30.3. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν μέρει καὶ κατ’ εἶδος αὐτῷ
 πεπραγμένα τοσαῦτα, μυρία δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κατὰ πρό-
 γνωσιν αὐτὸν λέγων προμαντεύσασθαί τε καὶ προει-
 ρηκέναι γράφει, καὶ ὡς Ἀθήνησι βουλευθέντα μνηθῆ-
 ναι τὰ Ἐλευσίνια ὁ τῆδε εἶρξεν ἱερεὺς, “μὴ ἂν ποτε
 φήσας μνήσεσθαι γόητα, μηδὲ τὰ Ἐλευσίνια ἀνοῖξαι
 ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ καθαρῷ τὰ δαιμόνια.” ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἀσελ-
 γῶς ἀγείροντι κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ τὰς Νέρωνος
 μετὰ κιθάρας ἐπὶ μισθῷ διεξιόντι ᾠδὰς, μισθὸν ἐπι-
 δοῦναι τοῖς ἐταίροις τῆς σοφῆς ταύτης ἐπιτηδεύσεως

woman, this great expert explicitly calls a vampire and a
 siren.⁵⁹

30.2. As for the girl whom he later brings to life again
 after her death in the city of Rome, the story seems quite
 incredible even to Philostratus himself, so that we can pass
 it by.⁶⁰ However, in his uncertainty he wonders whether
 some spark of life had remained in the girl that her doctors
 had not noticed, since, so he says, “apparently the sky was
 drizzling and steam was coming from her face.” In fact, if
 Apollonius had really done something of the sort in Rome,
 it would not have escaped the emperor first of all, and after
 him all his officials, but particularly the philosopher Eu-
 phrates, who was visiting just at that time and staying in
 Rome. It was he, so it is recorded, who later engineered a
 charge of sorcery against Apollonius, and if this too had re-
 ally happened, the accuser would certainly have included
 it in the charges against him.

30.3. These then are his doings, arranged in order and
 by type, though Philostratus writes that he prophesied and
 predicted countless other things through his second sight.
 At Athens for example, when he wanted to be initiated into
 the Eleusinian mysteries, the priest there excluded him,
 saying that he would never “initiate a sorcerer, or open the
 Eleusinian mysteries to a man who was impure in spiritual
 matters.” And when in Rome an unscrupulous huckster re-
 cites the songs of Nero to make money, the great philoso-
 pher orders his companions to pay him money for this lofty

⁵⁹ VA 4.20 (youth), 4.25 (vampire).

⁶⁰ VA 4.45.

²⁶ αὐτῷ Kay.: αὐτὸ τὸ

ὁ φιλοσοφώτατος διὰ τὸν Νέρωνος φόβον προστάττει.

31.1. Ἐν τούτοις καὶ τοῦ τετάρτου περιγραφέντος, ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφῆς εἰπὼν τινα περὶ προγνώσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποθαυμάσας ὁ συγγραφεὺς, ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν· “ὅτι μὲν δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα δαιμονία κινήσει προέλεγε, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς γόητα ἡγουμένοις τὸν ἄνδρα οὐχ ὑγιαίνει ὁ λόγος, δηλοῖ μὲν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα, σκεψώμεθα δὲ κακείνα· οἱ γόητες, ἡγουμαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐγὼ κακοδαιμονεστάτους ἀνθρώπων, οἱ μὲν ἐς βασάνους εἰδώλων χωροῦντες, οἱ δ’ ἐς θυσίας βαρβάρους, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐπάσαι τι ἢ ἀλείψαι μεταποιεῖν φασι τὰ εἰμαρμένα, ὁ δὲ εἶπετο μὲν τοῖς ἐκ Μοιρῶν καὶ προέλεγεν, ὡς ἀνάγκη ἔσεσθαι αὐτά, προέλεγε δὲ οὐ γοητεύων, ἀλλ’ ἐξ ὧν οἱ θεοὶ ἔφαινον, ἰδὼν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τοὺς τρίποδας καὶ τοὺς οἰνοχόους καὶ ὅσα αὐτόματα ἐσφοιτᾶν εἶπον, οὐθ’ ὅπως σοφίζονται αὐτὰ ἤρετο, οὔτε ἐδεήθη μαθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐπήγει μὲν, ζηλοῦν δὲ οὐκ ἠξίου.”

31.2. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων δῆλός ἐστι τοὺς περιβοήτους Ἰνδῶν φιλοσόφους γόητας ἀποφαίνων. περὶ γάρ τοι γοητῶν ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον μνημονεύει καὶ τούτων, σοφίζεσθαι δὴ τὰ²⁷ παράδοξα λέγων αὐτοὺς καὶ τόν, περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος, τῆς τοιασδὶ αὐτῶν σοφιστείας ὡς ἂν μὴ ἀστείας ἀλλότριον ὑποτιθέμενος. οὐκοῦν εἰ φαίνοιτο τούτους θεοὺς ἀποκαλῶν καὶ διδασκάλους ἐπιγραφόμενος αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὦρα ταῖς κατὰ τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπάγειν διαβολαῖς. εἰσῆκται

profession out of fear of Nero.⁶¹

31.1. These are the contents of the fourth book. In the fifth book of his work about Apollonius, after saying some things with much admiration about his second sight, the author adds these very words: “These predictions he made from divine impulse, and those who think him a magician are wrong in their opinion. That emerges from what I have already said, and also from the following. Magicians, who are in my opinion the greatest scoundrels on earth, resort to questioning ghosts or to barbaric sacrifices, or to forms of incantation or unction, and thus profess to alter fate. Apollonius, however, followed the warnings of the Fates, and foretold the way they had to be fulfilled, and his clairvoyance was due not to magic but to divine revelation. When he saw the three-legged urns and the servers in India and all the other things which I described moving automatically, he did not ask the locals how they had been constructed, and did not ask to be told, but simply praised without seeing fit to imitate them.”⁶²

31.2. When he says that, he evidently declares the celebrated Indian philosophers to be sorcerers. For when discoursing about sorcerers he mentions these as well, saying that they contrive their miracles, while he presents the subject of his account as averse to such pretence on their part as something vulgar. Well, if Apollonius himself can be seen calling these people “gods” and entitling them his “teachers,” then it is time to subject him too to the charges against his teachers. When among the so-called Naked

⁶¹ VA 4.18 (hierophant), 4.39 (huckster).

⁶² VA 5.12.

²⁷ δὴ τὰ Kay.: τὰ δὴ

δὴ οὖν παρ' οἷς φησι Γυμνοῖς Αἰγυπτίων, ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα φάσκων· “οὐκ ἀπεικός τι παθεῖν μοι πρόσφορον Ἴνδοι στείλαντες ἐφ' ὑψηλῆς τε καὶ θείας μηχανῆς ἐκκυκλοῦσιν. ὡς²⁸ δὴ ἐν δίκη μὲν ἠγάσθη, ἐν δίκη δὲ ἠγοῦμαι σοφούς τε καὶ μακαρίους, ὦρα μανθάνειν.” καὶ μετὰ βραχέα φησὶν· “οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ θεοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ κεκόσμηται κατὰ τὴν Πυθίαν.” καὶ Δομετιανῶ δὲ εἰσῆκται λέγων, “καὶ τίς πρὸς Ἰάρχαν σοι πόλεμος ἢ πρὸς Φραώτην τοὺς Ἴνδούς; οὓς ἐγὼ μόνους ἀνθρώπων θεούς τε ἠγοῦμαι καὶ ἀξίους τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ταύτης;” καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ ὁμοίως θεούς τε καὶ διδασκάλους τᾶνδρὸς ἐπιγράψας ὁ λόγος, τοὺς δεδηλωμένους δακτυλίους τε παρ' αὐτῶν εἰληφέναι ὁμολογήσας αὐτόν, ἐπιλέλησται νῦν καὶ συνδιαβάλλων τοῖς διδασκάλοις τὸν μαθητὴν οὐκ ἐπαίει.

32. Ὑποβὰς δ' ἐν τῇ γραφῇ αὐλητὴν ὑποτίθεται καὶ τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, ὡσπερ τινὸς οὔσης μεγίστης καὶ σοφωτάτης ἐπιστήμης, τρόπους αὐλήσεως μάλα σπουδαίως μακροῖς τοῖς διηγήμασιν εἶροντα διεξέρχεται, καὶ αὐτοκράτορα Οὐεσπασιανὸν οἶα δὴ θεῶ προσεύξασθαι αὐτῶ ἱστορεῖ, καὶ τὸν μὲν ὡς εὐχῇ εἰρηκέναι τὸν Οὐεσπασιανόν “ποίησόν με βασιλέα,” τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι “ἐποίησα.” καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν μισήσειεν εὐλόγως τῆς ἀλαζονείας τὴν φωνὴν μανίας τὸ μηθὲν ἀποδέουσιν, ὅτε γε ἤδη αὐτὸς θεὸς καὶ βασιλέων ποιητὴς εἶναι φρναττεται ὁ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας κυ-

ones of Egypt, Apollonius is introduced saying in so many words, “I do not therefore think that the effect on me was at all an unreasonable one, when I was enthralled by a well-produced philosophy that the Indians have supplied with the appropriate decor, and bring on with lofty, inspired stage machinery. To prove that I justly admired them, and justly believe their wisdom and bliss, you should know this.”⁶³ And a little later he says, “They are both gods and decked out like the Pythia.”⁶⁴ And he is introduced as saying to Domitian, “What enmity is there between you and Iarchas or Phraotes, the Indians? They are the only humans whom I consider gods and worthy of being called so.”⁶⁵ Similarly in other places the narrative entitles them the man's gods and teachers, and concedes that he received the already mentioned rings from them, but now it has forgotten all that, and fails to see that it is charging the pupil together with his teachers.

32. Proceeding with his account, Philostratus brings in a pipe-player, and describes Apollonius enumerating the modes very earnestly and with long explanations, as if this were a very important and lofty art.⁶⁶ He also relates that the emperor Vespasian prayed to him as to a god, and that Vespasian said as if praying, “Make me king,” to which Apollonius replied, “I have done so.”⁶⁷ Who would not rightly detest a remark that is nothing short of lunacy for its boastfulness, when the captain of an Egyptian ship now ac-

⁶³ VA 6.11.12.

⁶⁴ VA 6.11.17, where the manuscripts of Philostratus have “inspired,” not “gods” (*theioi*, not *theoi*.)

⁶⁵ VA 7.32.3.

⁶⁶ VA 5.21.

⁶⁷ VA 5.28.1.

²⁸ ὡς Kay.: οὓς

βερνήτης νεώς; τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος
γεγονέναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὁμιλίαις
μικρῶ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν δεδήλωκε.

33.1. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ, οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς δοκιμάζοι
τῶν φιλοσόφων συμβούλους τῶν πρακτέων γνωρίσαι
αὐτῷ ἀξιούντι, κατὰ λέξιν φησίν· “ἀγαθοὶ δὲ τούτων
σύμβουλοι καὶ οἶδε οἱ ἄνδρες, τὸν Δίωνα δείξας καὶ
τὸν Εὐφράτην μήπω αὐτῷ ἐς διαφορὰν ἤκουτα.” καὶ
αὐθις, “ὦ βασιλεῦ,” εἶπεν, “Εὐφράτης καὶ Δίων πάλαι
σοι γνώριμοι ὄντες πρὸς θύραις εἰσὶν οὐκ ἀφρόντιδες
τῶν σῶν. κάλει δὴ κακείνους ἐς κοινὸν λόγον, σοφῶ
γὰρ τὸ ἄνδρε.” πρὸς ἃ Οὐεσπασιανὸς “ἀκλείστους”
ἔφη “θύρας παρέχω σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν.” εὐγε τῆς προ-
γνώσεως τοῦ ἥρωος· Εὐφράτης νῦν ἀγαθός τε καὶ
σοφός, ἐπεὶ “μὴ ἐς διαφορὰν πω αὐτῷ” ἐληλύθει, εἰ δ'
ἔλθοι (ὅσον οὐπω δὲ τοῦτ' ἔσται) ὄρα οἶα περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ
αὐτὸς πρὸς Δομετιανὸν γράφει·

33.2. “Καὶ μὴν ὅποσα γίγνεται φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ
κολακεύοντι τοὺς δυνατοὺς δηλοῖ τὰ Εὐφράτου· τούτῳ
γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν, τί λέγω χρήματα; πηγαὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσι
πλούτου, καπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν ἤδη διαλέγεται κάπηλος,
ὑποκάπηλος, τελώνης, ὀβολοστάτης, πάντα γιγνόμε-
νος τὰ πωλούμενά τε καὶ πωλοῦντα, ἐντετύπεται δὲ
ἀεὶ ταῖς τῶν δυνατῶν θύραις καὶ προσέστηκεν αὐταῖς
πλείω καιρὸν ἢ οἱ θυρωροί, ἀπελήφθη²⁹ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ
τῶν θυρωρῶν πολλάκις, ὥσπερ τῶν κυνῶν οἱ λίχνοι,
δραχμὴν δὲ οὐδὲ φιλοσόφῳ ἀνδρὶ ποτε προέμενος
ἐπιτειχίζει νῦν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πλούτον ἑτέροις, τὸν Αἰ-

tually boasts of being a god and a king-maker? For that is
what Apollonius personally showed us that he had been in
spirit when he was conversing with the Indian.

33.1. To that same emperor, when he asks him to indi-
cate which of the philosophers he recommends as advisors
on policy, he says, “On this subject you have good advisors
in these men,” pointing to Dio and Euphrates, who was not
yet at odds with him.” To which Vespasian says, “I keep my
doors unlocked to wise men.”⁶⁸ Congratulations to the
hero on his second sight! Euphrates is now good and wise,
since he “is not yet at odds with him,” but when he is (and
this will occur very soon) then just see what the same
Apollonius says about him to Domitian:

33.2. “The career of Euphrates shows all that a cham-
pion of philosophy can earn by fawning on the powerful.
He has got from that source, I will not say mere money, but
streams of wealth, and nowadays he gives his lectures at
the bank, making himself into a tradesman, a tradesman’s
assistant, a taxman, a moneychanger, everything that is
sold or sells. He is always glued to the doors of the power-
ful, and stands at them longer than the doorkeepers do.
Often he has actually been barred by the doorkeepers, like
a gluttonous dog. While he has never spared a penny for a
true philosopher, he uses his wealth to undermine others,
and is supplying this Egyptian here with money and sharp-

⁶⁸ VA 5.28.2, 31.3.

²⁹ ἀπελήφθη Kay. e Philostr.: ἀπελείφθη

γύπτιον τουτονὶ βόσκων χρήμασι καὶ ὀξύνων ἐπ' ἐμὲ γλώτταν ἀξίαν ἐκτετμήσθαι. Εὐφράτην μὲν δὴ καταλείπω σοί, σὺ γάρ, ἦν μὴ κόλακας ἐπαινήσῃς, εὐρήσεις τὸν ἄνθρωπον κακίω ἢ ἐρμηνεύω."

33.3. Ὁ δὴ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν σοφὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν τὸν Εὐφράτην μαρτυρόμενος, πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱὸν ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ διεξιὼν, δῆλος ἂν εἴη τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπαινῶν τε καὶ ψέγων. ἄρ' οὖν ὁ τῆν τῶν μελλόντων προειληφὼς γνώσει ἠγνόει, ὃς ἦν τε καὶ ἔσται τὸν τρόπον ὁ Εὐφράτης; καὶ γὰρ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ διαβάλλειν αὐτὸν ὡς δὴ τὸ ἦθος μοχθηρότατον βούλεται. πῶς δὴ οὖν τὸν τοιόνδε συνίστη βασιλεῖ, ὡς καὶ ἀκλείστους αὐτῷ διὰ τὰς παρ' αὐτοῦ συστάσεις τῶν βασιλείων ἀναπεπετάσθαι τὰς πύλας; ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τυφλῷ, φασί, δῆλον, ὡς ἄρα πρόγνωσιν μὲν συκοφαντεῖται πρὸς τοῦ συγγραφέως ὁ ἄνθρωπος, εἴη δ' ἂν ἄλλως γενναῖος, πάλαι μὲν πρὸ πείρας ἀφθόνως ἐταίροις, ἀτὰρ καὶ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ τῆς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια παρόδου κοινωνῶν, ὕστερον δὲ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἔνεκα τοιαῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγων.

33.4. Οὕτω μοι διαβάλλειν ὁ λόγος βούλεται τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς ἂν τὸν Εὐφράτην συκοφαντοῦντα, φιλοσόφων γενόμενον τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδοξότατον, ὡς καὶ εἰς δεῦρο οἷς μέτεστι φιλοσοφίας ἄδεσθαι, ὃ καὶ μέγιστον λάβοι ἂν τις, εἰ βούλοιτο, παράδειγμα τῆς κατὰ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου διαβολῆς. εἰ γὰρ οὖν ὁ Εὐφράτης παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσι φιλοσοφία διαπρέψαι ὁμολογηθείη,

ening his tongue against me, though it deserves to be cut out. However, I leave Euphrates to you, for unless you approve of flatterers, you will find the man even worse than I describe him."⁶⁹

33.3. Someone who attests to the goodness and wisdom of Euphrates when talking with the father, Vespasian, but says all this about him to the son, must obviously praise and blame the same person. Well, then, did someone who had received knowledge of the future not know what Euphrates's character was and would be? For this is not the first time he wishes to attack him as a man of very evil character, but he did so before Vespasian himself. How therefore was it that he recommended such a man to the emperor, so that the doors of the palace were unlocked and opened wide to him because of Apollonius's recommendations? Why, even a blind man can see, as the expression is, that the author is maliciously charging the man with second sight, so let us suppose that he is generous, and previously, not having learned from experience, he gave his friends unlimited access to the palace, including Euphrates, but later said what he did about him because of their quarrel.

33.4. My account is not intended to criticize the man on the ground that he defamed Euphrates, who was the most distinguished philosopher of his day, and even now is celebrated among those who have a share in philosophy. One might, if he wanted, consider this to be the clearest proof of the slander against Apollonius. For even if Euphrates were to be admitted by all to be a distinguished

⁶⁹ VA 8.7.34–35.

ᾧρα μισοπονηρίαν μὲν ἐκείνου κατηγορεῖν ἐπεξιόντος τοῖς ἀτόπως ὑπὸ τοῦδε δρωμένοις, τουτονὶ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνου κατηγορούμενον φαύλην περιβάλλεσθαι δόξαν, ὅτι δὴ μὴ τὸν ἀρέσκοντα τῷ φιλοσόφῳ μετήειβιον.

34. Πάλιν ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ παραδοξολογῶν ὁ μυθολόγος ἄγει μὲν αὐτὸν ἅμα τοῖς ἐταίροις καμήλῳ ὀχούμενον ἐφ' οὓς φησιν Αἰγυπτίων Γυμνοῦς φιλοσόφους, ἔνθα δὴ προστάξαντος τοῦ Γυμνοῦ πελέα, φησί, τὸ δένδρον προσαγορεύει τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον "ἐνάρθρῳ καὶ θήλει τῇ φωνῇ," καὶ τούτοις γε ἡμᾶς ὁ Φιλαλήθης πιστεύειν ἀξιοί. εἶτα Πυγμαίους ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ τὴν τούτων ἱστορεῖ χώραν καὶ Ἀνθρωποφάγους καὶ Σκιάποδας, σάτυρόν τε πρὸς τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου μεθυσκόμενον. ἐξ ἐκείνων δ' αὖθις ἐπάνεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὁμιλῖαι τε πάλιν αὐτῷ καὶ προγνώσεις ἀνακοινοῦνται πρὸς Τίτον, καὶ δηχθέντα ἔφηβον ὑπὸ λυττῶντος κυνός, ὃν δὴ καὶ ἐμαντεύσατο, ὅς τις εἶη τὴν ψυχὴν, ὅτι ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ποτὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀμασις, τῆς συμφορᾶς ἀπαλλάττει, μέχρι καὶ τοῦ κυνός ἐπιτείνας τὸ φιλάνθρωπον.

35.1. Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν τὰ πρὸ τῆς κατηγορίας αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα, ἐπιστῆσαι δ' ἀξιον δι' ὅλης τῆς πραγματείας, ὡς ὅτι καὶ ἀληθεύειν δοθῇ τῷ συγγραφεῖ τὰ παράδοξα, συνεργεῖα δαίμονος ἕκαστον αὐτῷ διαπεπράχθαι τούτων σαφῶς δείκνυται. τό τε γὰρ τοῦ

philosopher, it is time to ascribe a hatred of wickedness to Apollonius, since he attacked him for his wicked deeds, but at the same time for Euphrates to incur an evil reputation after being accused by his rival, since he did not pursue the life that the philosopher approved.⁷⁰

34. Again in the sixth book the storyteller tells fairy tales. Here he brings Apollonius, riding on a camel in the company of his followers, to those he calls the Naked Philosophers of Egypt. There, on the orders of the Naked One, an elm tree, we are told, addresses Apollonius in an "articulate and feminine voice," and our Lover of Truth expects us to believe this.⁷¹ Then he tells of Pygmies living south of this people's land, Cannibals, and Shadow Feet, and a satyr made drunk by Apollonius, and from there he comes back again to Greece, and he imparts sermons and prophecies to Titus. And when a youth is bitten by a rabid dog, he divines whose soul it had, and that it had once been Amasis the king of Egypt, and so rids the boy of his disease, extending his kindness to the dog too.⁷²

35.1. These are his activities before his trial. It is worth remarking throughout the whole work that even if we grant to the author that these miracles are true, it clearly follows that Apollonius performed each of them with the assistance of a demon. To sense the future plague perhaps

⁷⁰ Eusebius seems to be saying that Philostratus slandered Apollonius by crediting him with second sight, since that would have made him a hypocrite in praising Euphrates to Vespasian: for his claim that Philostratus "slanders" his hero, cf. 9, 12.3, 43.4, 48.2.

⁷¹ VA 6.10.3, cf. Testimonia 43 (Cyril).
⁷² VA 6.25 (Pygmies), 6.27 (satyr), 6.29–34 (Titus), 6.43 (dog). It was not the dog but a lion that had the soul of Amasis, VA 5.42.

λοιμοῦ προαισθῆσθαι ἴσως μὲν οὐδὲν περίεργον³⁰ δο-
ξειεν, εἰ [καθὼς αὐτὸς]³¹ ἀπὸ λεπτοτάτης καὶ καθαρᾶς
διαίτης κατείληπτο, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔφησεν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ
αὐτὸ ἐξ ὁμιλίας δαίμονος αὐτῷ προμεμήνυτο. καὶ γὰρ
δὴ καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὅσα κατὰ πρόγνωσιν διειληφώς τε
καὶ προειρηκώς εἰσῆκται, εἰ καὶ μυρίοις ἐλέγχοις ἐξ
αὐτῆς πάρεστι τῆς τοῦ Φιλοστράτου γραφῆς εὐθύνειν,
ὅμως ἵνα συγχωρηθείη καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι ἀληθές, κατὰ
περίεργον μηχανὴν εἶποιμ' ἂν πρὸς δαίμονος αὐτῷ
παρέδρου τινὰ τῶν μελλόντων, οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντα, κατ-
ειλήφθαι.

35.2. Τοῦτο δὲ παρίστησι σαφές τὸ μὴ δι' ὄλου καὶ
περὶ πάντων τὴν πρόγνωσιν αὐτὸν ἀποσώζειν, ἀπο-
ρεῖν δὲ ἐν πλείστοις καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι δι' ἄγνοιαν,
ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν, εἰ θείας ἀρετῆς μετῆν αὐτῷ, πεπόνθοι.
καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ παῦσαι τὸν λοιμόν, ὁποῖον εἴληχε τὸ
δράμα, ὅτι φάσμα καὶ οὐδέν τι πλέον ἦν, προδεδή-
λωται. ἀλλὰ καὶ [ὅτι]³² ἡ ψυχὴ Ἀχιλλέως παρὰ τῷ
αὐτοῦ μνήματι τί ἂν διατρίβοι, τὰς ἐν μακάρων νή-
σοις, ὡς ἂν φήσειέ τις, ἀπολείπουσα διαγωγάς, εἰ μὴ
καὶ τοῦτο δαίμονος ἦν ἐπιφανείας παρουσία; καὶ τοῦ
ἀσελγοῦς δὲ μειρακίου σαφῶς ἔνοικον δαίμονα, καὶ
πάλιν, ἣν ἔφησεν ἔμπουσαν τε καὶ λάμιαν ἐμπεπαρω-
νηκέναι τῷ Μενίπῳ, μείζονι τάχ' ἴσως ἐξελλήλακε
δαίμονι, ὁμοίως τε αὖ καὶ τὸν τὰς φρένας παρατρα-
πέντα νεανίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ λυττώντος κυνὸς αὐτόν τε τὸν
δαιμονῶντα κύνα τῇ αὐτῇ μετήλλαξε μεθόδῳ. ὅρα δὴ
οὖν, ὡς ἔφην, τὴν πᾶσαν αὐτῷ παραδοξοποιΐαν, ὡς

might not seem anything magical, if Apollonius perceived
it because of his very light and pure diet, as he himself
claimed, but perhaps he had prior information about this
too from conversing with a demon. Indeed, all the other
things that he is represented as perceiving and predicting
by second sight can be refuted by countless proofs from
the work of Philostratus itself; but nonetheless, supposing
we grant that this story as well is true, I would say that he
learned through some magical device about some future
events, even if not all, from his familiar demon.

35.2. What makes this clear is the fact that he does
not retain his second sight consistently and in all circum-
stances, but usually is at a loss and asks out of ignorance,
which could not happen to him if he had a share in di-
vine virtue. The melodramatic way in which he ended the
plague was an illusion and nothing more, as I have shown.
In addition, why should the soul of Achilles linger by his
tomb, forsaking the Islands of the Blessed, some might
say, unless this too was the manifest presence of a demon?
And it was very likely by means of a greater demon that he
expelled the demon that clearly had possessed the disso-
lute youth, and after that the "vampire and siren" that
Philostratus says had preyed on Menippus. Similarly too,
he used the same method to exorcise the youth whose wits
were turned by the rabid dog, and the dog itself that was
possessed. So you can see, as I said, that he performed all

³⁰ οὐδὲν περίεργον Jop. (οὐδὲ περίεργον Kay.): οὐδ' ἀπερί-
εργον

³¹ [καθὼς αὐτὸς] secl. Kay.

³² [ὅτι] secl. Kay.

διὰ δαιμονικῆς ἀπετελείτο ὑπουργίας. τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀναβιωσάσης κόρης, εἴτ' ἔμπνους ὑπῆρχε, σπινθῆρα ψυχῆς κατὰ τὸν συγγραφέα καὶ ἰκμάδα ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου φέρουσα, περιαιρετέον τῆς θαυματοποιίας· οὐ γὰρ ἂν, ὡς καὶ πρόσθεν ἔφην, σιωπῇ τὸ τηλικούτο παρεδόθη, ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης βασιλέως ἐπιπαρόντος γεγενημένον.

36. Μυρία μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα πάρεστιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναλέξασθαι συγγραμμάτων, τό τε ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐέλεκτον καὶ ἀσύστατον, μυθῶδες τε καὶ τερατῶδες ἀπευθύνειν. ὅμως, ἐπεὶ γε οὐδὲ πολλῆς τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα δεῖται σπουδαιολογίας, οὐχ ὅτι γε ἐν θείοις³³ καὶ παραδόξοις καὶ θαυμασίοις, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν φιλοσόφοις παρά τισι τῶν νῦν μνήμης ὑπαρχούσης αὐτοῦ, τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀρκεσθέντες μετίωμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔβδομον περὶ αὐτοῦ σύγγραμμα.

37. Κατηγορεῖται δῆτα γοητείαν ὁ ἀνὴρ. εἶτα Δημητρίῳ φιλοσόφῳ ἀποτρέποντι αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην παρόδου μὴ πειθόμενος, ἐπαχθῆ τινα καὶ φορτικὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ᾧδέ πως λέγει· “ἐγὼ δὲ γιγνώσκω μὲν πλείστα ἀνθρώπων, ἅτε εἰδῶς πάντα, οἶδα δὲ ὧν οἶδα τὰ μὲν σπουδαίους, τὰ δὲ σοφοῖς, τὰ δὲ ἑμαυτῶ, τὰ δὲ θεοῖς.” καὶ δὴ ὁ ἐν τούτοις πάντ' εἰδέναι μεγαλαυχούμενος προῖων ἄγνοιάν τινων πρὸς τοῦ λόγου κατηγορεῖται. εἶτα Δάμις αὐτῶ μεταπλάττεται διὰ θανάτου φόβον τὸν φιλόσοφον ἐπικρυπτόμενος. ἄκουε δ' οὖν τοῦ συγγραφέως, ἃ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν ἀπολογούμενος· “αἰτία μὲν ἦδε τοῦ μεταβαλεῖν τὸν Δάμιν τὸ

his wonder-working with demonic assistance. However, we should not include among his conjuring tricks the story of the girl who came to life, or alternatively was alive and “had a spark of life,” to quote the author, and drizzle on her face. As I said before,⁷³ something of this magnitude would not have been recorded as happening unobserved in Rome itself where the emperor was present.

36. One might assemble countless other instances from the same books and show how easily disproved and incoherent, how fabulous and fantastic they are. Still, the story of Apollonius does not require much serious study, since he is not remembered by certain of our contemporaries even as a philosopher, let alone as a holy, miraculous, and remarkable man. Let us then be content with what we have said so far, and proceed to the seventh book about him.

37. And so the man is accused of sorcery. Next, when Demetrius the philosopher tries to dissuade him from going to Rome, he is unpersuaded, making some boastful and annoying claims for himself, as follows: “I perceive more than any one does because I know everything, but some of my knowledge benefits the virtuous, some the wise, some myself, and some the gods.”⁷⁴ And yet the man who in these words boasts that he knows everything somewhat later is shown up by the narrative as ignorant of certain things. And then it makes Damis disguise himself, concealing his philosophic appearance from fear of death. Just listen to the author and what he says in Damis's defense: “This was the reason why Damis put off his Pythagorean

73 CH 30.2.

74 VA 7.14.2.

33 θείοις nescio quis: θεοῖς

τῶν Πυθαγορείων σχῆμα," οὐ γὰρ κακία γε αὐτὸ μεθεῖναι φησιν, "οὐδὲ μεταγνοῦς, τέχνην δὲ ἐπαινέσας, ἣν ὑπήλθεν ἐς τὸ συμφέρον τοῦ καιροῦ."

38.1. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Φιλόστρατος τέσσαρας αἰτίας τὰς δὴ εὐχερεῖς αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀπολογίαὺς νομισθείσας ἐκτίθησιν, ἀπὸ πλείστων καὶ ἄλλων αὐτὰς ὁμολογῶν ἀνειλέχθαι, ὧν ἡ μὲν τις ἦν, τί δὴ μαθῶν οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἅπασιν ἔχοι στολήν, ἡ δέ, τοῦ χάριν οἱ ἄνθρωποι θεὸν αὐτὸν νενομίκασι, τρίτην, πόθεν προείποι Ἐφεσίοις τὸν λοιμόν, ἐπὶ ταύταις, τίνι βαδίσας εἰς ἀγρὸν ἀνατέμοι τὸν παῖδα τὸν Ἀρκάδα. πρὸς ταύτας δὲ φησὶ καὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαὺς αὐτὸν γεγραφέναι. πρότερον δ' ἱστορεῖ δεσμοῖς αὐτὸν παραδοθῆναι καὶ τι θαυμαστὸν ἐνταῦθα κατεργάσασθαι. τῷ γὰρ τοι Δάμιδι μάλα λυπηρῶς, ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ τοῦ διδασκάλου, διακειμένῳ αὐτόματον ἐπιδείξαι λελυμένον τοῦ δεσμοῦ τὸ σκέλος, εἶτα πάλιν ἀναλαβόντ' αὐτὸν τῆς λύπης ἐνθεῖναι εἰς τὸ πρότερον σχῆμα τὸν πόδα.

38.2. Μετὰ τοῦτο κρινόμενον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ βασιλέως Δομετιανοῦ γράφει εἶτα δὴ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολυθῆναι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων λύσιν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἀκαίρως, μοι δοκεῖν, ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα ἀναφωνῆσαι, "δός, εἰ βούλει, κάμοι τόπον, εἰ δὲ μή, πέμπε τὸν ληψόμενόν μου τὸ σῶμα, τὴν γὰρ ψυχὴν ἀδύνατον. μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ' ἂν τὸ σῶμα τοῦμόν λάβοις: οὐ γὰρ με κτενέεις, ἐπεὶ οὗτοι μόρσιμός εἰμι," καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ περιβοήτῳ ῥήματι ἀφανισθῆναι τοῦ δικαστηρίου φησὶν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐν τούτοις

dress," since (so he says) he did not give it up from cowardice, "or because he had changed his mind, but because he approved of the ruse, and entered into it as the crisis demanded."⁷⁵

38.1. After this Philostratus sets out four charges that he thinks are easy for him to refute, admitting that he selected them from a very large number of other ones. One of them was: what did Apollonius know that made him dress differently from everyone else? Another: did people acknowledge him as a god? The third: how did he predict the plague at Ephesus? The last: on whose behalf did he go into the countryside and butcher the Arcadian boy?⁷⁶ Philostratus says that Apollonius wrote his speech of defense in answer to these, but first he recounts how he was put in chains, and performed something miraculous there. Damis was grieving very deeply over his master's supposed predicament, but Apollonius showed him his leg freed from his chain without assistance and, when he had relieved Damis of his grief, he returned his foot to its former place.⁷⁷

38.2. Next he writes that Apollonius was tried before the emperor Domitian, but thereafter was acquitted of the charges. After this acquittal, he allegedly proclaimed these precise words (very inappropriately, in my opinion): "Assign me a place too, if that be your wish, but if not, send someone to seize my body, because you cannot seize my soul, or rather, you can never even seize my body; you will not kill me, since I am not mortal."⁷⁸ And then with that celebrated remark he says that Apollonius vanished from

75 VA 7.15.3.

76 VA 7.20.1.

77 VA 7.38.

78 VA 8.5.3.

τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ καταστρέφει δράμα.

39.1. Ὁ μὲν οὖν συγγραφεὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ δεσμωτήριον θαύματος, κατὰ φαντασίαν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ παρέδρου δαίμονος τῷ Δάμιδι ἑωραμένου, ἐπιφέρει λέγων "τότε πρῶτον ὁ Δάμις φησὶν ἀκριβῶς ξυνεῖναι τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου φύσεως, ὅτι θεία τε εἶη καὶ κρείττων ἀνθρώπου, μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ; μηδὲ εὐξάμενον, μηδὲ εἰπόντα τι καταγελάσαι τοῦ δεσμοῦ καὶ ἐναρμόσαντα αὐτῷ τὸ σκέλος τὰ τοῦ δεδεμένου πράττειν." ἐγὼ δὲ οὐποτ' ἂν καταγνοίην βραδυτήτα τοῦ φοιτητοῦ, εἰ τὸν πάντα βίον συνῶν αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ τινων περιέργων ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἀποτελοῦντα τὰ παράδοξα οὐδέν τι διαφέρειν αὐτὸν ἠγείτο τῆς θνητῆς φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν μετὰ τοσαύτην θαυματουργίαν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀγνοεῖ, εἰκότως δ' ἀγωνιᾷ καὶ δέδιδε ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου, μὴ τι πάθοι παρὰ προαίρεσιν.

39.2. Εἰ δὲ δὴ πρῶτον ἄρτι μετὰ τὴν τοσαύτην διατριβήν, ὅτι δὴ "θείος εἶη καὶ κρείττονος ἀνθρώπου φύσεως," συνίησι, τὴν τούτου συνιδεῖν ἄξιον αἰτίαν, ἣν αὐτὸς ὁ συγγραφεὺς δηλοῖ λέγων "μὴ γὰρ θύσαντά τι, μηδὲ ἐπευξάμενον, μηδέ τι τῶν ἀπορρήτων εἰρηκότα" τὸ παράδοξον ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν πεποιηκότα. οὐκοῦν τὰ πρότερον διὰ περιέργου μηχανῆς ἐτελείτο τῷ ἀνδρὶ, διὸ μηδὲ καταπλήττεσθαι αὐτά, μηδὲ θαυμάζειν τὸν Δάμιν, εἰκότως δὲ νῦν τοῦτο πρῶτον πέπονθεν, ὡς ξένου τινὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὰ συνήθη διαπεπραγμένου. πρὸς τὸ δειχθὲν δὲ τοῦ δεσμοῦ

the courtroom, and with these words he ends this melodrama about him.

39.1. On the occasion of the miracle in the prison, which Damis seems to have witnessed through an illusion created by Apollonius's familiar demon, the author observes: "That was the first time, says Damis, that he clearly understood Apollonius's nature to be godlike and more than human. Without sacrifice (for how could he sacrifice in jail?), or prayer, or a single word, he made light of his chains, and then put his leg back into them and acted like a prisoner."⁷⁹ I myself would never condemn Apollonius's disciple for stupidity, just because he had accompanied him for all his life and seen him performing his miracles by some magic arts, and yet did not think his nature different from a mortal one; or just because even now, after all this conjuring, he fails to see the facts about him, and is quite reasonably in an agony of fear about him, in case as a mere human he suffers something against his wishes.

39.2. But if now for the first time, after such a long acquaintance, he realizes that he is "godlike and more than human" in nature, it is worth examining the reason given by the author himself, who says that Damis saw him performing this miracle "without sacrifice or prayer, or a single secret word."⁸⁰ Well then, the man did not do his previous acts by some magical device, and that is why Damis was not amazed or surprised by them. Doubtless the reason why he felt this for the first time now is that Apollonius had performed something strange and unusual. In addition to the illusion of the chain, which I have mentioned,

⁷⁹ VA 7.38.

⁸⁰ Above, 39.1. Eusebius has slipped in the word "secret."

φάσμα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἀναχώρησιν τὰς πρὸς Δομετιανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου φωνὰς παραθείμην ἄν· δεσμοῖς γάρ τοι αὐτὸν παραδοθῆναι προστάξαντος βασιλέως, πάνυ γε ἀκολουθῶς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος συνελογίσατο ὡδί πως· “εἰ μὲν γόητά με ἤγῃ, πῶς δήσεις; εἰ δὲ δήσεις, πῶς γόητα εἶναι φήσεις;”

39.3. Ἀντικρούσει γοῦν αὐτῷ τις, ὡδί πως ἐκ τούτων ὀρμώμενος· “εἰ μὲν οὐ γόης, πῶς λέλυται σου τὸ σκέλος; εἰ δὲ λέλυται, πῶς οὐ γόης;” καὶ εἰ τῷ ὑπομεῖναι τὸν δεσμὸν οὐ γόης, τῷ μὴ ὑπομεῖναι καὶ κατ’ αὐτὸν ὠμολόγηται γόης. καὶ αὖ πάλιν, εἰ ὑπομείνας τὸ δικαστήριον οὐ γόης, τῷ δὲ διαδρᾶναι τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν βασιλέα, λέγω καὶ τοὺς ἐν κύκλῳ δορυφόρους, σαφῶς ἀναπέφανται γόης. ὅθεν μοι δοκῶ, συνησθημένος ὁ λόγος θεραπεύει τὸ γεγονὸς ὡς δὴ ἄνευ θυσιῶν καὶ ἐπωδῶν ἀρρήτῳ τινὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον δυνάμει τοῦ παραδόξου πεφηνότος.

40. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν αὐθις ὁ τῆς φύσεως παραστήσεται ἔλεγχος· αὐτίκα γάρ τινος ἐπιστάντος αὐτῷ καὶ φήσαντος “ἀφίησί σε, ὦ Ἀπολλώνιε, τουτωνὶ τῶν δεσμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐλευθέριον³⁴ δεσμωτήριον συγχωρεῖ οἰκεῖν,” ὁ κρείττων ἢ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τῶν μελλόντων προγνώστης “κωφοῦ τε ξυνιείς καὶ οὐ λαλέοντος ἀκούων” ὑπὸ τῆς ἄγαν, ὡς εἰκός, περιχαρείας ἀποπεσὼν τῆς προγνώσεως πυνθάνεται λέγων “τίς οὖν

³⁴ ἐλευθέριον Kay.: ἐλεύθερου

and his departure from the court, I might adduce the words of Apollonius himself to Domitian. When the emperor ordered him to be put in chains, Apollonius reasoned very logically as follows: “If you think me a sorcerer, how will you chain me? And if you chain me, how will you say I am a sorcerer?”⁸¹

39.3. Someone will reply to him thus, starting from these very words: “If you are not a sorcerer, how was your leg released? And if it was, how are you not a sorcerer?” And if he is not a sorcerer because he submitted to chains, by not submitting to them he is convicted of sorcery out of his own mouth. Similarly, if by submitting to trial he is not a sorcerer, by escaping from it and from those around the emperor himself, I mean the guards posted around him, he is clearly revealed as a sorcerer. I think that the narrative is conscious of this, and so glosses over the event, saying that the miracle was made manifest not through sacrifices and spells, but by some secret and superhuman power.

40. Not long after, however, a proof of his true nature will again emerge. For someone immediately comes up to him and says, “The emperor releases you from these chains, Apollonius, and permits you to stay in the free prison.” Whereupon our superman, our prophet of the future, “who understands the deaf and hears him who speaks not,” forgets his prophetic powers, doubtless overcome by

⁸¹ VA 7.34.

ὁ μετασκευάσων με ἐντεῦθεν;” ὁ δὲ “ἐγώ,” ἔφη “καὶ ἔπου.”

41. Εἶτα καὶ λόγον ἀπολογίας ὁ θειότατος μάλα γε πεφροντισμένως συντάττει, ἀγνοῶν, ὅτι δῆτα εἰς μάτην αὐτῷ σπουδασθήσεται ἢ γραφή. οἶεται μὲν γὰρ ἀκουσθήσεσθαι αὐτοῦ ἀπολογουμένου βασιλέα, καὶ ὡς ἀκουσομένου γε σφόδρα πιθανῶς παρασκευάζεται τὴν ἀπολογία, ὁ δὲ ταύτην μὴ ἀναμείνας εἰς οὐδέον αὐτοῦ τὴν σπουδὴν κατεστήσατο. ἄκουε δὴ οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτων, οἷά φησιν ὁ ἔλεγχος: “ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ λόγος αὐτῷ συνεγράφη τις ὡς πρὸς ὕδωρ τὴν ἀπολογία ἀφήσοντι, ξυνεῖλε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ τύραννος ἐς ἃς εἴρηκα ἐρωτήσεις, ἀναγεγράφθω καὶ ὁ λόγος.” ὄρα δὴ, πῶς τοῦ μέλλοντος πορρωτάτω τυγχάνων ὁ πάντα θειότατος μετὰ πλείστης ὄσης φροντίδος ὡς πρὸς ὕδωρ τὴν ἀπολογία ποιησόμενος ἐσπούδαζεν.

42.1. Ἄλλὰ γὰρ διεξιτητέον καὶ τὴν εἰς μάτην αὐτῷ πεποιημένην ἀπολογία, ἃ, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν ταύτῃ, Δομετιανῷ προσφωνῶν ἀπανθαδίζεται λέγων, ὡς ἄρα Οὐεσπασιανὸς “σὲ μὲν βασιλέα ἐποίησεν, ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐγένετο.” βαβαὶ τῆς ἀλαζονείας, ἣν οὐτι γὰρ ὁ τυχών, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ εἰ φιλόσοφός τις ἀληθῶς καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ὑπεραίρων ἐγεγόνει φύσιν, ἕτερατεύσατο ἂν μὴ οὐχὶ δίκην ἀνοίας παρὰ τοῖς ἔμφροσιν ὑποσχών. εἶτα δὲ τῆς κατ’ αὐτὸν ὑποψίας ἑαυτὸν ἀπολυόμενος ταῦτα περὶ γοήτων φησίν· “ἀλλὰ τοὺς γόητας ψευδοσόφους φημί, τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι παρ’ αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἄπιστα εἶναι.”

joy, and asks, “Who will conduct me from here?” and the other says, “I will, so follow me.”⁸²

41. Next, our most holy man very carefully composes a speech of defense, not knowing that in fact the work will be a waste of effort. For he thinks the emperor will listen to his defense, and on that assumption prepares it very persuasively, whereas the emperor does not wait to hear it, rendering his effort superfluous. Just listen to what the proof says on this point too: “He also composed a speech to recite in his defense during his allotted time; but since the tyrant confined him to the questions I have mentioned, let me write out his speech.”⁸³ Just see how this holiest of men, seeing far into the future, put the greatest care and effort into writing his speech to suit the clock.

42.1. Even so, one must go through his uselessly written defense. Like much else in it, there are boastful statements that he makes when addressing Domitian, saying that Vespasian “made you emperor, but I made him one.”⁸⁴ What effrontery! Not even an ordinary person, still less someone who was a true philosopher with a nature surpassing the human, would have made this monstrous claim without incurring a charge of madness among sensible people. Next he tries to absolve himself of the suspicions against him by saying this about sorcerers: “By ‘sham learning’ I refer to sorcerers, because they cause the non-existent to exist, and the existent to be doubted.”⁸⁵

⁸² VA 7.40.1. The same quotation from Herodotus occurs in CH 14. ⁸³ VA 8.6.1.

⁸⁴ VA 8.7.5. “Emperor” (*basileus*) is not in the manuscripts of Philostratus.

⁸⁵ VA 8.7.10.

42.2. Καταμάθοι δ' οὖν τις ἔκ τε τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας καὶ τῶν ἐν μέρει δεδηλωμένων, πότερα ἐν θείοις καὶ φιλοσόφοις ἢ ἐν γόησιν αὐτὸν κατατακτέον, ἐπιστήσας οἷς τε αὐτὸς περὶ γοήτων καὶ ψευδοσόφων εἶρηκε καὶ οἷς δεδήλωκεν ἢ κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστορία. δρύες τε γὰρ καὶ πτελέαι "ἐνάρθρω καὶ θήλει φωνῇ" λαλοῦσαι, καὶ τρίποδες αὐτόματοι φοιτῶντες, καὶ χάλκεοι θεράποντες διακονούμενοι, πίθοι τε ὄμβρων καὶ ἀνέμων, καὶ σανδαράκινον ὕδωρ, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα εἰσῆκται παρ' οἷς ἠγείτο θεοῖς, οὓς καὶ οὐκ ὠκνεῖ διδασκάλους ἐπιγράφεσθαι, τίνος ἂν εἶεν παραστατικὰ ἢ τῶν "τὰ οὐκ ὄντα εἶναι καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἄπιστα εἶναι" παραδεικνύντων; οὓς αὐτὸς γόητας ὀνομάζων ψευδοσόφους ὑπάρχειν ἀποφαίνεται. ἦτοι οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ θεῖος καὶ "ἐνάρετος καὶ θεοῖς κεχαρισμένος," τὸ σοφίας ἀναδησάμενος βραβεῖον, αὐτοῦ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν ὅσοι μετ' ἐκείνον θειότερος ἀληθῶς καὶ μακρῶ εὐδαιμονέστερος ἂν κριθείη, ἢ ἔμπαλιν ψευδοσοφίας ἀλοῦς κακοδαιμόνων ἀποίσεται τὰ πρωτεῖα.

43.1. Πάλιν δ' ἐν τῇ γραφῇ περὶ Μοιρῶν ἰσχύος φιλοσοφῆσαι ἑαυτὸν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ φησὶ διδάσκοντα οὕτως ἄτρεπτα εἶναι, ἃ κλώθουσιν, ὡς εἰ καὶ βασιλείαν τῷ ψηφίσαιντο ἐτέρῳ ἤδη ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ' ἂν ἀποκτείνειέ τις τοῦτον, ὡς μὴ ἀφαιρεθείη ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν, καὶ ἂν ἀναβιώῃ³⁵ ἀποθανῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν δοξάντων ταῖς Μοίραις. καὶ τούτοις ἐπιλέγει αὐταῖς

³⁵ ἀναβιώῃ Kay.: ἀναβιώναι

42.2. Well, one may observe from the whole work and the details I have indicated whether Apollonius is to be ranked among holy men and philosophers or among sorcerers, by noticing what he himself has said about sorcerers and false philosophers, and what the account of him has revealed. Oaks and elms talking with an "articulate, feminine voice," urns moving of their own accord, bronze waiters serving, jars containing rain and winds, water of realgar, and all the other things that are introduced among those whom Apollonius considered gods, whom he did not shrink from proclaiming as his teachers—what do these things suggest if not people who "cause the nonexistent to exist, and the existent to be doubted"? When he himself calls them sorcerers, he thereby shows them to be false philosophers. After all this, either this holy and "virtuous" man, one "pleasing to the gods,"⁸⁶ will take the prize for wisdom, and be judged truly more holy and far more fortunate than Pythagoras himself and all his followers, or on the contrary he will be caught out as a fake philosopher, and will carry off first prize for roguery.

43.1. Again, he claims in his written speech that, when discoursing on the power of the Fates in Ionia, he had preached that their decisions are so immutable that if they assigned to someone a kingdom now held by someone else, the present ruler could not kill the next one to prevent him from becoming his successor, and if the person died he would come to life again to maintain the Fates' decrees.

⁸⁶ A quotation from Hierocles, see CH 2.2.

συλλαβαίς· “ὅτω πέπρωται γενέσθαι τεκτονικῶ, οὗτος, καὶ ἀποκοπῇ τῷ χεῖρε, τεκτονικὸς ἔσται, καὶ ὅτω νίκην ἐν Ὀλυμπία δρόμου ἄρασθαι, οὗτος δ', οὐδ' εἰ πηρωθείη τὸ σκέλος, ἀμαρτήσεται τῆς νίκης, καὶ ὅτω ἔνευσαν Μοῖραι τὸ ἐν τοξικῇ κράτος, οὗτος, οὐδ' εἰ ἀποβάλῃ τὰς ὄψεις, ἐκπεσεῖται τοῦ εὐσκόπου.”

43.2. Τούτοις τὸν ἄρχοντα κολακεύων ἐπιφέρει λέγων “τὰ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἔλεγον ἐς τοὺς Ἀκρισίους δήπου ὁρῶν καὶ τοὺς Λαῖους, Ἀστυάγην τε τὸν Μῆδον καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους εὖ τίθεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα δόξαντας, ὧν οἱ μὲν παῖδας, οἱ δὲ ἐγγόνους ἀποκτείνειν οἰηθέντες ἀφηρέθησαν ὑπ'³⁶ αὐτῶν τὸ βασιλεύειν, ἀναφύτων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἀφανοῦς ξὺν τῷ πεπρωμένῳ, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἠγάπων κολακευτικὴν, εἶπον ἂν καὶ τάδε ἐντεθυμῆσθαι, ὅτε ἀπέιλησο μὲν ὑπὸ Βιτελλίου, κατεπίπρατο δὲ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ Διὸς περὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς τοῦ ἄστεος, ὁ δ' εὖ κείσεσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔφασκεν, εἰ μὴ διαφύγοις αὐτόν· καίτοι μειράκιον ἰκανῶς ἦσθα καὶ οὐπω τοσοῦτος,³⁷ ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἐπεὶ Μοίραις ἐδόκει ἕτερα, ὁ μὲν ἀπώλετο αὐταῖς βουλαῖς, σὺ δὲ τὰ ἐκείνου νῦν ἔχεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρμονία κολακευτικῇ ἄχθομαι, δοκεῖ γάρ μοι τῶν ἐκρύθμων τε καὶ οὐκ εὐφθόγγων εἶναι, τετμήσθω μοι ἦδε ἢ νευρὰ καὶ μηδὲν ἠγοῦ τῶν σῶν ἐντεθυμῆσθαί με.” διὰ τούτων δὲ ὁμοῦ τὸν ἄνδρα κόλακα καὶ ψεύστην καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόσοφον ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας παρίστησι λόγος, τοσαῦτα γὰρ πρότερον

³⁶ ὑπ' Kay. e Philostr.: ἀπ'

After this he says in so many words: “If a man is fated to be a carpenter, even though his hands are cut off he will still be a carpenter. If he is destined to win in the footrace at Olympia and he is maimed in the leg, he still will not fail to win. If the Fates have allotted him skill at archery, even supposing he loses his eyesight he will not diminish in accuracy.”⁸⁷

43.2. To this he adds flattery of the emperor, saying: “I referred to the fortunes of kings thinking of such as Acrisius, of course, Laius, Astyages the Mede, and many others. These at first thought they had settled such problems, believing they had killed their sons or grandsons, and yet they lost their thrones to them when Fate produced them from obscurity. If I were given to flattery, I would claim to have been thinking of your history, and how you were cut off by Vitellius here, and the temple of Zeus caught fire at the summit of the city. He said that his own situation would be secure if you did not escape him, though you were only a youth, and not yet as great as you now are. Nonetheless the Fates decreed otherwise, he perished and his plans with him, and you now have his position. But I dislike the music of flattery, because I think it of the ill timed and ill tuned kind, so I will snap this string, and you may suppose that I did not have your affairs in mind at all.”⁸⁸ By these words, this work “in defense of truth” presents the man as a flatterer and a liar, anything rather than a philosopher. For after saying all those things

⁸⁷ VA 8.7.47 (slightly altered).

⁸⁸ VA 8.7.47–48.

³⁷ τοσοῦτος in VA Rsk.: οὗτος

εἰπὼν κατὰ τοῦ Δομετιανοῦ κολακεύει νῦν ὁ γεννάδας καὶ καθυποκρίνεται ὡς οὐδέν τι κατ' αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ Μοιρῶν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνάγκης ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ κεκινημένων.

43.3. Ἀνάλαβε δῆτα τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὦ συγγραφεῦ, καὶ τῆς λήθης³⁸ διανήψας τὰ πρότερόν σοι γραφέντα λαμπρᾶ καὶ φιλαλήθει διέλθε τῇ φωνῇ, μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος, ὡς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διατρίβων “ἀφίστη Δομετιανοῦ τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπάντων ἐρρώνυμω σωτηρίας, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐπιστολιμαίους ὁμιλίας οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς αὐτοῖς ᾤετο, τῶν δὲ ἐταίρων τοὺς σωφρονεστάτους ἄλλοτε ἄλλον ἀπολαμβάνων ‘διάκονον’ ἔλεγε ‘ποιουμαί σε ἀπορρήτου λαμπροῦ, βαδίσει δέ σε χρῆ ἐς Ῥώμην παρὰ τὸν δείνα καὶ τὸν δείνα καὶ διαλεχθῆναί οἱ,’” καὶ “διελέγετο μὲν ὑπὲρ Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης καὶ τὸν λόγον διήκει, ὅτι μηδὲ οἱ τύραννοι τὰ Μοιρῶν οἶοι βιάζεσθαι,” καὶ ὡς “χαλκῆς εἰκόνοσ ἰδρυμένησ Δομετιανοῦ πρὸς τῷ Μέλητι ἐπιστρέψασ ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς παρόντας, ‘ἀνόητε,’ εἶπεν ‘ὡς πολὺ διαμαρτάνεις Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης· ὦ γὰρ μετὰ σὲ τυραννεῦσαι πέπρωται, τοῦτον καὶ εἰ ἀποκτείνεις, ἀναβιώσεται.”

43.4. Ὁ δὲ μετὰ τοὺς τοιουσδὶ λόγους κολακεύων τὸν τύραννον, καὶ μηδέν τι τούτων ὡς πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρησθαι αὐτῷ κατειρωνευόμενος, πῶσ οὐ μοχθηρίας ἀπάσης καὶ ἀνελευθερίας κριθείη; εἰ μὴ ἄρα ψευδηγόρους τινὰς καὶ κατηγορούς τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὐχὶ δὲ ἀλη-

³⁸ λήθης Kay.: ἀληθείας

previously against Domitian, the fine fellow now flatters him, and makes out that all the points he raised about Fates and Necessity in Ionia were not at all against the emperor, but rather in his defense.

43.3. So take up your story again, author, shake off your amnesia and go through what you wrote before in a clear and “truth-loving” voice, keeping nothing back. For example, when Apollonius was in Ephesus, “he began to make these men disaffected from Domitian, and to urge them on for the sake of the general freedom. Advice sent by letter would not be safe for them, he thought, because many men of high station had been betrayed by their slaves, friends, and wives, and just then no house could keep a secret. So on different occasions, taking aside certain of his most temperate followers, he would say, ‘I am making you the bearer of a glorious secret. You must go to so-and-so in Rome.’”⁸⁹ Or: “He gave a discourse about the Fates and Necessity, and was expounding the doctrine that not even tyrants can force the hand of the Fates,”⁹⁰ and “A bronze statue of Domitian had been erected by the Meles, and Apollonius, calling his listeners’ attention to it, said, ‘You fool, how wrong you are about the Fates and Necessity, for even if you kill the man destined to rule after you, he will live again.’”⁹¹

43.4. If someone makes speeches like this, and then flatters the tyrant, hypocritically claiming that nothing of all this was meant against him, should he not be condemned for utter villainy and cowardice? Unless perhaps we should assume that those who placed these things on

⁸⁹ VA 7.8.1–2.

⁹¹ VA 7.9.1.

⁹⁰ VA 7.8.2–9.1.

θεῖς συγγραφέας θείη τις τοὺς ταῦτα μνήμη παραδε-
δωκότας. καὶ ποῦ τοῦ Φιλαλήθους "οἱ παιδεύσεως μὲν
ἐπὶ πλείστον ἤκοντες, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς τιμῶντες συγγρα-
φεῖς Δάμις τε ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὁ καὶ συνδιατρίψας τῷ
δηλουμένῳ, καὶ Φιλόστρατος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος," ἀφ' ὧν
ταῦτα παρατίθεται; οὗς σαφῶς οὕτως ἐναντιολογοῦν-
τας, κομπάζοντάς τε ἀληθῶς, καὶ τοῖς μαχομένοις
παρισταμένους "ψεύστας" ἐναργῶς "καὶ ἀπαιδεύτους
καὶ γόητας" τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ φέγγος διήλεγξεν.

44.1. Ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀπαλλαγέντα τοῦ
δικαστηρίου ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ ἐλθεῖν ἱστορεῖ, βουλόμενόν
τε εἰς Τροφωνίου κατελθεῖν μὴ ἐπιτρέπεσθαι πρὸς τῶν
ἐπιχωρίων, γόητα καὶ τούτων ἡγουμένων αὐτόν. καί-
τοι ἄξιον ἀπορῆσαι παραθέμενον τὰς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ
Φιλοστράτου λέξεις, ἐν αἷς ἀπορῶν ὅτι δὴ γόητα
αὐτὸν ὑπειλήφασιν, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα θαυμάζει λέγων
Ἐμπεδοκλέα μὲν καὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Δημόκριτον τοῖς
αὐτοῖς μάγοις ὠμιληκότας οὕπω ὑπήχθαι <τῇ>³⁹ τέ-
χνη, Πλάτωνά τε παρὰ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱερέων τε καὶ
προφητῶν πολλὰ παρεληφότα, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς ἰδίοις
ἀναμίξαντα λόγοις, οὐδαμῶς δόξαι τισὶ μαγεύειν,
τουτονὶ δὲ οὕπω γινώσκεσθαι παρ' ἀνθρώποις, ὅτι
δὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθινῆς ὀρμῶτο σοφίας, μάγον δὲ αὐτὸν
νενομίσθαι τῷ μάγοις Βαβυλωνίων Ἰνδῶν τε Βρα-
χμᾶσι καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων Γυμνοῖς ὠμιληκέναι.

44.2. Τί δῆτα οὖν εἰρήσεται πρὸς αὐτόν, ὦ οὔτος;

³⁹ <τῇ> Jon. e Philostr.

record are not "truthful" authors but merely slanderers
and accusers of the man. And what of those who, according
to our Lover of Truth, "reached a very high level of cul-
ture and honored truth, Damis the philosopher, who stud-
ied with the aforesaid Apollonius, and Philostratus of Ath-
ens," from whom all this has been transferred? They are
evidently contradicting one another, truly boasting, and
clearly proved by their inconsistencies to be "liars, ignora-
muses, and sorcerers,"⁹² and the light of truth has visibly
exposed them.

44.1. After all this, Philostratus recounts that Apollo-
nius left the court and came to Lebadea, wanting to go
down to the oracle of Trophonius, but was stopped by the
locals, since they too considered him a sorcerer. Yet we
may well be perplexed when we recall the statements of
Philostratus at the beginning. There he was perplexed at
the fact that people took Apollonius for a sorcerer, and ex-
presses his wonder by saying that Empedocles, Pythagoras
himself, and Democritus associated just as much with the
same magicians without being seduced by the art, and
Plato picked up many things from the prophets and the
priests in Egypt which he blended into his own discourses,
and yet no one ever thought that he practiced magic. By
contrast, he says, people do not know Apollonius for the
true wisdom that was his foundation, but thought him
a magician because he had associated with Babylonian
Magi, Indian Brahmans, and the Naked Ones of Egypt.⁹³

44.2. Well then, you there, whatever are we to say about

⁹² The same words that Hierocles used about the Christian
evangelists, cf. CH 2.2.

⁹³ Paraphrase of VA 1.2.1.

τῷδε τῷ ἀνδρὶ <τί>⁴⁰ τηλικούτον ἐπεχειρεῖτο, ὡς μόνου γόητα πάλαι τε καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν νενομίσθαι παρὰ τοὺς τηλικούτους ἄνδρας, οἳ τῶν αὐτῶν αὐτῷ, ὡς φῆς, διδασκάλων πεπειραμένοι διέπρεψαν μὲν καὶ καθ' οὓς ἐγνωρίζοντο χρόνους, καὶ εἰς τοὺς μετέπειτα δὲ τῆς σφῶν φιλοσοφίας ἀοίδιμον καταλελοίपाσι τὴν ἀρετὴν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα πέρα τῶν προσηκόντων ἐγχειρῶν τοῖς εὖ φρονούσι φανερὸς καθειστήκει; αὐτίκα τῶν νῦν εἴσιν, οἳ περιέργους μηχανὰς τῆ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀνακειμένης προσηγορία κατειληφέναι λέγουσιν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔμοιγε τούτοις φίλον προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν.

44.3. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τῆς ἀνδρὸς ἀκόλουθα τοῖς προτέροις συντάπτων οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ἐξέφηεν εἰδέναι, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τελευτῆσαι αὐτὸν ἱστορεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Λίνδῳ ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἄλλους δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ, καὶ τοσαύτην ἄγνοιαν τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν τέλους κατασκεδάσας βούλεται αὐτὸν ἐς οὐρανὸν αὐτῷ σώματι χωρῆσαι. ἐσδραμόντος γὰρ ἐς ἱερόν φησι κλεισθῆναι τὰς πύλας καὶ τινὰ ᾠδὴν ἀδόκητον παρθένων ἐκπεσεῖν, τὸ δὲ ᾄσμα εἶναι "στείχε, στείχε ἐς οὐρανόν, στείχε." λέγει δέ, ὡς μήτε τάφῳ μήτε κenoταφίῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πῶ περιτύχοι, καίτοι τῆς γῆς ὀπόση ἐστὶν ἑαυτὸν ἐπελθόντα. καὶ βούλεται αὐτῷ ἢ διάνοια μηδὲ ὅλως θανάτου τὸν ἄνδρα θιγεῖν, πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἀμφιβάλλων περὶ τοῦ τρόπου, καθ' ὃν ἐτελεύτα, φησὶν "εἶγε ἐτελεύτα," ὕστερον δὲ διαρρήδην καὶ ἐς οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν χωρῆσαι φάσκει. ὅθεν ὡς

him now? What was this man's great accomplishment that caused him, long ago and even now, to be thought an unsurpassed sorcerer in comparison to such giants? Even though they had the same teachers as he did, so you say, and were conspicuous even in the days when other people knew them, and have left a glorious reputation for their wisdom with posterity. It must be that people of sense have clearly perceived that he attempted to go beyond the permissible. For example, there are even now those who say that they have observed magic devices set up in this man's name, though I at least have no desire to pay attention to such people.

44.3. In addition, Philostratus has given an account of the man's death that is consistent with what precedes, though declaring that he knows nothing for sure. Some, he says, maintain that he died in Ephesus, others in Lindos at the sanctuary of Athena, others in Crete, and by spreading such a cloud of uncertainty about his end he wants to make it seem that Apollonius went to heaven body and all. For he says that he ran into the sanctuary, the doors were locked, and some unexpected song of maidens was heard, of which the words were, "Proceed, proceed to heaven, proceed." He says too that he has never come across a tomb or cenotaph of the man, though he himself has traveled across most of the world. His intention is to make it seem that the man did not taste death at all, since after first hesitating about the way he met his end, he says "if indeed he had an end," and later says outright that he went to

⁴⁰ <τί> Kay.

δὴ τοιοῦτον ὄντα καὶ κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον τῆς ὅλης γραφῆς Πυθαγόρου καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέους θειότερόν φησι προσεληλυθέναι φιλοσοφία.

45.1. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις περιγραφόμενου τοῦ λόγου, βραχέ' ἄττα περὶ Μοιρῶν καὶ εἰμαρμένης φέρε διαλάβωμεν, ὅ τι καὶ βούλοιτο δι' ὅλης αὐτῶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ὁ λόγος τὸ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀναιρῶν, ἀνάγκην δὲ εἰσάγων καὶ εἰμαρμένην καὶ Μοίρας, διαρθροῦντες, ταύτη γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐντελῶς καὶ ἢ ἐν δόγμασι ψευδοδοξία τὰνδρὸς διευθυνθήσεται. εἰ δὴ οὖν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας λόγον "ψυχὴ πᾶσα ἀθάνατος, τὸ γὰρ ἀεικίνητον ἀθάνατον, τὸ δ' ἄλλο κινεῖν καὶ ὑφ' ἑτέρου κινούμενον παῦλαν ἔχον κινήσεως παῦλαν ἔχει ζωῆς," καὶ "αἰτία ἐλομένον, θεὸς ἀναίτιος," τίς αἰροῖτο λόγος, ἄκουσαν, οὐχὶ δὲ κατὰ προαίρεσιν, ἀψύχου δίκην σώματος ἔξωθεν ποθεν κινουμένην, καὶ ὡσπερὶ νευροσπαστουμένην ὧδε κάκεισε, τὴν ἀεικίνητον ἄγεσθαι φύσιν, μηδὲν μηδαμῶς ἐξ ἰδίας ὀρμῆς καὶ κινήσεως ἐνεργοῦσαν, μηδὲ εἰς ἑαυτὴν τὴν τῶν δρωμένων ἀναφέρουσαν αἰτίαν, ταύτη τε μήτε φιλοσοφοῦσαν ἐπαινετέαν τυγχάνειν μήτ' αὖ ψεκτὴν κακίας ἔμπλεων καὶ πονηρίας;

45.2. Τί δῆτα οὖν Εὐφράτη λοιδορούμενος καταμέμφη, ὧ τᾶν, εἰ μὴ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐξ εἰμαρμένης ἐπὶ τὸ κέρδος ἐκδούς, ὡς αὐτὸς ἀξιοῖς, ὠλιγώρει φιλοσοφίας; τί δαὶ καὶ γόησιν ἐνυβρίζεις ψευδοσόφους ἀποκαλῶν, ὑπὸ Μοιρῶν, ὡς ἡγῆ, καθελκομένους ἐπὶ τὸν κακοδαίμονα βίον; τί δαὶ κακίαν ἀπλῶς ὀνο-

heaven.⁹⁴ That is why he says in the preface to the whole work that such a man had approached philosophy with more holiness than Pythagoras or Empedocles.

45.1. Nonetheless, since Philostratus's account ends with this incident, let us briefly examine a few points about the Fates and Destiny, scrutinizing the thesis of the whole work, since it abolishes our responsibility, and brings in Necessity, Destiny, and the Fates. By this method we will completely expose the falsity of the man's beliefs. Now, according to the account of true philosophy, "Every soul is immortal, for what is ever moving is immortal, and what moves others and is moved by others, by ceasing to move ceases to live," and "The reason is in the chooser, not in God."⁹⁵ How then could it follow that ever moving nature, unwillingly and without any choice like a lifeless object, is carried by some external force back and forth like a puppet on strings, drives nothing at all by its own impulse and movement, and does not carry the cause of its actions within itself, and in this way neither deserves praise for pursuing wisdom, nor blame if it is full of evil and wickedness?

45.2. Why then, sir,⁹⁶ do you abuse and blame Euphrates, if it was not by his own choice but because of Destiny that he devoted himself to gain, as you allege, and neglected philosophy? Why ever do you attack sorcerers, calling them false philosophers, if in your opinion the Fates draw them to their life of wickedness? Why ever do

⁹⁴ Paraphrase of VA 8.30. Philostratus does not in fact say that Apollonius "went to heaven."
⁹⁵ Plato, *Phaedrus* 245 C and *Republic* X 617 E.
⁹⁶ From here to the end of 46.2 Eusebius addresses Apollonius directly.

μάζεις, καὶ πονηρός τις ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐν δίκη κρίνεται παρὰ σοὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀνάγκης εἰμαρμένον ἀποπληρῶν ὄρον; ὡς ἔμπαλιν τίνι λόγῳ Πυθαγόραν σεμνολογῶν θαυμαστὸν ἐπιγράφη διδάσκαλον, καὶ Μοιρῶν παῖγνιον ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐραστήν ὄντα φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἀπολείπεις ἐπαινῶν, Φραώτης δὲ καὶ Ἰάρχας Ἰνδῶν φιλόσοφοι τί μᾶλλον παρὰ σοὶ θεῶν ἀπηνέγκαντο δόξαν μηδέν τι παιδείας ἴδιον, μηδ' ἀρετῆς ἀπενεγκάμενοι κλέος; Νέρωνος δ' ὡσαύτως καὶ Δομετιανοῦ τί οὐχὶ Μοίραις καὶ ἀνάγκῃ τὴν ἀκόλαστον περιάπτεις ἀγερωχίαν, πάσης αἰτίας καὶ παντὸς ἐγκλήματος ἐλευθερῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας; ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τῳ πέπρωται, ὡς φῆς, δρομικῶ καὶ τοξικῶ καὶ τεκτονικῶ, οὕτω δὴ καὶ εἰ γόητι τὸν τρόπον ὄντι μάγῳ⁴¹ ἀναφανῆναι μαιφόνῳ τε καὶ πονηρῶ καὶ ἀκολάστῳ, πάντως που ἐξ ἀνάγκης τοιόσδε τις ἀποβήσεται.

45.3. Τί δῆτα οὖν περινοστῶν τοῖς μὴ οἷοις τε τυχεῖν διορθώσεως ἀρετὴν προκηρύττεις; ἢ τί καταμέμφη τοῖς τὴν μοῖραν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀτοπωτάτοις; τί δαὶ καί, εἰ αὐτῷ σοι πέπρωτο θείῳ ὄντι τὴν φύσιν ὑπερᾶραι βασιλέων δόξης, εἰς διδασκάλων ἐφοίτας καὶ φιλοσόφων, Ἀραβίους τε καὶ Βαβυλωνίων μάγους καὶ σοφοὺς Ἰνδῶν ἐπολυπραγμόνεις; πάντως γάρ που καὶ τῆς τούτων δίχα κοινωνίας τὰ ἐκ Μοιρῶν ἐτελείτο σοι. τί δαὶ καὶ οἷς νομίζεις θεοῖς τὰ μελιττοῦτα καὶ τὸν λιβανωτὸν εἰς μάτην ῥίπτεις, εὐσέβειάν τε ἐπιμορφαζόμενος ἐπ' εὐχὰς τρέπεσθαι τοὺς ἐταίρους παρορμᾶς; αὐτὸς τε εὐχόμενος τί παρὰ

you talk of "wickedness" at all, and why do you unjustly judge some human being evil if he fulfils the role destined by Necessity? Or again: by what logic do you exalt Pythagoras, advertising him as your wonderful teacher, and incessantly praise a puppet of the Fates, not a lover of philosophy? By what logic do Phraotes and Iarchas, the Indian sages, enjoy a higher esteem in your eyes than the gods, when they never gained a fame for culture or virtue on their own account? Similarly, why do you not pin the shameless arrogance of Nero and Domitian on the Fates and Necessity, and free the men from any blame and any accusation? If indeed like a runner, archer, or carpenter, so also a magician who is a born sorcerer is destined to turn out polluted, evil, and debauched, then surely he will turn out this way by Necessity.

45.3. Why then do you go around preaching virtue to people incapable of correction? Why do you blame those who are perverted by fate and not by choice? If you yourself are fated as a naturally holy man to surpass the glory of kings, why on earth did you go to study with teachers and philosophers, and investigate Arabs, Babylonian Magi, and Indian sages? Since no doubt the decision of the Fates in your case would have been carried out without your associating with these people. Why ever do you pointlessly toss honey cake and incense before your supposed gods, and make a pretence of piety, urging your companions to turn to prayer? And when you pray, what do you ask of the gods,

⁴¹ μάγῳ Kay.: μάγον

46.2. Εἰ δὲ δὴ μετειληφέναι τι σοφίας αὐτὸν ἐκ τούτων εἴποι τις, Μοῖρα καὶ τούτων αἰτία καὶ οὐκέτ' ἂν ἐν φιλομαθέσιν ὁ ἀνὴρ καταλεχθείη, οὐδ' ἂν εὐλόγως θαυμασθείη τῆς οὐ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἀνάγκην αὐτῷ πορισθείσης φιλοσοφίας. ἐν ἴσῳ δ' ἂν συγκριτῶδες καὶ ἀπερριμμένον ἀνδράποδον, Σωκράτης αὐτὸς φιλοσοφίας ὑπεραποθνήσκων καὶ οἱ τούτου θανάτου ἄξιον γραψάμενοι, Διογένης τε καὶ τὰ Ἀθηναίων μειράκια, καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὁ σοφώτατος οὐκ ἂν διαφέροι τοῦ ἀφρονεστάτου, καὶ ὁ ἀδικώτατος τοῦ δικαιοτάτου, ὃ τε ἀκολαστότατος⁴² τοῦ σωφρονεστάτου, καὶ ὁ δειλότατος τοῦ ἀνδρειοτάτου, εἰμαρμένης καὶ Μοιρῶν παιγνίων τούτων ἀπάντων ἀναδεδειγμένων.

47.1. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ πρὸς ταῦτα τῆς Ἀληθείας ὁ Κῆρυξ ἀναβοήσεται "ἦ,"⁴³ λέγων, "ὦ ἄνθρωποι, θνητὸν καὶ ἐπίκηρον γένος, ποῖ δὴ φέρεσθε τὸν τῆς ἀγνωσίας ἄκρατον ἐμπιόντες; λήξατε ποτὲ καὶ διανήψατε τῆς μέθης, καὶ διανοίας ὀρθοῖς ὄμμασι τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἐνοπτρίσασθε πρόσωπον. οὐ θέμις ἀλήθειαν πολεμεῖν ἑαντῇ καὶ μάχεσθαι, οὐδὲ δυοῖν ἐναντιωτάτοιον μίαν ὑφεστάναι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας τὰ πάντα κρατούσης θείοις νόμοις διατέτακται τὸ πᾶν, ἀνθρώπων τε ψυχῆς ὄρος αὐτοκράτορά τε καὶ κριτήν, ἡγεμόνα τε καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ καθίστησι, φυσικοῖς νόμοις καὶ φιλοσόφων

⁴² ἀκολαστότατος Kay.: ἀκόλαστος

⁴³ ἦ des Places: εἰ

46.2. If someone were to say that Apollonius had gained some wisdom from this, Fate is responsible for that too, and the man cannot be numbered among lovers of learning, or be rightly admired, since he obtained his philosophy not by intention but by Necessity. According to him, Pythagoras himself and the most monstrous and worthless slave should be counted on the same level; so also should Socrates himself who died for philosophy and those who voted that he deserved death, and Diogenes and the youths of Athens;⁹⁷ and in general the wisest man will be no different from the most foolish, the most unjust from the most just, the most debauched from the most sober, the most cowardly from the most brave, since all these turn out to be the puppets of Destiny and the Fates.

47.1. In reply to all this the Herald of Truth⁹⁸ will proclaim, and say: "Look, human beings, you mortal and transitory breed, what are you thinking of, drinking the neat wine of ignorance? Stop at last, sober up from your intoxication, and with the steady gaze of intelligence contemplate the venerable face of Truth. It is not permitted for Truth to be at war or at odds with itself, nor for two things totally contrary to have one and the same underlying cause. The divine laws of God's all-governing providence regulate the universe, and the essential nature of the human soul makes humankind the arbiter and the judge, the governor and master of itself, teaching by natural laws and

⁹⁷ Eusebius seems to mean Diogenes the Cynic, who taught at Athens in his later years.

⁹⁸ The "Herald of Truth" is a literary device borrowed from Christian polemic (Tatian, *Apology* 17, Irenaeus, *Against the Heresies* 1.15.6). Eusebius uses it as a vehicle for a declamatory finale.

δόγμασιν ἐκδιδάσκων, ὡς ἄρα τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν ἔστιν ἐφ' ἡμῖν, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν.

47.2. "Καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν μὲν, ὅσα γένοιτ' ἂν κατὰ προαίρεσίν τε καὶ πράξιν, ἃ καὶ φύσει ἐλεύθερα ἀκώλυτα ἀπαρεμπόδιστα τυγχάνει, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀσθενῆ δουλα κωλυτὰ ἀλλότρια, ἃ καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὰ ἐκτός, ἄψυχά τε ὄντα καὶ ἄλογα, καὶ πάντῃ τῆς ἰδίας τοῦ λογικοῦ ζώου φύσεως ἀλλοτρίαν τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει. τῶν δ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν τὴν ἐπὶ θάτερα ὀρμὴν ἀρετῆς τε καὶ κακίας ἕκαστος ἐν αὐτῇ κέκτηται προαιρέσει. καὶ τὸ μὲν τῶν ὄλων δεσπόζον τε καὶ ἡγεμονοῦν 'εὐθεία περαίνει κατὰ φύσιν περιπορευόμενον, τῷ δ' αἰεὶ συνεπέται Δίκη τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρός,' τῶν δ' ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις ὀρμῶν οὐ Μοίρας, οὐδὲ εἰμαρμένης, οὐδ' ἀνάγκης <αἰτία>.⁴⁴ 'αἰτία ἐλομένου, θεὸς ἀναίτιος.'

48.1. "Εἰ δὲ θρασύνοιτό τις τῷ⁴⁵ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀντιπολεμῶν, μὴ παρακαλυπτέσθω οὗτος· ἀθεότητα ἀναφανδὸν διεξαγορευέτω μὴ πρόνοιαν, μὴ θεόν, μηδέ τι ἄλλο πλὴν Μοιρῶν καὶ ἀνάγκης ὁμολογῶν, καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τούτοις γυμνῆ προσκαταλεγέτω κεφαλῇ, μὴ σοφόν, μὴ ἄφρονα, μὴ δίκαιον, μὴ ἄδικον, μὴ ἐνάρετον, μὴ φαῦλον, μὴ γόητα, μὴ θεῖον ἐν ἀνθρώπων γίνεσθαι φύσει, μὴ φιλοσοφίαν εἶναι, μὴ παιδείαν, μηδ' ὅλως τέχνην τινά, μηδὲ ἐπιστήμην, μή τινα ἄλλον τὴν φύσιν ἀγαθὸν ἢ πονηρὸν ἀποκαλείτω, πάντα δὲ συλλήβδην ἀνάγκη καὶ Μοιρῶν ἀτράκτοις

by philosophic doctrines that of the things that are, some are within our power, the others not.

47.2. "In our power are all things that can come about by choice and action, and these are by their nature free, not subject to prevention or impediment. Things not in our power are feeble, servile, preventable, and alien, and these, which relate to the body and to externalities, lack soul and reason, and their substance is in every way alien to the particular nature of the reasoning creature. Of the things in our power, everybody has the impulse in one direction or the other when he makes his own choice between virtue and vice. The principle that rules and governs the universe 'takes a straight course by its natural motion, and is always accompanied by Justice, which punishes those who fail the divine law.' It is not the constraints of Fate or of Destiny that are answerable for our impulses to action: 'The reason is in the chooser, not in God.'⁹⁹

48.1. "So if anyone makes so bold as to combat the principle of human responsibility, let him not hide his head, but confess his godlessness openly, not acknowledging Providence, God, or anything but the Fates and Necessity. Let him also enumerate all the conclusions with his head uncovered: that no human being is by nature wise or foolish, just or unjust, virtuous or wicked, sorcerer or holy man, there is no philosophy, education, or in fact any art or science. Let him not call anyone else good or evil by nature, but say that everything is whirled round collectively by Necessity and the spindles of the Fates. Let such a man

⁹⁹ Plato, *Laws* IV 716 A, *Republic* X 617 E.

⁴⁴ <αἰτία> Ol.

⁴⁵ τῷ Kay.: τῶν

περιδινείσθαι. ἄθεος δῆτα καὶ δυσσεβῆς οὗτος ἐν εὐσεβῶν καὶ ἐν φιλοσόφων ἀπογεγράφθω κριτηρίῳ, εἰ δ' ἐπικαλυπτόμενος ἕτερα δοξάζειν ἐπιχειροῖ πρόνοιαν καὶ θεούς, Μοῖραν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ εἰμαρμένην τις ἀνακηρύττοι, μαχομένοις καὶ ἐναντίοις παριστάμενος δόγμασιν, ἐν ἄφροσι δίκην ἀνοίας παρασχὼν καταγεγράφθω."

48.2. Ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν ταύτη. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐν φιλοσόφων διατριβαῖς ἀξιοῖεν ἔτι καταλέγειν τινὲς τὸν ἄνδρα, λελέξεται, ὡς ἄρα εἰ ἀποκαθήρειαν τῆς ἔξωθεν λύμης, ἀτὰρ καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς γραφῆς ἐπεισκυκλουμένης αὐτῷ σκευῆς, φθόνος πᾶς αὐτοῖς ἐκποδῶν ἂν εἴη, ὅρους δ' εἰ ἀληθείας προΐων τις ὑπὲρ φιλοσόφους ἐκθειάζειν αὐτὸν πειρῶτο, λάθοι ἂν αὐτῷ γόητος ἀτεχνῶς διαβολὴν ἐπεντρίβων, ὡς ταυτὶ τὰ συγγράμματα σοφιστικῶς ἀναπεπλασμένα οὐ πλεον ἐλέγχου καὶ δεινῆς τάνδρὸς διαβολῆς παρὰ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσιν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ περιέχειν.

stand condemned as godless and impious in the court of piety and philosophy. But if under the pretence of holding other beliefs he sets up as a preacher of Providence and the gods, and in addition proclaims Fate and Destiny, maintaining opposed and contrary arguments, then let him pay the penalty for his lunacy and be classed as a fool."

48.2. Well, so much for that. If after all this people still see fit to enroll Apollonius in the schools of philosophy, we will declare this: provided that they free him from adventitious pollution and from the decor that this work sets up around him, they will meet with no objection. But if someone oversteps the bounds of truth, and tries to make Apollonius more of a holy man than a philosopher, then without realizing it he is simply pinning on him the libel of sorcery. These writings,¹⁰⁰ with their rhetorical fictions, seem to me to contain nothing more than exposure and malicious slander of Apollonius in the eyes of rational people.

¹⁰⁰ Philostratus and Hierocles.

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