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The life of Apollonius of Tyana

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Book IV.

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BOOK IV.—CONTENTS.

*Apollonius visits Ephesus—Account of the Plague—
Goes to Smyrna and Pergamus—Visit to Troy—An
Account of his Interview with the Ghost of Achilles
—Sails into Greece—Visits Athens, &c.—Passes into
Crete and from thence to Rome—Nero Emperor—
Tigellinus.*

CHAP. I.

ON his coming into Ionia, he proceeded to Ephesus, where, the moment he appeared, the artisans left their trades, and followed him; some admiring his wisdom, others his beauty, some his way of living, others his singular dress, and some admired him in every respect whatever. Certain prophecies from the Oracle of Colophon* were spread abroad in his favor, announcing him as a man possessed of some portion of Apollo's wisdom, who was truly wise, &c. Other prophecies of a like nature were reported from the temples of Didyme† and Pergamus,‡

* Colophon, a town of Ionia in Asia, at a small distance from the sea. Pliny the elder mentions the Oracle of the Clarion Apollo, and the sacred cave, where he, who drank from the spring, was inspired with prophetic fury, but shortened his days. Tacitus says, Germanicus went there to consult the Oracle.

† Didyme, a place near Miletus, where the Branchidæ had their famous oracle. Branchidarum Oraculum, so called from the family of the priests.

‡ Pergamus, a town of Mysia, on the banks of Caycus. Here Æsculapius had a temple, who was the chief deity of the country.

wherein all persons who stood in need of assistance were commanded by Apollo to repair to Apollonius, as such was his will, and that of the Fates. Embassadors came from several cities, who offered him the rights of hospitality, considering him not only as the guide of their lives, but as the fittest person to advise them in the erecting of altars and statues. These matters he regulated partly by letters and partly by word of mouth, at the same time saying he would wait on them. Smyrna sent embassadors, without giving any reason for it, but who urged his coming. When he asked them what was their business, they replied, "*To see you, Apollonius, and be seen by you.*" Then Apollonius told them, I will come: but, O ye Muses! grant a mutual affection between us.

CHAP. II.

THE first discourse he had with the Ephesians was in the porch of the temple; not in the Socratic manner of arguing, but in that of authority—of turning them at once from their present pursuits, and persuading them to spend their time in study and philosophy, and not in dissipation and cruel sports; for all people he found immersed in shows, and pantomimes, and Pyrrhic dances; and all places resounded with song, and were filled with noise and debauchery. Though by these remonstrances he alienated from him the minds of the Ephesians, yet he would not wink at their depravity, which he tore up by the roots, and made odious to the people.

CHAP. III.

WHAT other discourse he had with the Ephesians passed in the groves near the Xysta.* Once when the conversa-

* Xysta, were walks uncovered at the top, and intended for exercises and recreations during the milder part of the year.

tion turned on the community of goods, and the necessity there was of contributing to the mutual support of each other, a number of sparrows chanced to be sitting at hand on a tree in deep silence, one of them suddenly rising, made a noise as if he had something to communicate to the rest, which being understood, made them all set up a chirping and fly away under his guidance. Apollonius never stopped talking, for he knew well why the sparrows flew away, though he mentioned it not to the people. When he perceived the eyes of all were turned on the birds, and that some were wondering what this prodigy meant, he, changing the discourse, said, a boy fell, and spilt some corn that he was carrying in a fan; as he gathered up what was on the ground in but a careless manner, he left many grains behind him in a narrow lane, which he particularly mentioned: a sparrow, who saw what passed, invited his companions to the unexpected banquet. Most of those who heard this ran to see if what he said was true; but Apollonius went on, talking to those who remained, on the community of goods, which was the subject he began with. When the hearers who had left him returned shouting with joy and amazement, he said to them, You see now what care these sparrows take of each other, and with what satisfaction they divide their goods; a doctrine which is despised by you; for if we see a man who relieves the wants of others, we consider him idle and extravagant; and all those who are fed by his bounty, as little better than flatterers and parasites. What else, then, have we to do, but shut ourselves up at home, like birds to be fattened for use, and indulge our appetites in darkness till we burst with fat.

CHAP IV.

SOON after the plague made its way into Ephesus, where it spread far and wide. Apollonius, who was ap-

prised of its coming, gave the inhabitants full warning of it. Sometimes whilst discoursing he would exclaim, "O land, remain as thou art;" and at other times would speak in threatening language, "Save this people, and thou shalt not pass through here." To all this the Ephesians paid little or no attention, looking on such declarations as the mere effects of fear and superstition, in which they were the more confirmed when they saw him frequenting all the temples, and appearing as if he wished to avert and deprecate the evil. When he saw the people behaving under such a calamity with their usual levity and imprudence, he thought he had nothing more to do with them; and therefore taking his departure, he travelled through the other regions of Ionia, redressing every where what was wrong, and always speaking on those topics most useful to his hearers.

CHAP. V.

WHEN he was drawing near to Smyrna, the Ionians, who were then engaged in the Panionian sacrifice,* came out to meet him. After reading the decree wherein the Ionians requested him to make one in their assembly, he happened to find a name not Ionian (it was that of one Lucullus), he wrote a letter to the general council, reproaching them for the barbarism. Besides this name, he found that of one Fabricius, and several others in their decrees, for which he sharply rebuked them, as appears from a letter still extant.

* Panionia, a festival celebrated by a concourse of people from all the cities of Ionia. It was instituted in honor of Neptune, surnamed Heliconius from Helice, a city of Achaia. If the bull offered in sacrifice happened to bellow, it was accounted an omen of divine favor, because that sound was supposed to be acceptable to Neptune.

CHAP. VI.

APPEARING next day among the Ionians, he asked what cup was that he saw with them? They said, it was the cup belonging to the general council. Then taking it in his hands, he drank part of what was in it, and of the remainder making a libation, said, O, ye guardian Deities of the Ionians, grant this fair colony a calm sea and safety from all harm; and grant that Ægeon, the shaker of the earth, may not destroy its cities. These words he uttered under a divine impulse, foreseeing, I suppose, the calamity which was going to befall Smyrna, Miletus, Chios, Samos, and many others of the Ionian cities.*

CHAP. VII.

HE confirmed the love which the people of Smyrna had for letters, and encouraged it, with telling them to place their glory more in themselves than in the beauty of their city. For notwithstanding your city surpasses all cities under the sun in beauty, having the command of the sea, and possessing the fountains of the zephyrs, yet it derives greater honor from being adorned with men than with porticos and pictures, or even with more gold than what it has at present. Buildings, we all know, are fixed to the

* Olearius has entered into a minute chronological inquiry as to the prediction in the text, and the earthquake which followed, and supposes Philostratus must have blundered as to the one in question; and if not, that the prediction must have looked to the earthquake which destroyed Smyrna in the reign of Marcus Aurelian. As to myself, I think no such earthquake happened at all, for history is totally silent as to one affecting all the places in the text. After the dreadful earthquake in the days of Tiberius, people's fears were so awake, that they were prone to believe any prediction on the occasion

spot on which they are erected, and are to be seen in no other part of the earth; but good men are seen every where, are celebrated in all parts of the world, and render the city which gave them birth famous on the earth. Cities, beautiful like Smyrna and others, might be compared to the statue of Jupiter, made by Phidias in Olympia, which remains immoveable where the artist placed it; but men in the act of travelling over the earth might be compared to Jupiter, as represented by Homer under a variety of forms, who is much more admirable than his ivory image by Phidias; for the one appears on the earth only in one place, but the other every where in the heavens.

CHAP. VIII.

APOLLONIUS, understanding that the people of Smyrna were given up to idle disputings, and were much divided in their opinions, talked with them like a philosopher on the best mode of keeping a city in safety. He said, a well constituted state stood in need of a discordant concord. As this proposition seemed hard to be believed, and not exactly agreeable to the fair deductions of reasoning, and as Apollonius perceived that the majority of his hearers did not comprehend what he said, thus proceeded: White and black cannot be one and the same; what is sweet cannot properly blend with what is bitter; but concord may be discordant for the sake of the many. What I mean is this: a state which requires good education, good laws, and men versed in speaking and acting, should banish sedition, which might lead to civil war. Let an emulation prevail for the common good; let every man contend with his neighbour as to who shall give the best advice, who shall discharge most faithfully the duties of a magistrate, or those of an ambassador, or even of an architect: This is the sort of discord that ought to prevail, and which

I think so good and advantageous to a commonwealth. The Lacedæmonians of old thought the simple idea of contributing to the general good absurd. They cultivated the art of war alone, and made superior excellence in military tactics the chief object of their lives. For my part, I think it right that every man in a state should act in the way best suited to his knowledge and capacity; for, in my opinion, that state will be well governed, and will continue so, whose several members are rated in proportion to their different talents, where some gain applause for eloquence, some for wisdom, some for public munificence, others for integrity, and others for a severe and unpardoning austerity.

CHAP. IX.

WHILST he was thus discoursing, he saw a vessel of three sails leaving the harbour, and all hands at work in getting her under way. Apollonius, from a desire of instructing those present, said, Observe, my friends, the crew of that ship; see how all are employed, some getting into the cock-boat as rowers, others weighing the anchor and lashing it to the side of the vessel, others turning the sails to the wind, and some you see stationed at both prow and stern, to take care that all is right. Now, were we to suppose that any of the crew failed in his post, or unskilfully did his duty, the ship would suffer, and feel all the consequence of a storm. But if a mutual emulation prevail, and the laudable desire of excelling each other, then will the ship go forward as if favored by the most propitious gales. The good conduct of the men on board will be as strong as the *Asphalian* Neptune.* By such dis-

* *Asphalian*, from Ασφαλής tutus—an epithet given to Neptune from the security he affords at sea. Macrobius, in speaking of this epithet of Neptune, observes, that the Gods oftentimes have appellations that

courses as these he kept the people of Smyrna in the greatest harmony and good humor.

CHAP. X.

THE plague was now raging in Ephesus, and no remedy was discovered that could check its progress; on which account ambassadors came to Apollonius, intreating him to come as their physician and undertake the cure. When he heard this, he said, I think the journey is not to be delayed; and no sooner had he uttered the words than he was at Ephesus, like Pythagoras,* who shewed himself at one and the same time in Thurium and Metapontum. The moment he arrived, he gathered all the people together, and said to them, "Be not dejected, for I will this day put a stop to the disease." Saying this, he carried the people of all ages to the theatre where now stands the statue of *Averruneas*. Here they beheld an old man begging alms, who had a most extraordinary way of winking with his eyes; he had a wallet in his hand, in which he carried crusts of bread; he was clad in rags, and had a

are directly opposite in signification. "Ut Neptunum quem alias *Ἐρσιχθονα*, id est, terram moventem, alias *Ἀσφαλιονα*, id est, stabilientem vocant."

* Porphyry's account in his life of Pythagoras is to this purpose: "That in one and the same day Pythagoras was at Metapontum in Italy and Tauromenum in Sicily, and conversed with his friends in both places." As to his curing the plague, and the manner of doing it, *Qui vult decipi, decipiatur*.

There is no need of remarks, says Lardner, upon so silly a story. Justly does Eusebius say that Philostratus's accounts of Apollonius's miracles are inconsistent, and therefore altogether incredible. But miracles were to be ascribed to him, in order to make out the resemblance with Pythagoras, who is mentioned by Iamblichus as a remover of plagues.

most squalid appearance. As soon as Apollonius cast his eyes upon him, he called to the Ephesians to surround him, and pelt him with stones, as being the enemy of the Gods. The Ephesians were shocked at the idea of killing a stranger* in such a wretched plight (for at this time the poor man appeared in the act of supplication, and doing all he could to excite their compassion). But Apollonius unmoved by this, insisted that what he commanded should be executed, and bid them not to let him escape. When some of the bystanders began to throw stones, he who lately appeared only capable of winking with his eyes, darted them flaming with fire and fury. Hence the Ephesians took him for a demon, and continued pelting him with stones till they piled a heap over his head. Whereupon a pause ensuing, Apollonius ordered the stones to be removed, that all might see the wild beast they had destroyed. But lo! and behold, what they thought was destroyed, had made its escape; and a dog, like one of the Molossian breed, as large as the fiercest lion, appeared when the stones were taken away, vomiting foam as if he was mad. The form this dog assumed was like that given to the statue of Averruncus.† A statue of Hercules was erected on the very spot where the spectre was stoned.

* Mr. Charles Blount laughs at the idea of Apollonius thinking to stop the plague by sacrificing a poor old beggarman.

† *ἀποτροπαιος*—*avert*er of ills—was one of the epithets given to Apollo from the benefits he was believed to bestow on mankind.

Talismans that serve for *Averruncation*, says Stanley in his account of the Chaldaic philosophy, are ascribed by some to Apollonius, who was the first among the Grecians that was famous for them; but it is most probable, he adds, that he brought this art out of the east, where there are yet to be seen many of these figures, or talismans. The God *Averruncus*, says Pomey, was thought to repel and prevent misfortunes.

CHAP. XI.

AFTER delivering the people of Ephesus from the plague,* and doing what appeared necessary in Ionia, he set out for Greece. When come to Pergamus, he was much delighted with the temple of Esculapius, and after suggesting to the worshippers of that God what they should do to obtain favorable dreams, and curing many of their diseases, he proceeded to the land of Ilium, and whilst his mind was full of all the antiquity of the place, he visited the tombs of the Achaians. He had several conversations with the people on the subject of the war, and after offering many sacrifices, wherein not a drop of blood was shed, he ordered his companions to return to their ships, as he said he was resolved on passing the night at the tomb of Achilles. His companions (for he was now followed by the Dioscoridæ,† and Phœdimi, and several others) tried all they could to divert him from his purpose, saying, that Achilles still shewed himself *terrific*, of which the natives were fully persuaded. To this, Apollonius said, but I know Achilles still loves conversation. When alive he was very fond of the Pylian Nestor, who always told him something useful. He used to call old Phenix his foster-father and companion, and give him other endearing appellations from his diverting him with a variety of pleasant stories. Even Priam, his mortal enemy,

* The Ephesians consecrated a statue to him under the title of Hercules *Alexicacus*, in commemoration of his having delivered them from the plague. LACTANTIUS.

† Dioscoridæ, and Phœdimi—different names, I believe, of the *Cabiri*, who were also called Croybantes, Curetes, Idæi Dactyli, and Telchines.—The places in which their worship principally flourished, were Italy, Crete, Samothrace, and Troas.

See note at the end of the second book.

he held in a favorable light when he heard him speak; and during his secession from the army, in a conference which he had with Ulysses, he appeared so gracious, that the Ithacan looked on him more as an object of love than fear. His shield and helmet, and its terrible nodding plumes, must ever continue to menace the Trojans as long as he remembers what he suffered from them, and the fraud practised at his marriage.* As to myself, I hold no communion with the people of Ilium, I mean to talk to him with more pleasure than ever his friends did of old; and should he kill me, as you say, I shall have the honor of reposing with Memnon and Cynus, nothing doubting but that Troy will bury me as she did Nestor. With these words, uttered partly in jest, and partly in seriousness, he proceeded alone to the tomb,† while his companions withdrew to their ship in the evening.

C H A P. XII.

APOLLONIUS returned next morning, when it was light, and immediately after asked where Antisthenes the Parian was? Antisthenes, who had been with him about seven days, appeared when called; to whom Apollonius said, have you any degree of connexion with Troy? Yes, much, said the Parian, for I am by family a Trojan. What, said Apollonius, of the family of Priam? Of the same, returned he, and I think it an honor to be descended from

* Achilles was killed by Paris in the temple, to which he had retired to celebrate his marriage with Polyxena.

† People used to resort thither every year, in order to offer up sacrifices in his honor, and a tradition was current, that his shade, dressed in armour, was accustomed to appear in a threatening posture, notwithstanding which, says Bayle, Apollonius attempted to speak to it.—It is related that miracles were wrought at his tomb.

it. Achilles then was right, said Apollonius, in desiring me not to have any thing to do with you. For when he was giving orders about a certain business relative to the Thessalians,* of which he seemed anxious, I asked whether I could do any thing to oblige him? Yes, you can, said he, make not the Parian youth acquainted with your wisdom, for the blood of Priam runs in his veins, and the praise of Hector is never out of his mouth. Antisthenes when he heard this, departed unwillingly.

CHAP. XIII.

AS soon as it was day, and the wind fair from land, the ship was ready to sail. Crouds flocked to the shore, all anxious to embark with Apollonius, notwithstanding the small size of the vessel. It was now autumn, a time of year when the sea is not much to be trusted. The people who supposed Apollonius had power over fire and water, and perils of every kind, all asked leave to go on board with him. When he found the numbers were more than the ship was able to contain, and happening at the same time to see another vessel at anchor near the tomb of Ajax, he cried out, let us embark in that vessel, for it is glorious to be saved with the multitude. After doubling the Trojan promontory, he bid the pilot steer for Æolia, situate overagainst Lesbos, and to make it by coasting near Methymna, for there it was Achilles told him Palamedes was buried, and there his statue was to be seen of the height of one cubit, representing a man far older than ever Palamedes was. As soon as the vessel touched this land, he went ashore, and said aloud, O ye men of Greece,

* After the oracle commanded the Greeks to celebrate the anniversary of Achilles every year, the Thessalians were the first who appointed the wearing crowns of amaranth, and from the sequel it appears they were the first to discontinue it.

let us shew our respect for this great man, from whom comes all knowledge, and let us treat him better than the Achaians did, by honouring him for the sake of virtue, who was so unjustly put to death. Saying this, they all leapt on shore, and Apollonius soon discovered the tomb of Palamedes and his statue buried near it, on the base of which were inscribed these words, "*To the divine Palamedes.*"—Whilst he staid here, he restored the statue to its place, (as I saw with my own eyes) and after raising round it a little chapel like those which are dedicated to Hecate by her worshippers, and which might be capable of containing ten guests, he offered up the following prayer, O Palamedes, forget the anger you had for the Greeks.* Grant them to multiply in numbers and wisdom. Accede this, O Palamedes! from you comes knowledge, and by you the muses and I live.

CHAP. XIV.

HE next put in at Lesbos, where he entered the shrine of that temple in which Orpheus of old used to deliver his oracles, which was a matter that gave great concern to Apollo. For when he found that he was no longer consulted at Grynium, or Claros, or even at Delphi, where his tripod stood, and that Orpheus (whose head,† by the

* Palamedes was a learned man, as well as a soldier, and according to some, completed the alphabet of Cadmus by the addition of four letters, during the Trojan war.

† Amongst the Sabians, says Arpe, in his rise and progress of the Talismanic Art, it was customary with them to sacrifice in honour of their demon a first-born male child, whose head they cut off and seasoned with salt and spices for the sake of preserving it; they then laid a plate of gold on the tongue, which being marked with the name of the demon, served them afterwards for an oracle to consult. On which,
Arpe

bye had just come from Thrace) was the only person consulted, he thus addressed him, and said, "Cease interfering with my right and privilege, for know, I have too long endured your songs."

CHAP. XV.

WHILST our travellers were navigating the Eubæan sea, which, as Homer says,* is dangerous, and subject to storms, they found it smoother, and more calm than what they had reason to expect, considering the season of the year. This mild state of the weather gave them an opportunity of talking of the islands, (of which they sailed by many of high renown) and of ship-building, and of naval tactics in the very terms of seamen. Damis blamed this kind of conversation, which he frequently interrupted, and at last put an end to. When Apollonius found that Damis wished for the discussion of other subjects, he asked him why he interrupted the conversation, particularly as his objections did not seem to him to arise from any sea-sickness, with which he was affected, or from any other inconvenience he suffered: for you see, said he, how the sea is made subject to our ship, and aids it in its course. What is it then that gives you all this uneasiness? It is, said Damis, because we are wasting our time on subjects old and obsolete, when others of much greater consequence are within our reach? And what subject is that, said Apollonius, which you think preferable to all

Arpe exclaims, Quò quid pestiferum magis, aut horrendum dictu est?
Ita tamen Orphei caput, post mulierum facinus specum Lesbiam habi-
tasse, et in terrâ excavatâ oracula fuisse, narrat Philostratus.

* Thro' the mid-seas he bid our navy steer,
And in Eubœa shun the woes we fear.

ODYSSEY, POPE, b. iii.

others? You have conversed, Apollonius, said Damis, with Achilles, and have heard no doubt from him many things, of which we are ignorant; why not inform us of them, and give us the express form and countenance of the man; instead of which, the conversation is all about the passing islands, and ship-building. Well then, said Apollonius, as you desire it, I will relate every thing, provided I may not incur the censure of vanity or ostentation.

CHAP. XVI.

WHILST all were soliciting, and anxious to hear, Apollonius thus began, I obtained the honour of conversing with Achilles, not after the manner of Ulysses, by digging a trench, nor evoking his manes by the blood of lambs,* but I obtained it by the use of such prayers as are prescribed by the Indians in their religious ritual for the invocation of heroes. I said—"O Achilles,† many believe

* Thus, solemn rites, and holy vows we paid

To all the phantom-nations of the dead.

Then dy'd the sheep: a purple torrent flow'd,

And all the caverns smook'd with streaming blood.

ODYSSEY, POPE, b. xi.

† From this story of the appearance of Achilles, says bishop Parker, it is obvious to any man that reads Philostratus, that his whole design is to follow the train of the old heathen mythology; and that is the bottom of his folly, by his story to gain historical credit to the fables of the poets. So that it is a very true and just censure, which Ludovicus Vives has given of him, that as he had endeavoured to imitate Homer, so he has abundantly outlied him. For there is scarce any thing extraordinary reported in the whole history, in which he does not apparently design either to verify, or rectify some of that blind ballad-singer's tales; but especially in conjuring Achilles out of his tomb, and discoursing with him about the old stories that were told of the Trojan war. And yet after all, adds the bishop, few of Apollonius's miracles

you dead, I am not of their opinion, nor is Pythagoras, to whom I am indebted for my wisdom—I intreat you may shew yourself as you are, that we may know the truth. You will gain much from my eyes, if I can use them as witnesses of your existence.” When I uttered these words, the earth around the tomb suffered a slight agitation: when lo! a youth arose from it about five cubits high, dressed in a Thessalian mantle. His appearance was not expressive of that character of pride and haughtiness given to it by some of the Greeks. He appeared grave, but his gravity was not unmixed with affability. His beauty has not, in my opinion, found one competent to describe it, though Homer has said much in praise of it, it is ineffable, and has, I think, rather been diminished by those who have spoken of it, than praised as it deserved. At first he appeared of the size above mentioned. Afterwards he increased in figure till he became more than double his original stature. When arrived at his greatest magnitude, I supposed him about twelve cubits high,* and his beauty still kept pace with his increasing height. His hair seemed as if uncut, as an offering ready for the Sperchius,† to whom it was devoted

are sufficiently vouched in his own history—even the one at present before us, which has no other testimony but of Apollonius himself, who stubbornly refused to have any companion, or witness of the fact: beside many other absurdities in the story itself; as his rising out of the tomb five foot long, and then swelling to twice the length; his being forced to vanish away at cock-crowing, and the nymphs constantly visiting him.

* Lycophron says, Achilles was nine cubits high, and Quintus Calaber, that his statue was equal to that of a giant.

† Sperchius, a river of Thessaly. Peleus vowed to the God of this river, the hair of his son Achilles, if he ever returned safe from the Trojan war.

Sperchius; whose waves in mazy errors lost

Delightful roll along my native coast;

To whom my father vow'd at my return

Those locks to fall, and hecatombs to burn. HOMER, b. xxiii.

by his father at the time when his cheeks were clothed with their first down. He told me he was fortunate in meeting with such a man as myself. The Thessalians, said he, have long discontinued paying me their accustomed offerings to the dead, but as yet I have shewn them no mark of my displeasure. I have not wished it, for were I angry, their destruction would be more certain than that of the Greeks, who of old inhabited this country. As their friend, I advise them not to offer any insult to ceremonies, which have been established by law, nor to shew themselves in a light worse than the Trojans, who, notwithstanding the numbers of them destroyed by my valour, never cease offering sacrifice to me in public, and presenting their first fruits in due season, and still soliciting by stated supplication and prayer, a reconciliation, which I will never grant. The perjuries, of which they were guilty, on my account, shall never suffer Ilium to recover its ancient splendour, nor rise to that acmè of glory, to which other fallen cities have risen; but they shall inhabit it in no better condition than if taken the day before. That I may not be induced to act thus with the Thessalians, I request you to go as ambassador to their common council, and treat of what I have mentioned. To this I acceded from a conviction of my embassy being to prevent their destruction. But I have a request to make you, Achilles, said I: I know it, replied he, you are now going to make some inquiry about what passed at Troy: You have therefore my full permission to propose five questions such as you wish, and the fates allow. I first asked if he had obtained the rites of sepulture according to the account given by the poets? I lie, replied he, in the way most agreeable to Patrocles and myself. From our youth we lived in the truest harmony, and now the same golden urn contains our ashes as if still one. With respect to the tears, said to have been shed by the Muses

and Nereids at my tomb, I can tell you, the former were not present on the occasion,* but the latter were, who still continue their lamentations. I asked next whether Polyxena was sacrificed on his account.† She died, replied he, on my tomb, and was not slain by the Greeks. She approached my tomb of her own accord, and from the desire of paying all honour, and respect, to our mutual love, fell on a drawn sword. My third question was, whether Helen was carried to Troy, or whether that was a fiction of Homer's? On this subject, said Achilles, we were long kept in the dark, yet we continued sending ambassadors to the Trojans, and fighting battles for her sake, as if she had been in Troy. But the truth is, she was then in Egypt, living in the house of Proteus, to which she had been conveyed by Paris.‡ After we came to the knowledge of this, we, regardless of her, fought to take Troy, and to return home not with disgrace. I then came to my fourth question, and said, I was astonished

* As the people of Ilium were held to be barbarians by the Greeks, Philostratus supposes that the muses kept as far distant as they could on the occasion; however, it appears from the following verses of Pindar, that they were present—

Tho' death had clos'd the hero's* eyes,
 Prais'd by the Muse his virtues rise;
 For round his pile, his silent tomb,
 The Heliconian virgins come:
 With down-cast eyes, they weep, they groan,
 And pour forth memorable moan, &c.

ISTHM. Od. 8.

† The common opinion was, that after Troy was taken, the Greeks sacrificed Polyxena on his tomb, as his ghost requested.

‡ This detention of Helen by Proteus, is the argument of one of the tragedies of Euripides. See HERODOTUS—Euterpe.

* Achilles.

how Greece could in one age produce so many great men as Homer says were at Troy at the same time. To this, Achilles said, the barbarians were not inferior to us in that respect, so greatly then did the earth flourish with valiant men. My fifth question was, how it came to pass, that Homer was not acquainted with Palamedes, or if he was, how it happened he did not mention him? If Palamedes was not at Troy, no such place as Troy ever existed. Because this great man, renowned for his wisdom and military knowledge, was put to death to gratify the hatred of Ulysses, Homer makes no mention of him in his poems, lest he should cast a reproach on the character of that crafty son of Laertes. The recollection of Palamedes brought tears into the eyes of Achilles, who lamented him as a man distinguished for beauty, and great valour, though young, as one who excelled most other men in modesty, and love of learning. But do you, Apollonius, (for you know a necessary bond of amity always subsists among the wise) take care of his sepulchre, and restore his statue, which lies prostrate on the ground. You will find it in Æolis, which is over against Methymna in Lesbos. After saying these things, with others relative to the Parian youth, he vanished in a flash of lightning just at the time the cock crew.* This is all that passed on board the ship.

* ————The morning cock crew loud,
And at the sound, it shrunk in haste away,
And vanish'd from our sight.—

“ It faded with the crowing of the cock.”—

SHAKESPEARE'S *Hamlet*.

This is a very ancient superstition, says Stevens, for Philostratus, giving an account of the apparition of Achilles's shade to Apollonius, adds, that it vanished with a little glimmer as soon as the cock crow'd.

Notes on Shakespeare.

Mrs.

CHAP. XVII.

APOLLONIUS entered the Piræus at the time of the celebration of the mysteries, when Athens is most crowded with people from all parts of Greece.* The moment he landed, he proceeded as fast as he could to the city, where, when he arrived, he found many philosophers on the point of descending to the Piræus. Some of them were naked, and exposed to the sun's rays (which are quite hot and sultry at Athens during the autumnal season) some were reading books, which they had in their hands—others declaiming, and others disputing. All acknowledged Apollonius as he approached, and returned with him amidst many greetings of joy. Ten young men run to meet him, who with hands out stretched to the Acropolis, cried out, we swear by Minerva, who presidest in

Mrs. Montague, without being acquainted with the passage in the text, supposed the vanishing of the ghost in Hamlet, as another circumstance of the established superstition of the north. See her very ingenious essay on the writings, and genius of Shakespear.—Propertius has a passage in the 8th elegy of his 4th book, which mentions the disappearing of all spectres at day-break,—

Noctè vagæ ferimur. Nox clausa liberat umbras,

Errat, & abjectâ Cerberus ipse serâ.

Luce jubent leges Lethæa ad stagna reverti:

Nos vehimur: victum nauta recenset onus.

Claudian says, of the shade of Theodosius.,

Dixit, et afflatus vicino sole refugit.

* *The lesser mysteries* are here to be understood, which were celebrated in honour of Proserpine at Agræ, a place near the river Ilissus in the month Anthesterion, which corresponded with the Roman November. • *The greater* were celebrated in honour of Ceres at Eleusis in the month Boedromion, the Roman August, or September.

that place, that we were going down to the Piræus with the intention of going over to Ionia. Apollonius received them with kindness, and said, he congratulated them on their love for philosophy.

CHAP. XVIII.

THE day of his arrival was that of the Epidaurian festival,* on which the Athenians had a custom, when the usual acclamations and sacrifices were over, of having a new initiation, in which the lesser mysteries were repeated. This initiation was established in favour of Esculapius, who was admitted to the honours of it, on account of coming from Epidaurus after the great mysteries were finished. As soon as Apollonius appeared, the people, regardless of the religious rites in which they were engaged, crowded to see him, more anxious about him, than being initiated themselves. Apollonius said, he would speak to them at a more convenient time, and desired them to mind their holy rites, as he wished to be initiated himself. But the Hierophant† would not admit him to that honour, at the same time saying, he was not permitted by the laws to initiate an inchanter;‡ or reveal the Eleusinian mysteries to a man not pure in things touching religion. Apollonius, without being affected by this observation, said, you

* The eighth day of the mysteries was called the day of the Epidaurians, because Æsculapius coming from Epidaurus to Athens, and desiring to be initiated, the lesser mysteries were repeated. Hence it became customary to celebrate them a second time on this day, and to initiate those who had not already enjoyed the privilege.

† The chief person that attended at the initiation was called ἱεροφάντης, a revealer of holy things.

‡ Meursius says, all barbarians, murderers, magicians, mountebanks, and impious persons, were excluded from admission.

have not taken notice of one of the severest accusations that might be urged against me, which is, that of my knowing more of the initiation than you do yourself; and yet, notwithstanding my superior knowledge, I am come to you for admission, as if you were wiser. All present praised him for this firm and pertinent answer. As soon as the Hierophant was sensible that the rejection of Apollonius was not pleasing to the people, he changed his language, and said, Accept, I pray thee, the initiation, as I think you are wise. Then Apollonius said, I will take my own time for being initiated, when the ceremony shall be in other hands. Saying this, he named the very Hierophant, who was to succeed the present one, and preside at the ceremony, which literally took place about four years after.

CHAP. XIX.

OF the discourses which Apollonius maintained whilst at Athens, Damis says, he has not committed them all to writing, but only such of them as he thought necessary, and were on subjects of importance. When he perceived the people of Athens were much given to religious worship, he made sacrifices the subject of his discourse, wherein he specified the kind of offering best suited to each God, and the precise hour of day* and night when they should sacrifice, or pray, or offer libations. And there is still extant a treatise of his, in which these things are explained in his native tongue.† Of these matters he discoursed first, because he thought such topics becoming

* This is agreeable to the rule of Pythagoras, who said that Gods and heroes were not to be worshipped with equal honours, for that the Gods were always to be worshipped, and heroes only from noon.

† Cappadocian-Tyana was in Cappadocia.

their wisdom and his own; and next, to let them see how improperly and ignorantly he had been treated by the Hierophant: for who could believe him unsound in things touching the Gods, who was capable of teaching how each of them should be worshipped.

CHAP. XX.

WHEN he was treating of the best mode of offering libations, there happened to be present a young man who was very effeminate, and so proverbially luxurious, as fit to be made the subject of one of those songs that are used to be sung in the serving up of great feasts.* He was a native of Corcyra, and descended from Alcinous the Phœacian, who entertained Ulysses so well of old. Libations being the subject of the discourse, Apollonius gave it as his opinion, that men should not drink out of the cup used in that ceremony, but should keep it pure and untouched for the Gods. But when he said that the cup ought to have ears, and that the wine should be poured out of the side where the ears are placed,† as being that part which men sel-

* *μαζονομιων ασμα*—Mazonomum was a large dish, containing various kinds of meat, which was handed about (to the sound of music, it may be supposed) that each of the guests might take what he chose. Any uncommon dish, says Macrobius, was introduced to the sound of the flute. Carving at table was performed to the sound of music. In Trimalchio's feast, in Petronius, every thing was served to some tune or other.

† This mode of offering libations to the Gods is supposed by some to refer to the 59th Symbol of Pythagoras, which says, "Make the libations to the Gods by the ear;" signifying, says Porphyry, that we ought to worship and celebrate the Gods with music, for that passeth in at the ears. However, this way of explaining the symbol, though adopted by Dacier, is considered by Olearius as inept, and little to the purpose—who thinks it only relates to the observing of a greater reverence in the worship of the Gods.

eporami 7 Demou

domest applied to the mouth, the youth burst out into an immoderate fit of laughter. Whereupon Apollonius, looking stedfastly upon him, said, It is not you whom I consider as offering me this insult, but the demon within you: it is he who makes you in ignorance commit this folly. Till this moment the youth knew not he was possessed by a demon,* though he laughed and cried in turns, without any apparent cause, and even sung and talked to himself. Many thought all this brought on by intemperance in his youth; but the fact was, he was impelled by a demon, and committed all the wild extravagancies practised by people in that situation. As soon as Apollonius fixed his eyes upon him, the demon broke out into all those angry horrid expressions used by people on the rack, and then swore he would depart out of the youth, and never again

* In this instance Apollonius must have been more than a conjurer, could he have known what the pretended proprietor of the demon himself did not know. The ignorance of the youth on the occasion is, in my opinion, a full confutation of the marvellous part taken by Apollonius, and is a further proof, among many others, of his conceit and presumption, if he attempted to impose on the spectators in the manner mentioned by Philostratus.

From Origen and the other fathers it appears, that the power of casting out devils was considered as an art grounded on certain rules, which were taught and delivered in books, and was common both to Jews and Gentiles, who by their tricks and false miracles contrived to delude the credulous multitude, in order to acquire gain or power to themselves, and to keep their people firm to their several religions, in opposition to the Christian.

There is a story in Josephus of Eleazar casting out devils in the presence of Vespasian, on which I believe the one before us is founded.—*Antiquities of the Jews*, b. viii.

Here Du Pin says, " Il n'y a rien à tout cela de merveilleux que la statuë qui tomba dans le moment; mais qui nous peut assurer que ce ne soit pas une invention de Philostrate, ou de Damis, ou un artifice d'Apollone, qui avoit des gens apostiz pour jeter à bas la statuë dans le moment qu'il avoit commandé au demon d'y entrer.

enter another. Apollonius rebuked him, as masters do their cunning, saucy, insolent slaves, and commanded him to come out of the youth, and in so doing to give a visible sign of his departure. Immediately the demon cried out, I will make that statue tumble, to which he pointed, standing in a royal portico, where the transaction happened. But who is able to describe the noise and tumult, and clapping of hands with joy, when they saw the statue first begin to shake, then totter, and then tumble down? The young man rubbed his eyes like one awoke from a deep sleep, and turning them to the sun's light, seemed quite shocked at the idea of standing so conspicuous and exposed to all beholders. He no longer retained the wild disturbed look of intemperance, but returned to his right mind, as if recovered by the use of medicine alone. Then laying aside his soft garments and all his fashionable Sybaritic airs,* he adapted the homely simplicity and plain garb of a philosopher, and lived after the rules of Apollonius.

CHAP. XXI.

IT is said Apollonius rebuked the Athenians for the manner in which they celebrated the feasts of Bacchus which take place in the month Anthesterion. He formed the idea of going to the theatre to hear the monodies and melodies, and the songs of the chorus, and the notes with which they were sung in both tragedy and comedy. But when he understood that the performance was chiefly composed of dancing, and of dancing to the effeminate sound of the flute, and that with the epic and divine verses of Orpheus were mixed the representations of the heroes,

* Sybaris, a town in Lucania, on the bay of Tarentum, whose inhabitants became so effeminate that the word *Sybarite* was proverbial to denote a man devoted to pleasure.

nymphs, and Bacchantes, he was astonished, and cried out, Cease, I pray you, insulting the ears of Salamis, and the many brave men who formerly fell for their country. If your dancing was after the manner of the Spartans, I would exclaim, Well done, soldiers; you are making ready for battle: I shall make one in your dance. But seeing it is effeminate, and of the most voluptuous tendency, what am I to say of your trophies? for they will stand, not as monuments of shame to the Medes and Persians, but to yourselves, in case you become degenerate and inferior to those valiant men who erected them? But whence these garments, dyed in saffron and purple? It was not in such the borough Acharna was dressed; nor the tribe of Colonos rode in battle. But why do I say this? A woman* from Caria commanded a ship, and sailed with Xerxes against you. She wore the dress and armour of a man, and had nothing womanish in her appearance. But you are now more effeminate than the women of Xerxes; you are set in array against yourselves, old and young, and even the children. The very people who formerly swore in the temple of Agraulos to fight and die for their country, will now, perhaps, swear to perform the parts of Bacchanalians, and arm themselves with a thyrsus in its defence, and will lay aside their helmets, and disguise themselves in the shameful masks of women. Besides, I hear of your representing the winds, and in their characters swelling the sails of ships, and raising them aloft in the air. These winds you ought to respect as your best allies, for having blown of old so much in your favour. Yet Boreas, who is your kinsman, and more masculine than the other winds, should not be represented as a woman, for he never would have fallen in love with Orithyia had he seen her in such unbecoming characters.

* Artemisia.

CHAP. XXII.

WHILST he staid at Athens, the following abuse was corrected by him. The people, he observed, ran in crouds to the theatre on the Acropolis, to see the combats of gladiators.* Their passion for such sports was greater at Athens than it is at this day at Corinth. Adulterers, fornicators, house-breakers, cut-purses, men-stealers, and others of the same vile description, were bought at high prices, and armed and forced to fight with each other. This barbarous custom was most severely censured by Apollonius. He refused going to their assembly when invited, saying, the place was impure and polluted with blood. To this he alluded in an epistle, wherein he expressed his surprise that the Goddess Minerva had not abandoned her citadel, where so much blood was spilt; for, added he, if you go on in this manner, you will slay in the Grand Panathenean Procession, not hecatombs of oxen, but of men. And can you, Bacchus, vouchsafe to enter the theatre where so much blood is shed? and in the very place where the wise Athenians offer you their libations? Fie, Bacchus, depart. Citheron is much purer than such a theatre. These are the things which chiefly claimed his attention as a philosopher, whilst he sojourned at Athens.

CHAP. XXIII.

DEPARTING from Athens, he went in obedience to the commands of Achilles on his embassy to the Thessa-

* The first shew of gladiators exhibited at Rome, was in the year of the city 490. I have not been able to learn at what time they were first

ians, who happened at that time to be assembled at Thermopylæ, fulfilling their duty at the Amphictyonic Council. Fearful of the consequences which might ensue from neglecting the message communicated to them, they immediately consented to a full re-establishment of all necessary rites at his tomb. During his stay here, he almost surrounded the tomb of Leonidas with a chapel, out of esteem for his memory. When they were going to the hill where it is said the Lacedæmonians fell overwhelmed with arrows, he heard his friends disputing about what ground they considered the highest in Greece (at this time mount Ceta was full in their view) Apollonius ascending the hill, cried out, *This is the highest ground*. The men who died here in defence of liberty have made it equal to mount Ceta, and raised it above many Olympuses. I love the men, but above all, Magistias, the Acarnanian, who, foreknowing what they were to suffer, wished to share with them their fate—fearing not death, but fearing it might not be permitted him to die with them.

CHAP. XXIV.

HE visited all the temples of Greece, the Dodonean,* the Pythian, and the temple at Abæ. He entered the cave of Amphiaraus and Trophonius, and ascended the top of Helicon, on which was erected the temple of the Muses. In visiting and reforming the temples, he was attended by the priests and his familiar friends. In all places stood exposed to public view cisterns of his dis-

first introduced into Greece, or for what purpose. Barbarous and bloody as the custom was, it was not abolished till the time of Constantine. Thanks to the mild spirit of Christianity for the abolition.

* The oracles of Dodona and Delphi are well known. Abæ is a town of Phocis, famous for an oracle of Apollo.

courses,* out of which all who were thirsty might drink. When the time of the celebration of the Olympic Games was at hand, he received an invitation from the Eleans to attend. On this occasion Apollonius said, Methinks, ye men of Elis, you tarnish the glory of your games, by the necessity under which you find yourselves of sending such like invitations. Once when he was at the Isthmus and heard the sea roaring round Lachæum, he cried out, "This neck of land shall, or rather shall not be cut through." These words shewed he had a fore-knowledge of the attempt made seven years after by the emperor Nero. This prince left his seat of empire, and became subject to the voice of the common cryer at the Olympic and Pythian Games. Victories he gained at the Isthmian Games; but what were they? Victories over harpers and heralds. Others he won at the Olympic; but what were they? Victories over performers in tragedy. When at Corinth, it is said, he formed the design of cutting through the Isthmus, in order to make it pervious for his shipping. By joining the Adriatic to the Ægean sea, he thought to save the passage round Cape Malea. But how did the prophecy of Apollonius turn out? The cut was begun from Lechæum, and by immense labour was carried about four stadias. At last Nero gave it up, by the advice of some Egyptians,† who, after taking the level of the two

* It is known that the ancients made use of large vessels in their entertainments, called *crateres*, from which wine was drawn to distribute to the guests. I have used *cistern* in my translation, as a kind of figurative expression, to give some specimen of what Photius calls an elegance peculiar to Philostratus, from its being, I suppose, not unlike what our Saviour says in St. John's Gospel—"But whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life."

† In Achaia, Nero attempted to make a cut through the Isthmus, and encouraged the guards, in a speech which he made to them, to begin

seas, gave it as their opinion that Ægina would be drowned by the overflow of waters which would rush from Lechaum. Others said the work was stopped from the apprehensions of an insurrection. All which exactly corresponded with what Apollonius said, "The Isthmus shall, or shall not be cut through."

CHAP. XXV.

AT this time Demetrius, the philosopher, happened to be in Corinth, a man who fully comprehended the whole force of the Cynic philosophy, and who is mentioned with great respect by Favonius in his orations. Demetrius* felt the same zeal in favour of the wisdom of Apollonius as Antisthenes did for that of Socrates, which he gave as his reason for becoming one of his followers, and for recommending to his notice the most esteemed of his friends. Of this number was Menippus, a young Lycian, about twenty-five years of age, who was intelligent and handsome, with the open manly air of an Athleta. It was said a rich woman, that was a foreigner, beautiful and delicate in her appearance, had fallen in love with him, of

begin the work: and upon a signal given by sound of trumpet, he first broke ground with a spade, and carried off a basket full of earth upon his shoulders.

SUETONIUS.

* Demetrius, a cynic philosopher, whom the Emperor Caligula wished to gain in his interest by a large present; but Demetrius refused it with indignation, and said, if Caligula wishes to bribe me, let him send me his crown. Vespasian was displeased with his insolence, and banished him to an island. The Cynic derided the punishment, and bitterly inveighed against the Emperor. He died when very far advanced in years, and Seneca observes, *that* "Nature brought him forth, to shew to mankind that an exalted genius can live securely, without being corrupted by the vice of the surrounding world."

LEMPRIERE.

which nothing was real, all imaginary. As the story goes, a figure met him, when alone on the road to Cenchrea, which had the look of a woman, who took him by the hand, and avowed a tender passion for him. She said, she was a Phenician, but at present dwelt in one of the suburbs of Corinth, which she named, where, added she, if you come, you shall hear me sing, and shall drink such wine as you never drank of before. You shall have no hindrance in your amours from a rival, and with a man of honour I shall live honourably. The youth, overcome by what he heard (for though he loved philosophy much, he loved Venus more) visited her in the evening, and continued afterwards to visit her as his mistress, without the slightest suspicion of her being a spectre. But Apollonius looking on Menippus as a statuary would do, delineated him fully in his own mind, which, when done, he said, You who are beautiful, and courted by beautiful women, know this, that "you cherish a serpent, and a serpent cherishes you;" at which Menippus being amazed, Apollonius continued, You love a woman whom you can never make your wife. Do you think yourself loved by her, said Apollonius? I think I am, said the youth. And do you propose marrying her, said he? I do, returned the other, for that will be the completion of all my happiness. For what day, said Apollonius, are the nuptials fixed? Perhaps for to-morrow, said the youth, as all things are prepared, and as we say, *the iron hot*. Apollonius, who had marked the precise time of the wedding feast, entered along with the other guests, and instantly asked, Where is she who is the cause of this banqueting? Here at hand, replied Menippus, who rose blushing. Apollonius continued, This gold and silver, with all the other rich ornaments of this apartment, whose are they? The bride's, said he; for what fortune I have consists in this cloak I wear, which he shewed. Then, continued Apollonius, have you ever seen the gardens of Tantalus, which are,

Empusa's Story

and are not? We have seen them, said they, in Homer; for we have not yet descended to the infernal regions. As are the gardens in Homer, so is all you see here—all shew, and no reality. And that you may know the truth of what I say, your intended wife is one of the Empusæ, who pass under the names of Lamia and Larvæ. They are little affected by the passion of love, and are fond of nothing but flesh, and that human; for by their attentions they attract all whom they wish to devour. Take care, Sir, of what you say, said she, and seeming much disconcerted at what she heard, ran out into many invectives against the whole race of philosophers, as being much given up to vain and impertinent trifling. But, as Apollonius said, every thing vanished into air; the gold and silver vessels, cup-bearers, and cooks, and the whole domestic apparatus. Whereupon the phantom appearing as if in tears, begged not to be tormented,* nor forced to make a confession. But Apollonius was peremptory, and said she should not stir till she confessed what she was. She then owned herself to be an Empusa, who had pampered Menippus with rich dainties, for the express purpose of devouring him; adding, that it was her custom to feed on young and beautiful bodies, for the sake of the pure blood in them. I have been necessarily induced to mention this transaction, as it was one of the most celebrated perform-

* This is the only instance in which the very words of scripture are used. See the Gospel of St. Luke, chap. viii. ver. 28. where a Demoniac is cured by our blessed Saviour. But when we compare the two accounts, the sober, artless narrative of the one, contrasted with the nonsensical stuff of the other, the difference is most striking. I agree with the learned author of the *Criterion* in thinking that such a similitude of expression could scarcely arise from mere chance; and yet I cannot help thinking, that if Philostratus had been well acquainted with the history of Christ, and had intended making his hero his counterpart, he might have been more successful in his attempt.—*καταναξις* is the common Greek word that signifies to torment.

ed by Apollonius,* and as it happened in the centre of Greece, many were acquainted with it. Yet it was known only in a general way of Apollonius having surprised a Lamia at Corinth, but the particulars of its being done in favour of Menippus, &c. was till then unknown. The account I have given of it is taken from Damis, and the writings he left behind him.†

CHAP. XXVI.

IT was about this time he had a dispute with one Bassus, a Corinthian, who not only seemed, but was believed to be a parricide. He was a fellow who made false pretences to philosophy, and had a most abusive tongue, which Apollonius reprimanded partly by letter and partly by word. There is no reason to doubt the truth of what he has written of this parricide; for it is not likely that a man such as Apollonius was, should have deigned to rebuke so vile a fellow, and in doing it to utter a falsehood.

CHAP. XXVII.

THE account given of what Apollonius did at Olympia is as follows: On his arrival, ambassadors waited on him from Lacedæmon, requesting him to pay them a visit. They had nothing like old Sparta in their appearance, and were more effeminate than what could have been sup-

* If this was one of the most celebrated of Apollonius's performances, what are we to think of the rest—and, above all, what are we to think of the simplicity, or rather fatuity of Damis, who, after such a specimen of fantastic buffoonery, could have followed him as a man possessed of more than human powers?

† *Le conte de Belphegor et celui-ci sont de même genre.*

posed; in fact they looked as if they had breathed all their lives the air of Sybaris. As soon as he beheld their smooth limbs, and hair dropping with odours, their beardless faces and soft garments, he wrote thus to the Ephori: "Let a proclamation issue, forbidding the use of pitch in the baths, and all other depilatory preparations, and let the ancient mode of living be re-established; which, if done, it might be expected the old Palestra would revive, and the confederations, and the societies of friendship, and Lacedæmon look like itself. When he was informed that the Ephori had done what he desired, he wrote them another letter, more concise than their ancient Scytala.—Here it is.

"Apollonius to the Ephori greeting."

"It is the part of men to err, but of ingenuous men to acknowledge it."

CHAP. XXVIII.

ONCE as he was observing the famous statue of Olympia, he said, Hail, propitious Jove, for your goodness reaches to, and is imparted to all mankind. Afterwards he noticed the brazen statue of Milo,* and explained its particular form and attitude. This statue is represented standing on a discus, with the feet united, holding in the left hand a pomegranate; the fingers of the right hand are stretched out, and joined close together. The stories current in Olympia and Arcadia of Milo were, that he was a wrestler of invincible strength, not to be moved out of the

* One cause of his paying so much attention to the statue of Milo was, his being a disciple of Pythagoras, who had the merit of saving his master's life by means of his superior strength. His statue was made by Dameas, the Crotonian, and was placed in Olympia for having been six times victorious in wrestling in the Olympic Games.

position in which he placed himself. The tenacity of his fingers was marked by the manner in which he held the pomegranate; and the impossibility of separating them by external force was marked by their juxta-position. The fillet round his head was considered as a symbol of modesty. These circumstances, Apollonius said, were designed in wisdom, but were more ingeniously designed than what were true. Here is the true signification of Milo and his statue. The people of Crotona made him the priest of Juno; hence the propriety of his wearing a mitre or fillet in that sacred character. The pomegranate* is the only plant which is sacred to Juno. From the discus under his feet we understand, that Milo, being the priest of Juno, and standing on a small buckler, used from it to offer his supplications to her; the same is signified by the holding out of the right hand. The inseparable position of the fingers shews clearly the excellence of ancient sculpture.

CHAP. XXIX.

AFTER seeing whatever is generally done at Elis, he praised the Eleans for the order and decency which were every where conspicuous. They were indeed no less anxious than the Athletæ themselves to have their conduct approved by the public; and this anxiety made them take

* Pansanias says, "The particulars respecting the pomegranate, as they belong to an arcane discourse, I shall pass by in silence." This *mysterium arcanum* is thus explained by Olearius:

Nempe in φυσικη τεβολογημενη Juno est principium rerum naturalium passivum, ut activum Jupiter, à quo imprægnata Juno Semina rerum divino utero concipit. Quorum cum innumera sit multitudo, atque varietas, ista Junonis, tot seminibus foetæ, fæcunditas malo Punico Symbolicè fuit designata, in quo maxima inter omnia poma seminum copia.

particular pains to avoid every fault, either voluntary or involuntary. When he was asked by his companions what he thought of the people of Elis in respect to the order established at the games, he said, Whether they are entitled to the appellation of *wise* I know not; but I am sure they are to that of *sophists*.

CHAP. XXX.

HOW he inveighed against authors who vainly thought they excelled in writing, and how illiterate he considered all who attempted to discuss subjects superior to their abilities, may be collected from what follows. A young arrogant philosopher met him in the temple, who thus addressed him: Pray favour me with your company to-morrow, for I have something to recite. Apollonius asked what it was. An oration, replied he, which I have composed in praise of Jupiter, and with these words immediately shewed the composition he had concealed under his cloak, piquing himself, as it were, on the size of his volume. And what, said Apollonius, do you praise in Jupiter? or is it the Jupiter of Olympia you commend, and say of him that there is nothing like him in the whole world! All this I have done, said he, and much besides; for I say, that to Jove we are indebted for the hours, and for whatever is on the earth, and under the earth; for the winds that blow, and the stars of heaven. To me, said Apollonius, you appear an excellent panegyrist. So I think myself, said he; for I have written also in praise of the gout, and of blindness and deafness. If, said Apollonius, you have a passion for praising things of this nature, I suppose dropsies and catarrhs will not be strangers to your panegyric? And yet, methinks, you would gain more reputation by attending the dead to their graves, and there reciting the praises of the disorders of which each died.

Such a mark of affectionate attention would soothe the grief of their fathers, sons, and near relations. When Apollonius perceived that the youth's vanity was somewhat humbled by what he said, he continued, Young author, do you think a man will praise better what he knows, than what he does not? What he knows, most certainly; for how can he praise what he is ignorant of? Pray, said Apollonius, have you ever written any thing in praise of your father? It was my wish, said he, to do so; but when I found he excelled all my acquaintances in generosity, goodness, economy, and wisdom, I declined it, lest he might have been dishonoured by unbecoming commendation. When Apollonius heard this, he was greatly incensed (being sometimes subject to such passions, whenever he had to deal with absurd people) and cried out, Wretch, have you, who thought yourself not capable of praising your father, whom you know as well as yourself, as he deserved, have you, I say, thought it a light matter to praise the Father of Gods and men, without having either any fear of him whom you praised, or any apprehension of being engaged in a work surpassing all human ability?

CHAP. XXXI.

WHILST Apollonius staid at Olympia, his conversation turned chiefly on the topics most useful to mankind; namely, fortitude, wisdom, temperance, and, in short, all the virtues. On these subjects he discoursed in the porch of the temple, making his hearers admire not only the excellence of his ideas, but the eloquence with which he uttered them. The Lacedæmonians ran to him in crouds, and pronounced him, in the presence of Jupiter, their guest, the father and director of the young, and the ornament of the old. A Corinthian happening to be present, asked

with some degree of pique, if they intended paying him the accustomed honours of a Theophany? * Then, swearing by Castor and Pollux, they cried out, Every thing was ready for the occasion. But Apollonius would not suffer it, fearing thereby to create envyings and jealousies. Afterwards passing mount Taygetus, and entering the confines of Lacedæmon, he found the inhabitants all busy about their own affairs, and zealous in the observance of the ancient institutions of Lycurgus. This made him think it would not be unpleasant to discourse with their magistrates on whatever subjects they might wish to discuss. The first question they asked him on his arrival was, In what manner the Gods were to be worshipped? † He answered, as masters. Then how heroes? and he said as fathers. And afterwards they asked how men were to be honoured? and he said, the question was not fit for Sparta to ask. They then inquired what he thought of their laws; to which he replied, Laws are excellent masters; and masters will be applauded in proportion to the diligence and industry of their scholars. Lastly, when they asked him what advice he would give on the subject of fortitude, To use it, if you have it, was his answer

CHAP. XXXII.

DURING his stay here, a young Lacedæmonian happened to be accused of transgressing the laws and customs of his country, who was of the family of Callicratidas, that

* Theophany, Θεοφάνια, the appearance of God, was a festival observed by the Delphians on the day that Apollo first manifested himself to them.

† “We must in worship prefer Gods before Demons,” says Pythagoras, “and heroes before men.”

commanded the fleet at Arginusæ.* This youth sailed as far as Carthage and Sicily in vessels of his own construction, and was so much devoted to naval affairs as to forget those of the republic. When Apollonius learnt he was to be tried on the above charge, he thought it would be hard to desert him on such an occasion. In consequence of this, he waited on him to inquire the cause of his present embarrassment. A suit, said the youth, is publicly instituted against me for my love of navigation, and for neglecting the affairs of the republic. Pray, said Apollonius, what were your father and grandfather; were they nautical men? No, returned the youth, not at all; they were gymnasiarchs, and ephori, and all guardians of the laws. Among my ancestors I number Callicratidas, who commanded the fleet. Do you allude to him who fought at Arginusæ? The same, said he, who died in the command. Has not the death of such an ancestor, said Apollonius, given you an aversion to the sea? No, said he; my employment at sea is not that of fighting. And can you, said Apollonius, name a race of men more miserable than that of merchants and mariners, roaming from sea to sea, seeking the best markets, living with factors and brokers, who lend out their money at unconscionable interest, wherever the speediest returns of gain are expected. When all this is done, if every thing prospers as they wish, they cry out, their ship has made a good voyage, and boast of never having lost a cargo either with or without their leave. But on the other hand, if their gains prove insufficient for the discharge of their debts, what do they do? They step into their long-boat, run their ship aground among the rocks, of which they throw the fault on the

* Three small islands near the continent, between Mitylene and Methymna, where the Lacedæmonian fleet was conquered by Conon, the Athenian.

irresistible will of heaven, whilst the property of others goes to the bottom without the least regret. But though the lives of seafaring men be not exactly such as we have described them, yet for Spartans, sprung from Spartans, whose ancestors lived in the midst of Sparta—for them, I say, to languish in the hold of a ship, without any recollection of either Lycurgus or Iphitus, attentive only to bales of goods and nautical concerns, how ignominious. If nothing else could convince them of their state of degradation, why not call to mind, that whilst Sparta was confined solely to her landed possessions, her glory rose to the skies; and when she became a naval power, her glory faded, and was blotted out from both land and sea. The young man, deeply affected by this discourse, held down his head, wept bitterly when he became sensible of his own degeneracy, and quitted the sea, where he had spent most part of his life. As soon as Apollonius found that the youth had come to his right mind, and gave the preference to the landed interest, he introduced him to the notice of the ephori, and obtained his acquittal and pardon.

CHAP XXXIII.

ANOTHER instance occurred of the propriety of his conduct at Lacedæmon. The citizens received a letter from the Emperor Claudius, animadverting on the improper use they made of their liberty. This letter was written in consequence of some accusations which had been sent to the Emperor from the Proconsul of Greece. The Lacedæmonians, at a loss what to do, debated amongst themselves whether they should deprecate the wrath of Cæsar, or send back a lofty answer. On this occasion they consulted Apollonius, who, when he found they were divided in opinion, came forward, and thus briefly address-

ed them: "Palamedes invented letters, to the end* men might know, not only what to write, but also what not to write." In this way he dissuaded the Lacedæmonians from shewing either too much audacity, or too much timidity in their reply.

C H A P. XXXIV.

APOLLONIUS staid some time at Sparta after the Olympic games; but as soon as the winter was over he proceeded in the spring to Malea, with the design of passing over to Rome. Whilst he was thinking of this journey, he had the following dream, in which he thought he saw a woman, tall of stature and venerable in years, who embraced him, and requested him to visit her before he went to Italy. She said she was the nurse of Jupiter, and had on a garland, adorned with whatever sea or land produces. After considering the meaning of this dream, he judged it proper to go into Crete, an island called the Nurse of Jupiter, because he was there educated; at the same time some other island might be possibly indicated by the garland. As many vessels happened to be stationed at Malea ready to put to sea, and all bound for Crete, he embarked in one which he supposed would be sufficient

* Blest be his shade in endless realms of light,
 Who bade the Alphabet dispel our night;
 Those wond'rous symbols that can still retain
 The phantom forms that pass along the brain,
 O'er unsubstantial thought hold strong controul,
 And fix the essence of the immortal soul.
 Man unreluctant meets the general doom,
 His mind embalm'd, defies th' o'erwhelming tomb,
 Lives in fresh vigour thro' succeeding years,
 Nor yields its powers whilst nature guides the spheres.

The Press.

for his whole community,* which consisted of his companions and their domestics, of whom he left not one behind. Sailing by the coast of Cydonia, he put in at Gnossus, where his companions expressed a desire of visiting the famous labyrinth in the neighbourhood, said to have been of old the habitation of the Minotaur. He allowed them to gratify their curiosity, but declined going himself, from the abhorrence he ever entertained of the injustice of Minos. Meanwhile he proceeded to Gortyna to visit Ida, whose summit he ascended, and examined all the sacred monuments of the place. He next visited the temple of Lebene, which is dedicated to Æsculapius; and as all Asia visits Pergamos, so does all Crete visit the temple of Lebene, to which resort many people even from Libya. The temple looks towards the Libyan sea, standing near Phæstus, a town where a great sea is restrained by a very little rock. This temple is called Lebenean, from a promontory of the same name running out from it in the shape of a lion, as we see a variety of figures represented by the accidental accumulation of stones. There is a story connected with this promontory which supposes it to have been one of the lions yoked of old to the chariot of Rhea. Whilst he was talking here about mid-day with a great concourse of people, assembled from motives of religion, a violent concussion of the earth shook the whole island, followed by a rumbling noise, proceeding not from the clouds, but from the ground; in consequence of which the sea withdrew about seven stadia from the shore. Many people supposed, by this recession of the sea, that the temple and all belonging to it were swept away. But Apollonius said, Don't be dismayed, for the

* His visit to Crete was in imitation of Pythagoras, who whilst he was there went down into the Idaean Cave, with the Cretan Epimenides, the famous soothsayer. All things, says Pythagoras, are common amongst friends.

sea has brought forth land. Some imagined that he meant to say, that the elements were in harmony, and that the sea would make no encroachment on the land. But behold a few days after some travellers, who came from the province of Cydonia, said, that on the self-same day and hour in which the earthquake was felt, an island rose out of the sea, in the strait which runs between Thera and Crete.* However, to avoid all prolixity, let us pass to what he did at Rome, where he set sail as soon as he had performed his work in Crete.

CHAP. XXXV.

AT this time Nero gave no encouragement to the study of philosophy, whose professors he suspected of magic, and said, they used the name of philosophy as a cloak under which to practise their curious arts. The judges on the bench escaped not then the imputation of using the cloak of philosophy to hide the magic art. Without mentioning others, I cannot pass over Musonius, who, from being a Babylonian,† and considered second in wisdom to Apollonius, was cast into prison, where he would have died, had he not possessed a robust constitution of body. Whilst philosophy and its professors were in such perilous circumstances, Apollonius came to Rome.

* This island, named Thia, appeared long before the time of Apollonius; which clearly shews that Philostratus had no other design than that of accommodating to the life of his hero all marvellous events whatever.

† That is, says Olearius, from being a Chaldean, or a Magician. Magicians, in the imperial edicts, are always denominated *divini* and *Chaldæi*. Chaldæan and Babylonian are the same. Tacitus speaks of a Musonius Rufus, a man devoted to the study of philosophy, and in particular to the doctrines of the stoic sect; but whether he is the same with the Musonius in the text is doubtful.

CHAP. XXXVI.

WHEN he arrived within a hundred and twenty stadia of Rome, he met Philolaus of Citium,* near the grove of Aricia,† a man of great eloquence, but not made for much suffering in times of persecution, for on the road he advised every philosopher he met to follow his example. As soon as he saw Apollonius, he saluted him, and exhorted him to give way to the storm, and not go to Rome, where philosophy lay under such odium. Whilst he was talking of the state of things there, he frequently turned about his head to see if any body was within hearing. You, said he, to Apollonius, are on your way to Rome, attended by a train of philosophers, a circumstance in itself liable to much animadversion. You know not the officers, who are appointed by Nero to take care of the city gates, who will probably apprehend you and them before you enter the town. But tell me, I pray thee, said Apollonius, how the emperor spends his time? In driving a chariot in open day, said Philolaus, in singing on the public stage, and living with gladiators, in whose company, being enrolled as a member, he fights as a gladiator, and kills his man as well as the best. Can there, said Apollonius, interrupting him, be a greater sight presented to the eyes of liberal men, than that of seeing an emperor acting so unbecoming his high station? for in the opinion of Plato, said he, "Man is the play-thing of the Gods," but an emperor making himself the play-thing of men, and forgetting every thing due to himself, what a subject of discourse is it not capable of affording the philosopher? So it would, said Philolaus, if it could be done without any risk. But if, said he, you continue your journey, and lose

* Citium, a town of Crete.

† Aricia, a town of Latium, at the foot of the *Mons Albanus*, on the Appian way, at the distance of 160 stadia from Rome.

your life by Nero's swallowing you up alive, without your ever enjoying such a sight, your gain will not be great: it will cost you more than ever it did Ulysses, when he fell into the hands of the Cyclops, for in order to see that monster, and such a bloody spectacle, he lost numbers of his companions. Act as you think right, said Philolaus; but let not your friends perish. With these words, uttered in a higher tone of voice, he fetched a deep sigh.

C H A P. XXXVII.

DAMIS, fearing lest the language of Philolaus should dishearten their young disciples, took Apollonius aside, and said, Conversations of this kind may do harm, from the terrors they excite. To this Apollonius said, Of all the favours which have fallen to my lot, unsolicited from the Gods, I consider this as one of the greatest, that has put it into my power to ascertain who of my friends are or are not truly attached to philosophy. Of those who were influenced by the discourse of Philolaus, some pretended sickness, others the want of all necessary provision for such a journey; some said domestic business prevented them, and others that they had unlucky dreams. And so his thirty and four companions, who set out with him on his journey, were at last reduced to eight, who alone were found faithful. The rest all fled, through fear of Nero and philosophy.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

THEN Apollonius assembling all his friends who remained, amongst whom was Menippus, the favourite of the Empusa, Dioscorides the Egyptian, and Damis, said to them, I will not blame those who have left me, but I will praise you who have remained, because you are men like myself. I will not call the man a coward who has fled through fear of Nero; but I will call him a philosopher

who has conquered his fears, and I will teach him all I know. But first, it is our duty to thank the Gods, by whose assistance both we and they have been inspired with such sentiments; and next, to solicit their direction and guidance on our journey, *for without them we are nothing*. We must go to the city which commands so much of the habitable earth. But how can any one approach it, unless guided by them? especially at a time when a tyranny is established in it, of such a violent nature as suffers men not even to be philosophers. Let no one deem it foolish in us to attempt going to a city from which so many philosophers have fled, for there is nothing in human affairs sufficient to terrify a wise man. No advancement or improvement in any thing can be made without danger and toil. In the many journeys I have made, and no one has made more, I have seen the wild beasts of Arabia and India; but the wild beast, vulgarly called a tyrant, I know not the number of his heads, nor whether his claws are hooked, or his teeth sharp. He is more wild than the animals dwelling in woods and mountains. We know that lions and panthers, by gentle treatment, grow tame and change their natures; but the wild beast called a tyrant, in proportion to the pains taken to tame it, becomes more savage than if left to itself, and tears to pieces every thing within its reach. Of all the wild beasts we read, was it ever known that any of them devoured its own mother? Yet Nero gorged himself with such a feast. If foul deeds like this were perpetrated by Orestes and Alcmaeon, they had some pretext for their conduct in that of their fathers, of whom the one was murdered by his wife, and the other sold by his for a necklace. But Nero, after being adopted by the old Emperor, at the instigation of his mother, and made heir to the empire, he, I say, after such favours conferred, destroyed this very mother by an artificial shipwreck, in a vessel built expressly for the purpose, wherein

she perished not far from the shore.* If, in consequence of such enormities, any person were to suppose Nero an object of terror, and for that reason to abandon philosophy through fear of opposing his inclination, I would let him know that nothing is terrible to men who have made the maxims of temperance and wisdom the rules of their lives; for they are favoured by the Gods, and all they can suffer from such as despise them is, to be reckoned like unto the actions of men drunk with wine, who are in truth mad, but not formidable. We will go to Rome, if our courage does not sink through fear. To Nero's edict, banishing philosophy, let us oppose the Iambic of Sophocles, "Such orders were never given by the father of the Gods" —nor by the Muses, I will add; nor by Apollo, the God of Wisdom. It is probable the Emperor himself knows this Iambic, as he is said to take great delight in tragedy. On this occasion were verified the words of Homer,† who says, that as the warriors became all like one helmet and one shield, when roused and animated by the force of eloquence, so were our philosophers united by the words of Apollonius. They were ready to lay down their lives for the sake of philosophy, and shewed themselves much superior to the men who run away.

CHAP. XXXIX.

OUR travellers now drew near the city gates, through which they passed without being asked any questions by the guards, who admired the singularity of their dress,

* The account given by Tacitus and Suetonius is different from this, and consequently is more to be relied on.

† ——— "Spear crouded spear,
Shield, helmet, man, press'd helmet, man, and shield—"

COWPER. HOMER.

which excited both their attention and wonder. Its fashion was religious, and unlike that worn by common quacks and mountebanks. On entering the city, they withdrew to a public inn near the gates; and whilst sitting at a late meal, a man in a state of intoxication fell into their company, who had a voice not at all unpleasing. This man used to visit the several quarters of the city, and sing the verses of Nero, for which a certain salary was paid him. He had power to arraign all as traitors who listened not with attention, or who did not pay him for what they heard. He possessed a harp, and all the requisites for playing on it, together with a little box, wherein was a string, much worn, which formerly belonged to Nero. This, he said, cost him two minæ, with which he would never part, except to a performer of the first talents, or to him who had won one prize at the Pythian Games. His custom was to begin with a prelude, in which he sung a short hymn in praise of Nero: then other verses were added, partly from the *Orestea* and *Antigone*,* and partly from other tragedies of Nero's own composing; such songs as Nero made sad discord of, he sung with suitable variations. Finding that little or no attention was paid him by Apollonius and his companions, he cried out, they violated the majesty of Nero, and were the enemies of his divine voice, at which our philosophers seemed not much concerned. Whereupon Menippus asked Apollonius his opinion of what the performer said. The same, replied Apollonius, as of what he sung. But it is not our business, Menippus, to shew any signs of dissatisfaction: let us pay him for his music, and leave him to sacrifice to the Muses of Nero. Such was the specimen given by this wretched harper of gross adulation and meanness.

* From the words in the text it may be inferred, that the *Orestea* and *Antigone* were compositions of Nero.

CHAP. XL.

AS soon as it was day, Telesinus, one of the consuls,* sending for Apollonius, asked him why he wore such a peculiar dress? Because, replied he, it is pure, and not taken from any living creature. The Consul next asked, But what is the wisdom you possess? It is, said Apollonius, a divine instinct, which teaches what prayers and sacrifices are most proper to be made to the Gods. Is there any philosopher, replied Telesinus, who is ignorant of this? Very many, said he; and if any man is well informed in these things, he will receive great advantage by knowing from one wiser than himself, that what he knows, he knows well. When Telesinus (whose mind was more than usual attached to religious worship) heard what he said, it immediately occurred to him that he was the man of whom public fame had spoken so much; but at present he declined asking his name, from apprehending it might be his wish to conceal it. Telesinus then returning to religious subjects, in which he was well versed, addressed Apollonius as a sage, and said, What do you pray for when you approach the altars? That justice may prevail, said Apollonius; that the laws may not be broken; that wise men may be poor, and the rest of mankind rich, but not by fraud. What, said Telesinus, do you think that by asking you will obtain such great things? Yes, I do, said he; for when I approach the altars, I include every request in one prayer, and thus address the Gods: "Grant, O ye Gods, all that is convenient for me." So that if the Gods rank me in the number of the good, I hope to ob-

* In the reign of Domitian, he chose rather to retire from his native country as a philosopher, than to maintain his dignity there by renouncing that profession.

tain more than what I ask; but if they number me with the wicked, I know the contrary to what I ask will be given; and I will not accuse the Gods for judging me undeserving of their favours on account of my demerits. At hearing this, Telesinus was amazed; but being desirous of shewing him every mark of respect, he said, Be it lawful for you to enter all the temples; I will write to the priests to receive you, and submit to your superior orders. What, said Apollonius, would they not receive me without your written commands? No, said he, for the permission depends on my situation as Pontifex Maximus. I am glad, said Apollonius, a man so illustrious is appointed to fill that office; at the same time I wish you to know from me, that I would prefer dwelling in temples which are not so vigilantly guarded. None of the Gods reject me, and all give me the protection of their roof. This is all the permission I crave, and which is not denied me by the barbarians. If that is so, said Telesinus, the barbarians have been beforehand with us in such a praise-worthy attention; for I wished it said of ourselves. After this Apollonius took up his abode in the temples, and in none he dwelt without making some reformation. In this way he passed from temple to temple, which gave rise to some animadversions, which he explained by saying, The Gods themselves do not always dwell in the heavens; they visit Æthiopia and Olympus in turns, and sometimes mount Athos. If the Gods condescend to visit all nations, would it not be an incongruity in men not visiting all the Gods? But no one will blame masters if they neglect their slaves; for it is not probable they would be so treated undeservedly. But slaves who do not respect their masters, deserve from them the severest treatment, which is that of being cast away as accursed, and odious to the Gods.

C H A P. XLII.

WHILST Apollonius instructed persons in the temples, the people were more attentive to the public worship; and the temples he frequented were most crowded, because in them the worshippers expected greater favours from the Gods than in the others; to which may be added, that what he said was less liable to be misrepresented on account of its publicity. He visited in person no man, nor ever paid his court to the great and powerful. He received all who came to him with civility, and what he said to them he said to all the world.

C H A P. XLII.

ABOUT this time Demetrius, who loved Apollonius (as was noticed in what passed at Corinth) came to Rome, and shewed him so much attention, that Nero was provoked by it, and began to suspect that the art which Apollonius professed, caused the intimacy. It was apprehended Apollonius encouraged him to act as he did, for after Nero finished his gymnasium, which was the admiration of Rome, and celebrated the anniversary of it in the midst of the senate, and the knights assembled, and performed all the necessary sacrifices on the occasion, Demetrius entered it, and pronounced an oration against all who bathed in it,* saying they were effeminate; and polluters, not cleansers of themselves; to which he added, that the ex-

* There was a hot bath joined to the gymnasium, after the fashion of the Greeks, and this appears from Suetonius, who says, " Upon the first opening of a hot bath, and a school of exercise (Gymnasium) which Nero built, he furnished the senate, and the equestrian order with oil.

pense attending such works was idle, and superfluous. These words would have cost him his life, had not Nero outdone himself that day in singing. It was in a tavern near the gymnasium, in which he sung with only a girdle tied round his waist, but in every other respect was as naked as one of the lowest attendants of the place. Yet Demetrius incurred all the danger of what he said, for Tigellinus,* to whom the sword of Rome was committed, banished him from the city, just as if he had demolished the baths by his harangue.

CHAPTER XLIII.

ALL the time Apollonius staid in Rome, Tigellinus kept a vigilant, but silent eye over him, and observed all he said, whether it was reprehensible or not. Apollonius took care not to indulge in any unbecoming license of speech, nor yet to shew a too solicitous concern like persons ever on the watch. He said what he thought sufficient on the common topics of the day, and talked with Telesinus on philosophical subjects, and with others, who conceived they run no risk, though philosophy stood on the most slippery grounds. However, he had fallen under a suspicion as I have said, which was not diminished by the observations made on the subject of a prodigy. It happened to thunder during an eclipse of the sun, an occurrence which never takes place at such a time. Apollonius lift-

* Tigellinus was celebrated for his intrigues and perfidy in the court of Nero.—He was appointed judge at the trial of the conspirators who had leagued against Nero, for which he was liberally rewarded with triumphal honours.—He afterwards betrayed the emperor, and was ordered to destroy himself. Tacitus says, he corrupted Nero at first, and then deserted him, “ac postremo ejusdem desertor ac proditor.” Tacitus has given his character with his accustomed strength and brevity.—History, b. i. c. 72.

ing up his eyes to heaven said, A great event shall or shall not happen.* They, who heard these words, were unable to comprehend their meaning, but three days after the eclipse, all understood them. For whilst Nero was at supper, a thunderbolt fell on the table where he sat,† which broke the cup in his hand as he was raising it to his mouth. The danger he run of being killed by it was signified by Apollonius when he said, a great event shall or shall not happen. Great fear seized on Tigellinus when he heard this, from supposing Apollonius deeply skilled in divine things. He thought it wise, however, not to take any notice of it, lest some secret harm might befall him. He still continued to have him well watched by all those eyes, which are ever at the beck of sovereign power; for whether he talked, or held his tongue, or walked, or did not; whether he eat alone, or in company, or sacrificed, or did not; all and every thing was reported to him.

CHAP. XLIV.

A DISTEMPER at this time became prevalent in Rome, which the physicians termed a catarrh. It was attended with a cough, and great difficulty in breathing. In consequence of a swelling in Nero's throat, and a hoarseness in his voice, the temples were crouded with votaries offer-

* Cautious and circumspect enough, to keep himself from being invalidated as a prophet. "Il est important de ne point parler clairement, on finit tôt ou tard par passer pour prophète."

† I find no account of this in history. In the close of the year, says the writers of the Universal History, the heads and mouths of the populace were filled with prodigies, asserted to have happened, and always looked upon as the forerunners of some dreadful calamity. Suetonius says, a blazing star appeared above the horizon several nights successively, which is vulgarly supposed to portend destruction to kings and princes.

ing up their prayers to the Gods for his recovery. Apollonius was greatly vexed at this madness of the people, yet no man was rebuked by him in public. He even persuaded Menippus to restrain his indignation, by telling him that the Gods were to be forgiven, if they took pleasure in the company of buffoons and jesters. These words were carried to Tigellinus, who sent immediately to have him arrested, and brought before him to answer the charge of high treason. An informer, well-instructed, came forward, who had been the ruin of many, one who was full of such kind of Olympic victories. He held in his hand a roll wherein was written the accusation, which he flourished about him like a sword before the eyes of Apollonius, boasting he had given it a sharp edge, and that now his hour was come. Upon this, Tigellinus unfolded the roll, when lo and behold, neither letter nor character was to be seen:* which made all think the man was a demon. This was the opinion which Domitian some time after entertained of him. When Tigellinus saw this, he took Apollonius into a more secret part of the court, where the most solemn business was transacted; and making the people withdraw, he asked him who he was? Apollonius told him his own name, and that of his father, and his country; and the use he made of philosophy, which was to know both Gods and men; but that to know oneself, he said, was the most difficult of all things. But, in what way, said Tigellinus, do you discover demons, and the apparitions of spectres? Just as I do homicides and impious men, replied Apollonius; and this he said in sarcastic allusion to Tigellinus, who countenanced and encouraged Nero in all his cruelty and debauchery. Tigellinus continued, will you prophesy for me, Apollonius, if I ask it? How can I, said he, who am no soothsayer? But, returned Tigellinus, we are told you are the man who said,

* *Credat qui vult.*

that a great event would, or would not take place. You heard only the truth, said Apollonius: but it is not to be attributed to the art of divination: it is to be rather ascribed to that wisdom which Jupiter makes manifest to the wise. How comes it to pass, said Tigellinus, that you do not fear Nero? Because, answered he, the same deity who has made him formidable, has made me bold. Pray what do you think of the emperor? I think better of him than you do: for you think he ought to sing, and I think he ought to hold his tongue. Tigellinus, being struck with these words, said, Go where you please, only giving security for your appearance when required. But who, replied Apollonius, can go bail for that, which cannot be bound? All these things appeared in the eyes of Tigellinus divine, and above human power: and to shew he did not wish to contend with a God, he bid him go where he pleased, as he was too strong to be subject to his authority.*

CHAP. XLV.

WHAT I am going to relate is set down among the marvellous acts of Apollonius. A girl on the point of being married, seemingly died, whose bier was followed by him who was to have been her husband, in all the affliction usual in like cases of interrupted wedlock. As she happened to be of a consular family, all Rome condoled with him. Apollonius, meeting the funeral procession, said to the attendants, set down the bier, and I will dry up the tears which you are shedding for the maid, whose name he inquired after. Almost all the spectators present thought

* J'ai rapporté cet entretien de Tigellin et D'Apollone pour faire voir qu'il n'y avoit dans Apollone que de la hardiesse et de la vanité qui le soutenoient dans les occasions les plus perilleuses. DU FIN.

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he was going to pronounce a funeral oration like what is done on such occasions to excite compassion. But all he did was, to touch the maid, and after uttering a few words over her in a low tone of voice, he wakened her from that death with which she seemed to be overcome.* She immediately began to speak, and returned to her father's house, as Alcestis did of old, when recalled to life by Hercules. The relations of the girl presented Apollonius with an hundred and fifty thousand drachmas, which he in return begged to settle on her, as a marriage-portion. It is as difficult to me as it was to all who were present, to ascertain whether Apollonius discovered the vital spark, which had escaped the faculty, (for it is said, it rained at the time, which caused a vapour to rise from her face) or whether he cherished and brought back to life the soul, which to all appearance was extinct.

CHAP. XLVI.

AT this time Nero cast into prison Musonius, who excelled most others in philosophy. During his confinement, he

* This is the only instance that looks like a miraculous resurrection, on which Eusebius's remark, as quoted by Lardner, is very pertinent, who says, as it was not credited by Philostratus himself, we need not much mind it: for in reasoning about it, he supposeth that there were some remains of life, the maid still breathing, and having a dew of sweat upon her face: and moreover, as this is said to have happened at Rome, if it had been true, it would have come to the knowledge of the Emperor, and his courtiers, and to the philosopher Euphrates, then at Rome; and would have been particularly taken notice of, either in favour of Apollonius, or to his disadvantage, neither of which happened. But granting it true, I would ask, *cui bono* was such a violation of the established laws of nature? besides, the whole credit due to it, is ultimately to be resolved into the credit of one man.

The wife of Admetus, King of Thessaly, who being sick, sent to the oracle, and was answered that he must needs die, unless one of his friends would die for him—they all refused, and then she voluntarily submitted to die for him. According to some authors Hercules brought her back from hell.

deprecatd all intercourse with Apollonius, lest it might endanger both. What correspondence they had was carried on through the medium of Menippus and Damis, who had free access to the prison. Omitting such epistles as were of little or no moment, we will only notice the most interesting, in which may be found whatever is most important.

1. "Apollonius to Musonius the philosopher, greeting.

"I wish to go to you, and enjoy your conversation and roof.—I wish to be in some way or other useful to you.—If you doubt not that Hercules delivered Theseus from the shades, write your pleasure. Farewel."

2. "Musonius to Apollonius the philosopher.

"Your proposal is worthy of all praise. But, the man who is able to clear himself, and prove he is guilty of no crime, will deliver himself. Farewel."

3. "Apollonius to Musonius the philosopher.

"Socrates the Athenian refused being delivered by his friends; he was guilty of no crime cognizable by the court which tried him: yet he died. Farewel."

4. "Musonius to Apollonius the philosopher.

"Socrates died because he did not defend himself: but I will defend myself. Farewel."

CHAP. XLVII.

WHEN Nero was setting out for Greece, he published an edict, forbidding the philosophers to remain in Rome.*

* This Decree, according to Olearius, was made before the month of November, in the year of Christ 66.—For he says, it appears from Josephus, that Nero was in that month in Achaia.

