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## **The life of Apollonius of Tyana**

**Philostratus, Flavius**

**London, 1809**

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Book VI.

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## BOOK VI.—CONTENTS.

*Description of Ethiopia—Apollonius visits the Gymnosophists—Conversation with them—An Account of the Nile, and its Cataracts—His Letter to Titus after the taking of Jerusalem—Return to Greece—Interview with Titus at Argos.*

### CHAP. I.

ETHIOPIA occupies the most western wing of all the land situate immediately under the sun's rays, as India does the most eastern. Near Meroe, it borders on Egypt, from whence stretching as far as Lybia Deserta, it terminates in the sea called by the poets, the Ocean, under which appellation is comprehended all the sea which surrounds the earth. It gives Egypt the Nile, which rising from Catadupa, carries down from Ethiopia all that mud and slime which we may say form the land of Egypt. Neither Ethiopia, nor any other much celebrated part of the continent can be compared in magnitude with India. Nay, if all Egypt was added to Ethiopia, (which I think, is done by the Nile) both of them together would not be equal in magnitude to the vast extent of India. The rivers, however, in each, are alike, if any one will take the trouble of comparing the peculiar phenomena of the Nile and Indus.\* Both have their inundations in that season of the year when the land requires it most. Of all the rivers

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\* That rains fall in Ethiopia as well as in India, Arrian says in his Indian History, he has no reason to doubt, seeing in all other respects, India so much resembles it.

we know, they alone have the crocodile and the hippopotamus; and the account given of their religious ceremonies, is similar in both, for what are performed on the banks of the one river, are performed on those of the other. That the nature of the soil in the two countries is alike, appears from their producing the same kinds of spices; as also the lion and elephant, of which the latter is taken, and put to servile offices. In them we find wild beasts and black men,\* that are to be found no where else. In both, we meet with pygmies and cynocephali,† who possess different modes of barking, and other marvellous things besides. The griffons of India, and the ants of Ethiopia, though not exactly shaped alike, are possessed of the same instinct, according to the account given of them. In both countries, they are the guardians of the gold, and attached to the soil which produces it. Of these things I shall say no more, but return to Apollonius, who is the subject of our history.

## CHAP. II.

WHEN Apollonius arrived on the confines of Ethiopia and Egypt, at a place called Sicaminus,‡ he found gold

\* The natives of India and Ethiopia are not much different in their features and complexion. ARRIAN.

† Though Philostratus is pleased here only to call the cynocephali *barkers*, and to reckon them, as he does, *black men*, and *the pygmies* among the wild beasts of those countries; yet Ctesias, from whom Philostratus has borrowed a great deal of his natural history, styles them *men*, and makes them speak, and to perform most notable feats in merchandising.

*Tyson's Inquiry concerning Pygmies.*

Tyson's design is to shew, that not only the *pygmies*, but the *cynocephali*, and *satyrs*, and *sphinges*, were only *apes* and *monkeys*, and not *men*.

‡ *Sicaminus* is called by Ptolemy, *ἱερα σικαμινος*, and he is the only geographer, I find, who mentions it, and which he does immediately after

in wedges unstamped, and flax, and ivory, with several kinds of aromatic roots, perfumes and spices: all which lay piled up in heaps, in a place where four ways meet, without any guard whatever set over them. This must be accounted for,\* as the custom remains even unto our days. The Ethiopians bring to sale the chief productions of their country; and the merchants of Egypt, who come to purchase, bring in return, to the same place, such of their goods as are considered equivalent in value; and with them, of which they have a superfluity, they buy what they most stand in need of. The people inhabiting the frontiers of the two countries, are not quite black, but of a complexion partaking of each; they are not so black as the Ethiopians, but blacker than the Egyptians. When Apollonius understood how the commerce of these nations was carried on, he said, our good friends the Greeks suppose they could not live, if Obolus did not beget Obolus, and if the goods they brought to market, (and which are most carefully guarded,) did not produce an enormous profit in their sordid dealings. And this species of traffic is carried on under such considerations as the following, namely, one man saying he has a daughter to marry, another, that he has a son just come of age, a third, that he has a large

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after noticing the *nomos* of Thebes, and Elethia. The next stage from Syenè is called Hieria *Sycaminus*, a sycamore tree. Travellers, says Bruce, in journeying through Egypt, must be obliged to take up their quarters under a tree for want of towns.

\* A custom similar to this prevailed among the Seres, who, as Pliny says, avoid the company of all men at the very time they are desirous of entering into commercial dealings with them. On this passage, there is a marginal note in Philemon. Holland's translation of Pliny's Nat. Hist. to the following effect, "Even at this day they set abroad their wares with the prices, upon the shore, and goe their wares: then the forain merchants come, and lay down the money, and have away the merchandise: and so depart without any communication at all."

sum of money to pay, a fourth, that he has a house to build, and the last of all declaring that it would be scandalous in him, a merchant, not to die richer than his father. How happy would it be for the world if riches were not held in such estimation? and if equality of rank flourished more than it does. Iron would remain black, if men lived in harmony and good will; and the whole earth would appear like one great family.

### CHAP. III.

WHILST Apollonius talked according to his custom, as the casual circumstances of the moment administered to his discourse, he entered the district of Memnon.\* His guide happened to be a young Egyptian, of whom Damis gives the following account. His name, he says, was Timasion, a youth of great beauty, who had just passed the age of puberty. He was, besides, of singular chastity; but his step-mother, who had fallen in love with him, and was unsuccessful in her passion, had kindled his father's anger against him. The charges she brought against him were of a different nature from those alledged against Hippolytus by Phædra; in short, she accused him of being a Pathic, as one who delighted more in the company of men than women. This was the cause of the young man's quitting the town of Naucratis,† in which the aforesaid transaction happened, and settling near Memphis, where he bought a miserable skiff, with which he plied as a boatman on the Nile. Whilst in this employment, he saw Apollonius sailing up the river; as soon

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\* Memnonius nomos—called Memnonium, which formed a part of the city of Thebes, in the higher Egypt, on the west side of the Nile.

† Naucratis, a town of Egypt on the left side of the Canopic mouth of the Nile, built by the Milesians. It gave birth to Athenæus.

as he perceived that the vessel was full of sages, a circumstance which he conjectured by their singular garb, and the books they had in their hands, he asked leave to be one of their number, as a lover of wisdom. Whereupon Apollonius said, the youth is of a good character, and deserves what he asks, and then in a low tone of voice, he gave those near him an account of his step-mother's conduct, whilst the young man was doing all he could to get near the boat. As soon as the boats approached, Timasion jumped into Apollonius's one, and after a few words to his own pilot respecting freight, &c. saluted him and his companions. Apollonius requested him to sit opposite to him, and addressed him in the following manner: Young Egyptian (for you are, I suppose of this country,) tell us the good and evil of your life, that you may be pardoned for any thing you have done wrong by reason of your youth, and praised for what you have done well; and may philosophize with me and my friends. When Apollonius discovered that the youth blushed, and changed colour, at one time as if disposed to speak, and at another as if not, he the more urged his request, just as if he had no foreknowledge of his character. The youth, as soon as he recovered a little his presence of mind, cried out, O ye Gods! what shall I say of myself? I am not wicked, and yet I know not whether I can call myself good, as little or no praise can attach to the negative virtue of not having acted ill. Excellently observed, said Apollonius, you speak as if instructed by the Indians, as if you had learnt that sentiment from the lips of the divine Iarchas himself; for it is his own. But how, or from whom have you received such opinions? for you appear as if afraid to offend. When the youth began to speak of his step-mother, and of the resistance he made to her passion, a shout was raised by all present, as if Apollonius had foretold it by assistance of his demon. Upon which, Timasion suddenly turning about, said, What is the mat-

ter, my friends, for I think, what I have said, is as far from exciting wonder, as it is from exciting laughter. Damis immediately interposing, said, the cause of our surprise, I believe, you are not acquainted with: but as to what particularly concerns yourself, you are worthy of our praise from not thinking you have done any thing which deserves it. Then Apollonius said to the youth, Do you sacrifice to Venus? Yes, by Jupiter, replied Timasion, and that daily, for I think her a Goddess deeply interested in affairs both human and divine. As Apollonius was much pleased with what he heard, he says, Let us unanimously decree the youth a crown on account of a continency far exceeding that of Hippolytus the son of Theseus, who slighted Venus from perhaps never being affected by the general passion, and was one in whose breast Love, with his smiles, never dwelt, whose disposition was austere and unbending. But Timasion, who has owned himself to be the votary of the Goddess, opposed the solicitations of a woman who loved him; Timasion fled, from an apprehension of the resentment of the Goddess, had he given way to a criminal amour. The entertaining an aversion for any particular deity, as that of Hippolytus for Venus, is not to be reckoned as a virtue. On the contrary, I think it highly praise-worthy to speak well of all the Gods, and at Athens more than at any other place, where altars are raised to the unknown Gods.\* Such were the philosophical reflections made by Apollonius on the subject of

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\* For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, To the unknown God. Whom, therefore, ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you—Acts of the Apostles.

The Athenians, says Dr. Franklin, the learned translator of Lucian, not content with worshipping an infinite number of local and tutelary deities, created an altar, and dedicated it τῷ ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ—to the unknown God; a kind of tacit acknowledgment that they were dissatisfied with all their deities, and had some imperfect notion of a true God, far superior to them.

Timasion, whom he called Hippolytus on account of the way he behaved to his step-mother. It was observed that the youth paid particular attention to his person, and performed with grace all the gymnastic exercises.

#### CHAP. IV.

UNDER the direction of this youth, Apollonius and his companions approached the spot sacred to Memnon, of whom Damis gives the account that follows. He says, he was the son of Aurora, who died, not at Troy, where by the way, he never came, but in Ethiopia, where he reigned for five generations. The Ethiopians are the longest-lived of all mortals,\* and still lament Memnon, as a youth cut off by a premature death. The place where he was laid, is said to resemble an ancient forum, like what is found in towns long desolate, where we see broken columns, ruined walls, decayed seats, mutilated thresholds, and figures of Hermes worn away, partly by the hand, and partly by time. The statue of Memnon†

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\* Hence some of the people of Ethiopia have obtained the name of Macrobiai.

† Tacitus says, Germanicus saw the celebrated statue of Memnon, which though wrought in stone, when played on by the rays of the sun, returns a vocal sound.—In Desmontier's Letters on Mythology, there is one of the prettiest accounts we have of this statue, which I will give in his own words, "On eleva dans la suite une statue de marbre noir, qui representait Memnon assis, les mains élevées & la bouche entr'ouverte, comme s'il allait parler. A peine le premier rayon de l'Aurore frappit-il le corps de la statue, qu'elle prenait un air riant & paraissait s'animer; mais aussitot que le rayon atteignoit la bouche, il en sortait un son harmonieux et tendre, qui semblait dire *Bon-jour, ma mère: le soir, au moment où l'Aurore allait éclairer l'autre hémisphère, un soupir faible et plaintif semblait dire ma mère adieu.*

So to the sacred sun in Memnon's fane  
Spontaneous concords quired the matin strain.

See note on Memnon's lyre by Dr. Darwin. *Botanic Garden.*

looked towards the rising sun, was made of black marble, but had no beard. The feet were united according to the fashion of sculpture in the time of Dedalus. The hands rested on the base on which it was placed; and though sitting, seemed as if going to rise. The posture, the intelligence of the eyes, and whatever is said of the mouth, as in the act of speaking, are circumstances of wonder only at the time when it is stricken by the sun's rays, for at no other do they appear as producing any effect to those who are ignorant of its particular mechanism. But the moment the sun's beams fall on it (which they always do at his rising,) our travellers could not withhold their astonishment. For as soon as they touched the mouth it uttered a sound,\* the eyes brightened, and seemed to look on the light like those who are pleased with it. Then it was, they understood the meaning of its being represented in the act of rising, which was in imitation of mortals, who, in a standing posture, pay their adorations to the God of light. After sacrificing to the Ethiopian Sol, and the Eoan† Memnon, the particular appellations given by the priests to these deities, the one being called Ethiopian‡ from producing heat, and the other Eoan from his mother Eos, or Aurora. Apollonius and his friends mount-

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\* Philostratus, says Savary, in his Letters on Egypt, misled by his love of the marvellous, sets no bounds to his credulity, nor does Savary, I will add, set any bounds to the liberality of his translation. Here it is—"The colossus of Memnon, though of stone, was gifted with speech: at the rising of the sun, joyous to behold again his mother, he saluted her in a pleasing voice. Towards the setting sun, he expressed his sorrow in a sad and mournful tone. "This marble had the property of shedding tears at pleasure," &c. &c.

† Memnon called *Eoan* from  $\text{Eos}$ —Aurora who was his mother. Homer calls him the son of Aurora, by which, I suppose, he only indicates the east from whence he came.—However, the Memnon of the text is not Homer's Memnon.

‡  $\text{A}\beta\omega$ —uro.—

ed on camels proceeded to the dwellings of the Gymnosophists.

## CHAP. V.

THEY proceeded not far, till they met a person dressed after the manner of Memphis, who seemed more like an idle loungeur than one who had any decided object in view. Damis asked him who he was, and why he sauntered so up and down? To whom Timasion said, you had better inquire of me; for I fear he will not at once tell you his situation, from being ashamed of it: but as I know the man, and feel for his condition, I will tell you what I know of him. He has committed an involuntary murder, and by the laws of Memphis in like cases provided, he must leave his country, and take shelter with the Gymnosophists, by whom, when purified and absolved, he may return home, but not till atonement has been made for his crime by visiting the tomb of the deceased, and offering there a sacrifice of blood of no costly value. Whilst excluded from the company of the Gymnosophists, he wanders through these borders till they take compassion on him as a penitent. And what opinion, said Apollonius, do these sages entertain of the fugitive? That I dont know, said Timasion, for he has been supplicating his pardon from them these seven months, and has not yet obtained it. I fear, returned Apollonius, you talk to me of men who have not too much wisdom to boast of, if they refuse expiating him; men I fear who know not that Philiseus whom he put to death was descended from Thamus the Egyptian, who formerly ravaged the country of the Gymnosophists. Timasion, in astonishment, exclaimed, What's that you say? Just what the young man did, said Apollonius. Thamus meditated formerly a change in the government of Memphis, for which, when reprimanded,

manded by the Gymnosophists, and baffled in his purpose, he vented his fury, by ravaging the whole country, and plundering that which lay nearest Memphis. From this Thamus, in the thirteenth generation, is descended Philiseus now killed, accursed, it is to be supposed, in the eyes of all whose country he laid waste. And can these Gymnosophists be considered as wise in not at once acquitting a man guilty only of but an involuntary crime, and a crime so much to their advantage, whom it was their duty to honour with a crown, even had he perpetrated it by premeditation. Whereupon the young man in amazement said, And who are you, O stranger? One whom you will find with the Gymnosophists, replied Apollonius. But since it is not lawful for me to address a man polluted with blood, desire him, I pray thee, to keep up his spirits, for he shall receive expiation of his crime, if he comes to where I shall lodge. As desired, the young man waited on Apollonius, who, after performing what ceremonies are enjoined for purification by Empedocles and Pythagoras, bid him go home cleansed from all crimes.

#### CHAP. VI.

FROM the place where our travellers passed the night, they set out the morning after at sun-rise, and about mid-day arrived at the college of the Gymnosophists, who inhabited a small *rising ground*\* not far from the banks of the Nile. In wisdom the Indians exceeded them as much as they did the Egyptians. The Gymnosophists wore a dress like the Athenians, who take such delight in basking in the sun. They found but few trees in that district, and the grove, in which the sages assembled for public bu-

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\* In imitation of the Indians, from whom they are descended. B. iii. c. 10.

siness, was not large. They had no general place of meeting for public worship, like the Indians: but we saw many chapels on different parts of the hill, constructed with that care which is peculiar to the Egyptians. What, above all things, forms the chief object of their worship, is the Nile, which they consider as both earth and water. They live in the open air, and consequently have neither cottage nor house. They have built a kind of caravansary, for the use of strangers, in shape like the small porticos which you meet with in Elis, where the *athletæ* wait till they hear the meridian voice of the public cryer.

#### CHAP. VII.

HERE Damis notices a proceeding on the part of Euphrates, which it is impossible not to think puerile, and very much beneath the dignity of philosophy. He, having often heard that Apollonius intended to contrast the wisdom of India with that of Egypt, sent one Thrasybulus, a Naucratic, to the Gymnosophists, for the express purpose of misrepresenting him. Thrasybulus, on his arrival, pretended he came to form a literary acquaintance with them; he told them *the Tyonean* would soon be with them, whose coming would be attended with no little danger, as it was his object to raise the character of the Indian sages (whom he was perpetually praising) at the expense of those of Egypt. He added, he came stored with arguments against their tenets, for that he allowed no influence to the sun, nor to the heavens, or the earth;\* but

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\* When Iarchas, in the third book, says, that the doctrine of the Metempsychosis was delivered by Pythagoras to the Greeks, but by the Indians to the Egyptians, there is no doubt of his chiefly looking to the Ethiopians who passed from India into that part of Egypt which was called Ethiopia afterwards.

gave them whatever motion, force, and place, he liked himself. After the Naucratic made these observations he took his leave of them.

### CHAP. VIII.

THE Gymnosophists,\* though they concluded whatever was said by Thrasybulus as true, did not totally decline all intercourse with Apollonius when he arrived: they affected, however, to be engaged in matters of great moment, and to be entirely taken up with them. They said, they would speak with him when at leisure, and that they were very well acquainted with the cause of his journey. The person they sent to receive him ordered him and his companions to wait their pleasure under the portico. Whereupon Apollonius replied, I beg you may name no covered place to me, as the climate here permits all to go naked. (In this reply he glanced at the Gymnosophists, who were naked from necessity, and not from virtue) Apollonius continued, I am not surprised at their ignorance of what I wish, or of what brought me here; but I must say, such questions were not asked me by the Indians. Meanwhile he rested under a tree, and allowed his companions to make what inquiries seemed good to them.

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\* Apollonius having conversed with the Gymnosophists of India before his arrival here, was never tired with testifying how much he admired them. The Gymnosophists of Ethiopia, who had got a hint of this from Euphrates, affected to mention those of India in a scornful manner; upon which he answered them with a great deal of freedom, as you will perceive in the sequel, wherein he says, that they slandered the Indians only with a design to make the world believe that it was not for some shameful reasons that they were forced to leave India to go and settle in Ethiopia. See book iii. chap. 20.

## CHAP. IX.

AFTER this, Damis, taking Timasion apart, asked him, when alone, in what the Gymnosophists were wise? (as it is probable you must know from having often conversed with them). In many important matters, replied he. If that is so, said Damis, I think the manner in which they treat us is not a proof of their wisdom; for neither to converse with such a man on the subject of philosophy, nor to behave to him with any attention, what can it be called but supercilious pride? I think it nothing else, said Timasion; and yet it is a pride which I did not perceive in my two former visits: besides, their general character is that of being kind and civil to all visitors. I believe it is not more than fifty days since Thrasybulus visited them; and though he is not very eminent in philosophical pursuits, he was received by them with the greatest politeness, from only saying he was one of Euphrates's disciples. What's that you say, young man, says Damis? Have you seen Thrasybulus, the Naucratile, in this college? I have, said he; and, what is more, I carried him back in my boat. Now, by Minerva, cried Damis, enraged, I see how it is all his contrivance. What I can tell you, said Timasion, is, that yesterday, when I asked that man who he was, he thought me unworthy of the secret: but if it is no mystery, tell me, I pray you, who he is; as perhaps I shall be able to throw some light on what you wish to be informed of. The moment Damis said he was the Tyanean, Timasion exclaimed, The secret is now out. When Thrasybulus was sailing with me down the Nile, the answer he made me as to the cause of his visit to the Gymnosophists was not one which deserved much commendation, for he said in it that he had filled their minds with such suspicions of Apollonius, as would make him but little relished

by them when he came. As to myself, I know nothing of any difference between them; but this I know, that it is the part of a mind not only effeminate, but uninformed, to have recourse to false accusations. I shall soon, however, learn, by talking with the Gymnosophists, what they think of it, as I am on good terms with them. Timasion waited on Apollonius in the evening, and said, he had just paid them a visit, without saying any thing more; at the same time he privately whispered Damis that they would be with him next day, full of all the suspicions instilled into them by Thrasybulus. Spending the rest of the day in conversation which was not worth being committed to paper, they took their frugal meal, and went to rest.

#### CHAP. X.

AS soon as it was day, Apollonius, after first paying his adorations to the sun, according to his custom, stood like one wrapt in meditation. Whilst in this serious posture, one of the youngest of the Gymnosophists came running to him and said, We are coming. You are doing what you ought, replied Apollonius, for I have travelled from the sea to see you; and so saying, he followed Nilus. When mutual salutations were passed (the Gymnosophists met him near the portico) he said, Where shall we hold our conference? There, said Thespesion, shewing the place with his hand. Thespesion took the lead as chief and eldest of the Gymnosophists, who, like the Hellanodica,\* followed him with a slow and solemn pace. As soon as all had taken their seats as chance directed (for little or no order was attended to on the occasion) they

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\* Persons appointed to superintend the preparatory exercises of those who offered themselves to contend, and to be instructed in the laws of the Olympic Games by the keepers of the laws themselves.

cast their eyes on Thespesion as chief orator, who thus began: "Delphi and Olympia, you have seen, O Apollonius; Stratocles, of Pharos, told us he met you there. They who visit Delphi, it is said, are received with the sound of flutes, and songs, and hymns; they are besides entertained with the representations of tragedies and comedies; and, after all, are favoured with a combat of naked athletæ. At Olympia the preceding circumstances are not allowed, as being unsuitable to, and unbecoming the place; and the simple representation alone of naked athletæ is given to the spectators according to the institution of Hercules. In proportion, then, as the Olympic Games are more manly than the Pythian, just so is the wisdom of the Ethiopians more orthodox than that of the Indians. The Indians make use of various attractions, like those who call together the spectators of Delphi; but we are naked, like the athletæ at Olympia. Here the earth spreads no carpeting under our feet; it affords us no milk, no wine, as it does to the votaries of Bacchus; nor does the air support us at a distance from its surface. We are humble people; we live on the earth, and partake of whatever things it supplies us with of its own free will, without toil or labour, unaided by any magic influence. Besides, to shew that we are not unable to perform as wonderful things as the Indians, Thespesion said, "Salute the wise Apollonius, O Tree" (which words he addressed to the third elm from the one underneath which they were sitting). No sooner were the words uttered, than the tree\* saluted him, speaking in a voice which was articulate, and resembling that of a woman. This sign was given for the purpose of depreciating the character of the Indians, from

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\* This elm, it seems, spoke; but the oaks in Dodona not only spoke, but prophesied. In truth, it was as easy to give them the powers of prophesying as of speech.

an expectation that Apollonius might be induced to alter his opinion of them, after hearing what could be said against their acts and opinions. Thespesion then continued, It is enough for a wise man, that he is pure in whatever he eats, that he touches nothing which has had life, that he subdues all those irregular desires which make their approaches through the eyes, that he remove far from him envy, the mistress of injustice, which carries both hands and mind to the commission of all wrong. Truth requires no wonderful things to be performed, nor the use of any magic arts. Let us now turn our eyes, said Thespesion, to the Delphic Apollo, who dwells in the centre of Greece, and see him in the act of giving out his oracles. The petitioner who comes to Delphi for his answer, proposes a brief question, and the God, without any previous display of his power, simply tells what he knows, though he could at the same time shake all Parnassus to its centre, change Castalia's waters into wine, and stop the course of the river Cephisus: and though I say he could do all this, he plainly tells the truth without any parade or ostentation. We are not to think that offerings of gold, or of other sumptuous presents are made at his desire; nor suppose that Apollo takes any pleasure in his temple, even supposing it had been built at double its present expense. In former times the God had but an humble dwelling, nothing but a small cottage, in which the bees are said to have stored their wax, and the birds their feathers. Frugality is the mistress of wisdom, and of truth likewise, which if you prize as you ought, you will be reputed truly wise, and forget all the fables you heard amongst the Indians. As to the mere uttering of such words as, *Do*, or *Do not*—and *I know*, or *know not*—and *this*, or *that*, why is it necessary to express them in the voice of thunder, or with a mind in a state of phrenzy? You have seen among the pictures of Prodicus the one in which Hercules is represented as a youth undetermined

what kind of life to chuse, placed as you may remember, between Pleasure and Virtue, and each in her turn striving to drag him to herself. Pleasure is deckt in the richest embroidery and purple, with rosy cheeks, curled locks, painted eyes, and golden slippers, in which she seems to pride herself. Virtue on the other hand appears as if tired with labour, homely in her looks, quite unadorned, bare-footed, in mean attire, in short almost naked, except where decency requires a covering. Now suppose, Apollonius, you were placed between the wisdom of the Indians and that of ours, and were to hear the one saying, You shall sleep on beds of roses, and drink milk, and live on honey; You shall have besides as much nectar as you can desire, and wings to fly wherever you please; You shall have also tripods and golden thrones to sit on, together with all your heart can wish for without any trouble; and all the aforesaid luxuries to wait on you of their own accord. But the wisdom we have learnt, inculcates a quite contrary doctrine, for it says, We must lie on the ground, prostrate ourselves in the dust, go naked, and live as we do at present in the midst of toils and hardships, and must account nothing pleasant or agreeable which does not proceed from labour. It gives no indulgence to vain-boasting and pride, it pays no attention to dreams and visions, that lift men above the earth, and their condition on it. If then you make your choice like Hercules, and judge like a man, you will not despise the virtue called frugality, nor that temperance in living which is consonant to nature. Living in this manner, you will gain a victory greater than what has been obtained by the destruction of Lions, Hydras, Geryons, and Nessusses. On the other hand, if you prefer to what I have said the arts and contrivances of enchanters and magicians, You will flatter the eyes and ears of men, and will not be a whit wiser than others, and in the end become the laughing stock of the Egyptian Gymnosophist.

## C H A P. XI.

WHEN Thespesion ended his discourse, all eyes were fixed on Apollonius, whose disciples knew well what he would say; but Thespesion and his companions waited in silent astonishment to hear what he should say. Apollonius, after commending Thespesion for the eloquence of his speech, and the gravity with which it was delivered, asked if he had any thing more to say, to which he replied, he had not. Then Apollonius asked if any other Egyptian had any thing to say? Thespesion said, In hearing me, you have heard all. Whereupon Apollonius making a pause, and with his eyes as it were fixed on what he heard, thus began. The choice which Prodicus says, was made by Hercules in his youth, has been rightly, and philosophically explained by you, O wise Egyptians, but it concerns me not. I come not here to consult with you about the kind of life I am to chuse, having long before made my election; but I am come in consequence of being older than you all (with the exception of Thespesion alone,) to recommend from my experience a choice of wisdom, if you have not already made one. Yet though I am advanced both in years and wisdom, I will with pleasure submit to your judgments the choice I have made, and will hope to make it appear that I have chosen wisely, and could not, considering every thing, have chosen better. In the doctrine of Pythagoras I observed something sublime; I perceived the ineffable wisdom by which he not only knew what he was himself, but what he had been. In forming my opinion of it, I considered the purity with which he approached the altars, his abstinence from all animal food, his wearing no garments made of what had life, the manner in which he bridled his tongue,\* and the

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\* For the explanation of the proverb of βους ἐπι γλωττιη—the *bos in lingua* consult Erasmus. Proverbium de iis qui corrupti pecuniâ (in qua olim bovis signum) loqui non audent.

rules he prescribed for its right government; in short, when I considered how he had laid down the rest of his philosophical system, founded as it were on oracles and truth itself; I flew at once, most excellent Thespesian, to his doctrines, without chusing a philosophy composed of two,\* as you advise. Before, however, I made my final election, philosophy set before me her various sects, giving each its peculiar ornament; and commanded me to examine them all, and chuse whichever I thought the best. I was struck with the beauty of them all, which appeared not only awful, but divine; yet there were some that seemed superior to the rest, and dazzled me by their exceeding brightness. I however considered them all, all inspired me with confidence, and each in turn preferred her claims, and promised what she could give. One† said, she would procure every pleasure without any pain; another‡ promised me repose only after toil; and a third, pleasure§ mixed with labour. Pleasures were every where presented to my sight, and the reins hanging loose on appetite: my hands were left at liberty to grasp at wealth, and my eyes to behold every object: add to which a latitude was given to love and desire, and all the other train of passions: yet there was one sect that boasted she was able to controul these unruly affections, whose temper was bold and reproving, and never inclined to spare vice. She was of such unspeakable beauty, as to have subdued Pythagoras himself: she appeared not in the crowd with the others, but stood apart without speaking a word. As soon as she understood I was not addicted to any particular sect, and was as yet ignorant of her, she addressed me in these words, “O young man! I am sad, and full of

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\* Indian and Ethiopian.

† That of Epicurus.

‡ That of the Cynics and Stoics.

§ That of Aristotle.

cares: if any man conforms to my rule of life, he must remove from his table all animal food, and forget the use of wine: he must not trouble the cup of wisdom, which is set in all hearts abstaining from wine. He is to wear no garments made of either hair, or wool, his shoes must be of the bark of trees, and his sleep wherever he can get it. If I find him susceptible of love, I have deep pits, into which Nemesis, the minister of wisdom, will plunge him. But I am so severe to my own followers, that I have bridles made for curbing the tongue. Attend now, and I will tell you the rewards, which await him, who has made me their choice. He shall possess, without a rival, temperance and justice; he shall be more a terror to tyrants than their slave, and shall be more acceptable to the Gods by his humble offerings of little value, than they who shed the blood of bulls. When once he is made pure, I will give him a knowledge of hereafter, and so fill his visual ray with light,\* as to make him capable of distinguishing between Gods and heroes, and of appreciating duly all shadowy phantasms, whenever they assume the likenesses of mortals. This is the life I have chosen, O learned Egyptians! and which I have done in obedience to sound sense, and the precepts of Pythagoras; in doing it, I think I have neither deceived myself, nor have been deceived by others. I have acted in every thing, as it became a philosopher, and have acquired all that was promised by philosophy. I have considered as a philosopher the origin of this art, and whence are derived its principles: and it has appeared to me to be the invention of men who excelled in divine knowledge, and searched deeply into the nature of the soul, whose immortal, and immutable essence, is

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\* ——— He purg'd with euphrasie and rue  
The visual nerve, for he had much to see:  
And from the well of life three drops distill'd

MILTON.

the true source from whence it flows. I never thought we were indebted to the Athenians for the knowledge of the soul. The doctrine Plato taught at Athens with such divine eloquence, was there corrupted by the admission of certain opinions contrary to his, and totally erroneous. Hence it became necessary for me to inquire, whether any nation, or people existed, amongst whom not one or two men were of this, or that opinion concerning the nature of the soul; but to find out where its immortality had in all times been the universal opinion. Under the direction of youth, and an ignorance which still adhered to me, I turned my eyes towards you (for fame had spoken much in your favour,) and consulted my preceptor on the occasion, He spoke to me in the following manner, Suppose, says he, you were old enough to be in love, and happened to meet a beautiful youth, with whom you were enamoured; and suppose you inquired who his parents were, and found that he was descended from men who had held high commands in the state, and had formerly superintended the public games, would you, I ask you, knowing this, say he was the son of a trierarch, or tribune: and if you were so weak as to make the assertion, could you imagine you would conciliate by it the object of your affection; or is it not rather to be supposed that you would be considered as uncivil in giving him an ignoble line of ancestors in place of his own noble ones. Why do you who love the wisdom of the Indians, call it rather by the name of its adopted, than its real parents? and why do you give the Egyptians a greater advantage than they had formerly, when, it is said, the Nile run mixed with honey? Such were the reasons that induced me to visit the Indians before I came to you, first, considering them as men of sublimer genius by living in a purer atmosphere, and next, as holding opinions of nature, and the Gods, more consonant to the truth, by reason of being nearer heaven, and the fountain of an ethereal and vivifying substance. As soon

as I came to them, I was affected by the force of their doctrine, as it is said, the Athenians were with the tragedies of Eschylus. He was a tragic poet, who, finding his art rude and unadorned, diminished the number of persons composing the chorus, as too numerous, and abridged the dialogue, as too diffuse, from a dislike he had to the length of the monodies. He thought all murders were to pass behind the scenes, far removed from the sight of the audience. Improvements in the art such as I have mentioned, let them not be considered of little consequence, because we might suppose them discovered by one much inferior in talents to Eschylus. But this father of the stage, taking into consideration the style in which tragedy should speak; and supposing, naturally, that it required a language adapted only to solemn pomp and sublimity, invented a dress suitable to the style and titles of its heroes. In making his performers appear in buskins, he gave them stature, and an heroic step; and he was the first to dress them in a fashion suitable to the characters they represented. For this, Eschylus is called the father of tragedy, and invoked, though dead, at the celebration of the Dionysia; his tragedies are appointed to be acted by a public decree, and he still carries off the victory. The pleasure however arising from having not only corrected, but embellished tragedy, is but short-lived, for it lasts only the short space of a day, like the feasts of Bacchus; but the pleasure which springs from a philosophy harmonized, as Pythagoras prescribed, and enriched with that divine temperature which his Indian friends gave it, is not of short duration, for it extends ad infinitum, and is unbounded by number. Attachment therefore to a philosophy so endowed and appointed, appears not to me unreasonable, such as the Indians represent it, beautifully arrayed, and seated in a high celestial machine. It is now time to make you see my reasons for loving the Indians, and why I think them both wise and happy. "I have seen men living upon

X the earth and not upon it: defended without walls, having nothing, and yet possessing all things." If I utter enigmas, the wisdom of Pythagoras allows it; for he taught us their use, when he discovered that learning was the mistress of silence. You yourselves were the instructors of Pythagoras in his philosophy,\* which you recommended, at the time you sanctioned, and approved it as Indians. But now ashamed of what caused the earth's displeasure, which forced you to migrate to this country,† you had rather pass for any other people than Ethiopians come from India; and you have done all in your power to effect it. In consequence of this you have laid aside all the ornaments peculiar to Indians, as if with them you might lay aside the name of Ethiopians. You have worshipped the Gods more after the ritual of Egyptians than your own; and you have used a most unbecoming language in talking of the Indians, just as if the blame cast on them, did not recoil on yourselves as their descendants. And this custom, which began at the time of your changing their dress,‡ is not yet altered; even to this day you are giving specimens of a reproachful sarcastic style of conversation, in saying that the Indians have made no useful discovery, but only raised up apparitions, and spectres, and certain delusions, by which they fascinate the eyes and ears. It is only a proof of your folly when you judge of my wisdom, of which you are quite ignorant. As to myself, I will say nothing, I only wish I was such as the Indians think, who

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\* Apuleius says, Pythagoras went from Chaldea to the Braehmans: these are wise persons, a nation of India, for which reason he visited their Gymnosophists.

† B. iii. c. 20.

‡ Here Apollonius censures the Gymnosophists of Ethiopia for quitting entirely the habit of the Indian Gymnosophists, by which they hoped to persuade the world that they were not from India, but originally from Ethiopia. All this, says Bayle, is another proof that neither the Indian, nor Ethiopian Gymnosophists went naked.

are a people I will never suffer to be treated with contumely. If you possess the candour and wisdom of the Himeræan man,\* (who composed a palinodia on Helen, in spirit and language directly contrary to what he had before written) and think there is any truth in what I say, you will without delay revise your judgments, and change your opinion. If the muses do not assist you in singing a palinodia, it was at least your duty to have spared men, whom the Gods think deserving of their favour, and who are not despised by them, though their offerings all consist in bloodless sacrifices. In your discourse, Thespesion, you alluded to the Pythian oracle, and to the plain and unadorned way in which it delivered its answers, and the example you produced in your favor, was taken from the temple built of wax and feathers. But in my opinion this was no proof of want of design, for the verse by which Apollo ordered his Delphic temple to be built, run thus, "Birds, bring your feathers, and you, bees, your wax," words which indicated, as well a form of building, as the building itself. However, the God himself, finding, as I think, such a building too small and unbecoming his wisdom, wished to have another kind of edifice, one of a magnitude equal to what it is at this day, and of a hundred feet in dimensions. In one of the chapels constructed for him, he is said to have suspended birds of gold, whose voices possessed the sweet notes of Sirens. To adorn

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\* Stesichorus, a lyric poet of Himera in Sicily.—It is said he lost his sight for writing invectives against Helen, and that he recovered the same only on condition of recanting what he had written. He was the first inventor of that fable of the horse and the stag, which Horace and some other poets have imitated, and which, it is said, he wrote to prevent his countrymen from making an alliance with Phalaris. He lived about 556 years before Christ, and died at Catana, in the 85th year of his age.—His name at first was Tisias, but was changed to Stesichorus, in memory of his being the first who taught the chorus to dance to the lyre.

this Pythian abode, he has amassed in it the most costly presents, and for that purpose has not rejected the sculptor's art, which has conveyed to it colossal figures of men, and Gods, and horses, and bulls, besides other animals; neither Glaucus coming with a bowl,\* nor Polygnostus† with a picture of Troy in flames, has been turned away. But though Apollo did not suppose the gold of Lydia would add any ornament to his temple, yet he permitted its being brought there, out of regard to the Greeks, who might, by seeing the wealth of the barbarians, be disposed more to make it an object of their plunder, than that of their own country by civil dissensions. In adorning his temple, Apollo has displayed a taste truly Grecian, and becoming his own wisdom. The reason, I think, which he assigns for delivering his answers in verse, is to give them more beauty and effect, otherwise he would simply utter them in the following short sentences, as, *Do this*, or *Do not this*, *Go*, or *Go not*, *Make such alliance*, or *Do not make it*. Expressions like these are short, and as you are wont to say, *naked* and unadorned; but Apollo adopts the style of poetry, to make his responses more gracious and agreeable to all who come to consult his oracle. He wishes to be supposed ignorant of nothing, not even of the number of the grains of sand on the sea shore,‡ nor of measuring the ocean. And is this the knowledge which you are pleased to consider in the number of magical delusions, and to ascribe to the love of the marvellous? merely because

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\* An artist of Chios.

† A celebrated painter of Thasos, about 422 years before the Christian æra.

‡ This alludes to the answer given to the Lydians by the oracle at Delphi.—

I count the sand, I measure out the sea :

The silent, and the dumb, are heard by me, &c.

HERODITUS, Cleo. 47.

Apollo pronounced it with splendour, and elevation of mind. Let not what I say offend thee, Thespesian; the old women who tell fortunes by means of a sieve, go to the shepherds and herdsmen to cure their cattle when sick, by their skill in prophesying, as they call it: and for this they wish to be thought wise, and even wiser than the true prophets. When, therefore, I compare your wisdom with that of the Indians, I think you exactly like these old women; and the Indians as men divine, dressed, and adorned like the Pythian prophetess. But you ——— however, I will say no more. Modesty in speech is prized by me, as it is by the Indians, I wish to preserve it as the guide and companion of my lips. Whatever I can acquire by approbation and praise, I do; whatever I cannot I never make the subject of invective. You have read in Homer how the land of Cyclopa\* maintains a fierce and lawless race of men† without cultivation; with which account you are pleased; and if any Edonians,‡ or Lydians, keep the feasts of Bacchus, you have no doubt of the earth supplying them with fountains of wine and milk sufficient for their use. Nevertheless, you refuse to those who are enthusiastically fond of wisdom, the gifts, I say, which the earth yields of itself. Tripods of themselves attended at the feasts of the Gods, yet Mars, incensed and ignorant as he was, never blamed Vulcan for making them, for no charge of such a nature would have been listened to by the Gods as this, “You are wrong, Vulcan, in giving such ornaments to the feasts of the Gods, and in manifesting

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\* Sicily.

† They, trusting to the Gods, plant not, or plough,  
But earth unsow'd, untill'd, brings forth for them  
All fruits; wheat, barley, and the vinous grape, &c.

COWPER, Od. 9, 105.

‡ ——— Non ego sanius  
Bacchabor Edonis.

HOR. l. ii. o. 7.

your wonderful power." No accusation was brought against him for making hand-maidens of gold, nor for corrupting the metals by giving animation to gold. Ornament is the object of all arts, to effect which they are invented. It is even for the sake of ornament that men go without shoes, and carry a cloak and wallet. The going naked seems to present a condition the humblest and meanest, yet is studied for the sake of ornament, from which it only deviates by adopting a different kind of exterior. By the same rule let us judge of the sun, and of the manner in which he is worshipped, together with the ancient rites and ceremonies of the Indians. The terrestrial Gods take delight in caves, and the sacrifices performed in them. The air is the vehicle of the sun, and it is necessary that they who wish to honour him with becoming respect, should be raised above the earth, and elevated to the same height with the God himself. This exaltation is what is wished for by all, but can only be effected by the Indians.

## CHAP. XII.

DAMIS recovered new life when he heard all that Apollonius said. The Egyptians were so much affected by his discourse, that Thespesion, whose complexion was of a dark and swarthy hue, appeared plainly to blush; but all were astonished at the firmness and eloquence with which he had spoken. Damis says, that the youngest of the Ethiopians, whose name was Nilus, leaped with joy, and running up to Apollonius, held out his hand, and requested him to give an account of all that passed in India. To whom Apollonius said, I can refuse nothing to those who are of a docile disposition, and love science; but as for such men as Thespesion and others, who consider every thing Indian insignificant, and of no value, I am unwilling they should learn from me all I know of them and their

knowledge. To this Thespesion said, Suppose, Apollonius, you were a merchant, or captain of some vessel, and were to bring a cargo of goods from India, would you wish to have them disposed of without their being either seen, examined, or tried? On the contrary, replied Apollonius, I should wish to have them examined by as many as pleased: at the same time I must say, that if a person came down to the beach just as the vessel arrived, and before the goods were landed, was to run down the cargo, and abuse me as coming from a country that had nothing good in it, and besides, was to attack this kind of navigation as useless and unproductive, and even try to bring over others to his opinion, can you imagine I would cast anchor in the harbour, or fasten my ship to land; or is it not rather your opinion that I should hoist sail, put to sea, and commit my fortune more willingly to the mercy of the waves, than to that of such uncandid, inhospitable men. However, said Nilus, on this occasion, I here lay hold of the cable, and request you may share your cargo with me: Nay, I will insist on going aboard in quality of a passenger who knows and acknowledges the excellency of what you have brought home.

### CHAP. XIII.

HERE Thespesion, with a design of putting an end to the conversation, said, I am glad, Apollonius, you resented what I said, as I hope you will pardon us for a like warmth of temper we felt at the attack made on our wisdom previous to your having any knowledge of it. This surprised Apollonius a little, who had not been apprized of the machinations of Euphrates and Thrasybulus, but as he was wont, he soon comprehended its meaning; and said, nothing like this could have happened with the Indians, who, from their knowledge of futurity, would never have listened to the

suggestions of Euphrates. As to myself, I have no cause of difference with him; I own, I once endeavoured to withdraw him from his love of riches, and the passion he has for turning everything to gain; but he considered my advice unseasonable, and such as he could not follow. Nay, he took it as carrying a tacit reproach, for which he has never ceased plotting against me. But since you have deemed him a man of reputation, notwithstanding his misrepresentation of my character, take care, I pray you, that he has not treated yourselves in the same manner. For, in my opinion, he who is the object of calumny, incurs no inconsiderable share of danger, because he is hated, though innocent; and they who listen to calumniators, hazard also something, inasmuch as they make it appear that they love lies, and estimate them as they do truth; and shew themselves credulous, and inconstant, a fault which in youth is unbecoming. Besides, they must appear to us subject to envy, which alone moves them to listen to every false accusation. And to this may be added, that such people are more exposed to calumnies themselves, who give credit to everything they hear to the disadvantage of others: for know, the minds of men are ever more prone to commit, whatever does not exceed the bounds of being believed. But God forbid such men should obtain sovereign power, and have dominion over the people, for a republic would become a tyranny in their hands; nor should they be placed at the head of the law, for no cause would have a fair hearing with them; nor at the head of naval affairs, for they would create a mutiny in the fleet; nor at the head of the army, for the enemy would have the advantage of them; nor should such men even philosophize, for no right opinion of things will be ever formed by them. But Euphrates has done you wrong in bereaving you of your wisdom, for how can they whom he has deluded with his lies, lay a claim to that, from the maxims of which, they have departed at the sug-

gestions of one who made them believe the most incredible things? Then Thespesion, with the design of appeasing Apollonius, and making light of what had passed, says, come Apollonius, we have talked enough of Euphrates, and things of such little moment, let us now endeavour to make you and him friends, for it is the part of wisdom to arbitrate between the wise. But, returned Apollonius, who will restore you to my favor; for surely the man whose character is attacked by lies, has some reason to be angry. I grant it, said Thespesion: meanwhile, we shall philosophize together, and that will the sooner make us friends.

#### CHAP. XIV.

NILUS, who was very desirous to hear Apollonius, said, I think, Apollonius, you should give us an account of your journey to the Indies, and of what conversations you had with them, as I suppose all turned upon the most important subjects. And I wish very much, said Thespesion, to hear what you have to say of the wisdom of Phraotes, for, according to report, you have brought home the very image and impression of what you heard from him. On this, Apollonius beginning with what had passed at Babylon, related everything in order, to the end; with which they were greatly delighted. Meanwhile, mid-day approached, that being the time employed by the Gymnosophists in their holy rites.

#### CHAP. XV.

WHILST Apollonius and his companions were taking a frugal meal, Nilus waited on them with bread and herbs, and a desert, of which he carried part himself, and the remainder was carried by others. As the young man ap-

proached, he addressed Apollonius with great respect, and said, The Sages send these presents of hospitality to you, and me—I say to me, as I mean, with your permission, to eat with you, and shall not come, as they say, without an invitation, as I now invite myself. Then, says Apollonius, I accept this tender of your person and character with great pleasure, as I am told your attachment to the wisdom of the Indians and Pythagoras is great. Sit down, says Apollonius, near me, and eat. I will, replies Nilus, but I fear your repast will not be enough for me. Am I to understand by this, returned Apollonius, that you have an enormous appetite? You are, said Nilus, because if you provided a rich and sumptuous banquet for me, I should shortly require more. What other name can you give me, than that of an insatiable glutton. For God's sake, said Apollonius, eat as much as you please, you will give me matter of conversation, and I will be answerable for the rest.

#### CHAP. XVI.

AFTER their meal was over, Nilus said, Till this day I have served under the banners of these Gymnosophists; I was enrolled among their light troops, and I am now going to put on heavy armour, and adorn myself with your shield. I am afraid, Egyptian, said Apollonius, that such a step would be considered as ill-judged by Thespion, and the rest of the Gymnosophists; who would not fail to say you had taken it without having duly prepared and examined yourself. I have the same fears too, said Nilus: but if he who makes a choice, commits a fault, perhaps he who does not, commits another: and if hereafter the Gymnosophists were to make the choice I have done, would not they be more culpable than myself? For surely greater blame will attach to them, who from their

superior wisdom and advanced time of life, declined making that choice I have done; and who, notwithstanding that superiority, neglected doing that which might have been so much to their advantage. You speak well, young man, said Apollonius; but wise as you are, take care not to subject yourself to their censure. I own you have reasons for abandoning the sect of the Gymnosophists, but methinks you press on with too ardent a zeal, and proceed more after the manner of a reformer, than their disciple. Then the Egyptian, contrary to what Apollonius expected, thus answered, in all things wherein obedience was inculcated by my seniors, I complied as a young man, and as long as I thought they possessed more wisdom than other men, I frequented their society; but I will now tell you what gave rise to my present determination. My father formerly traded in the Red Sea, having the command of that ship which the Egyptians used to send out to India. In his voyages thither, he conversed with some Indians who lived on the sea coast, from whom he received the same accounts of their wise men you have. My father told me, they were the wisest of mortals, that the Ethiopians were a colony from India, who trod almost, as it were, in the wise steps of their forefathers, and adhered strictly to domestic discipline. In consequence of this account I resigned, though young, what hereditary patrimony I had, to those who desired it, and *naked*, joined *the naked*, to learn from them the wisdom of the Indians, or what at least approached the nearest to it. I found them wise, but not so wise as the Indians. When I asked them why they followed not the philosophy of the Indians, they had recourse to invectives such as you have heard this day. Young as you still see me, they enrolled me in their society, apprehending I might have followed my father's example and gone to sea, which I swear to you by the Gods, I would have done, and made my way to the Hill of the Sages, had not some God sent you hither as my

guide and assistant, to give me an intellectual relish of their knowledge, without either putting me to the trouble of traversing the Red Sea, or conversing with the dwellers on the sea coast. It is not therefore at this day I have made choice of my kind of life; it was adopted long ago, but till now I never thought I had obtained its object. Is it wrong for a man to return to the right way, after having wandered from it? Suppose I were to bring these Gymnosophists to adopt my choice, what great act of temerity should I be guilty of? Youth is not to be prohibited from doing it, a period of life more fitted to learn, than one more advanced in years. He who counsels another to embrace a system which he has chosen himself, avoids at least the reproach of giving advice to others which he does not follow himself; and whoever enjoys alone the good things which fortune has bestowed, does them an injury, inasmuch as he takes from them the power they possess of giving pleasure to others.

#### CHAP. XVII.

WHILST Nilus was talking like a young man, Apollonius said, as yet you have never alluded to what reward I am to receive for the communication of my wisdom, of which you are so desirous to partake. That shall not be forgotten, said Nilus, you may ask what you please. I ask, in the first place, said Apollonius, that whatever choice you make, should be made for yourself alone; and next, that you should not trouble the Gymnosophists, by giving them councils which will not serve them. I agree to what you say, said Nilus, and to the stipulated reward. These are the conversations they held together. Afterwards Nilus asked Apollonius how long he meant to stay with the Gymnosophists, and he answered, as long as I shall judge their wisdom deserving of it, when once an opportunity is given

for conversing with them. He then said, he would go to Catadupa,\* to see the sources of the Nile, thinking it would be not only delightful to examine them, but to hear the noise they make. After discoursing in this manner, and calling to mind all that happened in India, they lay down on the grass and went to sleep.

#### C H A P. XVIII.

THE next morning, as soon as it was day-light, and their accustomed acts of devotion performed, they followed Nilus, who conducted them to Thespesion, where, after mutual salutations, they sat down in a grove, and entered into conversation. Apollonius thus began it, The discourse of yesterday, says he, proves clearly of what consequence it is not to hide our knowledge. The Indians gave me all the information I required, on the subject of their philosophy; and even now I do not forget my instructors, whose wisdom I am disseminating through the world. I shall be likewise of some use to you, if you make me acquainted with all you know. If you do, I shall never cease noising it abroad; I shall communicate it to the Indians by letter. When the Gymnosophists heard this, they said, propose what questions you please, for all knowledge proceeds from interrogation.

#### C H A P. XIX.

THEN, says Apollonius, I will first ask why you have given to the people of this country representations of the Gods so absurd, and ridiculous, with only the exception

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\* See note, chap. 23.

of a few? But why do I say few? Because there are but very few indeed conceived in wisdom, and formed in any degree suitable to the divine nature. Of the worship which you pay to the remainder, were we to form an opinion, we might suppose that not Gods, but irrational, and unseemly animals were the objects of it. At hearing this, Thespesion with some indignation said, of what kind then are the statues of the Gods with you? They are, replied Apollonius, as beautiful, and as proper to represent the Gods, as can be devised. I suppose, said Thespesion, you allude to the statues of the Olympian Jove, and Minerva, and the Gnidian Venus, and Argive Juno, and whatever others excel in beauty and grace? They are not the only ones to which I allude, but I say in general, that the art which shews itself in the rest, has preserved a most becoming propriety in their formation; as to what I have seen among you, I think you hold your Gods rather in a ludicrous, than a serious point of view. What, said Thespesion, are we to suppose the Phidiases and Praxitelises went up to heaven, from whence they drew their art and their likenesses of the Gods? or was it any thing else which gave them a knowledge of the art? Yes, said Apollonius, it was something else, and what was pregnant with wisdom. And what was that, replied Thespesion, for I think nothing can be alledged but imitation? Imagination, said Apollonius, a much wiser mistress, than Imitation; for the one only copies what it sees, the other represents to the life what it has not seen. Imitation often fails in its designs through fear; Imagination never, which advances fearless and bold to the execution of whatever she undertakes. He who wishes to form in his mind the image of Jupiter, should see him with the same enraptured fancy Phidias did, sitting in the heavens, encompassed with the hours and stars. And he who would represent Pallas, should have in his mind precise and accurate ideas of war, and armies, and councils, and pru-

dence; and be able to judge what her appearance was at the time she started in full and complete armour, from the brain of Jupiter. If you place a hawk, or an owl, or a wolf, or a dog, in your temples, to represent Mercury, Minerva, or Apollo, the beasts and birds may derive dignity from such representations, but the Gods will lose theirs. I think, said Thespesion, you slight our mode of worship, before you have given it a fair examination. For surely what we are speaking of is wise, if any thing Egyptian is so; the Egyptians dare not venture to give any forms to the Deities, they only give them in symbols, which have an occult meaning that renders them more venerable. Apollonius smiling at this, said, O, ye Sages, Great indeed is the advantage you have derived from the wisdom of Egyptians and Ethiopians, if you find any thing worthy of your worship in a dog, an ibis, or a goat: or if you think such creatures fit to represent your Gods; and yet this is what I now hear from the wise Thespesion. But let me ask what degree of veneration or terror can be excited by such objects? I think it is more than probable that the perjurer, the blasphemer, and the profane, would despise more than fear such representations of celestial beings. But if what the mind discovers couched under such symbolical figures, is entitled to greater veneration, surely the condition of the Gods in Egypt, would be more highly respected if no statues whatever were erected to them, and if theology was treated in a different manner, with a little more wisdom and mystery. Men might build temples in honour of the Gods, and order the necessary altars to be erected, together with the sacrifices proper to each; it is their business to prescribe the time of their duration, and the peculiar rites, and even words to be used on the occasion, which might be all done without the introduction of any image, but afterwards it is their duty to leave to the worshippers themselves on entering the temple, to give whatever likenesses they please to the

Gods. The mind forms to itself a something which it delineates better than what any art can do; but in the present instance you have taken from the Gods the very power of appearing beautiful either to the eye or the understanding. To this Thespesion said, there was an old Athenian of the name of Sócrates, who was as great a fool as ourselves, who thought a dog, a goose, and even a Platanus, were Gods, and swore by them.\* He was no fool, said Apollonius, but a divine, and truly wise man; he swore by these things, not as being Gods, but lest he should swear by the Gods.

#### CHAP. XX.

AFTER this, Thespesion, like one who wished to change the conversation, questioned Apollonius about the whipping of the Lacedemonians, and asked whether they were now publicly whipped? They are, said Apollonius, and with great severity, though men of an ingenuous and free disposition. And how, said Thespesion, are their slaves treated who offend? They are no longer put to death as the laws of Lycurgus permitted to be done; but still the same stripes await them. And what do the Greeks think of this, said Thespesion? They run, said Apollonius, as it were to the feasts † of Hyacinthus, or the Gymnopœdia, ‡ to see it, viewing all with great composure and satisfac-

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\* Some say it was out of reverence to the Divinity, that he used to swear by a cock, a dog, and a plane tree (under which they used to sit) though it were interpreted Atheism. Stanley's Life of Socrates. Shal-low swears by cock and pye. Shakespear, Hen. IV. 2d part. Plane trees were consecrated to the Genii.

† Hyacinthia—an annual solemnity at Amyclœ in Laconia, in memory of the beautiful youth Hyacinthus, with games in honour of Apollo.

‡ Gymnopœdia—a solemn dance performed by Spartan boys.

tion. But are not the good Greeks, returned Thespion, ashamed to see those who formerly had dominion over them, whipped in public? or rather do they not blush at the recollection of being subject to the rule of men who are publicly scourged with rods? And why has not this abuse been corrected by you, who, I am informed, paid particular attention to the affairs of Lacedemon? Wherever I thought my advice could avail, I gave it, said Apollonius, and it was immediately complied with. The Lacedemonians are the freest people of Greece, and obey only those who give them good councils. But the custom of whipping is still retained in honour of the Scythian Diana,\* and in obedience, as is said, to the commands of the oracles, for, as I think, it is madness to make laws in opposition to those of the Gods. Then it seems to me, said Thespion, that you make the Gods of the Greeks of but little account, if they still think whipping necessary for free men, who are so attached to liberty. It was not the Gods, said Apollonius, that ordered the scourging with rods, but they wished to have their altars sprinkled with human blood on account of its being held in honour by the Scythians. The Lacedemonians have ingeniously explained a sacrifice which they could not evade, and have given a lesson of patience, by means of which they can escape death, and appease the Goddess with their blood. Why then, said Thespion, dont they sacrifice strangers

\* The Tauri, a people of European Sarmatia who inhabited Taurica Chersonesus, sacrificed all strangers to Diana. The statue of this Goddess, which they believed to have fallen down from heaven, was carried away to Sparta by Iphigenia and Orestes. In a dispute which took place among some people who were sacrificing at her altar many lives were lost; in consequence of which an oracle was given, signifying that this altar ought to be sprinkled with human blood. Lycurgus, however, changed the custom of sacrificing a man by lot, to the scourging of young men with whips, as by this means the altar is equally imbued with blood.

to Diana, as was formerly customary with the Scythians. Because, said Apollonius, the Greeks were never eager to imitate the manners of the barbarians. However, said Thespesion, it appears to me that there would be less inhumanity in sacrificing one or two strangers, than in putting the law of banishment in force against all. Let us not blame Lycurgus, said Apollonius, nay, rather let us enter into the spirit of the legislator, and know, that in refusing strangers permission to remain in Sparta, it was not his intention to preclude all intercourse with them, but only to preserve their manners pure and free from foreign mixture. But, replied Thespesion, I should believe the Spartans to be such as they wish to appear, had they known how to live with strangers, and retain the manners of their country in their purity. For Spartans should have appeared, like themselves, not only in the presence of strangers, but in their absence, by the maintenance of the same virtues. Yet though they banished strangers, they corrupted their manners, and copied the actions of the people to whom of all others they were the greatest enemies. To councils savouring too much of others, they owed the establishment of a marine and taxes; and what was at first considered by them as good ground of just war against the Athenians, was adopted afterwards on a change of sentiment; and notwithstanding their superiority to the Athenians in military glory, they were always inferior to them in every thing they borrowed from them. Besides, when they introduced a Goddess from Tauri, and the Scythians, did they not adopt a custom of strangers? and supposing it done in obedience to the oracle, why was it necessary to introduce the custom of whipping, and devise a patience in suffering, only fit for slaves? According to my opinion, it would have been worthier the character of Lacedemonians, and better adapted to strengthen their minds against the fear of death, had they made a sacrifice of such Spartan youths as volun-

tarily offered themselves at the altar. A sacrifice of this kind would have added much to the glory of Spartan courage, and averted Greece from taking up arms against her. Had the Lacedemonians thought it necessary to save their young men for war, the observance of the law among the Scythians relative to the men of sixty years of age, would have been more worthy their observance, than that of Scythians, supposing they sought death from motives of sincerity and not of ostentation. What I have said, is not against the Lacedemonians, it is rather against you, Apollonius. For were we maliciously to search into all institutions whose origin cannot be ascertained, and to blame the Gods as if giving them their approbation, we should run into many absurd opinions by such a train of reasoning. Suppose, for instance, we were to turn our attention to the Eleusinian Mysteries, and ask why such, and such ceremonies were established; or suppose we were to consider the religion of the Samothracians, or the feasts of Bacchus, or the Periphallia, or the figures of Mercury, and inquire concerning each, why this is done, and that not, we should scarcely be able, I think, to withhold our disapprobation of them. Let us turn then to other topics more agreeable to you, to the doctrine of Pythagoras, which we observe and reckon our own; and which holds it honourable to keep silence, if not in all things, at least in some. To this Apollonius answered, if, O Thespesion, it pleased you to pursue this argument, we could shew you many Lacedemonian Institutions wherein that people have distinguished themselves above all the other Greeks. But since you think such a subject is impious and unfit to make a part of our conversation, let us pass to another which I think is of importance, and that is justice.

## C H A P. XXI.

LET us then, said Thespion, make justice the subject of our discourse, as being one suited both to those who are philosophers, and to those who are not. However, to guard against the confusion arising from the intermixing of any Indian opinions in our conversation, and to forbear quitting our argument, till we come to some conclusion, tell us first I pray thee, what are the sentiments of the Indians concerning justice, as it is but natural to suppose you have well examined them: for if their opinions are right and conformable to truth, it is our duty to bow assent to them; but on the contrary, if it appears that we reason more like philosophers than they do, I hope you will submit to us from a sense of reciprocal justice. Very well, said Apollonius, what you say, Thespion, meets my full approbation. Listen, and I will tell you what made the subject of our disputations whilst among the Indians. I told them that my soul formerly inhabited another body, that I was then captain of a large vessel, and that I thought I had acted with great justice on a particular occasion, when a set of pirates promised me a reward, on condition of delivering up to them my vessel, by running her into a certain creek, where they were to be prepared for taking possession of her on account of the booty she had on board. All this I promised to do, to save my ship from being taken, and in the mean time slipped by them, and got beyond the promontory. What, returned Thespion, did the Indians look on this as an act of justice? Far from it, replied Apollonius, they laughed, and said there was no justice in barely not acting unjustly. The Indians were right, said Thespion, in withholding from you the title of just on that account. For prudence does not consist in the not planning foolish enterprises, nor courage in the not quitting your post in

the time of danger, nor temperance in the not abstaining from adultery; nor is a man's not appearing wicked, considered as entitling him to praise. For every thing that is equally remote from meriting either reward or punishment, is equally remote from meriting the name of virtue. How then, Thespesion, said Apollonius, shall we be able to distinguish a truly just man, and for what conduct esteem him deserving of a crown? I think, answered Thespesion, you discoursed on the subject of justice, rather with caution, and in a way too much accommodated to circumstances, when you talked in the presence of a King\* who governed a rich country of great extent, and who consulted you in a matter so nearly connected with justice, as that of ruling his subjects. To this Apollonius said, if it had been Phraotes with whom we conversed on the subject of justice, you might indeed have blamed us, for not treating it with more gravity, but as from what I said yesterday, you must have known that the man we talked to was a drunkard, and an enemy to all philosophy, where would have been the necessity of troubling him, and vexing ourselves for the sake of one, who thought all happiness lay in spending his time after the manner of the ancient Sybarites? But seeing an inquiry concerning justice, is more fitting us as philosophers, than kings and generals, let us come to the point, and examine who is the truly just man. You will not give the title of *just* to those who barely refrain from injustice, nor to me who thought myself entitled to it, when I commanded my vessel, nor do you think us persons deserving of any honor. Certainly not, replied Thespesion, for there never was heard of a decree made by either Athenians or Lacedemonians, which conferred a crown on a man for not frequenting houses of ill fame; nor was it

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\* Whose name has not been given by Philostratus.

ever known that the rights of citizenship were granted to any one for not having been guilty of the sin of sacrilege. Who then, I say, will be numbered with the just, or what is a man to do to entitle him to that character? for I never remember a man to be crowned for his justice, nor a decree made in favor of a just man, running in words like these, "it is judged expedient to crown Caius, for having shewn himself just in such an action." And when I call to mind what befel Palamedes at Troy, and Socrates at Athens, I find that justice is not even sure of success in this world, and that persons the most just have suffered the most unjustly. Yet all perished under the pretext of having committed much injustice and wrong. But Justice herself destroyed Aristides the son of Lysimachus; notwithstanding the superiority of his character, he was exiled because he was just. Justice then it must be acknowledged is held in but a ridiculous point of view, for though she was appointed by Jupiter and the Fates, to prevent mens injuring each other, yet she is not able to defend herself. The case of Aristides, is, I think, sufficient to distinguish the just from the unjust man. Tell me, is not this the Aristides, who (according to what you and the rest of the Greeks say) sailed to the isles to settle for them the rate of tribute, and who after having fixed it at a moderate valuation, returned in the same cloak in which he set out. The same, replied Apollonius, who formerly made the love of poverty flourish. Let us then, returned Thespesion, suppose two orators at Athens, who had undertaken to praise Aristides at his return from the allies, and that the one decreed him a crown, "because he had not returned richer by his embassy, and that, though the poorest man in Athens before he set out, had come back even poorer than what he was." And that the other proposed a law to this effect, "since Aristides has not imposed a tribute above what the allies are able to bear, and has taken care they should have no cause of complaint,

and should live in good understanding with the people of Athens, it is, and let it be decreed, that the honors of a crown be granted to him on account of his justice." Do not you think that Aristides would set himself in opposition to the first decree, as being inadequate to his conduct, inasmuch as it offered him a reward for not having done any thing that was evil, and that he might probably approve the second for having truly expressed what was the real end and drift of his conduct, for he, looking only to the real interest of Athens and her allies, fixed the tribute at a moderate rate, which appeared evident after his death. For as soon as the Athenians increased their taxes above the valuation set by Aristides, their naval power, which rendered them so formidable, declined; on the contrary, the power of the Lacedemonians rose at sea, when nothing survived of her rival's greatness. The consequence was, that all who were subject to the dominion of Athens, run into revolt, rebellion, and innovation. From what has been said, Apollonius, it appears, that the just man, in the right acceptation of the word, is not he who is not unjust, but he who acts justly, and does all he can to prevent others acting unjustly. From such justice many virtues will spring, and above all those of a juridical and legislatorial nature. For such a man gives his opinion with more equity, than he who swears on the dissected parts of a victim. The laws made by him will be like those of Solon and Lycurgus of old, for justice will predominate at the making of them. This, says Damis, is what passed on the subject of the just man, to which he added, Apollonius gave his full assent, it being ever his custom to yield to right reason.

## CHAP. XXII.

**AFTER** philosophizing for some time on the immortality of the soul and nature, in a way not unlike what is to be

found in Plato's *Timæus*, and after some long dissertations on the state of the laws at present in force in Greece, Apollonius concluded with saying, that he had undertaken that journey for the sake of not only seeing them, but the sources of the Nile, which not to have seen, might be pardonable in a man who had only visited Egypt, but to him who had penetrated into Ethiopia, the not seeing them and learning something of their nature, would be shameful indeed. Go in a good hour, said Thespesion, and pay whatever vows you please to its sources, for therein resides a divinity. You shall have, I think, Timasion for a guide, formerly of Naucratis, but now of Memphis, one well acquainted with the sources of that river, and so pure as not to require any expiation. As to you, Nilus, we wish to have some private conversation with you, the meaning of which was no secret to Apollonius, who well knew that the Gymnosophists were not satisfied with Nilus for his attachment to him. However, to give them an opportunity of speaking to him, he left them to prepare for his journey, which he intended to begin at sun-rise. Nilus soon after returned, but said nothing of what passed; he only now and then laughed by himself. No one asked him why he did so, from the respect each man had for secrecy. They then supped, and after some conversation on matters of indifference, went to sleep.

#### CHAP. XXIII.

AT day-break they took their leave of the Gymnosophists after the customary salutations, and began their journey towards the mountains, with the Nile to their left, making observations on whatever was most remarkable. The *Catadupæ*\* are mountains of earth, like *Tmolus* in

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\* Philostratus speaks here of the *Catadupæ*, as the mountains through

Lydia. The Nile runs furiously through them, and with the soil, which it washes down from them, forms Egypt. The noise made by the waters rushing from these mountains, and tumbling into the bed of the Nile, is dreadful, and insupportable to the ear: and many who have approached them nearer than they ought, have lost the use of that sense.

#### CHAP. XXIV.

WHILST Apollonius and his companions proceeded on their way, they approached certain hills abounding in trees,\* whose leaves, bark, and gum, were turned to advantage by the Ethiopians. Near the road they saw lions, panthers, and several other kinds of wild beasts, of which not one offered them the least violence, but all retired as if afraid of men. Several other animals besides were seen by them, together with deer, and goats, and ostriches,† and wild asses. *Boves-silvestres*,‡ and *Hircoboves* were in great abundance, of which the former partook of the nature of the ox and the stag; and the latter of the ox and the goat, from which the name is directly derived. They found some bones and carcasses half

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through which pour the cataracts. Others speak of them as the cataracts themselves, and some as the inhabitants of them. As to the Catadupes, says Pocoke, those high cataracts that fall with such noise that they make the inhabitants deaf, I take all these accounts to be fabulous.

\* Olearius supposes he means the tree Myrobalanum.

† Στρεβος—or rather στρεβοκαμηλος—a word derived from στρεβος, which signifies a sparrow, or a bird in general, and καμηλος, a camel, on account of the resemblance which the ostrich bears to that quadruped.

‡ The particular animals alluded to under the appellation of βοαγροι, and βωτραγοι. I have not been able to ascertain.

devoured. For lions,\* it is said, when once gorged with fresh prey, mind but little what is left, from an assurance of always finding new spoils.

#### C H A P. XXV.

THE country they were now in, was inhabited by Ethiopian Nomades, a people dwelling in waggons as in cities. Their nearest neighbours were they who hunt the elephant, whose flesh they cut in pieces and sell, hence their name of Elephantophagi. The Nasamones,† and the Androphagi,‡ the Pygmies,§ and Sciapodes,|| are all found in Ethiopia, dwelling on the coasts of the Ethiopian sea, which is never wont to be visited by mortals, except when driven to it by tempests, and against their wills.

#### C H A P. XXVI.

WHILST our travellers were talking of what wild beasts they had seen, and of nature, which gives to each

\* The lion cannot justly be branded with cruelty, since he acts from necessity, and kills no more than he consumes. While the tiger, the wolf, &c. delight in slaughter, and seem rather to gratify their rage than their hunger. B.

† Nasamones, an uncivilized people of Lybia, who generally lived upon plunder.

HERODOTUS, Melp. c. 172.

‡ The Androphagi of Ethiopia are mentioned by Pliny.

§ Pygmies—Philostratus in his *Icones*, mentions that Hercules once fell asleep in the deserts of Africa, after he had conquered Antæus, and that he was suddenly awakened by an attack, which had been made upon his body by an army of pygmies, who discharged their arrows with great fury upon his arms and legs. The hero was so delighted with their courage, that he wrapped a great number of them in the skin of the Nemean lion, and carried them to Eurystheus. This story might have suggested to the genius of Swift, the idea of his *Lilliputians*.

|| Sciapodes. See b. iii. c. 45.

its proper nourishment, a noise reached their ears like that of thunder, not loud, but hollow, as if shut up within clouds. Whereupon Timasion cried out, we are near the cataract which is the last one to the descending, but the first to the ascending traveller.\* From hence advancing about ten stadia, their report is, that they saw the river falling from a mountain, not less than the Marsyas and Meander at their conflux. Here they offered up their prayers to the Nile, and proceeded without seeing any more wild beasts. As these animals are, by nature, timid and afraid of every noise, they prefer dwelling near still waters, and keep far from such as tumble down precipices, making loud uproar. Going on about fifteen stadia farther, they heard the sound of another cataract, which was both terrible and insupportable to the hearing, twice louder than the first, as it fell from much higher mountains. Damis says his ears, and those of one of his fellow-travellers, were so much affected by it, that he withdrew, and begged Apollonius might not go farther, who notwithstanding this remonstrance, advanced boldly with Timasion and Nilus to the third cataract,† of which, when he came back, he said, that the rocks which there hung over the Nile, were eight stadia high, that the bank over against the mountains, reared itself aloft, and looked like an eminence cut out of stone in a most wonderful manner, that the waters which burst from these mountains broke over this rock with great violence, and fell foaming and

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\* This I suppose is the cataract of Syene, and which is described by Bruce in the first vol. of his Travels—he says, “the current of the Nile, confined for a long course between the rocky mountains of Nubia, tries to expand itself with great violence.” He concludes with saying that, “the noise it makes, fills the mind with confusion rather than with terror.”

† This cataract, Bruce says, was the most magnificent sight he ever beheld.

raging into the Nile.\* He added, that accidents were more frequent here by reason of the greater quantity of water, † than at any of the other cataracts, that the noise occasioned by the rebounding echoes through the mountains, was the cause of its not being contemplated without great pain to the hearing, and that all farther proceeding to the first fountains, was not only difficult to be effected, but to be even imagined. They told many strange things of the demons there, not unlike what Pindar speaks so learnedly of in his hymns, of the demon which he makes preside over those springs, for the regulation of the Nile.

## C H A P. XXVII.

AFTER visiting the cataracts, Apollonius and his companions stopped in a small village in Ethiopia, where, whilst they were at supper, they amused themselves with a variety of conversation both grave and gay. On a sudden was heard a confused uproar, as if from the women of the village exhorting each other to seize and pursue. They called to the men for assistance, who immediately sallied forth, snatching up sticks and stones, with whatever other weapons they chanced to find, shouting all the time as if some violence was offered to their wives. All this hubbub arose from a satyr ‡ having made his appear-

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\* The noise it made was truly terrible—which stunned, and made him for a time, perfectly dizzy.

BRUCE.

† The river fell in one sheet of water, without any interval, above half an English mile in breadth. The noise it made was like the loudest thunder, and made the solid rock (at least as to sense) shake to its very foundation.

BRUCE.

‡ Or rather, I should suppose, the confusion arose from an *Orang-Outang* having made his appearance, whose dispositions perfectly correspond with those attributed to the whole race of satyrs by the ancient poets. Buffon says the *Orang-Outang*, or *Satyrus Silvester*, is

ance, who for ten months past had infested the village. This satyr was very fond of women, and, as was said, had been the death of two, whom he had seemed most attached to. The moment Apollonius perceived his friends were alarmed at this, he said, don't be terrified, it is only a satyr who is saucy to the women. By Jupiter, said Nilus, he is one whom our college of Gymnosophists have been unable to make desist from such improper conduct. For my part, said Apollonius, there is but one remedy to be used in cases of such kind of insolence, and is what Midas had recourse to. He was himself of the race of the satyrs, as appeared plainly by his ears. A satyr once invited himself to his house, on the ground of consanguinity, and whilst he was his guest, libelled his ears in a copy of verses, which he set to music and played on his harp. Midas who was instructed, as I think, by his mother, learnt from her, that if a satyr was made drunk with wine and fell asleep, he recovered his senses and became quite a new creature. A fountain happening to be near his palace, he mixed it with wine, to which he sent the satyr, who drank till he was quite overcome with it. Now to shew you that this is not all mere fable, let us go to the governor of the village, and if the inhabitants have any wine, let us make the satyr drink, and I will be answerable for what happened in the case of the satyr of Midas. All were willing to try the experiment, and immediately four Egyptian amphoras of wine, were poured into the pond in which the cattle of the village were accustomed to drink. Apollonius invited the satyr to drink, and added, along with the invitation, some private menaces in case of refusal. The satyr did not appear, nevertheless the wine sunk as if it was drunk. When the

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an ape, as tall and strong as a man, and equally ardent for women as for its own females, who knows how to bear arms, to attack his enemies with stones, and to defend himself with clubs.

pond was emptied, Apollonius said, let us offer libations to the satyr, who is now fast asleep. After saying this, he carried the men of the village to the cave of the nymphs, which was not more than the distance of a plethron\* from the hamlet, where after shewing them the satyr asleep, he ordered them to give him no ill usage, either by beating or abusing him; for, says he, I will answer for his good behaviour for the time to come. This is the action of Apollonius, which by Jupiter, I consider as what gave greatest lustre to his travels, and which was in truth, their great feat. Any one who has perused the letter, which he wrote to a dissipated young man, wherein he tells him he had tamed a satyr in Ethiopia, must call to mind this story. Consequently no doubt can now remain of the existence of satyrs, and of their amorous inclinations. When I was myself in Lemnos I remember one of my contemporaries, whose mother, they said, was visited by a satyr formed according to all the traditional accounts we have of that race of beings. He wore a deer's skin on his shoulders, which exactly fitted him, the fore-feet of which, encircling his neck, were fastened on his breast. But of this I shall say no more, as I am sensible credit is due to experience, as well as to me.†

#### CH A P. XXVIII.

**AFTER** Apollonius returned from Ethiopia, the difference between him and Euphrates widened by daily disputes. Euphrates, however he resigned to Menippus and

\* A plethron about 100 feet.

† Voila, says Du Pin, le sommaire de la relation du voyage d'Apollone en Ethiopie, comme il est rapporté par Philostrate. Je laissa à juger aux personnes de bon sens, si ce n'est pas plutot un roman qu'une histoire.

Nilus, and said little against him, whilst he shewed particular attention to Nilus.

### CHAP. XXIX.

AFTER Titus had taken Jerusalem, and filled all places with the dead, the nations round about offered him crowns, of which he did not think himself deserving. Saying, that it was not he who performed such mighty deeds, and that he only lent his arm to God in the just exercise of his vengeance. This answer was approved by Apollonius as being a proof of the wisdom of Titus, and of his knowledge in divine and human things, as also of his great moderation in declining to be crowned for having shed blood. He then wrote Titus a letter, which he wished to be carried by Damis, to the following effect,

“ Apollonius to Titus, Emperor of the Romans,  
health.

“ To you who refuseth being crowned, on account of your success in war, and the destruction of your enemies, I give the crown of moderation, seeing you are so well acquainted with the reasons entitling you to that honour. Farewel.”

Titus was well pleased with this letter, and said, In my own name, and that of my father, I hold myself your debtor, and will be mindful of you. I have taken Jerusalem, but you have taken me.

### CHAP. XXX.

AS soon as Titus was declared Emperor, and invested with the imperial dignity, he set out for Rome to become

colleague with his father. But first thinking of what consequence it might be to him, to have even a short conference with Apollonius, he requested him to come to Argos for that purpose. On his arrival there, Titus embraced him, and said, my father has written to me of all he wished you to know. At present I have a letter, wherein he says he considers you as his benefactor, and one to whom we are indebted for what we are. I am only thirty years of age, and have arrived at the same honours my father did at sixty. I am called on to govern, before perhaps I have learnt to obey, and I have my fears of engaging to do what I am not equal to perform. Apollonius then stroking Titus's neck, which was like that of an athleta, said, who could subject to the yoke a bull with so fine a neck? He who reared me from a calf, replied Titus. In this answer Titus alluded to his father, under whose discipline he had been educated from a boy. When Apollonius heard this, I rejoice first at the readiness with which you obey your father, (to whom they who are not his children have pleasure in paying their obedience) and next at seeing you as a client waiting at his threshold. When a kingdom is directed by the vigor of youth, and wisdom of age, what lyre, or flute, can produce such sweet and harmonious music. The virtues of old age and youth will be united; and the consequence will be that the former will acquire vigor; and the latter decorum and order by the union.

CHAP. XXXI.

BUT, O Tyanean, said Titus, what advice have you to give concerning the best mode of governing an empire? None to you, answered Apollonius, who are self-instructed, by the manner in which you shew your obedience to your father, no doubt can be entertained of your becoming

like him. Yet I will tell you a saying of Archytas which is excellent and worthy of being remembered. Archytas\* was a Tarentine, a man well versed in the doctrine of Pythagoras; in a treatise which he composed on the subject of Education, he says "Let a father be an example of virtue to his sons." A saying founded on the following consideration, that parents would be more zealous in the pursuit of virtue if they thought their sons would be like them. Added to this, I will give you my friend Demetrius as a companion to attend you, whenever you wish, and to advise you in what is good to be done. Pray, said Titus, in what does his wisdom consist? In liberty of speech, in speaking truth, in an intrepidity arising from a *cynical* spirit! At hearing the word *cynical* Titus was troubled, to whom Apollonius replied, Homer thought Telemachus† wanted two dogs on account of his youth, and therefore has introduced both as his companions into the council of the Ithacans, though without reason. But your dog shall be Demetrius, who will bark for you against others, and against yourself, if in any thing you offend; and this he will always do with wisdom, and never without reason. Give me then, says Titus, this dog companion,

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\* Archytas, son of Hestæus of Tarentum, was a follower of the Pythagorean philosophy, and an able astronomer and geometrician. He redeemed his master Plato from the hands of the tyrant Dionysius, and for his virtues was seven times chosen by his fellow citizens governor of Tarentum. He perished in a shipwreck about 394 years before the Christian Æra.

"Thee, whose great mind could scan earth's wide domains,

"Trace the vast deep, the countless sands explore,

"Archytas, thee one narrow bed contains,

"One lonely spot on the Matinian shore.

HOR. Ode 28, b. i. BOSCAWEN.

Archytas is said to have made a wooden pigeon that could fly.

† Bright in his hand, a pond'rous jav'lin shin'd

Two dogs, a faithful guard, attend behind. POPE. Od. ii.

who shall have my full permission to bite me, whenever he finds me acting as I ought not. I have a letter, said Apollonius, ready to send to him to Rome, where I understand he is now philosophizing. I am glad of it, said Titus, I wish some one would write to you in my favour, and recommend your accompanying me in my journey. To this Apollonius replied, you may depend on seeing me, whenever it shall be to the advantage of both.

### CHAP. XXXII.

AS soon as Titus found himself alone with Apollonius, he said, O Tyanean, will you permit me to ask you some questions which are of great moment to me? With pleasure, returned Apollonius, ask, and let your confidence in doing so, be in proportion to the magnitude of what you ask. I would ask, said Titus, of things touching my life, and of the persons I should guard against, for I would not wish to shew fear where none exists, being already under some apprehensions. Herein, replied Apollonius, you will be but prudent and circumspect, and of all men I think it is your duty to be on your guard. Then looking up to the heavens, he swore by the sun, he would have addressed him on this subject, even if no question had been proposed: for the Gods commanded him to declare to Titus, that, during his father's life, he should guard against his greatest enemies, and after his death against his most intimate friends. Titus then asked of what kind of death he should die? Of the same, said Apollonius Ulysses\* did, who is said to have received his death from the sea. This prediction was in-

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\* Unknown to pain, in age resign thy breath,  
When late stern Neptune points the shaft with death.

terpreted by Damis, who said Titus should beware of the sting of the fish Trygon,\* with which it is affirmed Ulysses was wounded. From history we learn, that Titus, after reigning two years, died of eating a *Lepus Marinus*,† a fish from which, they say, issues a secret liquor which, of all poisons derived from land or sea, is the most deadly to man. A liquor which Nero was wont to mix up in victuals for his greatest enemies, and which Domitian‡ afterwards gave to his brother Titus, not from thinking there would be any difficulty in having him for a colleague in the empire, but from not wishing to have a colleague possessed of a mild and benevolent temper. This was the substance of what passed in private between Apollonius and Titus. In public they embraced each other, and as Titus was taking his leave of him, Apollonius said to him with a loud voice, vanquish your enemies in arms, and surpass your father in virtues.

### CHAP. XXXIII.

THE letter which Apollonius wrote to Demetrius was to the following effect.

“ Apollonius the philosopher to the dog Demetrius,  
health.

“ I give you to the Emperor Titus, in order that you

\* Celsus says, the fish we call *Pastinaca*, the Greeks call *Trygon*— It has a poisonous sting in its tail, than which, says Pliny, nothing is more detestable, and pernicious. Nicander is the only author, who says Ulysses was killed by this poison; he mentions it in his *Theriacs*.

† *Lepus marinus*, a venomous fish, whose poison was given by Domitian to his brother. See Pliny.

‡ I believe Philostratus is the only writer who ascribes the death of Titus to his brother Domitian.

may instruct him in all royal virtues. Justify what I have said of you, be everything to him, but everything without anger. Farewel."

#### CHAP. XXXIV.

THE people of Tarsus of old bore no kindness to Apollonius, because neither his continual reproaches, nor the language in which he conveyed them, were adapted to their soft and effeminate manners; however, at this time they loved him, as much as if he had been their founder and the great support of their city. It happened once when Titus was sacrificing in public, that the whole city assembled presented a petition to him, which contained matters of the greatest moment. He said he would present it to his father, and perform the duties of an ambassador for them. When he said this, Apollonius came forward, and thus addressed him, suppose I could prove to you that some of the persons present are both enemies to you and your father, that they came to Jerusalem on an embassy for the purpose of exciting revolt, and that they privately gave assistance to those who were in arms against you; if I could prove all this, what do you think they would deserve? Nothing, replied Titus, but instant death. And are you not ashamed, said Apollonius, to shew more promptitude in punishing delinquents, than in rewarding those who never offended; and in assuming to yourself authority sufficient to punish, whilst you defer that of recompensing, till you have seen and conferred with your father. Titus was not displeased with this mode of reasoning, and said, I grant them their petition, as I know my father will not be angry with me for having submitted to truth and you.

## CHAP. XXXV.

HITHERTO have been enumerated the many countries visited by Apollonius for the purpose of giving instruction to them, or receiving it from them. The journeys which he afterwards made, were also numerous, but were neither so long as the foregoing, nor to nations unvisited before. After his return from Ethiopia he passed some time in that part of Egypt which stretches along the sea coast called Lower Egypt. He visited also the Phenicians, Cilicians, Ionians, and Acheans; and again passed some time with the Italians, but never omitting, wherever he went, to shew that he was always the same, and like himself. Though the maxim of *nosce teipsum* is hard to be acquired, yet what I consider as the hardest of all acquisitions is that of a wise man remaining always the same. He will make little or no improvement in the corrupt minds of others, who has not so ordered his own, as to appear not subject to any change. On this subject I have written some discourses (to be found in another place) whose object is to teach those, who will take the trouble of reading them, that he who is really entitled to the name of man, cannot change, or be reduced to slavery. However, not to detain you with a too minute account of all his philosophical discourses, nor on the other hand lightly measure over a history which I compile, not without trouble, for the instruction of those who are unacquainted with the man, I have thought it my duty to relate such of his actions as are most memorable and shining. Such actions should be regarded as like to the visits of physicians.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

THERE was at this time a young man who spent his time in teaching birds to sing and speak, and who literally lived with them for that purpose. He taught them to speak like men, and imitate the notes of a flute. Apollonius meeting him one day, said, pray young man what is your employment? But he talked of nothing except nightingales, and blackbirds, and what was most proper to improve the notes of herons, having all the while a wretched voice himself. Whereupon Apollonius said to him, I think you spoil the voices of birds, in the first place by not letting them use their own, which are far beyond all musical instruments, and in the next place by making them the pupils of your own ignorance, which you do by speaking the Greek tongue so ill to them. Besides, you waste your fortune to no purpose, for when I look to your servants and equipage, I must rank you with the rich and luxurious, who are but sponges to be squeezed by the hands of sycophants, whose tongues are as sharp as so many swords against them. And then what will become of your study of ornithology? For though you should bring all the nightingales in the world to sing in concert, you will not be able to banish those parasites which will stick to you, and never quit you; you will be obliged to lavish your substance on them, and throw your gold to them as you would puddings to dogs. And notwithstanding you do all this, you will not keep them from barking for more and more, till at last you become yourself destitute of food, and be reduced to beggary. You must undergo an illustrious conversion, with an entire change of manners, to save yourself from being unknown to yourself, *deplum'd* of all you have, and of being made a subject more to be lamented by the birds, than celebrated by them in their songs. The means for effecting this con-

version are not difficult. In every city is to be found an order of men of whom as yet you are ignorant, called *magistri*, or masters. By giving them a small part of your property, you will make yourself sure of the remainder, and from them you will learn that kind of eloquence which is termed *forensick*: an art not difficult to be acquired. If I had been acquainted with you in your youth, I should have advised you to frequent the doors of the sophists and philosophers; and to fence round your house with every kind of knowledge. But as the time of making these intellectual acquirements is gone by, learn now, at least, an eloquence that will defend yourself; and remember, that had you acquired a more perfect kind of knowledge, you would have resembled a soldier rendered formidable by his heavy armour; even yet, should you learn the art of rhetoric, you will have the armour worn by the light troops, and with it will be able to drive away sycophants as you would dogs. The young man fully sensible of what was said, gave up his passion for birds, and frequented the schools of the *masters*, by whom the powers of his understanding and language were improved and augmented.

#### CHAP. XXXVII.

THERE were two stories prevalent at Sardis, one was, that the Pactolus\* of old supplied Cræsus with his gold, and the other that the trees were older than the earth. The first Apollonius said was probably true, because it was known that the mountain Tmolus contained gold dust, which, when loosened by the rains, was carried down the

\* Strabo observes that the Pactolus had no golden sands in his age.

stream; but that by long lapse of time it ceased, as is usual in such like cases. The other story of the trees being older than the earth, he laughed at, for no man who had ever studied philosophy, could suppose the stars older than the sky; it being even his opinion that nothing can exist before the subject exists by which it is supported.

#### CHAP. XXXVIII.

WHILST the governor of Syria was stirring up sedition at Antioch and sowing dissension among the citizens, by means of which the city was disturbed and divided into factions, a violent shock of an earthquake was felt, which so terrified the inhabitants that they run into all the holes and corners they could find, as is customary in like prodigies, and poured out prayers for each others safety. On this occasion Apollonius happened to be present, who thus said, A God has manifested himself among you for a restoration of peace. Henceforth I trust you will not for the time to come fall into similar dissensions, from a full sense of what has now happened. He then suggested what might be expected from internal divisions, which was a fate like to what had befallen the other cities of Asia.

#### CHAP. XXXIX.

THE following circumstance is thought worth noticing. A certain man was offering sacrifices to the earth, in hopes of finding a treasure, and whilst thus employed, scrupled not addressing Apollonius on the subject of his petition. Apollonius understanding what he wished, said, I see plainly how much your heart is fixed on riches. Say not so, replied the poor man, but rather say I am unhappy:

I have but a small fortune, and that scarcely enough to support my family. What, said Apollonius, I suppose you have a numerous family to maintain, and that it contributes but little towards its support: for as to yourself you do not appear of the number of the unwise. The man shedding some tears at this, said, I have four daughters, and it will be necessary to give each of them a portion: I have myself only twenty thousand drachmas, which when divided amongst them, will be but little to each; and I shall be ruined, as nothing will be left for me. Apollonius hearing this, had compassion on him, and said, The earth and I will take care of you, for I am assured you offer sacrifices to her. After this, without saying more, he walked into the suburbs of the city, like one who seemed as if he intended to buy fruit. Whilst there, he happened to see a piece of ground planted with olive-trees, whose height and beauty pleased him: and in it he discovered a little garden abounding with bees and flowers. He entered this garden like one who wished to examine it better, and after offering up his prayers to Pandora, returned back to the city. He then went in quest of the owner of the ground, whose fortune had been acquired by the most unjustifiable means, (in fact it was acquired by information given against the Phenicians, or Jews, by which their properties were confiscated) and when found, he asked him for what he had bought the farm, and what he had laid out in improving it? The owner told him he purchased it the year before for fifteen thousand drachmas, on which he had not as yet made any improvement. On hearing this, Apollonius persuaded him to sell it for twenty thousand drachmas, by which he would be a gainer of five thousand. The poor man who looked for the treasure, knew not the value of the present made him, he thought he had only got the worth of his money, nay, rather less, inasmuch as the twenty thousand drachmas, whilst they remained in his hands, were entirely in his own power; but the farm he got in place of

them was liable to hail and rain, and such other inclemencies of weather as are fatal to the productions of the earth. But when he found a pitcher of three thousand darics\* in it not far from the Apiary, and had received a considerable produce from his olives, though the year was not productive, he celebrated Apollonius in hymns, whilst suitors flocked from all quarters to woo his daughters, and pay their respects to the father.

#### CHAP. XL.

AMONG the memorabilia of Apollonius, is noticed what follows. There was a young man who fell in love with the statue of Venus,† which stood naked in Gnidus. He made her many presents, and promised many more if she would marry him. All this Apollonius considered as very absurd: yet the Gnidians made no objection to it, on the contrary they encouraged it, from thinking the Goddess would acquire greater celebrity by being beloved. This is what made Apollonius take the resolution of clearing the temple from such a folly. The Gnidians asked if he wished to make any reformation in their prayers and sacrifices? All Apollonius said to this, was, that he would improve their sight, but that the rites and ceremonies of the

\* Daric—a famous piece of gold coined by Darius, not the father of Xerxes, but one more ancient. It was dispersed over the East, and also Greece: so that the Persian Daric called Stater, was the gold coin best known in Athens. According to Dr. Bernard it weighed two grains more than one of our guineas, but as it was remarkably beautiful, of the finest and purest gold, and contained little or no alloy, it may be reckoned worth about 25 shillings of our money.—It bore the image of Darius, and on the reverse, a chariot drawn by mules.

† Miratur, et haurit

Pectore Pygmalion simulati corporis ignes.

OVID.

temple he would leave as he found them. Then turning to the love-sick youth, he asked him if he believed in the existence of the Gods? So much so, said he, as that I have fallen in love with them; and then he began to talk of his marriage as a matter that might be brought about after the due performance of certain sacrifices. When Apollonius heard this, he said, Thou fool, it is the poets who have inspired you with this folly, who in their fables have talked of the loves of Anchises and Venus, and Peleus and Thetis. But of mutual love, my opinion is this, that Gods love Gods, men love men, and beasts love beasts; and that every thing loves its like, by which it produces what is of the same nature with itself. If a being of one species unites with that of a different one, it cannot render either love or marriage permanent. If you had called to mind the story of Ixion, you would never have thought of falling in love with what is unlike yourself. He is whirled through the heavens like a wheel; and you will be undone if you do not instantly quit this temple: and will have no cause to complain of the injustice of the Gods. This remonstrance extinguished the flame with which the youth was on fire, who, instead of making a boast of his love, went away to offer sacrifice for his pardon.

#### C H A P. XLI.

AT this time the towns situate on the left side of the Hellespont were subject to earthquakes. Certain Egyptians and Chaldeans taking advantage of the alarm, went up and down through them, collecting what money they could, under pretence of offering to Neptune and Tellus, a sacrifice which would cost ten talents. Both towns and individuals, whilst under the impression of terror, contributed what they could from their public and private

stock; these cheats having declared no sacrifices could be offered till the money was lodged in the hands of their bankers. Apollonius resolving not to neglect the interest of the Hellespontines, went through their towns, and drove\* out of them those wandering impostors, who were making gain of their misfortunes. Then inquiring into the cause of the anger of Tellus and Neptune, he offered the proper expiatory sacrifices to each, and by this means averted the danger which hung over them at a small expense, and the earth got some rest.

## CHAP. XLII.

ABOUT this time the Emperor Domitian issued a decree, forbidding the further making of eunuchs,† and planting vines,‡ with a clause added to the latter prohibition, which commanded such as were planted to be cut down. Apollonius happening to come into Ionia, said, these orders of the Emperor do not affect me, for of all men living, I stand least in need of wine and the organs of generation: but our most admirable Domitian does not perceive, that though he spares men, he nevertheless castrates the earth. By what Apollonius said, the Ionians assumed courage sufficient to send ambassadors to the Emperor, with orders to do all they could to prevent the execution of a law tending to the great injury of the earth, by commanding them not to plant it with vines.

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\* Philostratus does not tell us by what authority Apollonius did this.

† Castrari mares vetuit.

SUETONIUS.

‡ Edixit ne quis in Italia novellaret, utque in provinciis vineta succiderentur.

IDEM.

## C H A P. XLIII.

WHAT happened whilst Apollonius was at Tarsus, is mentioned to his honour. There was a mad dog that assaulted a young man, and bit him, in consequence of which the youth imitated all the cries of a dog, he barked, he howled, &c. he walked on all fours, making use of his two hands in running. As soon as Apollonius heard of the accident, he went to see the young man, who had been now thirty days ill. As soon as he saw him, he ordered the dog that bit him to be produced, but the people of whom he inquired about the dog, said they had never seen him, as the accident happened outside the walls of the town, at the time the young man was employed in the exercise of throwing the javelin. Apollonius next inquired of his patient what sort of dog he was, who told him he knew nothing of him: then considering the case for some time, he said, The dog, Damis, is white and shaggy, of the shepherd's breed, and is like an Amphilo-chian dog. He is at this moment standing near a certain fountain which he named, wishing both to drink the water and fearing it. Go and bring him to the bank of the river, to where the Palestra is:\* to do this, you have only to say I want him. As was desired, Damis brought the dog, who, when he came, lay down at the feet of Apollonius, moaning like a supplicant at the altar. Apollonius made the dog more docile, by stroaking him with his hand; he placed the youth near him, all the time holding fast the dog. That this grand arcanum might not pass unnoticed by the people, he declared in all their hearing, that the soul of Telephus had passed into the young man, and was

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\* The place where all the exercises of the Pentathlon, &c. were performed.

now subject to like orders of the Fates. After saying this, he ordered the dog to lick the sore, in order to shew that he who was the author of the wound should be the author of its cure.\* After this operation, the youth turned to his father, knew his mother, saluted his companions, and drank of the water of the Cydnus. Apollonius was not forgetful of the dog, whom he made pass over the river, after offering up his prayers to it. Having crossed it, he stopped on the opposite bank, and set up such a barking as mad dogs are seldom wont to do, he then hung down his ears, and wagged his tail like one cured. Water becomes medicinal to dogs the moment they are able to endure it.† I have now related all Apollonius did in favour of temples and cities, for and against nations, for the dead and the sick, with the wise and the foolish; and with the princes, who consulted him on the subject of virtue.

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\* As Telephus was cured by the same spear with which he was wounded.

† On voit bien, says Du Pin, que tout cela est une production de l'imagination de l'auteur, et non pas un rapport sincere d'un fait veritable.