

www.e-rara.ch

The life of Apollonius of Tyana

Philostratus, Flavius

London, 1809

ETH-Bibliothek Zürich

Shelf Mark: Rar 44129

Persistent Link: <https://doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-94735>

Book I.

www.e-rara.ch

Die Plattform e-rara.ch macht die in Schweizer Bibliotheken vorhandenen Drucke online verfügbar. Das Spektrum reicht von Büchern über Karten bis zu illustrierten Materialien – von den Anfängen des Buchdrucks bis ins 20. Jahrhundert.

e-rara.ch provides online access to rare books available in Swiss libraries. The holdings extend from books and maps to illustrated material – from the beginnings of printing to the 20th century.

e-rara.ch met en ligne des reproductions numériques d'imprimés conservés dans les bibliothèques de Suisse. L'éventail va des livres aux documents iconographiques en passant par les cartes – des débuts de l'imprimerie jusqu'au 20e siècle.

e-rara.ch mette a disposizione in rete le edizioni antiche conservate nelle biblioteche svizzere. La collezione comprende libri, carte geografiche e materiale illustrato che risalgono agli inizi della tipografia fino ad arrivare al XX secolo.

Nutzungsbedingungen Dieses Digitalisat kann kostenfrei heruntergeladen werden. Die Lizenzierungsart und die Nutzungsbedingungen sind individuell zu jedem Dokument in den Titelinformationen angegeben. Für weitere Informationen siehe auch [Link]

Terms of Use This digital copy can be downloaded free of charge. The type of licensing and the terms of use are indicated in the title information for each document individually. For further information please refer to the terms of use on [Link]

Conditions d'utilisation Ce document numérique peut être téléchargé gratuitement. Son statut juridique et ses conditions d'utilisation sont précisés dans sa notice détaillée. Pour de plus amples informations, voir [Link]

Condizioni di utilizzo Questo documento può essere scaricato gratuitamente. Il tipo di licenza e le condizioni di utilizzo sono indicate nella notizia bibliografica del singolo documento. Per ulteriori informazioni vedi anche [Link]

THE LIFE,

&c.

BOOK I.—CONTENTS.

Observations on the Doctrine of Pythagoras, &c.—Country of Apollonius—his Birth—Education, Progress in the Pythagorean Philosophy—Residence in the Temple of Esculapius—Death of his parents—Goes to Antioch—Meets Dames at Ninus—Goes to Babylon—Interview with King Bardanes—Conversation with the Magi—Sets out on his journey to India.

CHAP. I.

THEY who commend* Pythagoras the Samian, say of him, that before his birth in Ionia, he was Euphorbus† at Troy; and that after his death at that place, which is recorded by Homer, he returned again to life. They add,

* Whoever is desirous to understand fully the character of Apollonius, as given here by Philostratus, should read with care and attention all that is written of Pythagoras, of whom he was a strict follower and rigorous disciple. The best accounts of Pythagoras, and his philosophical tenets, are to be found in Diogenes Laertius, Porphyry, and Iamblichus, among the ancients; and in Stanley's Lives of the Philosophers, and Brucker's *Historia Critica* among the moderns.

† Homer, in the 17th book of the *Iliad*, describes the death of Euphorbus, and the simile by which he illustrates his beauty and sudden fall is exquisitely fine. From Porphyry and Iamblichus it appears, that

that he rejected the use of all clothing made from the skins of animals, and abstained both from eating and sacrificing them. He never polluted with blood the altars of the Gods, to whom he offered cakes of honey, and frankincense, and hymns; for such oblations he knew were more acceptable to them than whole hecatombs, and the sacrificial knife. He conversed with the Gods, and learnt from them, how men may do what is pleasing to them, and how the contrary. Hence he spoke of the nature of things as a man inspired: for he said other men guessed only of the divine will, but that Apollo had visited him and declared his Godhead. Pallas and the Muses, he also said, had conversed with him, without declaring who they were, and other deities whose names and aspects were not as yet known to mortals. Whatever was taught by Pythagoras, was observed as a law by his disciples, who revered him as a man come from Jove; and the silence he enjoined was most vigilantly adhered to by them, with a zeal which a doctrine so sublime merited; for whilst it continued, they heard many things of a divine and mysterious nature, which would have been difficult for them to retain and comprehend, had they not first learnt

that Pythagoras admired the verses so much, that he had them set to the harp. His admiration of them probably induced him to say, that his soul transmigrated to him from that hero. Pope has well translated them.

- ' As the young olive, in some sylvan scene,
- ' Crown'd by fresh fountains with eternal green,
- ' Lifts the gay head, in snowy flow'rets fair,
- ' And plays, and dances to the gentle air;
- ' When lo! a whirlwind from high heaven invades,
- ' The tender plant, and withers all its shades;
- ' It lies uprooted from its genial bed,
- ' A lovely ruin, now defac'd and dead.
- ' Thus young, thus beautiful, Euphorbus lay,
- ' While the fierce Spartan tore his arms away.'

that silence* itself was the beginning and rudiment of wisdom. This mode of philosophizing, it is said,† Empedocles of Agrigentum pursued, who says in some of his poems, "Farewel, my friends, mortal I shall be no more," and also—"A boy I was, then did a maid become." Besides,‡ the ox which he made of honey and barley, and sacrificed at Olympia, shews that he approved of the system of Pythagoras. Many other things are related of the followers of Pythagoras which I think not now necessary to notice, as I am anxious to go on with my proposed narrative.

* The *το σιωπᾶν λόγος* of Pythagoras is illustrated by what Claudian says in speaking of the consulship of Mallius Theodorus,

"Quicquid Democritus risit, dixitque tacendo

Pythagoras."—

Isocrates acknowledges the force of the above expression, Solomon says, "the words of wise men are heard in quiet."

† For an account of Empedocles see Diogenes Laertius, Stanley's Lives of the Philosophers, and Brucker's *Historia Critica*.

‡ Plutarch says Pythagoras sacrificed an ox on the discovery of a certain mathematical proposition; now as we know that Pythagoras abstained entirely from the shedding of blood, the ox he sacrificed to the Gods on that occasion must have been of the same composition with that of Empedocles. Porphyry says, Pythagoras offered an ox in sacrifice, not a living ox, but one made of paste. Athenæus reports in like manner, that Empedocles, a disciple of Pythagoras, having been crowned at the Olympic games, distributed to those who were present an ox made of myrrh, incense, and all sorts of aromatic drugs.

CHAP. II.

APOLLONIUS, who engaged in like pursuits and studies, devoted himself to philosophy with a more divine enthusiasm than Pythagoras. He vanquished tyrannies, and lived in times neither remote nor modern, and yet he is not recognised by that true wisdom which he cultivated with such a chaste philosophical spirit, and is amongst men still mentioned with various praise. Some consider him as one of the Magi, because he conversed with the wise men of Babylon, and the Brachmans of India, and the Gymnosophists of Egypt, and even his wisdom is reviled, as being acquired by means of the magic art; so erroneous are the opinions formed of him. Whereas, Empedocles, and Pythagoras, and Democritus, though they conversed with the same magi, and advanced many paradoxical sentiments, have not fallen under like imputation. Even Plato, who travelled into Egypt, and blended with his doctrines many opinions collected there from the priests and prophets, like a painter who improves his sketches with new colouring, incurred not such a suspicion, though envied above all men on account of his superior wisdom. The faculty Apollonius possessed of foreseeing and foretelling many things, should not call in question his wisdom, else might Socrates* be arraigned for the information he received from his demon, and Anaxagoras† for

* Ammianus Marcellinus ranks Apollonius among those eminent men who have been assisted by the supernatural aid of a dæmon, or genius, as Socrates or Numa.

† Read the life of Anaxagoras in Diogenes Laertius and Stanley. Ammianus Marcellinus says, that Anaxagoras, instructed in the science of Egypt, foretold the falling of stones from Heaven, and that there should be earthquakes, in consequence of the mud which he perceived on the surface of the wells. B. 22. c. 16.

his predictions. For who is ignorant that the latter, during the olympic games, at a time when there was not the least appearance of rain, entered the stadium wrapt in a thick woollen cloak, under the full conviction of a shower, that he foretold the fall of a certain house, that day should be turned into night, and that stones should fall from Heaven at *Ægos-Potamos*;* and does not every one know that these things happened according to his predictions? and yet they who ascribe the predictions of Anaxagoras to his superior wisdom, act not very consistently in depreciating the wisdom of Apollonius, and in saying he performed all by the means of magic † I have therefore thought it proper to oppose the ignorance of the multitude, and to examine minutely the character of the man both as to what he said and did, together with the times in which he lived—and to mark that peculiar mode of philosophising, by which he acquired the reputation of being not only under the influence of a demon, but of being divine. ‡ The history I mean to give of the man has been drawn in part from the cities wherein he was held in high esteem, in part from the temples whose long disused rites he restored, in part from what tradition has preserved of him, and lastly from his own epistles, which were addressed to kings, and sophists, and philosophers—to Eleans, Delphians, Indians, and Egyptians, all written on the subject of their deities, countries, morals, and laws: it being his constant practice to redress whatever he found wrong.

* *Ægos-Potamos*, a river in the Thracian Chersonesus, situate to the north of *Sestos*. Pliny mentions a stone, “*ad ægos flumen qui etiam nunc ostenditur, magnitudine vehis colore adusto.*” L. 2. c. 58. He says Anaxagoras foretold its falling from the sun.

† Eusebius says, that in his time there were persons who pretended to perform magical incantations by invoking of Apollonius.

‡ Eusebius, in his refutation of Hierocles cites him ascribing to Apollonius a divine and hidden wisdom, by which, and not by magical art, he had performed great wonders.

The most probable account I have been able to collect from the above sources, will appear in the following relation.

CHAP. III.

THERE was a certain man named Damis, who was well read in philosophy, a citizen of the ancient Ninus,* who became one of the disciples of Apollonius, and wrote the account of his travels, wherein he set down his opinions, discourses, and predictions. A person nearly allied to Damis introduced the empress† Julia Augusta to a knowledge of his commentaries, which till then were not known; as I was a good deal conversant in the imperial family from the encouragement given by the empress to rhetoric and its professors, she commanded me to transcribe and revise these commentaries,‡ and pay particular attention to the style and language; for the narrative of the Ninevite was plain, but not eloquent. To assist me in the work, I was fortunate in procuring the book of Maximus§ the Ægean, which contained all the actions of

* I shall speak of Ninus in a future note.

† Some account of the empress Julia is given in the preface to the reader, for further particulars see Gibbon's Roman history, vol. i. c. 6. Severus, the husband of Julia, died, A.D. 211, and his wife, after experiencing all the vicissitudes of fortune, put an end to her own life about the year 218.

‡ They were now, says Mr. Charles Leslie, to be adapted to the ears of an empress, who loved rhetoric, alias, romancing, and fine stories. Meragenes's Commentaries, adds he, were not so romantic as those of Damis, and consequently not so fit for the entertainment of an empress, besides, it is supposed Meragenes considered him as a magician.

§ Of Maximus Ægiensis, and Meragenes, little is known except what is found in the text, the writings of the latter were perhaps not favorable

Apollonius at Ægæ, and a transcript of his will, from which it appeared how much his philosophy was under the influence of a sacred enthusiasm. I also happened to meet with the four books of one Meragenes, which were not of great value on account of the ignorance of the writer. I have now explained the manner of my collecting my materials, and the care taken in their compilation. I trust the work may do honor to the man who is the subject of it, and be of use to the lovers of literature, inasmuch as it will introduce them to the knowledge of things with which they were before unacquainted.*

favorable to Apollonius, and on that account were not valued by Philostratus, who appears through this whole work to be more the panegyrist, than the historian of his life. From the accounts given of Damis and Meragenes, Lardner is inclined to think that Philostratus used only such materials in his history, as were to the advantage of his hero. Philostratus's principal author, Damis, is an obscure person, his memoirs were unknown, till brought to the empress Julia; his friend who brought them is not named. Meragenes's four books were little regarded, probably from not being favorable to his hero. From such sources, must not the accounts be uncertain and deserving of little credit. Naudæus, in his history of magic, considers this whole history, dressed up as it is by the pen of Philostratus, in the same light, as are at present the love-stories and romances which have been written for the entertainment of queens and princesses.

* But how can things be received, says Lardner, which were not known till more than an hundred years after the death of the person spoken of. So extremely slight, says Mr. Charles Leslie, is the authority on which Philostratus has introduced his history, that some learned men have, not without reason, doubted whether there ever was such a man as Apollonius. Had he been such a man as he is here represented to have been, it is not possible he could have been so totally forgotten, as that no mention should have been made of him for one hundred years after such extraordinary things were said to have been done. Is it possible, that the death of so famous a person should not have been greatly noticed? and his sepulchre honored and visited?

CHAP. IV.

APOLLONIUS was born in Tyana, a town founded by Greeks in Cappadocia. He was called Apollonius from his father, his family was ancient, and might be traced to the original settlers. His fortune was considerable, but the country abounded in riches. Whilst his mother was with child of him, Proteus* the Egyptian god appeared to her, who, as Homer writes, has the power of assuming such a variety of shapes. The woman without being much alarmed, asked him what she should bring forth? to which he replied, Thou shalt bring forth me. This you may suppose excited her curiosity to ask again who he was, and he said the Egyptian god Proteus. But why need I mention the great wisdom of Proteus to those who have learnt from the poets his various and versatile transformations, the great difficulty in seizing him, and how he seemed not only to know, but to fore-know all things. It is however necessary to mention him, since it will appear in the sequel of this history, that Apollonius had a foreknowledge of what was to come to pass, much above Proteus; and was wont to solve many things which were difficult, and almost impossible to human capacity, and particularly at the time when he seemed to be most reduced to his *ne plus ultra*.†

* Homer gives us a very particular account of Proteus in the 4th book of his *Odyssey*. His story, which has been always considered as a subject of just ridicule by the dealers in fiction, is agreeably laughed at by Lucian in his *Dialogues*.

† On which Du Pin observes, "Ne voit-on pas clairement que cette apparition de Protée à la mere d'Apollone, est une fable de l'invention de Philostrate."

CHAP. V.

APOLLONIUS is said to have been born in a certain meadow, near which stands a temple dedicated to him. Of the manner of his birth* no one should be ignorant. When his mother was near the time of her delivery, she was warned in a dream to go and gather flowers in a meadow; when she came there, whilst her maidens were dispersed up and down employed in their several amusements, she fell asleep on the grass. In this situation a flock of swans† that was feeding in the meadow, formed a chorus around her, and clapping their wings, as their custom is, sung in unison, all the time the air was fanned by a gentle zephyr. The singing of the birds

* Born about the latter end of the reign of Augustus.

† The idea of swans singing at the birth of Apollonius, is taken from Callimachus's hymn in *Delum*, in which these poetical birds perform the same office for Latona. The following version comes from the pen of Mr. Boyd, the elegant translator of Dante—whose character is too well known in the literary world to require any thing more than my thanks.—And

“ Thanks to men

Of noble minds is honourable meed.”—

She spoke—the swans, Apollo's plumy choir,
Upsoaring from Pactolus, with loud clang
Circled the happy island. Seven times round
They skimm'd the shores, as oft the swelling strain
Floated melodious in the winnow'd breeze.
Accordant to Latona's wailing cries
They chanted, first in favor with the maids
Of Pindus, and in harmony excelling
All the plum'd choiristers that wing the winds.
'Twas thence for every lay that cheer'd the pangs
Of his sad mother, Phœbus to his lyre
Fixt a respondent chord; again they rais'd
The heavenly concert, and the Lord of day
In jubilee was born. Sweet sung the nymphs
Symphonious, and the deep flood's solemn base,
Joined in full chorus to Lucina's praise.

BOYD.

caused her to start out of her sleep, and at that moment she was delivered of a son—premature labours being sometimes the effects of sudden alarms. The natives of the place affirm, that at the instant of her delivery, a thunderbolt which seemed ready to fall on the ground, rose aloft, and suddenly disappeared. By this the Gods prefigured, I think, the splendor of the child, his superiority over earthly beings, his intercourse with them, and what he was to do when arrived to manhood.

CHAP. VI.

IN the vicinity of Tyana is a fountain consecrated to Jupiter, whose water is esteemed the water of oaths, and is called by the natives Asbamœan.* Its source is cold, but it bubbles up as a cauldron does over a fire. The water of this fountain is mild and sweet to the taste of all who respect an oath, but to all who do not, is a present punishment, by the manner in which it affects the eyes, and hands, and feet, and by the dropsies and consumptions which are said to be the consequence of drinking it. The guilty are not able to leave it, but there are detained,

* Aqua Asbamœa—Ammianus Marcellinus confirms the reading of Asbamœa in book 23, chap. 7, of his history. “Apud Asbamœi quoque Jovis templum in Cappadocia, ubi *amplissimus ille Philosophus* Apollonius traditur natus, prope oppidum Tyana stagno effluens fons cernitur, qui magnitudine aquarum inflatus seseque resorbens, nunquam extra margines intumescit.”

Diodorus Siculus speaks of certain sulphureous springs at Palica in Sicily, which were something of the same nature with those mentioned in the text, he says the natives swore by their waters in the most solemn manner, and adds, that adjoining to them stood the temple of *Palici*, indigenous divinities, who were supposed to punish perjury. *Trials by fire and water* were long in use, especially, even after the establishment of christianity.

lamenting and confessing their sins.* All the people of the country say that Apollonius was the son of Jupiter, but he constantly called himself the son of Apollonius.

CHAP. VII.

WHEN he grew up,† and was capable of instruction, he gave signs of great strength of memory and persevering application. He used the attic dialect, and never suffered his speech to be corrupted by the place of his birth. The eyes of all were attracted by his beauty. When he was fourteen years of age his father carried him to Tarsus,‡ and committed him to the care of Euthydemus the Phe-
 nician, a celebrated rhetorician. Apollonius became attached to his master, but thought the manners of the town absurd, and not suited to philosophical pursuits, inasmuch as the people of it were insolent scoffers—addicted to pleasure, and more passionately fond of fine clothes, than the Athenians ever were of philosophy. The Cydnus § runs through it, on whose banks the citi-

* Cette relation, says Du Pin, est une episode qui n'a rien de commun avec la vie d'Apollone; mais qui fait voir que Philostrate s'est étudié à faire entrer dans son histoire tout ce qu'il a pu apprendre de merveilleux, sans se soucier qu'il fût veritable.

† Here is an imitation of Pythagoras, of whom the same is said by the writers of his life.

‡ Tarsus, the metropolis of Cilicia, called by Strabo the Mother of Cities, from its great learning, and which St. Paul says, was no mean city.

§ The Cydnus runs through Tarsus, and falls into the sea about a mile from its walls.

An te, Cydne, tacitis qui leniter undis

Cœruleis placidus per vada serpis aquis? TIBULLUS.

zens are wont to sit like water-fowl; Apollonius wrote them a letter, in which he desired them to cease intoxicating themselves with water. On obtaining his father's permission he retired with his master to *Ægæ*,* a town in the neighbourhood of Tarsus, where he found a tranquillity more adapted to science, and studies more suitable to his years; besides a temple of Esculapius, where the God sometimes shewed himself to his votaries, and here he enjoyed the conversation of the disciples of Plato, and Chrysippus, and Aristotle. He listened to, but did not condemn the opinions of Epicurus. Those of Pythagoras he embraced with an ineffable zeal, though his master was not well read in the discipline of that philosopher, nor devoted to any efficient study. He was of an amorous temperament, and fond of good living, his manner of life was formed according to the doctrine of Epicurus, and his name was Euxenus, born in Heraclea, a town of Pontus. He knew some of the sayings—of Pythagoras, as birds know what they are taught by men. For there are some birds that can say *χαίρε*, and *εὐπραπτε*, and *Ζεὺς ἰλέως*, and such like phrases of compliment—but know not what they say, neither do they mean by them any kindness to men, but only utter them from being taught such a certain modulation of sounds. As the young eagle never quits the side of its parent, when learning to fly; but grown stronger, assumes a bolder flight, sometimes soaring above her, and sometimes skimming along the ground, lured by the scent of prey; so did Apollonius, whilst a boy, submit to the authority of Euxenus, and was guided by his advice

* *Ægæ*, a maritime town of Cilicia, situate at the mouth of the river Pyramus, and not far from Tarsus, in which was a temple consecrated to the God Esculapius, which had a regular establishment of priests and ceremonies, and was famous through all the country for miraculous cures performed on sick persons by the God of Health.

in the ways of knowledge.* But when arrived at the age of sixteen, he became an enthusiastic disciple of Pythagoras, and a zealous admirer of his doctrine, winged thereto by a superior intelligence. Nevertheless, he always continued to respect Euxenus, and as a proof of his regard, gave him a house which his father purchased for him, with a garden and fountains belonging to it, at the same time saying, "live you in what manner you please," but for me, "I shall live after the manner of Pythagoras."

CHAP. VIII.

FROM this declaration,† Euxenus naturally supposed Apollonius had higher objects in view, and one day he asked him how he intended to begin his course of life, to which he replied, he would begin like physicians, who by means of purifying the human body, prevent distempers in some, and cure them in others. After this avowal he declined eating any thing which had life, from an idea of its being impure, and capable of weakening the understanding. He lived on fruits and vegetables, declaring that the productions of the earth were alone pure. He allowed that wine was a pure beverage, as produced from a tree not injurious to man. Howbeit, he reckoned it adverse to a composed state of mind by reason of the power it possessed of disturbing the divine particle of air of which it is

* In this account, Apollonius is drawn by Philostratus in perfect resemblance of Pythagoras.

† The course of life laid down by Apollonius in this chapter and to which he adhered throughout, is exactly conformable to what was enjoined by Pythagoras to his disciples.

formed. After making this regulation in his mode of diet, he set about an alteration in his dress. He went bare-footed, clothed himself in linen, and rejected the use of all garments made from living creatures. He next let his hair grow, and spent most of his time in the temple of Esculapius,* all the officers of which were astonished at his conduct, and even the God himself sometimes accosted the officiating priest, and said he had pleasure in performing his cures in the presence of such a witness as Apollonius. His fame soon spread far and near, so that the Cilicians, and all the dwellers in and about the country, came and visited him; and the saying of the Cilicians, "Whither run you so fast?" "Is it to see the young man?" first applied on this occasion, obtained the authority of becoming proverbial.

CHAP. IX.

IN writing the life of a man who was in some estimation with the Gods, I think it not foreign to my purpose to mention a transaction which took place in the temple. A young Assyrian happened to visit Esculapius, who during his illness lived in a state of great luxury. He spent his

* Esculapius rejoiced to have Apollonius a witness of his cures, that is, as Blount observes, the priests of the temple were exceeding glad to have so crafty a man as Apollonius in collusion with them. In the temples of Esculapius, all kinds of diseases were believed to be publicly cured by the pretended help of that deity: in proof of which there were erected in each temple columns, or tables of brass, or marble, on which a distinct narrative of each particular cure was inscribed. This account is confirmed by Pausanias and Strabo, and shews that no school could have been better adapted for the education of an impostor, than a temple of Esculapius.

life, or rather I would say, he consumed his life, in drinking. This youth was attacked with a dropsy, and from the pleasure he had in inebriating himself, neglected every remedy to be applied in the way of *exsiccation*. This was the reason why Esculapius overlooked him, and did not favor him with a dream.* On the youth's complaining of this usage, the God appeared to him, and said, "if thou wilt consult Apollonius, thou shalt be well." In consequence of this, the young man waited on Apollonius, and asked what benefit can I receive from your wisdom, for to you Esculapius has commanded me to make my application. *That*, answered Apollonius, which can be of most service to you in your present condition: and is not health that which you stand most in need of? Certainly said the youth, and is what Esculapius promised, but has not performed. Take care of what you say, said Apollonius. The God bestows health on all who are willing to receive it, but you on the contrary, feed your disease. You live in total subjection to your appetite, and overload with delicacies a weak and dropsical constitution, *adding clay to water*. Here Apollonius shewed a knowledge above that of Heraclitus,† who when attacked with a similar disease, said, he required the aid of one who could extract *dryness from humidity*, words of dark and difficult meaning. Whereas Apollonius, after a clear de-

* To understand this, the reader must be informed, that for the recovery from sickness, the ancients used to bring the patient into the temple of Esculapius, where he was to compose himself on a couch, and the God of the place was supposed to visit him in his sleep. Consequently, whatever the sick person dreamed of, that was thought to be the remedy prescribed by Esculapius for his recovery.

† See the life of Heraclitus in Stanley, with the account of his last illness, and his two epistles to Amphidamas.

claration of his opinion, restored the Assyrian to health.*

CHAP. X.

APOLLONIUS on a particular occasion, beholding much blood sprinkled on the altars, and many sacrifices laid thereon, together with several Egyptian oxen, and swine of immense size slain; observing the officers employed, some in flaying them, and others cutting them in pieces, also two consecrated bowls of gold filled with the most precious stones of India: when he considered what he saw, he said to the priest, what is the meaning of all this? I suppose some great man is paying his court to the deity. You will be more surprised, I think, said the priest, when I tell you that the man has not yet preferred his petition, nor stayed his fixed time, nor received benefit from the God, nor in short obtained any one of the things for which he is come, (he came I think but yesterday) and yet he sacrifices with so much generosity. He has even promised to make richer, and more splendid presents, provided Esculapius grants the prayer of his petition. I understand he is rich, and has greater possessions in Cilicia, than all the rest of the Cilicians besides: and the request I understand which he makes, is, that the God will restore him the eye he has lost. Apollonius fixing his eyes on the ground, (as his manner was in his old age) asked what his name was? which, when he heard,

* He instructed him, that the God always bestowed health upon those who were willing to receive it, and by persuading him to practise abstinence, he cured his disease. Here he attempted nothing miraculous, but merely employed the authority of the God in enforcing sound morality.

he said, I think the man should not be admitted into the temple, for he is unclean, and met with the accident in a bad cause. I am of opinion that the bare circumstance of his making such costly sacrifices before the granting of his request, proves not so much the honest sacrificer, as one who wishes to deprecate the wrath of Heaven for some enormous offence. Such was the discourse of Apollonius. But Esculapius appearing by night to the priest, said, let both him and his offerings depart together; for he is not deserving of the eye which remains.* When the priest made inquiries concerning him, he was informed that he was married to a woman who had a daughter by a former husband, that he had fallen in love with his step-daughter, with whom he lived in most scandalous commerce; that her mother, as soon as she discovered the intrigue, surprised the two in bed, and with a needle put out both the eyes of her daughter, and one of her husband.

CHAP. XI.

IN this way Apollonius shewed the propriety of offering such sacrifices, and making such presents, as should not exceed the bounds of moderation. When it was noised

* I agree with Dr. Lardner in thinking that the cure was above their ability. Hence the patient was dismissed as a profane wretch, unworthy of cure. Apollonius dismissed him as unworthy of admission into the temple; at the same time instructing the people who flocked thither, that he who comes to the temples of the all-seeing Gods, should pray, "Ye Gods, grant unto us that which is fit we should receive," and that the wicked, though they presented to the Gods the wealth of the Indies, would be rejected, because they make their offerings not to honour the Deity, but to purchase redemption from deserved punishment.

abroad, that the request of the Cilician was rejected, many people flocked to the temple. Then Apollonius asked the priest whether the Gods were just? who replied, Most just. And are they intelligent? What, said the priest, can be more intelligent than God? Apollonius proceeded, Are they acquainted with the affairs of men or not? Herein, said the priest, the Gods most excel mortals, who by reason of their manifold infirmities are not acquainted with their own affairs; but to the Gods alone it belongeth not only to know their own affairs, but the affairs of men likewise. Well and truly answered, O priest! said Apollonius. Seeing then it is allowed the Gods know all things, I think that he who approaches them with a good conscience should pray after this wise, "O ye Gods, grant what is convenient for me!" Consequently, continued Apollonius, good things are due to the good, and the contrary to the wicked. Hence the Gods, who always act right, send away him whom they find to be of a sound mind and free from sin, crowned not with crowns of gold, but with all manner of good things; and him whom they discover to be corrupt and polluted with vice, they give over to punishment, being the more offended with him for presuming to approach their temples conscious of his own unworthiness. After having thus spoken, he turned towards Esculapius and said, you, Esculapius, exercise a philosophy at once ineffable and becoming yourself, not suffering the wicked to come near thy shrines, even were they to bring with them the treasures of India and Sardis; and this prohibition is given from knowing that such supplicants do not sacrifice and burn incense from reverence to the Gods, but from the selfish motive of making atonement for their own sins, to which you will never consent from the love you bear to justice. Many other philosophical discourses of this kind were held by Apollonius whilst he was but a youth.

CHAP. XII.

ALL this happened whilst Apollonius remained at Ægæ, to which may be added what follows. Cilicia was then governed by a man of infamous conduct, whose amorous inclinations were of the most detestable kind. No sooner was he informed of the beauty of Apollonius, than he laid aside the business in which he was engaged (he was then holding a court at Tarsus) and made all the haste he could to Ægæ, where on his arrival he pretended illness, and gave out he came to consult the God. The moment he saw Apollonius, he accosted him when walking alone, and said, I pray thee to recommend me to the God. What necessity is there for my recommending you, said Apollonius, if you are good: for such as are good, the Gods love without the intercession of any advocate. But said the ruler, the God, O Apollonius, has made you his guest, and not me. Then said Apollonius, the virtue I have exercised as far as a young man is capable, has reconciled to me the God whose servant and companion I am: if you make virtue the study of your life, you may with equal boldness draw near to the God and ask whatever you please. I will do, said he, as you desire, if I am first permitted to ask one favor of you. And what is that, said Apollonius? It is that favour, replied the ruler, which alone can be asked of the beautiful, and which is, that they may grant the participation of their beauty to others, and not envy them the enjoyment of their persons. All this he uttered with the most vile tokens of a corrupt and depraved appetite. On this, Apollonius regarding him with a most stern countenance, cried out, "Wretch, thou art mad. But the other, who only listened to the violence of his passion, threatened to cut off his head. At which

Apollonius smiling, said, *O that day*.* Three days afterwards this infamous wretch was slain by the hands of the public executioner on the highway, for being privy to a conspiracy formed by Archelaus† king of Cappadocia, against the Romans. These and many other things of like kind were written by Maximus the Ægæan, who for his reputation in eloquence, was deemed worthy of being appointed one of the emperor's secretaries.

CHAP. XIII.

AS soon as he heard of the death of his father, he hastened to Tyana, and there, with his own hands, interred him near the tomb of his mother, who died some time before. The fortune left was considerable, which he divided with his elder brother, who was very dissipated, and much given to wine. The elder was in his twenty-third year,‡ a period of life which exempted him from the care of guardians, and Apollonius in his twentieth year, and of course still under their protection. After this he returned to Ægæ, where during his stay he changed the temple of Esculapius into a Lyceum and Academy, in which resounded all man-

* "O that day"—this expression, as well here, as throughout this history, always relates to the time to come.

† Archelaus, after swaying the sceptre of Cappadocia above 50 years, was at last arraigned before the senate, probably for the conspiracy alluded to in the text, and though the charge was unfounded, he died soon after of a broken heart, in the reign of Tiberius. Tacitus, an. b. ii. c. 42. A. D. 17.—Apollonius was now in his twentieth year.

‡ The age of one and twenty freed youth from the power of masters and tutors, which makes Philostratus say, that Apollonius's brother being arrived to the age of twenty three, was exempted from the jurisdiction of a tutor.

ner of philosophical disputation. When he became of age, and his own master, he returned to Tyana, where it was hinted to him by a friend, that he ought to reform his brother. I fear, said Apollonius, it would look like arrogance in me, who am the younger, were I to presume to correct the elder; however, as far as it is in my power, I will try to do it. To this end he divided with his brother half his own inheritance, saying, that *he* wanted much, and himself little, and then in pursuance of his plan, he led him by degrees to the necessity of submitting to advice. Our father, said Apollonius, is dead, who used to be our instructor. What else remains now than that of our consulting each other's interest and happiness. If I offend in any thing, I request you may advise me, and I will correct whatever is wrong: and if you offend, I hope you will yield to my advice.* By such gentle treatment, Apollonius, like those who break wild and stubborn colts, first made him subject to obedience, and by degrees prevailed on him to part with his vices, of which he had full share of whatever were fashionable, as gaming, drinking, &c. to which were added a foolish admiration of his hair, which he used to dye, and an insolent and haughty air in his manner of walking. After this success with his brother,

* In this advice, which Apollonius gives to his brother, he points out the true way of conveying it with profit, for such is the nature of the mind, that it hates being passive in receiving admonition, and the generality of mankind do not easily brook the idea of the inferiority which is implied in listening patiently to preceptive lectures. There seldom is better advice given to those who would commence advisers themselves, than this practice of Apollonius, who takes the surest method of conciliating his brother's affections by requesting advice from him. In proportion as we are supposed deficient in wisdom, (a supposition on which every unskilful monitor proceeds) so far we resent the awkward attempt of the self-constituted dogmatical preceptor.

he turned his thoughts to the conversion of his other relations, and to render them more attentive to what he said, he bestowed the remainder of his fortune on such of them as stood most in need of it, still however reserving what was sufficient for his own use. He was wont to say, that Anaxagoras* the Clazomenian, who left his lands to be eaten up by his sheep and oxen, read philosophy to beasts rather than men: and that Crates the Theban, who cast his money into the sea, profited neither man nor beast. The saying of Pythagoras, which was so much celebrated, "that a man should have no connexion except with his own wife," was intended, Apollonius said, for the use of other men, and not for him, as he was determined never to marry, nor have any commerce whatever with the fair sex. By laying this restraint on his passions, he was superior to Sophocles, who, when old, said he had got rid of a furious master. Whereas Apollonius, by temperance and virtue, subdued the wild beast in his youth, and in the vigor of life triumphed over the tyrant. Yet some still accuse him of sacrificing to Venus, and of indulging in the pleasures of love, adding, that he passed a whole year in Scythia for that purpose. The truth is, he never went to that country, nor was ever known to be enslaved to love. Even Euphrates, though he has brought many false accusations against him, as we shall shew in the sequel, never once accused him of incontinency. This Euphrates had matter of variance with Apollonius, because he laughed at him for his fondness for money, and endeavoured to withdraw him from filthy lucre, and the making a merchandize of his wisdom. But of these matters let us not treat till a more convenient time.

* Suidas affirms, Anaxagoras left his ground to sheep and camels to be eaten up; and therefore Apollonius said, he read philosophy to beasts, rather than men. Stanley's History of Philosophy.

C H A P. XIV.

EUXENUS once asked Apollonius why he did not commit his thoughts to writing, particularly as he possessed such a fund of philosophical knowledge, and was used to such a popular and approved stile of speaking. To which he answered, that he had not exercised silence,* and from that time forward he began to put it in practice. He laid a restraint on his tongue, but he read much with his eyes, and comprehended much by his understanding, and committed all to memory, by the exercise of which, at the age of an hundred, he far excelled Simonides. There was a hymn addressed to memory, and composed by Simonides,† which used to be sung by him, in which the author says, “that time causes all things to fade away, but that time itself never fades, or grows old, being made immortal by memory.” The manner he used in expressing his sentiments during his silence, had something interesting and graceful in it, inasmuch as his eyes and hands, and the motions of his head, made significant answers to whatever was said. He never seemed morose, or out of

* As a true disciple of Pythagoras, he observed the five years silence, notwithstanding the great difficulty with which it was attended. It is said that Numa, king of Rome, who knew the advantage of silence, commanded the Romans particularly to honour one of the muses under the name of the *Silent Muse*.

† Simonides of Ceos, the son of Leoprepes, is reported to have first invented an artificial memory. See Cic. de Oratore l. ii. c. 86. He discovered that it was *order* chiefly which threw a light on memory. There are some persons who have said, that Simonides had taken medicines to procure a strong memory, and that they produced that effect. Mr. Hume remarks, that the faculty of memory was much more valued in ancient times than at present; and that there is scarce any great genius celebrated in antiquity who is not celebrated for this talent, and it is enumerated by Cicero amongst the sublime qualities of Cæsar.

spirits, and always preserved an even placid temper. He was wont to say, that this kind of life, which he passed for the space of five years, was often very irksome to him, forasmuch as during it, he had many things to say, which he did not say; heard many things of a disagreeable nature which he affected not to hear; and when provoked to anger, could only say to himself—

“Alas poor suffering heart,* support the pain

“Of wounded honour, and thy rage sustain.” POPE.

In this way he passed over with a dignified silence many injurious things uttered against him.

CHAP. XV.

THE period of his silence was passed partly in Pamphylia and partly in Cilicia. Though he travelled through countries whose manners were corrupt and effeminate, he never uttered a word; no, not even a murmur escaped his lips. Whenever he entered a town, which happened to be in a state of noise and uproar (and many were so on account of the vain shews and illaudable spectacles exhibited in them) he always pressed forward into the croud, where presenting himself, he shewed by his countenance, and the waving of his hand,† the reproof he intended to express: the consequence was, the tumult ceased, and all kept a silence, as if engaged in the most mysterious ceremonies of religion. But little merit he took to himself for preserving peace amongst men clamorous only about

* Homer, *Odyssey*. B. xx. l. 18.

† The Reverend Gilbert Austin, in his ingenious dissertation on Rhetorical Delivery, has adduced this waving of Apollonius's hand, as an argument to prove the effects of the eloquence of the hand, without the aid of language.

horses and pantomimes; for they who are inclined to riot on such accounts, whenever a man of gravity appears, blush and condemn themselves, and soon return to their right mind.* But the matter is very different, when a city sore oppressed with famine, is to be appeased by mild and persuasive language, and to be disarmed of its anger; and yet in the instance which I am going to mention, the silence of Apollonius prevailed with a people who were enraged, and well disposed to mutiny. On coming into Aspendus, a city of Pamphylia (it is situate on the banks of the river Eurymedon, and holds the third rank among the cities of the country) he found the inhabitants existing on whatever pulse could be purchased, and whatever other things necessity compelled them to use for the support of life. All the corn was hoarded up by the more wealthy, in order that they might sell it out to foreigners at whatever price they might please to put upon it. The people both young and old were stirred up against the governor, and were preparing to burn him alive, if even found at the feet of the statues† of Tiberius, which were then more

* Tum pictate gravem, ac meritis si forte virum quem
Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant.

Ille regit dictis animos, ac pectora mulcet.

VIRGIL.

Such a one must *speak*, says Bayle, if he hopes to stop the fury of a mutinous people. But here Apollonius had no need of words, his Pythagorean silence did all that the finest figures of oratory could effect. His talent was as different from that of Virgil's pious orator, as a mummer's from a wise justice of peace.

"If some grave Sire appears amid the strife,

"In morals strict, and innocence of life,

"All stand attentive; while the sage controls

"Their wrath, and calms the tumult of their souls."

† Tacitus says, that the statues of the Cæsars were a sanctuary, where the assassins of every honest name obtained protection, and that slaves, after lifting their hands against their masters, found an asylum—An. b. iii. ch. 36. Suetonius says, this kind of process grew to such a height, that it became capital for a man to beat his slave, or change cloaths near the statue of Augustus, &c. TIB. c. 58.

feared, and afforded greater security, than the statues of Jupiter at Olympia, insomuch that a man, in his reign, was accused of impiety for beating a slave who happened to have in his possession but a silver drachma stamped with the emperor's image. Apollonius, approaching the governor, asked him by waving his hand, what was the matter? who replied, that he was guilty of no injustice, that he was wronged along with the people, and must perish with them if not allowed to speak. Then Apollonius, turning to the populace; shewed by a sign, that the governor must be heard. On which an immediate silence ensued, the people stood in awe of Apollonius, and the fire was replaced on the altars which were prepared for sacrifice. When the governor saw this, he took courage, and cried out, "It is this, and that man (mentioning several citizens by name) who have produced the present scarcity, it is they who have hoarded up the corn, which at present is concealed in different parts of the country. When the Aspendians heard this, they began to stir up each other to sally forth into the country, and take it by force; but Apollonius by a sign prevailed on them not to act so; he advised them to summon the guilty, and take the corn from them with their own consent. As soon as the monopolisers arrived, he was almost tempted to break through his silence, moved thereto by the tears of the multitude: for the women and children flocked together, and even the old men wept, as if just ready to drop down with hunger. However, his respect for his law of silence had effect, and he wrote on a tablet the reproof he wished to convey, and gave it to the governor to read aloud.

APOLLONIUS

To the monopolisers of corn in Aspendus,

GREETING.

"The earth is the common mother of all, for she is just. You are unjust, for you have made her only the

“mother of yourselves: and if you will not cease from acting thus, I will not suffer you to remain upon her.”

Intimidated by these words, they filled the market with grain, and the city recovered from its distress.*

CHAP. XVI.

APOLLONIUS, as soon as he fulfilled his law of silence, came to Antioch, sir-named the great, and entered the temple of Apollo Daphneus,† to whom the Assyrians apply the Arcadian fable, saying that Daphne, the daughter of Ladon, was metamorphosed in this place; for they have a river called Ladon, and the laurel into which, it is said, the virgin Daphne was changed, and which is held by them in high estimation. Cypress trees of an immense size grow round the temple, and the country abounds in refreshing springs of water, wherein Apollo is accustomed to bathe. The soil here is that which first produced the cypress, in commemoration of the Assyrian youth Cyparissus, and the beauty of the tree gives credit to the change. I fear I may be considered as not treating my

* “*Quelque apparence qu’il y ait que tout cela est de l’invention de Philostrate, en supposant que la chose est arrivée comme il la raconte, elle prouve seulement qu’Apollone étoit un homme adroit et prudent, et qui avoit des manières propres à s’insinuer dans l’esprit du peuple.*”—Du Pin.—L’Histoire D’Apollone.

† From the text it might be supposed that the temple of Daphne was in Antioch, when it was in fact five miles distant from it. For an account of the temple, and the sacred grove, see Gibbon, who has described both in his usual style of luminous eloquence. The words of Ammianus Marcellinus relative to the situation of Daphne are, “*Tunc apud Daphnen amœnum illud & ambitiosum Antiochiæ Suburbanum, &c.*”

readers with sufficient respect, by alluding to such puerile stories, but they are only noticed for what is to follow. Apollonius perceiving that this temple stood in a pleasant situation, but that no rational worship was performed in it; and that it was in the possession of a people semi-barbarous, and enemies of all science, he said, O Apollo, change these mutes into trees, that they at least may make some noise like the cypresses." Also, when he saw how still and noiseless were the fountains, he said, "The torpid silence that reigns in this place, does not even suffer the waters to murmur." Then turning his eyes to the Ladon, he cried, "not only was thy daughter changed, but thou thyself from having been a Greek and an Arcadian, art become a barbarian." Afterwards, when he was resolved to discourse with them, he avoided all promiscuous multitudes, and places of much resort, saying, it was not the company of illiterate rustics he sought, but that of men. In consequence of this determination he frequented places more retired, and made his abode in whatever temples he found open. At sun-rise he performed apart from all, certain ceremonies, which he communicated only to those who had exercised a quadrennial silence. Whenever he visited a city which happened to be of Greek origin, and was in possession of an established code of religious worship, he called together the priests, and discoursed to them concerning the nature of their Gods; and if he found they had departed from their usual forms, he always set them right. But when he came to a city whose religious rites and customs were barbarous, and different from others, he enquired by whom they were established, and for what they were intended: and afterwards in what manner they were observed, at the same time suggesting whatever occurred to him as better and more becoming. Next he visited his followers, and commanded them to ask what they pleased, telling them that they who cultivated philosophy in the manner he enjoined, should in the morn-

ing converse *with* the Gods, at mid-day *concerning* the Gods, and in the evening of *human affairs*. When he had answered all the questions proposed by his friends, and talked as much as he thought sufficient, he addressed the multitude, with whom he always discoursed in the evening, but never before noon. After he ended these discourses, he had himself anointed and rubbed, and then he plunged into the cold bath, saying, that hot baths were the old age of men. To the people of Antioch who were forbidden the use of the hot baths, on account of their crimes, he said, that the emperor had given them long life for their wickedness; and to the Ephesians who were going to stone the master of the baths for not having made them hot enough, he once replied, you accuse the master of the baths for your not bathing to your satisfaction, but I accuse you for your bathing at all.

CHAP. XVII.

APOLLONIUS used a style of speaking not elevated, nor swoln with the language of poetry, nor yet one too refined, nor too Attic; for whatever exceeded the Attic mediocrity, was considered by him as dissonant and unpleasant. He made use of no fastidious nicety in the division of his discourses, nor any fine-spun sentences; nor was he even known to adopt an ironical manner, nor any kind of apostrophising with his hearers. He spoke as it were from a tripod*—to wit, *I know*, and *It seems to me*—

* To speak from a tripod appears to have been a proverbial expression. Athenus, in the 2d chap. of his 2d book, says, the prize of the victor in all sports in honour of Bacchus is a tripod: because we say that he speaks from a tripod, who speaks truth. A tripod is the property of Apollo, on account of the truth of his oracles, and is also that of Bacchus, on account of the truth which is the consequence of drinking wine.

and to *what purpose is this, and you must know*. His sentences were short and adamantine—his words authoritative, and adapted to the sense, and the bare utterance of them conveyed a sound as if they were sanctioned by the sceptre of royalty. Being asked once by a subtile disputant why he did not propose what side of a question he should take in argument?—he replied, when I was a young man, I used to follow that practice, but that it was no longer necessary, as it was now become his duty not to investigate, but to teach the result of his investigations. When he was asked by the same logician, how a wise man should speak, he said, as a legislator, for it was the part of a legislator to command the multitude to do, what he himself was convinced ought to be done. In this way he conducted himself at Antioch, and converted many who were strangers to all knowledge.

C H A P. XVIII.

AFTER this he resolved to extend his travels, and visit the Indies, and the wise men of that country who were called Brachmans, and Germanes;* saying, it was the business of young men to travel, and make themselves known in foreign lands. To converse with the magi, who inhabit Babylon and Susa, and to learn all they knew, he considered would be cause sufficient for undertaking the journey. He then disclosed his intentions to his companions, seven in number, who, as they thought differently on that subject, endeavoured to divert him from going. On this he said to them, "I have consulted the

* Germanes were a cast of the Gymnosophistæ (a common name for Indian philosophers) who led a solitary life in the woods, abstaining from wine and women, and using many severities.

Gods, I have declared to you their will, to make trial of your courage, whether you will go with me or not; and since I find you have not resolution to go, I bid you farewell, and desire you may study philosophy. It is my duty to go where wisdom and my demon lead me." After this declaration, he departed from Antioch, attended only by two domestics of his own family, who were expert scribes, the one eminent for the dispatch with which he wrote, and the other for the beauty of his handwriting.

CHAP. XIX.

ON his coming to the ancient Ninus,* he found a statue erected after a barbarous taste. It was Io, the daughter of Inachus, whose horns appeared small, and just as if budding. Whilst he remained in this city, and learnt all he could of the statue from the priests and prophets, he met with Damis, whom I have noticed in the beginning of this book, as his fellow-traveller and companion; and one to whom we are indebted for the knowledge of many particulars concerning Apollonius. The Ninevite soon became attached to him, and being fond of travelling, said, Let us go—"God shall be your guide, and you shall be

* This ancient Ninus, from the account given of it here by Philostratus, must have been situate some where between Antioch and Zeugma, on the Euphrates, and cannot refer to that which stood on the banks of the Tigris, and was destroyed 700 years before Christ. In the following passage from Ammianus Marcellinus, the town itself appears marked out as in Commagena, a district of Syria. "Commagena nunc Euphratensis clementer assurgit, Hierapoli, Vetere Nineve, & Samosata civitatibus amplis illustres." Now what place can be understood by the *Vetere Nineve* of Marcellinus in Commagena, except the *antiqua Ninus*, the birth-place of Damis, and the town visited by Apollonius on his way from Antioch to Zeugma.

mine. I think I may serve you on the journey, for if I know any thing, it is the road leading to Babylon, together with the towns and villages on the way, wherein can be found any accommodation, it being not long since I returned from thence. I am, besides, acquainted with the languages of the barbarians,* namely, the Armenians, Medes, Persians, and Cadusians. But, my friend, returned Apollonius, I know them all myself, though I never learnt them. Whilst Damis stood in amaze at what he heard: do not be surprised, continued Apollonius, at my knowing all tongues, for I know the very thoughts of men, even what they do not say. When Damis heard this he adored him, considering him as a demon.† He then became a proselyte to his opinions, and whatever he learnt from him, he did not forget. This Assyrian had some eloquence, though from his education among barbarians, ignorant of all the rules which constitute elegance in writing. Yet his observation of whatever was either said or done in company, was acute, and he kept an exact account of all that passed, which appears from a book he wrote called the *Apolloniana*.—Damis was desirous to

* If Apollonius knew all the languages of the several nations mentioned in the text, Eusebius says, he must have been an apt scholar, and possessed of an excellent memory. When we add to this, that he afterwards attained to the knowledge of the language of brute animals, we must say, that the man who undertakes that, may ascribe what meaning he pleases to their sounds, without any fear of confutation: but when he goes further, and says he understood the very thoughts of men, we can only laugh at his presumption, or at Philostratus's folly in taking notice of it. If Damis was such a simpleton as to believe all this, we need not be surprised at his adoring him, and taking him for a demon. Dr. Jortin supposes he could speak a little of several languages, for he was, says he, a man of parts, and a strolling vagabond.

† The French translator has a note which marks the difference of feeling between himself and Damis—it is this “J'avoue ma malice; je me serois mis à rire, & j'aurois pris Apollonius pour un fou.” Damis thought otherwise, “Maluit esse Deum.”

learn every thing of Apollonius, and as desirous to put down in his book every circumstance, however minute and trifling. The answer he made to one who condemned this kind of writing was neat and apposite. It was to an envious impertinent fellow who said that there were some things he wrote of Apollonius well enough, particularly his opinions and sayings, but that the crumbs he collected, put him in mind of the dogs that eat of whatever falls from their master's table. To this criticism Damis made the following reply: if the Gods have feasts, and eat at them, they have also attendants who wait on them; and whose business it is to take care that none of the ambrosia be lost. Such was the friend and companion by whom Apollonius was accompanied during a great part of his life.

CHAP. XX.

WHEN our travellers were passing into Mesopotamia, the publican at the bridge of Zeugma* carried them to the toll-books, and asked what they brought with them. To whom Apollonius said, I bring with me temperance, justice, continence, fortitude, patience, and many other virtues, which he called by feminine names. The tax-gatherer, who thought of nothing but his fees, said—he had written down the names of his maids—but returned Apollonius, they are not maids—they are mistresses, who travel with me.† Mesopotamia is formed by the Tigris and Euphrates, two rivers running out of Armenia, and the farthest parts of mount Taurus, and encompassing the

* Zeugma, a town on the Euphrates, the great pass from Syria to Osroene, the northern district of Mesopotamia: the two countries being joined by a bridge, as is intimated by the name.

† Ce conte, says Du Pin, sent bien la fiction, et paroît inventé par Damis, ou par Philostrate.

and in which are some cities and many villages. It is inhabited by a people who came from Armenia and Arabia, and who being shut in by these rivers,* wander up and down without any fixed habitations. They look on themselves so much as *islanders*, that they use the phrase of *going down to the sea*, whenever they go to these rivers, within whose course they have fixed the boundaries of the earth, because these rivers, after having formed the country we are speaking of, run into the sea.† Some writers say that a great part of the Euphrates disappears in a marsh, and is lost under ground. But others, adopting a bolder language, assert that after it disappears in Mesopotamia, it rises again in Egypt, and mixes with the waters of the Nile. To preserve greater accuracy in my narrative, and omit nothing material noticed by Damis in his journal, it was my intention to give a particular account of the manner in which Apollonius spent his time among the barbarians, but my subject calls me to higher and more wonderful objects. Yet two circumstances are not to be cursorily passed over, first the fortitude which supported him in travelling through countries that were barbarous, and infested with robbers, and unsubdued by the Roman arms; and next, the wisdom which led him after the manner of the Arabians, to make himself acquainted with the language of animals. This knowledge he acquired when amongst the Arabians, who of all people are best versed in its theory and practice; for augury is still in credit with them, and the divination by birds‡ is as much respected

* Called in the text *Nomades à permutandis pabulis*,—that is, as Pliny says, *anapalia sua, scilicet-domos plaustris circumferentes*.

† We know now that the rivers unite at Apamea or Corna, into the broad stream of the Pasitigris, and run into the Persian Gulf, about one hundred miles from the junction. D'ANVILLE.

‡ He understood the speech of birds

As well as they themselves do words :

by them, at that by oracles. This talent is obtained according to some, by their feeding on the heart, and according to others, on the liver of dragons.

CHAP. XXI.

AFTER passing beyond Ctesiphon,* Apollonius entered the territories of Babylon, where he was met by the King's guard, whose orders were to let none pass without examination; and having first answered the questions, "who they were," "whence they came," and "the cause of their coming." The officer who commanded the guard, was by way of distinction called one of the king's-eyes,† for the Mede,‡ who had lately obtained the supreme power, was not as yet fully settled on his throne, and from being alarmed at every flying rumour, whether true or false, had fallen into a state of perpetual apprehension. In consequence of this vigilance, Apollonius and his com-

Could tell what subtlest parrots mean

That speak and think contrary clean:

What member 'tis of whom they talk,

When they cry *rope*, and *walk knave*, *walk*. HUDIBRAS.

Inveterata fuit gentilium opinio, inter se colloqui Bruta et corum sermone a multis intelligi: unde ars vel interpretandi voces animalium; in qua excelluisse dicuntur apud veteres, Melampus, Tiresias, Thales Milesius, Apollonius Tyaneus.

* Ctesiphon, a city of Assyria, on the east side of the Tigris, opposite to Seleucia.

† It appears from Apuleius, that the faithful friends of the Persian kings were called *aves regia*, and *imperatoris oculi*.

‡ The Mede—called *Bardanes Arsacida*; it may be noticed here that the names of Persian, Mede, and Parthian, are often confounded in history. This Bardanes, or Vardanes, was the son of Artabanus, whose story is told by Tacitus, in the 6th and 11th book of his annals; he succeeded to the throne in consequence of the misfortunes which befel his two elder brothers, Arsaces and Darius.

panions were carried before the Satrap, who just at that moment was taking the air in his palanquin. As soon as he saw the squalid, meagre figure of the man, he screamed out in fright like a woman, and covered his face. At length, when he ventured to look up, he addressed him as a demon, and asked, "whence art thou sent to us?" From myself, replied Apollonius, to instruct you to become men, in defiance of yourselves. Then the Satrap asked who he was, who dared to enter the King's dominions? To this Apollonius calmly answered, the whole earth is mine,* and I have leave to go wherever I please through it. When the Satrap heard this, he said, if you answer me not explicitly I will put you to the torture. To this Apollonius said, "O that the punishment were to be inflicted by your own hands, that you might pay the merited penalty for daring to touch such a man. The eunuch, astonished at finding that the man required no interpreter, and that he comprehended and answered every thing without the least hesitation, changed his voice and manner, and adjured him in the name of the Gods, to say who he was—As you condescend, said Apollonius, to ask me with so much civil courtesy, hear then who I am. I am Apollonius of Tyana, I am going to the King of the Indians, to learn from him what is doing in that country. I should be glad to see your King, for all who have conversed with him, say he is not without virtue, and I am inclined to credit this report, if it is Vardanes who has just recovered his lost kingdom. He is the very man, divine Apollonius, returned the Satrap, (for of you we have heard long ago;) and he is one who would resign his crown to a wise man; and will take care to have you and your companions forwarded to the Indies, each mounted on a

* This expression is agreeable to the Cynic and Stoic paradox, which says, that the wise man possesses all things; *Sapienti omnia esse*

camel.* For my part I make you my guest, and offer you these treasures (at the same time he shewed him heaps of gold) to take what you please, not only once, but ten times. When the governor found he refused the money, he said, take I pray thee this Babylonish wine,† it is of that kind which the King gives to his ten satraps. Besides, I request you may take these pieces of roasted swine and goat; and also some flower and bread, and whatever else you please: for the journey you are about to undertake is one of many stadia, wherein are many villages, but indifferently supplied with accommodations. The eunuch was shocked the moment he recollected the way in which he was going to entertain a man, whom fame represented as abstaining from all animal food and wine. But Apollonius without being offended, said, you may treat me sumptuously, if you provide me with bread and herbs. I will give you, continued the eunuch, leavened bread, and dates‡ from the palm-tree, that are large and resemble amber; and herbs, the growth of the gardens of the Tigris. Apollonius said, he would rather have the herbs that grew wild and spontaneously, than what were forced and

* Qui croira, says Du Pin, que la reputation d'Apollone, encore jeune, qui n'etoit jamais sorti de la Grece, eut déjà été portée en Babylone, y fut déjà si publique et si bien établie, qu'un Satrape lui fit tant d'honneur sur son seul nom, et le traitât du premier abord d'homme divin.

† Babylonish wine—the produce of the palm-tree; it is the wine which Pliny says is in general use all over the East, and is that which is given by the King to his ten Satraps. The whole empire under the Parthians was divided into nineteen kingdoms, of which eleven were called the *Upper*, and the remainder the *Lower*. The ten Satraps belonged to the Upper Kingdom, and it is probable that two kingdoms had but one Satrap.

‡ Atheneus speaks of the beauty and size of the dates, and says they resembled amber in their color. Xenophon, in his *Anabasis*, mentions the same. The learned Kæmpfer, Gibbon says, has exhausted the whole subject of palm-trees,

artificial, as he did suppose they were sweeter. Sweeter, do you say, said the Satrap, I fear the soil about Babylon abounds in wormwood,* and tends to make the vegetables bitter and unpleasant to the taste. At last Apollonius, out of respect to the Satrap, made use of these words when he was taking his leave of him,—“Cease not from doing good, but I say also, begin by doing good.” By this he rebuked him not only for the threat he held out of the torture, but for the very uncivil language he at first used to him.

CHAP. XXII.

AFTER this our travellers continued their journey, and proceeding about twenty stadias, lighted on a lioness just killed in the chase, that was one of the largest ever seen in these parts. The people from the neighbouring villages, and even the huntsmen themselves, gathering all around, raised a loud cry as if they had beheld something wonderful. And indeed it was so, for when the lioness was opened, there were found eight young ones in her belly. It is said the lioness carries her young six months, and brings forth only three times in her life. At her first litter she has three, at the second, two, and if she has a third, but one, which is, I suppose, larger, and more ferocious than usual. No credit is to be given to those writers, who say that the young whelps† gnaw the wombs of their mothers in order to set themselves at liberty: for I think no doubt can be entertained but that nature has formed a mutual attachment between the parent and her

* Absinthium, wormwood, called by Dioscorides *βα θυπικρον ἄ profundo amarore.*

† This story of the young lions treatment of their mother, is taken from Herodotus. Thalia, chap. 108.

young to preserve the species. As soon as Apollonius saw the beast, he remained long without uttering a word; at length he opened his mouth, and said, O Damis, the time we are to stay with the King, will be just a year and eight months. He will not suffer us to go sooner, and I do not think it would be proper for us to depart before the expiration of that period: as the number of the months may be conjectured* from that of the young, and the year, from the mother, for things perfect in themselves, can be only compared with what are perfect. But what, said Damis, will Homer's† sparrows say to all this? I mean the eight devoured at Aulis by the serpent, and the mother that made the ninth; for certainly Calchas in his interpretation of that prodigy, foretold a war of nine years at Troy. It therefore behoves us not to have our stay extended to the same length, according to the calculation of Homer and Calchas. Whereupon Apollonius said, Homer (it is true) compared the young of the sparrow to years, and he did so, because they were born, and in possession of life; but in the case before us, the young are imperfect, unborn, and perhaps would never have seen the light; and why should I compare them to years? for the irregular productions of nature are not easily brought forth, and if they are, they soon perish. But mind, Damis, what I say, and let us continue our journey without ceasing to offer up our prayers to the Gods who shew us such signs.

* Wonderful mystery, truly.

† Homer's Iliad: 2d. Book. "Tout cela," says Du Pin, "est qu'un jeu d'esprit, et une pensée imaginée apres coup, pour faire valoir ce trait d'Homere, et faire paroître de l'erudition."

CHAP. XXIII.

WHEN he was drawing near Cissia, after entering the province of Babylon, he had the following vision in his sleep, prepared by the deity who communicated it. He thought he saw some fishes cast on the shore panting for breath, who complained like mortals, and bewailed the element they had lost. They looked as if imploring the aid of a dolphin, who was swimming near them, and seemed as much to be pitied as men in exile, deploring their hard fortune. Apollonius, without being at all moved by the dream, considered with himself what it might signify; however, to frighten Damis, who was of a timid nature, he affected to be alarmed as to what it might portend. This was successful, for Damis, terrified as if he had seen the result, advised him not to go farther, and said, we may perish like those poor fishes, driven from our houses, and may lament in a strange land, and perhaps, if we fall into great straits and difficulties, may be forced to apply to some prince or potentate for assistance, who will treat us, as those fishes are treated by the dolphin. Apollonius with a smile said, you are not yet a philosopher, Damis, if you were, you would not be alarmed at such things as these; but attend, and I will give you the explanation of the dream. The people who inhabit the district of Cissia; are the Eretrians,* who about five hundred years ago were carried away by Darius from Eubea, and who like the poor fishes in the dream, are

* Darius settled the Eretrians at Ardericca, in the district of Cissia, one of the royal stations, 210 stadia from Susa. See Herodotus, Erato, chap. 119. This visit of Apollonius to Arsaces Bardanes, was about the year of Christ 50, according to Col. Rennel; but according to Olearius not so late as 50.

now mourning their captivity; having been like them as it were taken in a net. The Gods therefore seem to command me to take all the care I can of them; for peradventure the souls of the Greeks who were cast by fate on this land, have invited me hither for their benefit. Let us then turn out of our way, and make enquiries for that well,* near which, it is said, they dwell. The well is composed of bitumen, oil, and water, and when drawn up and poured on the ground, its component parts separate, and may be distinguished from each other. That Apollonius was in Cissia is witnessed by himself in his letter to the Clazomenian Sophist, for he was of such a mild generous disposition, that the moment he saw the Eretrians, he put the Sophist in mind of them, and gave him an account of their situation, which he afterwards referred to in his letters. Through the whole of the epistle he exhorts him to pity the Eretrians, and not to omit shedding tears for them, whenever he made their condition the subject of a declamation.

CHAP. XXIV.

THE account we are to give of the Eretrians, corresponds exactly with what Damis has written of them. They dwell in the country of the Medes, not farther from Babylon than what a speedy messenger might go in one day. The country is without cities, for in Cissia are to be found only villages and hamlets: the wandering tribes by which it is inhabited are called Nomades, who seldom or ever alight from their horses. That part of it occupied by the Eretrians, lies in the interior of the country, and is in-

* There is a particular account of this well in Herodotus, chap. as aforesaid.

closed by a river, which serves them as a rampart against the inroads of the barbarians. The land abounds with bitumen, which renders all its vegetable productions unwholesome. The natives are short-lived, for as the water is impregnated with this unctuous matter, it leaves a noxious sediment in the stomach. Their principal food is derived from a hill, adjoining the village, which on account of its being higher than the surrounding waste, is sown with corn, as its soil is esteemed good. There is a tradition among the natives, that seven hundred and eighty Eretrians were made prisoners, of whom all were not fighting men, because in that number were included some old men and women, and I suppose children. A great part of the Eretrians, we are informed, fled to the promontory Caphæreus, and the mountainous regions of Eubea; but about four hundred men and ten women came to Susa; the mortality which began after their leaving Ionia and Lydia, having caused the difference to fall away in proportion as they advanced farther into the country. As the hill we have mentioned supplied them with quarries of stone, and as many among them were acquainted with the art of cutting it, they built temples after the models of the Greeks, and a forum suited to their circumstances. They likewise built altars, two in honor of Darius, one in honor of Xerxes, and many to Daridœus.* From the time of their captivity, till that of Daridœus, passed eighty-eight years. The manner of their writing was after the Greek fashion, and their ancient sepulchres were inscribed thus—"Here lyeth such a one, the son of such a one." The characters are in Greek, but our travellers said, they never saw such before. The inscriptions engraved on their tombs were all expressive of the several professions which

* Who this Daridœus was, I have not been able to learn from any of the commentators.

they followed in Eubea, one, to wit, followed the trade of a ferryman, another that of a murex-fisher, another of a sailor, and a fourth a dyer of purple. They found also some elegiac verses inscribed on the tomb of certain sailors and pilots, to the following effect. "We who formerly ploughed the deep Ægean, lie here in a strange land in the midst of the Ecbatani. Farewel land of Eretria, of old renowned. Farewel Athens, near Eubea, and farewel sweet sea." Damis writes that Apollonius repaired the mouldering sepulchres, and built an enclosure round them—that he offered libations, and performed all rites due to their manes without victims, and the shedding of blood.—Damis adds, he wept, and in the sadness of his heart uttered these words in the midst of them. "O ye men of Eretria, who were carried here by the decrees of fate; though far from home you obtained a grave; but they who cast you on this land, perished unburied about your island ten years after your captivity." Apollonius at the end of his epistle to the sophist, says, O Scopelianus,* though young, I have not neglected your Eretrians, and have done all the good I could to the living and dead. But in what way did he render any service to the living? I will tell you. The barbarians who lived in the vicinity of the hill of which we have spoken, used to come in the summer and carry off all the ripe corn; in consequence of which the Eretrians, who cultivated it, were exposed to famine and want. Apollonius in the first audience he had with the King, obtained a grant, by which the sole use and enjoyment exclusively of this hill was for ever secured to them.

* Scopelianus, preceptor of Herodes Atticus, to whom Apollonius has addressed several of his Epistles. He was one of the most eminent orators of the age, and was well rewarded by Julius Atticus for the services he rendered to his son.

CHAP. XXV.

THE following account is what I have been able to learn of Babylon and Apollonius, whilst he staid in it. Babylon* is built within a circumference of four hundred and eighty stadia. The walls are in height one plethron and a half, and in breadth not much less than a plethron. It is divided equally into two parts by the Euphrates, under which runs a bridge of wonderful construction, uniting invisibly the royal palaces, that are built on each side of it. It is said, a woman of the Median nation† who formerly possessed the empire, joined the river by means of a bridge, in a way never done before. After having collected on each bank of the river the stones, and brass, and bitumen, and whatever other materials were necessary for building in the water, she turned the course of the stream into the contiguous morasses.‡ This dried up the channel, and then she caused a trench to be dug across it of the depth of two orguias, through which a passage might

* Notwithstanding the account which is here given of Babylon at the time of Apollonius visiting it, I believe few vestiges then remained of its ancient grandeur, and the royal seat of government was transferred to Ctasephon. The circumference given to it by our author is the same with that assigned it by Herodotus and Pliny, 480 stadia, the average stadium may be reckoned at 500 feet. The height of a plethron and a half to the walls, taking the plethron at a hundred feet, is the same as the height given them by Quintus Curtius, of 150 feet. Their breadth, of not much less than a plethron, corresponds not with the breadth of any of the writers. Herodotus gives 75 feet for their breadth, and Curtius and Strabo 32 feet. Pausanias, who lived under the Antonines, says, that in his time nothing remained of Babylon but its walls, and the temple of Belus.

† The Median woman, Semiramis, the wife of Ninus.

‡ Paludes Babylonicæ.

be as on dry land to the palaces that stood on each side.* This passage was covered with an arch of the same elevation with the bed of the river; and its foundation and sides were made as fast as they could: but as the bitumen required water to harden, and make it cement, the Euphrates was let in over the wet arch to give it solidity and a durable consistence. The royal mansions are covered with brass, which contribute much to their beauty and splendor. The apartments of both men and women, together with the porticos, are adorned, some with silver, others with tapestry of gold, and even some with beaten gold in place of pictures. The painted decorations of their hangings were all taken from Greek stories, of which Andromeda, and Amymōne, and Orpheus, † supplied subjects. They are delighted with Orpheus, more I am inclined to think from the reverence they have for his tiara and loose hose, than for his skill in music, and the divine songs with which he charms the soul. In the tapestry-work ‡ were also to be seen Datis plucking Naxos out of the sea, Artaphernes besieging Eretria, and the victories of King Xerxes. To these were added, Athens in the possession of the enemy, and Thermopylæ, and such other representations as were fitted to swell the Median pride; as *rivers dried up, bridges flung across the ocean, and mount Athos perforated*. It is said Apollonius visited an apartment belonging to the men, whose ceiling was arched in

* See Diodorus Siculus, b. ii. chap. 1. who gives an account of this vaulted passage under the bed of the Euphrates, which Philostratus says was in depth two orguias, or 12 feet.

† The stories of Andromeda and Orpheus are better known than that of Amymone, who was the daughter of Danaus and Europa, and married to Enceladus, whom she murdered the first night of her nuptials.

‡ See Herodotus, for an illustration of the particular portion of his represented in the tapestry.

the form of the heavens, and covered with Sapphire, which is a stone of an azure colour, resembling the sky. Under this canopy were suspended the images of their reputed deities, wrought in gold, and shedding a light as if from heaven. Here it is, where the King sits in judgment. Four birds* in gold hung from the roof, which appeared in the act of denouncing vengeance on the King, if he did wrong, and at the same time of admonishing him, not to exalt himself above what is mortal. The Magi, whose†

* Rather four golden figures, in shape like birds, called *Hecatine Strophali*, or Hecatine Sphærulæ; in the midst of each was inclosed a sapphire, and about each of them was folded a leather thong, beset all over with characters. These sphærulæ they whipped about, whilst they made their invocations, and called them *Jynges*, their appellation in the text. Stanley says they used to call them *Jynges*, whether they were round, or triangular, or any other figure, and whilst they were doing thus, they made insignificant or brutish cries, and lashed the air with their whips, *Jynx* is also the bird, motacilla, or wag-tail, and the figures were called Hecatine, from being dedicated to Hecate, a Chaldean goddess, who has at her right side the fountain of virtues.

† Ammianus Marcellinus has a long account of the Magi, which I think not amiss to transcribe here. Plato, a most celebrated author, of singular opinions, informs us, that *Magia*, in a mystical sense, is nothing but *Machagistia*, which signifies the most incorrupt worship and pure observance of divine ceremonies, to which knowledge Zoroaster the Bactrian added many things out of the secrets of the Chaldeans; and after him, that most wise prince Hystaspes, the father of Darius, who whilst he was traversing the interior parts of upper India, arrived at a deep forest, the peaceful retreat of the Brachmans, men of the most sublime knowledge, from whom he learnt as far as he was capable, the system of the world, the motions of the stars, and the most pure rites of their religion; and from what he collected there, he communicated part to the Magi, who transmitted it to their descendants, together with the art of foreseeing things to come. From that time to the present, one and the same unmixed class of men is dedicated to the worship of the Gods. It is also said (if it is right to believe it) that there is kept a fire, which fell from heaven, perpetually burning on their hearths, of which a small portion in former times went before the Kings of Asia, as an auspicious sign of good fortune. These priests were few in number, and were the people employed by the

business it is to wait in his apartment, had these figures made, which they call *the Tongues of the Gods*.

CHAP. XXVI.

OF the Magi, Apollonius has said all he thought sufficient; he had several conversations with them, and after a mutual interchange of knowledge, took his leave of them. Damis confesses his ignorance of what passed between them, and says, Apollonius would not suffer him to be present at any of their interviews, which used to take place at mid-day, and mid-night. When Apollonius was asked his opinion of them, he said, *they are wise, but not in all things*. However, of them hereafter.

CHAP. XXVII.

WHEN he came to Babylon, the Satrap to whom was entrusted the care of the great gates, understanding that Apollonius travelled for the sake of knowledge, presented to him a golden image of the King;* it being held unlawful to enter the city without first worshipping it. This mark of submission was never dispensed with, except in favor of ambassadors sent from the Roman Emperor;

Persian Kings in their sacred ceremonies. It was a sacrilege to approach the altars, or to touch a victim before that one of the Magi had by a set form of prayers poured forth certain precursory libations. Their numbers insensibly increasing, they became not only in name, but in reality, a great nation.

* This manner of adoration was very common among the people of the East, who paid the highest veneration to the statues of their deceased princes. This ceremony, Blount thinks, was much for the same purpose as our oath of allegiance, to testify the respect and fidelity they had for their sovereign.

but every one else who came from barbarous nations, or from curiosity to see the country, if he did not first worship the image, was, if discovered, stigmatised with disgrace. Herein is to be seen how ceremonies of very little consequence were amongst barbarians committed to the care of great officers of state. As soon as Apollonius saw the image, he asked whose it was? and when he heard it was the King's, he said, this man whom you worship, if he is so fortunate as to be praised by me for his virtue and goodness, will acquire honor enough, and with these words passed through the gates. The Satrap followed in admiration, and taking him by the hand, asked him by an interpreter what was his name, his country, his pursuits, and the motive of his journey: and after taking down on a tablet his several answers, together with his dress and appearance, bid him wait his pleasure.

CHAP. XXVIII.

ON this the Satrap made all the haste he could, to those men who are called *the King's Ears*, and after giving them an account of Apollonius, said, the man is not willing to worship the King's image, nor is at all like other men. He was then ordered into their presence, with an express injunction, that proper respect should be paid him, and no molestation offered; when he came before them, he who was the eldest present, asked him why he despised the King? Apollonius said he did not despise him. But will you, said he, hereafter do it? Yes, said Apollonius, if I find by conversing with him, that he is not as good and virtuous as I expect. What presents* do you bring

* The making of presents has been, and to this day is, customary in the East. No negotiation, no treaty of business whatever is entered into,

our King? I bring him, returned Apollonius, fortitude and justice, and some other like virtues. What, said the King's minister, do you bring these presents from an idea of our King's not being already possessed of them? No, not exactly from that, answered Apollonius, but it is from the supposition, that if he is possessed of them, I may teach him their use. Our King, continued the minister, by the exercise of such virtues, has acquired the kingdom he had lost, and recovered his palace, not without much labour and toil. How many years is it, said Apollonius, since he recovered the kingdom? Two years and two months, replied the minister. Then Apollonius, as he was wont to do, when he wished to give weight to his opinion, cried, O thou guardian of the royal person, or if any other appellation please thee better, hearken to what I say; Darius, the father of Cyrus and Artaxerxes, after a reign of about sixty* years, when he found his end approaching, is said to have sacrificed to justice, and thus exclaimed, "*O mistress, whosoever thou art.*" By this may be inferred that he loved justice all his life, though he knew her not, nor ever thought himself possessed of her. Hence it came to pass that he educated his children so foolishly, that they waged war with each other, and the one was wounded and the other killed by his brother. And you

into, or carried on without them. No one was allowed to appear in the presence of the Persian Kings without some gift, no matter of what value. To this account it may be added, that when our countryman, Lord Macartney, had his interview with the Emperor of China in 1793, the receiving and returning of presents, made a considerable part of the ceremony, and we may say, of the embassy also.

* Philostratus differs from all other chronologers, in making Darius possess his kingdom 60 years. It is probable, as Olearius conjectures, that the period of 60 years refers to his age, and not to his reign.

praise beyond all deserving, a King, as if possessed of every virtue, who perhaps does not know how to support his throne: and yet, if he becomes better than he is, the gain will be yours and not mine. Then one of the barbarians present looking on him, said, unquestionably the Gods have given us this extraordinary man: for I am of opinion, that men of virtue conversing with a prince so well instructed as our King, must make him wiser, and better, and more gracious, inasmuch as these virtues are painted in his countenance. On this all ran to the palace, proclaiming the good tidings of a man being at the King's gates, who was wise, and a Greek, and an excellent counsellor.

CHAP. XXIX.

WHEN these tidings reached the King, he was in the act of offering sacrifice in the presence of the Magi, to whose care were committed the sacred rites of religion. He called one of them to him, and said, I now recollect the dream I told you of yesterday, when you came to me as I lay in bed. The King's dream was, that he thought himself Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, and that his own countenance became like unto his. This dream raised apprehensions in him, lest the change in his countenance should forebode a change in his affairs. As soon as he heard of the arrival of a wise man and a Greek at his court, he called to mind Themistocles, who came formerly from Greece, and who by his conversations with Artaxerxes, made not only that prince estimable, but shewed himself such as he was represented. Then the King stretching out his right hand, said, bid the man come forward: and let our conversation begin under the good omens of having his prayers united with our own, in sacrificing to the Gods.

CHAP. XXX.

AT length Apollonius made his entry amidst a great train, who attended him out of respect to the King, who, it is said, was much gratified at his arrival. When he came into the palace, he took no notice of any of those things which in general excite the admiration of people, but passed on like a man on a journey. Then turning to Damis, he said, did not you ask me some time ago, the name of the Pamphylian woman who was Sappho's acquaintance, and who composed hymns that are still accustomed to be sung in honor of the Pergean* Diana, after the Eolian and Pamphylian measure. I did, said Damis, but you made me no answer. I did not my friend, but I explained to you the measures of the hymns, and the names of the measures; and how she transposed certain pieces of music which were set to the Eolian measure, from that to a measure of the highest key, and one which the Pamphylians claim as their own. As other objects afterwards occurred and attracted our attention, you asked me no more about her. But I will now answer you: her name is Damophyla,† she had, like Sappho, a company of young virgins in her train, who attended her as scholars, and she composed like Sappho, verses, of which some were amorous, and some in honor of the Gods. The verses she composed in honor of Diana, are sung in the Sapphic measure as well as in the Pamphylian, or the measure of Damophyla, which differs from that of Sappho. How little Apollonius was affected by all the rich and splendid circumstances of royalty, appeared by

* Perga, a town in Pamphylia, where Diana was worshipped with peculiar veneration.

† Damophyla was contemporary with Sappho—and not only wrote hymns in honour of the Pergean Diana, but opened a school where the young virgins, her scholars, were taught the various powers of music and poetry.

his not even condescending to look at them, and by talking of the most insignificant matters, as if they were actually before him.

CHAP. XXXI.

WHEN the King saw him at a distance approaching, (for the court of the temple was spacious) he spoke to his attendants in a way which shewed he recognised the man. As soon as he drew nearer, he cried out with a loud voice, saying, this is Apollonius whom my brother Megabates saw at Antioch, who was honored and esteemed by all the good, and whom he described exactly such as he now appears to me. As Apollonius advanced, the King spoke to him in Greek, and commanded him to join in the sacrifice which he was then offering to the sun, of a white horse from the Nisean* plains, adorned as if prepared for a solemn procession. To this Apollonius said, do you, O King, sacrifice after your manner, but let me sacrifice after mine. After he said this, he took the frankincense in his hand and uttered these words, O Sun! conduct me to whatever part of the world it may seem good to you and me; and grant me only to know the virtuous: but as to the wicked, I wish neither to know them, nor to be known by them. With these words he threw the frankincense† into the fire, observing at the same time the

* *Nisæus Compus*,—a plain in Media, famous for its breed of horses. The chariot of Xerxes was drawn by them, and in all processions the sacred horses were Nisæan. The Nisæan pastures are spoken of in Diodorus Siculus. White horses were sacrificed to the sun almost among all nations, the Scythians, Greeks, and Romans. Livy, in speaking of Camillus having triumphed in a chariot drawn by four white horses, says, “*parumque id non civile modò, sed humanum etiam visum. Jovis Solisque equis æquiparari dictatorem in religionem etiam trahebant: triumphusque ob eam unam maximè rem clarior quam gratior fuit.*”

† *Libanomanteia*—divination by frankincense, which, if it caught fire, and emitted a grateful odour, was esteemed a good omen; but if the fire did not catch it, or it produced a disagreeable smell, it was a bad omen.

smoke, how it rose, and curled, and shot into spiral forms: and afterwards touching the fire as if it indicated good and propitious omens, he exclaimed, "O King! do you continue to sacrifice after the ceremonies of your own country; for my part I have observed what belongs to mine." With this declaration he withdrew from the sacrifice, through fear lest he should be made a partaker in the shedding of blood.

C H A P. XXXII.

WHEN the sacrifice was ended, Apollonius came forward, and said, O King!* do you know the Greek language, or only as much as serves for conversation, and for not appearing awkward when visited by any of that nation? I know it, said the King, as I do my mother tongue, and therefore you may say what you please, for I suppose it is on that account you ask the question. It is indeed, replied Apollonius, and hearken, I pray you, to what I have to say. I am now going to visit the Indians, who are the chief objects of my journey; yet I could not pass you by, particularly after hearing so much to your praise, which from experience I find true. Besides, I was anxious to know the wisdom that is professed by the Magi in your country, and whether they are, as report says, wise in things touching religion.† The wisdom I profess is that of Pythagoras the Samian, who taught me to worship the Gods‡ in the way you perceived,

* This must have been a matter of very little consequence to Apollonius, who says himself, he knew all languages.

† How strictly he professed to observe the Pythagorean discipline, every where, and in all things, appears from this conversation, if Damis may be relied on.

‡ For which cause Vopiscus styled him, *amicus verus Deorum*.

to discern their several natures, and respect them accordingly, to converse with them, and dress myself in garments made from the genuine fleece of the earth, not torn from the sheep, but from what groweth pure from the pure,—from linen, the simple produce of the earth and water. I let my hair grow, and abstain from all animal food, in obedience to the doctrine of Pythagoras. With you or any other man, I can never indulge in the gratifications of the table. I promise to free you from perplexing and vexatious cares, for I not only know, but foreknow what is to be. Such are the subjects on which Damis says Apollonius conversed with the King, and which are noticed by him in some of his epistles. Some other conversations passed which are referred to in his letters.

CHAP. XXXIII.

THE King confessed he was more pleased with his coming, than if he had the wealth of India and Persia added to his own. He expressed a desire of making him his guest, and giving him apartments in the royal palace. What would you say, O King! replied Apollonius, should I invite you to live in my house, in case of your coming to Tyana, the place of my birth, would you do it? I think not, said the King, without the house was capable of receiving me and my attendants, and that in a way becoming my rank and consequence. The truth is, said Apollonius, that were I to live in a house above my condition of life, I should not be comfortable. All kind of excess is irksome to the wise, as the want of it is to you who are of the great ones of the earth, and for this reason I prefer living with some private individual, whose fortune does not exceed my own; but as to conversation, I will

converse with you as much as you please. The King assented to his request, lest he might, unknown to himself, be the means of hurting his feelings on the occasion.

C H A P. XXXIV.

WHILST Apollonius staid, he lodged at the house of a Babylonian who was a man of good family and character. As he was sitting at supper with him, an eunuch came in (who was one of the royal messengers) and addressing himself to Apollonius, said, The King gives you the choice of ten boons, and the permission of chusing them, and he insists that you should not ask such as are of mean value, he being anxious to impress both you and us with a sense of his great bounty. Apollonius, flattered by the tenor of the royal message, enquired when the permission would be granted. To-morrow, said the eunuch—and immediately proceeded to the King's friends and relations, with an order for their attendance at the hour appointed, to testify the respect paid to so honoured a suppliant. Damis says, he thought he would ask for nothing, from the knowledge he had of his peculiar disposition, and from knowing that his petitions to the Gods were all in general to this effect, *O Gods! grant me few possessions, and no wants!* Yet when he saw him stand in a pensive mood, and like one in deep thought, he imagined he might make a request, and was puzzled to think what it should be. At length, when evening came on, he said, I have been considering Damis, the reason why the barbarians look on eunuchs as chaste, and why such ready admission is given them into the apartments of the women. To this Damis said, the reason is obvious to a child—because the operation by which they are made eunuchs, deprives them of the power of loving, and this is such a reason for the permission, that it extends even to the liber-

ty of sleeping with women. But do you suppose, said Apollonius, that the operation alluded to cuts off both the power of loving, and that of knowing women? It does both, replied Damis; for if the parts by which the body is excited to passion be removed, love will find no entrance into the human breast. Whereupon Apollonius paused, and then said, You shall understand to-morrow that eunuchs are capable of making love, and that the inclination prompting thereto, making its way into the eyes, is not extinguished there, but retains its strength in full vigor. An event will shortly happen, which will shew you the false grounds on which your reasoning is built. For supposing any human means were discovered powerful enough to banish such desires from the mind, I do not think that the decent manners of the truly chaste should be ascribed to eunuchs, and the reason is, because they are compelled to the practice of the virtue, and drawn as it were by violence to the observation of it. The virtue denominated *temperance*,* consists in not yielding to this passion, though you feel all the incentives to it; but in abstaining from it, and shewing yourself superior to all its allurements. Here Damis resuming the conversation, said, We shall consider these things at another opportunity: at present it is your business to think of the answer you are to make to the royal message, which is so noble. For my part, I think you will ask nothing, but then how you are to act so, without seeming to slight what is offered, is the question. Consider this, and where you are—and don't forget we are entirely in the King's power. Besides, all appearance of treating the King with disrespect should be avoided, for though we may have enough to supply our journey to India, that will not suffice for our

* This precept relative to the restraint on our desires is admirable, and probably derived from still higher sources than the philosophy of the times.

coming back, and to that we ought to look, and to whom we ought to apply. Such was the address used to pacify Apollonius, and make him not despise the royal offers.

CHAP. XXXV.

ON this occasion Apollonius, as if he wished to add weight to Damis's reasoning, said, But why will you pass over, Damis, the examples of others? That, for instance, of Æschines* the son of Lysanias, who sailed to Sicily to visit the court of Dionysius, for the sake of money; or that of Plato, who is said to have thrice measured the gulf of Charybdis for the same purpose; or of Aristippus the Cyrenean, and Helicon† of Cyzicus, and Phyton,‡ who fled from Rhegium; all these men plunged themselves so deep into the treasures of Dionysius, that they could scarcely be extricated from them. Besides, they say, that Eudoxus§ of Gnidos, who sailed formerly into Egypt, confessed that money was his object, of which he talked to the King. However, not to traduce any more of

* Æschines, called the philosopher, to distinguish him from many others of the same name, he was a disciple of Socrates whom he never forsook. He was poor, and his poverty compelled him to visit Dionysius, the tyrant, at whose court he found Plato and Aristippus. He wrote many dialogues, together with several orations and epistles, which are much admired.

† Helicon of Cyzicus foretold an eclipse of the sun, as appears from Plutarch's Life of Dion, which induced Plato to recommend him to the protection of Dionysius, with whom he lived in great favour.

‡ Phyto was of a noble family of Elis, who, after being reduced to captivity with the rest of his countrymen, was at last forced to use very improper means for his support.

§ Eudoxus of Gnidos was a man of learning and character, who, our author says, travelled into Egypt for the sake of money, but herein he is supposed to be mistaken, as it appears, his friends made a contribution for the purpose of enabling him to undertake the journey.

the learned, we are told that, Speusippus* the Athenian, loved money to such excess, that he went on purpose to Macedonia to be present at the nuptials of Cassander, at which he recited in public some bad verses for the sake of money. For my part, Damis, I think a wise man is subject to much greater dangers than are either soldiers or sailors: for envy clings to him whether he speaks or is silent; whether he is employed or not, whether he does his duty, or neglects it, and lastly, whether he salutes you or does not. A wise man ought always to be on his guard, and know, that if he be overcome with sloth, or anger, or love, or any other excess, or acts in a way unbecoming his character, for all this he may perhaps be pardoned: but if he subject himself to the love of money, he never will; on the contrary, he will be hated, as one who is the slave of every other vice. For it will be naturally supposed, that if he suffer himself to be overcome by the love of money, he is already overcome by the love of good-living, and fine clothes, and women, and wine. But perhaps Damis, you think, that committing a fault at Babylon is not the same as committing one at Athens, or Olympia, or Delphi, and do not consider that *every place is Greece to a wise man*, who esteems no place desert or barbarous whilst he lives under the eyes of virtue, whose regards are extended but to very few men, and looks on such with an hundred eyes. Suppose Damis you were to meet with an Athleta (one of those who make the public games of Greece their chief study) you would naturally consider him, if he disputed the prize at Olympia, and went into Arca-

* Speusippus, an Athenian philosopher, married one of Plato's nieces, and succeeded him in his school. Diogenes Laertius agrees with Apollonius, in saying he loved money, which is confirmed by one of Dionysius's letters to him which is still extant.—It says, "Plato took no money from his scholars, but you exact it whether they are willing or not."

dia, a man of courage, without further proof of his prowess; and the very same person were he to contend in the Pythian and Nemean games, you would of course consider as having taken pains to prepare himself for them, because these games throughout Greece are celebrated, and the exercises of the stadia are of high renown. But supposing Philip, after taking some cities, or his son Alexander after gaining some victories, were to institute games on the occasion, do you imagine that this man would be less attentive to the care of his body, or less anxious for victory, because he was to contend at Olynthos, or Macedonia, or Egypt; and not among the Greeks, and in their most celebrated places of exercise. Damis writes he was so much affected by this discourse of Apollonius, that he became ashamed of what he said, and therefore intreated Apollonius to pardon him for presuming to give such advice without having sufficiently considered and weighed his genius and temper. But Apollonius encouraging him, said, do not be discomfited, for I have talked thus not for the sake of rebuke, but illustration.

C H A P. XXXVI.

MEANWHILE an eunuch arrived with an invitation for Apollonius from the King. I shall attend on him, said he, as soon as I have performed, according to due custom, all things touching religion. Having therefore finished his offerings and prayers, he approached the King amidst the astonishment of all the spectators, on account of his singular dress and venerable appearance. As soon as he came into the royal presence, the King said, I give you ten boons, inasmuch as I consider you in a light different from any other man who ever came from Greece. To this, Apollonius answered, I will not, O King! refuse all your boons, but I have one to ask which I prize more than

many tens: and he then entered on the business of the Eretrians, beginning with Datis. My request is, that you may not take from those wretched men their borders and favoured hill, but may permit them to retain that portion of land which was given them by Darius; for it would be hard indeed, if driven from their own country, they were not suffered to keep that which was assigned them as an equivalent for what they lost. To which the King assenting, said, Till yesterday the Eretrians were our enemies, and the enemies of our forefathers: in former times they took up arms against us, which is the cause of their having been so neglected by us, that scarce a remnant of them survives. Henceforward however we shall consider them as friends, and I will give them a good governor, and one who will do them justice. But why not accept, said the King, the remaining nine boons? Because, replied he, I have not as yet acquired more friends. But, returned the King, is there nothing of which you stand in need yourself? Nothing, answered Apollonius, but some fruit and bread, which make me a most sumptuous repast.

CHAP. XXXVII.

WHILST they were discoursing in this manner, a screaming was heard from that quarter of the palace where the women and eunuchs resided. An eunuch had been caught in bed with one of the King's concubines, whom they had seized, and were dragging by the hair of the head round the women's apartment, treating him like one of the royal slaves. Whereupon the chief and eldest of the eunuchs said, he had long perceived his attachment to this woman, and had given his orders that he should not converse with her, nor touch her neck, or hands, and of all, that he alone should not be suffered to dress her,

and notwithstanding this prohibition, he has been found in bed with her. When Apollonius heard this, he looked at Damis, as if the truth was now apparent of that question which they had lately discussed on the subject of eunuchs being capable of loving. On this the King, turning to those who were standing about him, said, it would not be decorous in him to give his opinion on the subject of chastity whilst Apollonius was present. To what punishment, Apollonius, do you sentence the culprit? To what other, replied he, than to that of being suffered to live; a decision directly contrary to all their opinions. What, returned the King, blushing, is he not worthy of many deaths who has violated my bed? The sentence, said Apollonius, which I have passed, is not for pardon, but for the consequent punishment: for if he be permitted to live in the disease, in imagining impossibilities, neither what he eats, or drinks, will serve him, nor will the amusements which entertain so much you and your court, give him any pleasure. Besides, he will be subject to all the inconveniencies which usually attend on those who are in love, such as sudden startings in his sleep, and frequent palpitations of the heart. And what malady, do you think, can so corrode him, or grief fret him? If he is of the number of those who are not much attached to life, he will request you to put an end to his existence, or, if not, he will kill himself, bitterly lamenting the day wherein he was not put to death. Such was the mild and prudent answer of Apollonius, which prevailed on the King to remit the penalty of death to the eunuch.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

THE King, being minded to take the diversion of the chase, in a place set apart for his lions, bears, and panthers, asked Apollonius to accompany him; who immediately

said, Have you forgot, O King! that I was never present at any of your sacrifices? and if I was not, surely it would be less pleasing to me to lie in ambuscade to see wild beasts put to pain, and reduced to a state of captivity in opposition to their nature. The King once asked what was the best way of reigning with security, he replied, *by honouring many, and trusting few*. During his stay at Babylon, a governor of Syria* sent ambassadors to the King to treat of two villages situate near Zeugma, which they said had been formerly subject to Antiochus and Seleucus, but at present were under his jurisdiction, though of right belonging to the Roman empire; that they were no longer molested by the incursions of Arabians and Armenians, yet that he in violation of all ancient limits had invaded them, and made them useful to himself, as if they were his own property, and not that of the Roman people. The ambassadors being ordered to withdraw, the King said to Apollonius, The two Kings to whom the ambassadors have alluded, made a grant of these villages to my ancestors for the purpose of supplying them with wild beasts; for whatever game was taken by us in hunting was sent to them across the Euphrates: but now forgetting all this, they think of nothing but new and unjust aggressions. What think you, Apollonius, of this embassy? I think it fair and moderate, returned he, inasmuch as they are disposed to hold from your good will, what they can hold in spite of it, and what is at present in their possession. Besides, added Apollonius, you should not for the sake of two villages that are intrinsically of less value than the private fortunes of some individuals, engage in a war with the Romans, which should not be undertaken for much more important considerations. In an

* At this time Syria was a Roman Province, under the jurisdiction of a prætorian prefect.

illness the King had, we are informed Apollonius attended and spoke with so much eloquence on the nature of the soul, that he revived, and told those about him that Apollonius had not only made him despise his kingdom, but even death itself.

CHAP. XXXIX.

WHEN the King shewed Apollonius the secret passage under the Euphrates, and asked him what he thought of such a wonderful piece of workmanship? To check the pride of his imagination, he said, O King! the wonder would be were you able to pass on foot over such a deep and unfordable river. At another time when he shewed him the walls of Ecbatana,* and told him the city was a dwelling fit for the Gods: not for the Gods, said Apollonius, and I am doubtful whether it is a dwelling fit for men, for the city of Lacedemon was built without walls. To the King, who in the administration of justice in one of his towns, boasted of having spent two days in the hearing of one cause, Apollonius said, I am sorry you were so long in finding out what was just. On the occasion of a great overflow of revenue, the King made an ostentatious display of it to Apollonius, from a wish he had of making him fond of riches, but he without expressing the least surprise at what he saw, said, O King! you look on all this revenue as so much wealth, I look on it as so

* Herodotus says, the walls of Ecbatana were strong and ample, built in circles one within another, rising each above each by the height of their respective battlements.

I agree with Olearius in thinking that these are the walls so described by Herodotus, to which our author alludes in the text.

much straw. But how, said the King, shall I place it to the best account? By making a proper use of it, for you are a King.

C H A P. XL.

AFTER many discourses of this kind with the King, whom he found well-disposed to comply with his wishes, and saying what he thought sufficient to the Magi, he said, Come Damis, and let us pursue our journey to the Indians. Persons who have sailed to the Lotophagi,* by eating of the food peculiar to that country, have lost all relish of their own. But for ourselves, without having eaten of any thing here, we remain longer than what is either meet or becoming. I am exceedingly pleased with your determination, cried Damis; and yet, when I called to mind the time we calculated on, in the case of the lioness, I was patiently waiting its accomplishment, for of it there is expired but one year and four months; at the same time I think, if we could get away, it would be right.—But, said Apollonius, The King will not let us leave him till after the full expiration of the eight months, as you see he is a courteous prince, and too good to reign over barbarians.

* The tenth we touch'd, by various errors tost,
The land of Lotos, and the flow'ry coast, &c.

The trees around them, all their fruit produce;
Lotos the name, divine nectareous juice:
(Thence call'd Lotophagi) which whoso tastes,
Insatiate riots in the sweet repasts;
Nor other home, nor other care intends,
But quits his house, his country, and his friends.

ODYSSEY, b. ix.

Meninx—an island in the Mediterranean to the west of the Syrtis Minor—supposed to be Homer's country of the Lotophagi. For a particular account of the Lotos, see Col. Rennel's dissertation on the Geography of Herodotus.

CHAP. XLI.

AS soon as Apollonius thought it time to set out, and had received the King's permission to do so, he recollected the boons he had foreborne to ask, till he had acquired more friends in the country. Whereupon he addressed the King, and said, Thou best of princes, I have shewn no mark whatever of favour to my host, and I feel myself besides under many obligations to the Magi. Them I beseech you for my sake to respect, for they are wise men, and much devoted to your service. With this the King was much pleased, and said, To-morrow you shall see these men made objects of emulation, and highly rewarded. Though you require nothing which I can give you, permit at least those men who are with Damis (whom he pointed out) to accept of some part of my wealth, just as much as they may chuse. As soon as they heard these words, they all turned away, when Apollonius said, you see my hands,* O King! though many, are all like each other. Since it is so, said the King, take, I pray thee, a guide for your journey, and camels to ride on; the way is too long to make it all on foot. Be it as you desire, said Apollonius, for I am told the road is difficult without such conveyance, and the camel is an animal easily supported, even where there is but little fodder. Water I suppose is likewise to be provided, and carried like wine in bags made of skins. For three days' journey, said the King, you will find the country without water; afterwards you will meet with both rivers and springs: your road is over Caucasus, on which you will find all kind of

* *My hands*—this alludes to Damis, and his companions who accompanied him on the journey—whose conduct on this occasion illustrated the English proverb, *like master, like man*.

accommodations, and the country hospitable. When the King asked what present he would bring him from thence, Apollonius answered, a most acceptable one, O King! for if I become wiser by the conversation of the men of that country, I shall return to you better than I leave you. —Whereupon the King embracing him, said, Go thy way—for the present will be great.