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

**Philostratus, Flavius**

**London, 1809**

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Book VII.

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CHAP. II.

BOOK VII.—CONTENTS.

*An account of certain Philosophers in times of danger—  
 Apollonius superior to them—Cited to Rome—Ar-  
 rival there—Accused before Domitian—Thrown into  
 prison—Audience given him by the Emperor—  
 Greater indulgence allowed him in consequence.*

CHAP. I.

I AM not ignorant that the conduct of philosophers under despotic governments, is the truest touchstone of their character, and I like to consider how much one man exceeds another in courage on such occasions, and which to ascertain is the chief object of the following reflections. During the reign of Domitian, Apollonius was assailed on every side with accusations and informations; the causes whence and wherefore they originated, together with the pretexts under which they were concealed, shall be explained hereafter. But as it is necessary to specify the language he used, and the character he personated, under which he escaped guiltless, and at the same time overcame the tyrant, instead of being overcome; so it is equally necessary to notice what I find most remarkable in what has been done by other philosophers against tyrants, and to compare all with what Apollonius himself did, for it is by such comparison we shall come at the truth and a just appreciation of his character.

## C H A P. II.

ZENO\* of Elea, who is considered as the inventor of logic, was seized in the very act of planning the destruction of the tyranny of Nearchus† the Mysian. When put to the rack, he, far from discovering his accomplices, named all the tyrant's most intimate friends as guilty, who were all put to death: in this way he liberated Mysia, by ingeniously contriving to supplant tyranny by its own weapons. Plato‡ declares he entered into the design of restoring liberty to the Syracusans, by acting as an accomplice with Dion, who was at the head of it. Phyton§ when forced to quit Rhegium, fled to Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily, by whom he was admitted to a greater share of his confidence than an exile ought, by which he became acquainted with the tyrant's secrets, and having learnt that he designed to make himself master of Rhegium, he gave information of it to the citizens by letters, and was discovered. When taken, the tyrant had him fastened alive to one of his machines, which he ordered to be advanced to the walls, presuming that the Rhegians would not attack it with offensive weapons, out of regard to Phyton. The moment he understood it, he cried out, "Spare me not, for I am the signal of your liberty."

\* Zenon of Elea, or Velia, in Italy, the disciple and adopted son of Parmenides, and the supposed inventor of dialectic. He lived 466 years before Christ.

† Nearchus was a Mysian, and tyrant of the Eleates.

‡ See life of Plato in Diogenes Laertius.

§ There is some disagreement between Philostratus and Diodorus, concerning Phyton—the latter says he was general of the people of Rhegium against Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, that he was taken by the enemy, and tortured; and his son thrown into the sea.—A. 387, before Christ.

Heraclides and Python,\* who put to death Cotys the Thracian, were young men of the academic school, both wise, and consequently free.† Who is ignorant of what was done by Calisthenes‡ the Olynthian, who on the same day, both praised and censured the Macedonians, when at the summit of their greatness, and yet every one knows he was put to death the moment he appeared disagreeable to them. Let us not forget Diogenes of Sinope, and Crates of Thebes,§ the one immediately after the battle of Cheronea, waiting on Philip, rebuked him sharply on account of the Athenians, (of whom Heraclides said, he has destroyed by arms a people too vain of their military glory) and the other, when Alexander told him he would rebuild Thebes, said, he did not want a country, which a more powerful man might again destroy. Many other examples might be adduced in point, but as my object does not admit of prolixity, I shall omit them; for otherwise I should be obliged to speak against actions already noticed, not from their want of merit or general approbation, but from their being inferior to what were performed by Apollonius, though superior to what have been done by others.

### CHAP. III.

THE actions of Zeno of Elea, and of those who killed Cotys, are not to be compared with what Apollonius

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\* Two brothers who put to death Cotys, in revenge for the death of their father, for which they were invested with the rights of citizenship by the Athenians.

† Agreeable to the dogma of the Stoics, which says, "Solus sapiens liber."

‡ See the life of Alexander.

§ Crates was a disciple of Diogenes, before Christ 324.

did. It is easy to enslave Thracians, Mysians, and Getæ, but it is imprudent to make them free, because they do not love liberty, nor consider, as I think, servitude a disgrace. Plato shewed no great wisdom in determining to meliorate the public affairs of Sicily, in preference to those of Athens: because it appeared that money was his object, and that he who thought to deceive others, was deceived himself; but this I dare not say, from regard to those who do not like to hear it. What Phytton did at Rhegium against Dionysius, was done against him before his power was fully established in Sicily, and if he had not been pierced by the darts of its citizens, must have fallen by the hands of the tyrant. But in all this I find nothing extraordinary, for he only preferred dying, on account of giving liberty to others, to that of living in slavery himself. Calisthenes cannot escape the imputation of depravity, because, by praising and blaming the same persons, he either blamed those whom he thought deserved praise, or praised those whom he thought deserved blame. Hence it follows, that he who insults the good, will never escape being thought envious; and in the same manner, he who praises and flatters the wicked, will be considered as participating in their crimes, because the praise which is lavished on them, only renders them the more wicked. Had Diogenes spoken his mind to Philip before the battle of Cheronea, he might have prevented\* his making war on the Athenians; but having only done it after the action was over, he rebuked and did not correct. Crates merits blame from all men who love the public good, because he did not confirm Alexander in the design he conceived of rebuilding Thebes. But Apollonius, with-

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\* Prevented Philip: prevented Buonaparte: a cynic speaking out of a tub to prevent Philip making war. "Such men fetch their precepts from the cynic tub."

out having any apprehensions either for his own safety or that of his country, and without even the necessity of humbling himself to make insipid harangues, had to deal, not with Mysians or Getæ, or with a man who was only master of an island or some small territory; but with one whom both sea and land obeyed; against him Apollonius took up arms for the good of his subjects, after having displayed the same courage he had done against Nero.

#### CHAP. IV.

WHOEVER pleases, I know, may consider all Apollonius did against Nero, as matter of mere ostentation, inasmuch as he did not march out in battle against him; but at the same time it is well known he considerably weakened his power, by the encouragement he gave to Vindex in his revolt, and the reproaches he poured out against Tigellinus.\* I know also, that his attacking Nero, let what will be said of it, required no great courage, as he was one who only led the life of a player on the lyre or harp. But supposing it was so, what will they say of Domitian,† a man of a most robust constitution, an enemy to all the pleasures arising from vocal or instrumental harmony, which tends to soften man's rugged nature,‡ a monster, whose luxury of delight was derived from the misfortunes of his fellow-creatures, and whatever gave them pain; who said, that the distrust of the people

\* See b. v. c. 10. B. iv. c. 40.

† Domitian was of tall stature, of ruddy countenance, and of person comely and graceful.

SUETONIUS.

‡ Under Domitian, it was our wretched lot to behold the tyrant, and to be seen by him; while he kept a register of our sighs and groans: "cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur."

TACITUS.

towards tyrants, and tyrants towards their people, was the phylactery, or charm, that supported power, and to sum up all, that it was during the night an Emperor should cease from all work, except that of death and slaughter. Hence it came to pass that the senate was mutilated\* of its best members; and philosophy so panick-struck, that † some of its professors fled in disguise to the farthest parts of Gaul, others to the deserts of Libya and Scythia, and some there were who embraced the doctrines most suitable to the fashionable vices of the age. At this time Apollonius was what Tiresias says of himself in the *Œdipus*‡ of Sophocles, "I am Apollo's subject and not thine," he always considered wisdom as his sovereign mistress, and defended liberty under Domitian. The words of Tiresias and Sophocles he applied to himself; he never entertained any fears for his own life, but was deeply affected with what caused the misfortunes of others. This was the true cause of his turning against the tyrant all who were young in the senate, and all in whom he found either wisdom or council. He made journeys into the several provinces, he talked to their governors, said the power of tyrants was not immortal, and was easily subverted by its own fears. He set before their eyes the panathenea of Athens, at which the exploits of Harmodius and Aristogiton were celebrated;§ and the deed proceeding from Phyle, which brought on

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\* *Ἀκρωτηριαζω*—mutilate, to deprive of some essential part.

† When Domitian was Emperor, the philosophers were, by a decree of the senate, driven out of the city: and banished Italy, at which time the philosopher Epictetus went from Rome to Nicopolis on account of that decree.

AULUS GELLIUS.

‡ *Œdipus Tyrannus*.

§ For when Thrasybulus fled to Phyle, which is a very strong castle in Attica, (not a hundred stadia distant from Athens) he had no more with him than thirty of his countrymen. "Hoc initium fuit salutis Atticorum, &c."

C. NEPOS.

the destruction of the thirty tyrants. He called to their remembrance the patriotic exploits of the Romans, who, when the power of the people prevailed, drove tyranny from their doors.

#### CHAP. V.

A CERTAIN tragedian came to Ephesus, to represent there the play of Ino.\* The proconsul of Asia happened to be present during the representation, who, notwithstanding his youth, had considerable rank among the *Viri Consulares*; but whose character wanted firmness in matters which concerned the public. After the actor had recited some iambics, in which Euripides says, that tyrants of long established power, were sometimes over-set by very trifles, Apollonius, it is said, started up, and cried out, This poltron of a governor neither understands me nor Euripides.

#### CHAP. VI.

WHEN Apollonius was informed that Domitian had put to death three vestal virgins,† who had violated their

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\* A tragedy of Euripides—not existing at this day—but the passage alluded to here, is to be found among the valuable fragments preserved by Stobæus, a Greek writer who flourished about the year 405 of the Christian Æra. I shall give the passage in the elegant translation of Grotius.

Video tyrannos longa quos fovit dies,  
 Ut sæpe res exigua momento brevi  
 Deturbet, alios rursus in Cælum levet.  
*Pennata res fortuna*—tam multos ego  
 Vidi supinos spe procul volvi sua.

† The lewdness of the virgins, denominated vestal, which had been overlooked by his father and brother, he punished severely. SÆTONIUS.

vow of virginity, sworn to the Ilian Minerva,\* and neglected the holy fire, as a rich atonement to the Roman Vesta, he said, I wish atonement was made to you, O Sun, for all the unjust murders committed throughout the world. These things he said, and these petitions he offered up, not in private as cowards are wont, but in public and before all people.

### CHAP. VII.

DOMITIAN, after putting to death Sabinus,† one of his relations, married Julia, who was his widow and his own niece, she being one of his brother Titus's daughters: on account of this marriage, the people of Ephesus offered a public sacrifice. Apollonius happening to be present, exclaimed, O night of the Danaids, how singular hast thou been.‡

### CHAP. VIII.

ALL Apollonius had to do at Rome, was done in this manner. Nerva was often thought worthy to reign, and it appeared, that when he mounted the throne after the death of Domitian, he ruled with great moderation. The

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\* The statue of Pallas stood in the temple of Vesta, where she is represented holding in her hand the Palladium, or the Minerva Iliensis.

† He also put to death Flavius Sabinus, one of his cousins, because, upon his being chosen at the consular election into that office, the public crier had, by a blunder, declared him to the people, not consul, but Emperor. SUTONIUS.

‡ In which the fifty daughters of Danaus, put to death their fifty husbands, their cousins, one excepted, Hypermnestra, who saved her husband Lynceus.

same opinion was entertained of Orfitus\* and Rufus.† These men, after being accused of traitorous designs against Domitian, were banished by him to the islands, and Nerva‡ was ordered not to leave Tarentum. With them Apollonius was closely connected all the time Titus reigned with his father, and after his father's death, when he reigned alone. With them Apollonius publicly corresponded on the subject of morality; then he attached to the Emperors interests, on account of their good characters; but he alienated them from Domitian, on account of his tyranny and pride, and encouraged them to stand forth in defence of the common liberty. Whilst Domitian lived, he thought it unsafe to carry on any epistolary correspondence whatever, as it was a fact, that many of the most powerful citizens were betrayed by their slaves, their friends, and their wives: and in short, that there was not a house to be found possessed of a secret. Apollonius, who was fully apprized of this, chose

\* Salvidienus Orfitus, banished by Domitian, *quasi molitor rerum novarum*, as one who designed an insurrection against him.

SUETONIUS.

He was soon after put to death in the place of his exile.

† Rufus is supposed by Olearius to be Lucius Minucius Rufus, who was consul with Domitian, in the year of Christ, 88.

‡ If Nerva was banished, he returned home the same or the following year, for, Dion Cassius says, he was at Rome when Domitian was murdered; nay, that writer takes no notice of the banishment of Nerva, which makes us suspect the truth of what Philostratus writes, who is often guilty of very considerable mistakes. *Universal History*.

Nerva would have been put to death from his horoscope, had not an astrologer, who was his friend, diverted the Emperor from it, by saying that he had not long to live in the course of nature.

These three senators, Orfitus, Rufus, and Nerva, says Crevier, were men of great merit, and thought worthy of the empire, which Nerva afterwards obtained. But if we credit Philostratus, adds the same writer, Domitian's distrust of them was not groundless, for they all held a correspondence with Apollonius, who never ceased to exhort them to deliver the world from a tyrant.

out of his companions such as he thought most to be depended on for their prudence, and of them so chosen, he used to take apart, sometimes one and sometimes another, and would say to them, I will entrust you with a great secret. "You must go to Rome, and find such a one; and you must talk to him; and to persuade him to what you wish, you must be every thing I am." However, as soon as he heard that Orfitus and Rufus were banished for the spirit they shewed against the tyrant, and had only failed from want of due precaution, he took up his station at the grove of Smyrna, on the banks of the Meles,\* and discoursed of fate and necessity.

#### CHAP. IX.

APOLLONIUS, knowing that Nerva was to succeed Domitian, spoke of it as a matter of public notoriety, and shewed that tyrants themselves were unable to resist the decrees of fate. Near the Meles stood a brazen statue of Domitian, upon which when Apollonius got the eyes of the spectators turned, he said, "Thou Fool, how little understandest thou the decrees of fate and necessity." For he whom they appoint to reign, will reign; though he should be put to death by you, he will again come to life to fulfil their laws.† These words were carried to Domitian by Euphrates the informer, but no one could guess to whom the oracle alluded, whether to Nerva,

\* Homer called *Melesigenes*, from being supposed to be born on the banks of the Meles, and his compositions—*Meletee chartæ*.

"Posse Meleteas nec malle[m] vincere chartas." *Tibullus*.

† La doctrine d'Apollone sur le destin, says Du Pin, surpasse en extravagance tout ce qu'on peut imaginer. Whoever reasons as Apollonius does in this place and in others, on the subject of destiny, is a bad philosopher, and but a poor defender of the doctrine of fate and necessity; for if the end is ordained by the Fates, the means conducive to

beginning Domitian

Orfitus, or Rufus. Whereupon the tyrant, to free himself from every apprehension, determined to put them all three to death; and to the end that he might not appear to act without good reason, he cited Apollonius to appear before him to give an account of all his caballing with them. For Domitian was of opinion, that if Apollonius appeared, he would be found guilty, and then, that it might be supposed his accomplices would not suffer till after a fair hearing and conviction: or else, that if he should have the address to make his escape, that the rest must equally suffer, as being declared guilty by the flight of their associate.

#### CHAP. X.

WHILST Domitian was considering this, and writing to the proconsul of Asia to have Apollonius apprehended and brought to Rome, the Tyanean was apprized of it all as usual, by means of his Demon.\* When he told his friends, he was going to undertake a very singular journey, some of them called to mind the story† of the ancient Abaris, and thought he was going to make a like one. However, without communicating his intention to Damis, he set sail with him for Achaia; and landing at Corinth, and paying

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to that end, must be likewise ordained: and it is of all follies the most extravagant to suppose, that a thing will succeed by any other means than by those which are absolutely necessary to produce it.

\* It is not necessary, says Mr. Paley, to admit as a miracle, what can be resolved into a *palse perception*; of this nature was the Demon of Socrates—and surely we may add, of Apollonius also.

† Herodotus says, that the story of Abaris, who was reported to be an Hyperborean, and to have made a circuit of the earth without food, carried on an arrow, merits no attention.

Iamblichus tells us that Apollo invested the Hyperborean Abaris with the power of flying through the air on a magical arrow, with-soever he pleased. Bayle laughs at the idea of Abaris making his entry into Athens riding on a broomstick.

his vows, which he always did about mid-day, to the Sun, he loosed sail in the evening, and made for Sicily and Italy. As the wind was fair and the sea calm, he arrived on the fifth day at Dicæarchia.\* Here it was he met Demetrius the philosopher, who shewed, by living so near Rome, that he had more courage than the rest of his brethren. Apollonius, who know well he had kept out of the way of the tyrant, said to him in the way of jest, "I am glad to surprise you, Demetrius, in the midst of pleasures, in the most charming spot of Italy, (if it is not entitled to more praise) in the country† where Ulysses is said to have forgotten, in the company of Calypso,‡ the smoke of Ithaca and his family and household Gods." Whereupon Demetrius, embracing him, and first deprecating the omen, said, "What an injury will not philosophy receive, if a man like this should suffer?" "What danger," replies Apollonius, "is it to which you allude?" "None I am sure," returned Demetrius, "but what you are prepared for: for if I dont know you, I dont know myself. But let us not talk here, let us retire to a more private place; yet Damis is not to be excluded, whom, by Hercules, I look on as the Iolaus§ of your labours."

## CHAP. XI.

AFTER saying this, he led them to a house which had formerly belonged to Cicero, not far from the town.

\* The ancient name of Puteoli.

† The situation, and even the existence of Calypso's Island, is disputed by some writers. Philostratus places it somewhere on the Italian shore, probably in the Island Circæum, the supposed residence of Circe, now joined to the continent, and known by the name of *Monte Circello*.

‡ See Odyssey, b. v. for what is noticed in the text.

§ A son of Iphiclus, king of Thessaly, who assisted Hercules in conquering the hydra.

They sat down under a Platanus, on whose boughs some Cicadae,\* invited by the season of the year, were singing. Demetrius looking on them, cried out, how happy and truly wise are ye, O Cicadae, who have been taught by the Muses a song which has never subjected you either to accusation or calumny. By them you are exempted from the feelings of hunger, and are given an habitation among those trees, beyond the reach of mortal envy, whereon you joyfully chant their happiness and your own. Apollonius, who well understood the tendency of what he said, pretended to find it destitute of that interest and concern, which he thought the exigency of the times required, and said, I see, Demetrius, you wished to sing the praises of the Cicadae; and as you had not courage to sing them in public, have retired to this place for the purpose, just as if a law had been passed, forbidding the singing of their praises. I spoke so, replied Demetrius, not merely to commend them, but to shew the liberty they have of singing as they please, whilst we have scarcely leave to mutter, and even find that our love of wisdom is to be imputed to us as a crime. Even the accusation which Anytus and Melitus laid against Socrates, charged him only "with corrupting the youth and introducing new Deities." But the accusation against us is to the following effect, "Such a one acts wrong, so far as he cultivates justice and wisdom; and in proportion to the superior knowledge he has in divine and human affairs, in law in equity."

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\* Cicadae—Insects found in various parts both of the new and old continent, where they subsist almost wholly on the leaves of trees, and other vegetable substances. The Athenians wore golden Cicadae in their hair, to denote their national antiquity, that, like these creatures, they were the first-born of the earth. Anacreon has an Ode addressed to the Cicadae, which, in Moore's beautiful translation, begins thus:

"O thou, of all Creation blest,  
"Sweet insect," &c.

The more you excel us in wisdom, the more circumspectly has the accusation been laid against you. It is Domitian's wish to make you an accomplice in the crime for which Nerva and his associates are exiled. But for what crime, said Apollonius, have they been banished? For that which is considered, replied Demetrius, as one of the greatest crimes in the eyes of him who prosecutes. He says they are guilty of having aspired to the empire, and that you are the man who urged them to make the attempt, having, as I think, castrated a boy for the purpose. What, said Apollonius, could it be supposed that I should castrate a boy in order to have the empire possessed by an eunuch? It is not on that account, said Demetrius, we are assailed with calumnies, but they say you sacrificed a boy to learn the secrets of futurity, which are only to be known by the inspection of the entrails of such a victim. In the charges which are brought against you, some of them relate to your dress, others to your particular diet, and there are some of them which even proceed to your being worshipped by the people. This information I got from Telesinus, who is not only my friend, but yours. I should consider it a very fortunate circumstance, says Apollonius, were we now to meet Telesinus, as I suppose you mean the philosopher who was consul in the reign of Nero. The very same, returned Demetrius; but what is the chance we have of meeting him, seeing that tyranny is winged, whenever it is pleased, to attack those in power, who are known to hold communication with men who lie under the accusations you do? Telesinus, yielding to the decree which banished the philosophers from Rome, abandoned the city, thinking it better to go into exile as a philosopher, than to remain in the city as a consul. I would not, says Apollonius, wish him to run any risk on my account, seeing that he has encountered so much for the sake of philosophy.

## CHAP. XII.

BUT I pray you tell me, said Apollonius, what it is you would advise me either to say or do, in order best to compose my fears? Do not jest with me, returned Demetrius, nor affect fears where you have none; for if you thought your present situation was attended with danger, you should even avoid speaking of it. And would you, said Apollonius, try to make your escape were you so circumstanced as I am? I would not, I swear it by Minerva, said Demetrius, if I had any hopes of getting a fair trial. But we have here neither law, nor justice, nor a judge to hear my defence; and who, were he even to hear it, will have me put to death, though I should be innocent. And I know you would be little inclined to give me any indulgence, were I to chuse a cold and ignoble death, instead of one becoming philosophy. Now the death which I conceive worthy of philosophy, is when a man dies in the act of giving liberty to his country, or in avenging his parents, his children, brothers, or relations, or his friends; in denceef of whom, according to the sentiments of the wise, a man will risk more than for relations, or even those whom love has procured and united to him. But to die out of vanity for a cause little approved of, and give the tyrant the slightest pretence to suppose he has acted right, would be a severer punishment, than the being whirled aloft on a wheel in the air, as it is said Ixion is. A chief part of your defence will rest on your appearance, which you suppose will be placed to the account of a good conscience, as it will not be imagined you would have undertaken such a journey, had you been conscious of having acted wrong. But remember Domitian will not thus reason, he will consider your confidence as arising from the secret power you possess in the magic art. It is not more than ten days since you were cited, and here are

you ready for trial before any day is appointed for hearing you; and what think you will be the consequence of this? Why, it will give weight to what is said of your having a fore-knowledge of the event, and will tend to confirm the story of the child. Beware of that coming to pass, which, it's said, you supported in Ionia concerning the Fates and necessity; and take care, lest fate is not preparing some misfortune which must of necessity fall on you, without you bearing in mind, that it is always the part of a wise man to be in a state of caution and vigilance. If you have not forgotten the days of Nero, you will call to remembrance my situation; and that I was not one who wanted courage to die. And yet they were days which admitted of some relaxation, some respite from cruelty; for if the harp of Nero shook off that decorum becoming the imperial character, it tended to mitigate its severity. Hence we had a truce with blood, a cessation from slaughter. Hence I was not put to death, though the sword was suspended over me, for these discourses we had held together in the bath. And why was I spared? it was because he had succeeded in a favourite song, which he thought he had sung to admiration. But to what lyre, or harmony of sweet sounds, shall we now sacrifice? for every place is become foreign to the Muses,\* and full of discord and black bile: Domitian neither deriving comfort from himself, nor any other person. Hear what Pindar says in praise of the lyre, "It can appease the rage of Mars, and recal him from the field of battle."

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\* Suetonius says, Domitian, in the beginning of his reign, laid aside the study of the liberal sciences, though he took care to restore at a vast expence the libraries which had been burnt down, by collecting copies from all parts, and sending scribes to Alexandria, either to copy, or correct from the repository of books at that place. Yet he never applied himself to the reading of history or poetry, or to exercise his pen for his own improvement. He read nothing but the commentaries and acts of Tiberius Cæsar.

Though the Emperor has instituted musical concerts,\* and rewards in public the victors with crowns, yet he has put to death some of the performers who lately disputed the prize in vocal and instrumental music. Besides, you should not forget the situation of those † men who are named your accomplices, for you will prove their ruin, either by shewing too much security, or by saying what you will not be able to make believed. Their safety and your own are both before you. You see many ships in harbour, of which some are bound for Libya, Egypt, and Phenicia, others for Cyprus and Sardinia, and some even to more distant lands. I should think it wise for you to go aboard one of them, and sail to whatever country you like. Tyranny is always more or less formidable to illustrious men, in proportion as the place of their retirement is more or less obscure.

### CHAP. XIII.

DAMIS, being quite overcome with this discourse of Demetrius, said, I trust the friendly advice you give Apollonius may have its effect, and be useful to him. I own my influence with him avails but little, whenever I advise him not to run upon drawn swords, or expose himself to a tyranny the cruellest ever experienced. Without seeing you, I should not have known the object of his present journey. No one is more about him than I am, and yet, when asked where I am going, I appear but in a ridiculous point of view when not able to tell; for here am I traversing the Sicilian seas, and Tyrrhenean bays,

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\* He likewise instituted, in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus, a solemn contest in music, to be performed every five years, &c.

*Suetonius.*

† Nerva, Rufus, and Orfitus.

and literally know not for what purpose. If I exposed myself to danger in a business of which I was informed, I should at least have the satisfaction of being able to answer all questions that were asked; for in that case I might say Apollonius loves death, that I am his rival, and that we sail together. But because I am ignorant of every thing, it is right in me only to speak of what I know, and that I will speak for the sake of the man. If I die, philosophy will not suffer much by it: inasmuch as I am but the attendant of a courageous philosopher, whose sole merit consists in following his master. But if they put Apollonius to death, (as it is ever the spirit of tyranny to exalt some, and pull down others) they will have, in my opinion, to boast of having raised a trophy for the destruction of philosophy in the person of him who of all men was the best able to support her. We have to contend with many Anytusses and Melitusses; and many are the accusations which are brought from all sides against the friends of Apollonius, such as "one man having smiled when he glanced at tyranny; another having justified what was said; one having given rise to the discourse, and another having departed pleased with what was said." As for my part, I think a man should lay down his life for philosophy, as he would for his altars, and his city, and his sepulchres; and many are the illustrious men who have died in defence of such things. But for the sake of destroying philosophy, I would neither wish to die myself, nor any one who loves her and Apollonius.

#### C H A P. XIV.

TO this Apollonius replied, we must pardon Damis's great precaution on the present emergency. He is an Assyrian, and borders on the Medes, where absolute power is respected, and consequently it cannot be supposed

he can entertain very exalted ideas on the subject of civil liberty. But for you, Demetrius, I cannot see in what way you can justify yourself to philosophy; for instead of adding to Damis's fears, you should rather have tried to remove them, even supposing them founded; I think it would have been more becoming you, to have encouraged, as knowing him to be a timid man, who might have fears where none existed. The wise man will die for the objects you have mentioned; but he who is not, will do the same. The law says we must die for liberty, and nature that we must do the same for those connected to us by relationship, or friendship, or love. All men are subject to the laws of nature, and society: the one we obey with our consent, the other we must obey whether we consent or not. It is incumbent then on men to die for the causes I have mentioned; but it is much more incumbent on wise men to die for the studies to which they are addicted. For whatever is made the object of their choice, independent either of written law, or natural instinct, is made so under the inspiration of magnanimity and courage; and consequently any endeavour to destroy such an object would be vain; neither fire nor sword would terrify a wise man, or make him flinch, or have recourse to falsehood or equivocation to save his life; for what he knows, he will as religiously preserve, as if the hidden mysteries of Ceres were confided to him. My knowledge is greater than that of other men, because I know all things.\* What I know, I know in part for the use of the wise and good, in part for myself and the Gods; but I know nothing for tyrants, let them use whatever threats and tortures they please. It is easy to see I am not come

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\* B. 3. c. 18. We know all things, says Iarchas, because we know ourselves. He had better said, we know nothing, for we know not ourselves.

here on a fool's errand. I am under no apprehensions on account of my own life, for the tyrant's power is unable to destroy me, even though I wished it myself. On the other hand, I find that I endanger the lives of those men, of whom the tyrant will make me either the head or the partisan; I will be whatever he will wish to make me. But were I to betray them through my own indolence, or a want of zeal in their favour, what opinion, I pray thee, would be formed of me by all good men? Who is there will not justly put me to death for having wantonly sported with the lives of those, to whom the Gods granted all I asked from them? I shall now endeavour to shew, that it was not possible otherwise to escape the imputation of treachery. The disposition of tyranny is two-fold; the one passes sentence without hearing, the other leaves the passing of it to the courts of law. Tyrants of the first class resemble wild beasts of the most active furious natures; tyrants of the second are like wild beasts of a more tame and indolent temper. Both species of tyranny are most offensive, as appears from the frantic power of Nero, who despised all forms of trial and justice, and from the gloomy and sluggish tyranny of Tiberius. The one put to death the unsuspecting, who had no apprehension of danger; the other the suspecting, who had long been a prey to their fears. Yet those tyrannies are in my opinion the very worst, which make use of the plea of justice and of a sentence pronounced according to law, regardless of any law whatever; for they pass sentences like tyrannies that observe no kind of trial, and use the name of law as a pretext, not only to gratify, but conceal their passions. For by the very circumstances of having the sentence of death passed under the sanction of law, the wretched sufferers are deprived of that general pity, which it is proper to bestow in the place of sepulchral garments on those who suffer unjustly. I perceive the usage of the present tyranny to be of a judicial kind, which gives the shadow of a trial,

and ends in a total neglect of it. For it passes sentence on those whom it previously condemns unheard, exactly as if no form of trial whatever was observed. Consequently he who suffers by the sentence of the judge, evidently suffers by that sentence alone, and as it were by his sole fault, who does not decide according to the laws. But he who has forfeited his recognisance, how is it possible he can avoid being condemned for it! If, now that the fortunes of so many men are put into my hands, I should decline my exertions both for them and myself, to what land, I beseech you, could I fly, where I should be not tainted with guilt? Suppose I took your advice, and followed it as being the best, and that in consequence of it, these men were put to death; what prayers, I ask you, could I offer up for a successful voyage? On what coast could I land, or to what people fly? I must exile myself from the whole Roman Empire, and go in quest of friends to the unknown parts of the earth? On whose friendship could I rely? Is it on that of Phraotes, or the King of Babylon,\* or the divine Iarchas, or the generous Thespesion? Were I to go to the Ethiopians, what, my friend, could I say to Thespesion? For if I concealed such conduct, I should appear not only a lover of lies, but a servant of the same; and if I was to give any account of my conduct, I must speak of it in the following manner: O Thespesion, Euphrates has accused me to you of crimes of which I am not conscious; he has told you I was a boaster, a man fond of the marvellous, and who despised the knowledge of the Ethiopians. I am not this, but I am the betrayer and the executioner of my friends, and one in whom no one places confidence, &c. If a crown of virtue is to be given for such qualities, I am come to carry it away: I am come to receive a crown for having so effectually destroyed some of the first houses in Rome

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\* Bardanes.

as to be no longer habitable. I see, Demetrius, you blush at hearing this. But what would you do, were you to represent to yourself Phraotes and me flying to such a man for his protection! With what face could I look on him? or what reason assign for my flight? Should I say, when I paid my first visit, that I was virtuous and innocent, and not indisposed to die for my friends; but that after conversing with him, I at your suggestion cast away all these most excellent dispositions as things of no value. Would Iarchas, were I to make him such a confession, condescend so much as to ask me one question: would he not drive me from his sacred hill, as Eolus\* did Ulysses from his island, for having abused the gifts which he gave him to secure a successful voyage? and would he not tell me I had violated the sacred privilege of the cup of Tantalus, which required from all who drank of it, a participation of the dangers of their friends. I know, Demetrius, how able you are to abridge and appreciate all dissertations, and that you would thus naturally address me, "go not to the dwellers on the sacred hill, but go to men with whom no intercourse of friendship has subsisted; if you do this, your flight will turn out successful, and you will lie concealed amongst a people who know you not." Let us now consider the weight of this suggestion, and see how it is founded. My opinion of it is this. I conceive a wise man does nothing in private, or alone, or even conceals any thing in his mind, so remote from all witnesses, as not to have himself a witness of what he does. And whether the Pythian inscription be Apollo's, or that of some mortal, who knew himself, and uttered it as a sentence to be observed by all men, matters not; I am of

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\* Hence—be gone—

Thou worst of men! I may not entertain

Or give safe conduct homeward to a wretch

Abhor'd by all in heaven.—

HOMER, *Odyssey*, b. 10.

opinion, a wise man who knows himself and examines his own mind, does none of those things in private or in retirement, which vulgar minds think themselves allowed to do; nor dares commit in public, and without shame, what others do in sight of all without any shame whatever. For they who are the slaves of despotic power, have pleasure in delivering up to it their dearest friends, merely because they fear what is not to be feared, and reverence nothing that ought to be respected. But wisdom makes no allowance for such conduct, which, as well as the Pythian inscription, sanctions the sentiment of Euripides, that it is "Conscience which torments poor mortals whenever they call to mind their evil doings." Conscience that represented to the mind of Orestes\* the images of the Furies, when he run mad and attacked his mother. The mind is free and capable of judging what is to be done; conscience is not, it judges only from the images which the mind presents to it. If the mind makes virtue the object of its choice, conscience accompanies with pleasure the possessor into the temples, and streets, and sacred groves, and busy haunts of men. She forsakes him not in his sleep, but orders a chorus of dreams to join in sweetest harmony of song around him. If the state of the mind inclines to do wrong, conscience suffers not the culprit to look on men with a fixed countenance, or to address them with an unfaltering tongue. She will not let him approach the temples, nor suffer him to offer up his prayers in them. She withholds him from raising up his hands to the images of the Gods, and laughs at him if he does, as she does at those who come to deprecate a merited punishment. Conscience drives him out of company, and frightens him when asleep. Whatever persons of this description see during the day, whatever

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\* Orestes of Euripides.

they fancy they either hear or say, all is represented by conscience as ideal and visionary; and on the other hand, the idle and fantastic terrors of their own brains are shewn as real and dreadful. From what I have said, I think I have made it very clear, under the guidance of truth itself, how much my conscience would condemn me both among known and unknown nations, if I should betray those men. But I never will be false to myself, and I will combat against the tyrant, singing in the language of Homer,

“ Mars is our common Lord, alike to all,

“ And oft the victor triumphs but to fall.” POPE.

## CHAP. XV.

DAMIS writes that he himself was so affected with this discourse, that he quite derived new life from it, and adds, that Demetrius persisted no longer in holding different sentiments from Apollonius, but was loud in his praises, saying, he spoke with a divine instinct, and that he was entitled to high commendation for the dangers to which he exposed himself, as was also his philosophy for the sake of which he did it. He then offered to take him and his companions to his lodgings, which Apollonius begged leave to decline, from the consideration of its growing late, and of his sailing in the night, the time appointed for the weighing anchor of such vessels as were in harbour. However, when times will mend, we shall sup together; at present, occasion might be taken of charging you with high treason, should it be known that you had eaten with the Emperor's enemy. I do not wish you even to accompany me to the port, lest the very circumstance of your holding discourse with me, might involve you in the suspicion of criminal designs against the government. To this reasoning Demetrius assented, and after embracing Apollonius, took his leave, every now and then turning

*Damis  
accompanied  
him*

away his face to wipe off the tears that were falling from it. Apollonius then looking on Damis, says, if you are possessed of as much courage as I am, let us embark together; if you are not, it is time you should think of remaining where you are; you can stay with Demetrius, who is our common friend. To which Damis answered, And what opinion would the world entertain of me, if after what I have heard this day on the subject of friends, and their mutual attachment to each other in the times of danger, I should decline sharing in yours, and should abandon you now in the hour of greatest need? for as yet I have not appeared backward in any thing wherein your interest was concerned. Your words are good, said Apollonius, let us therefore set out, I will appear in the habit I do at present, but for you, I should recommend an ordinary habit instead of what you wear; that you should cut your hair, and put on a linen habit, and go without shoes. But why I say this, I will now explain. I know we must suffer much for the particular course of life we have adopted, but I am decidedly against your sharing in all its dangers, and being cast into prison, which must be the consequence if you are betrayed by your habit. I wish you to follow me, and to be present at all that passes, as one who in other respects loves me, without being sworn to my philosophy. This was the reason why Damis laid aside his Pythagorean garb, which he assures us was done, not from any fears or sorrow for having worn it, but from the approbation which he gave to the idea of Apollonius, to which he wished to conform, by reason of the necessity of the times.

CHAP. XVI.

LEAVING Dicæarchia,\* on the third day they cast anchor in the mouth of the Tiber, from whence to Rome

\* Puteoli.



## CHAP. XVII.

IT was in this manner Ælian tried to soothe the Emperor before Apollonius arrived; but when he did, he used more address to the same purpose. He ordered him immediately to be apprehended and brought before him; Apollonius appeared; his accuser attacked him with great violence, charging him with being an enchanter, and excelling in that art. When Ælian heard this, he said to the accuser, I request you may reserve yourself and charges for the Emperor's tribunal. All Apollonius said, was, If I am an enchanter, how can I be brought to trial? and if I am brought to trial, how can I be considered as an enchanter? This cannot be, without calumny, as it is said, has acquired a power superior to magicians themselves. When Ælian found that the accuser was going to bring forward some more absurd charge, he stopped him, saying, Give me the time which precedes the trial, as in it I intend to prove the sophist apart, and not in open court. Because, if he confesses the crime, the pleadings will be greatly abridged in the case; but if he does not, the Emperor must decide. Ælian then retiring into the most private part of the court, where causes only of the greatest moment are tried *sub silentio*, he said, withdraw all, and let no one stay to listen, for such is the Emperor's pleasure.

## CHAP. XVIII.

WHEN they were alone, Ælian said to Apollonius, I was but very young at the time the Emperor's father went into Egypt to sacrifice to the Gods, and advise with you on the state of his affairs. I accompanied him as military tribune, in consequence of the knowledge I pos-

sessed in the art of war. I remember you received me with so much kindness, that, when the Emperor was administering justice to the several cities, you took me aside, told me who I was, what was my name, and who was my father. You even then told me I should be possessed of my present situation, which the majority of people hold to be superior to every other human dignity. But, for my part, I think it an employment attended with great trouble, and a condition of life most wretched. By it, I am the guardian of a cruel tyranny, and dread the punishment of heaven if I fail in the discharge of any part of my duty. I have already given you a proof of my friendship, and what I told you from the beginning, of my unceasing regard for you, may, I think, be sufficient to call to your remembrance my character. My wishing to speak to you alone on the charges of your accuser, is a mere pretence and contrivance of mine to shew you the confidence that is to be placed in me, and what you have to expect from the Emperor. I know not what sentence he will pass on your case, but I know he is very much in the temper of those judges who wish to condemn, and yet are ashamed to do so without some solid grounds: besides, he is anxious to make use of you as a plea to destroy some men of consular authority. The fact is, he desires to do what ought not to be done, and to do it under the cloak of justice. This the reason why it is necessary for me to dissemble, and to seem to act with a degree of zéal in the business; for if the Emperor once suspected me of proceeding with indifference in the cause, I know not which of us would be the first to perish.

#### CHAPTER XIX.

WHEN Apollonius heard this, he said, As we can now speak together without restraint, and as you have opened

1. Pulooran Preface

your mind to me, I think it but fair for me to open mine to you. You speak of my affairs like a philosopher, like one of my old disciples, and as you seem from affection disposed to share in my dangers, I will tell you my whole heart. I had it in my power to escape by flight, (for still there are many parts of the earth not yet subject to your power, to which I might have retired). I could have found an asylum with wise men, men much wiser than myself, who worship the Gods according to right reason; in a country inhabited by a people much more pious than the people of Rome, with whom exists neither information nor accusation, the reason of which is, that they neither commit injury themselves, nor suffer it to be committed by others, and of course have no need of courts of justice. But fearing to incur the character of traitor, should I decline a defence, and that they who are in danger on my account, should suffer in consequence, I am come to plead my own cause. I request you may furnish me with the articles of my accusation, on which it will be necessary for me to make my defence.

CHAP. XX.

THE articles with which you are charged, said Ælian, are of different kinds, and not few in number. Among them are noticed your dress, your manner of living, and the adoration that is paid you—to which is added, the answer you gave the Ephesians relative to the plague. You are charged besides with many things said against the Emperor, of which, some were spoken in private, others in public; and all are affirmed to have been uttered under the immediate direction of the Gods. But the charge, which of all others is the least credible, and which I know to be so, from your known aversion to the shedding of blood, is one that appears to the Emperor the most likely to be

true; the charge is, that you met Nerva in a field, where you sacrificed an Arcadian boy for him; that you did it to procure for him the death of the reigning Emperor, and that by this sacrifice you have given Nerva hopes of one day obtaining the empire. The above is all said to have taken place by night, during the waning of the moon. This last charge, by reason of being more serious than the rest, is considered as the chief, and only one deserving of attention; for as to what respects your dress, your manner of living, and knowledge of futurity, all that only tends to make the last more probable, and each separately taken tends as a collateral circumstance to strengthen your power of offending, and your courage to make such a sacrifice. This is the accusation, to answer which you must be prepared, and in the apology you make, I advise you so to speak as not to offend the Emperor. As a proof that it is not my wish to shew the least disrespect to the Emperor, I am come here, said Apollonius, to make my defence. And had I the hardyhood to treat with disrespect his power, I should submit my conduct to your judgment, first, on account of your own worth, and next, the regard you have ever shewn for me. To pass for worthless in the eyes of an enemy, is not a matter of heavy affliction, because it is probable he hates us, not so much for what has brought down on us public disgrace, as for what shocks him as an individual. But to be esteemed worthless in the opinion of a friend, is a much more serious consideration than all that can happen from an enemy, because it is probable that the dislike of a friend arises only from what gives the decided character of being wicked.

#### CHAP. XXI.

ÆLIAN liked what he said, and encouraged him not to despair, as the opinion he formed of him was such, that

they could not terrify him, even if they held up the Gorgon's\* head before him. He then called the keepers of the prison, and ordered them to take Apollonius into custody, and there detain him till the Emperor's pleasure was known, who might now learn from his own mouth what he had said: whilst giving these orders, he put on the air and look of a man in great wrath. After this, he went to the palace to discharge the duties of his office. Here Damis relates a circumstance which was somewhat like what happened to Aristrides, who, when banished by Ostracism from Athens, on account of his virtue, had no sooner got out of the city than he was met by a countryman, who asked him to write the name of Aristides on his shell—he confessed he did not know the man, nor even how to read or write, and all he knew was, that it grieved him to hear every one call him *just*. A tribune happening to know Apollonius, asked him in jest the cause of his present trouble, to whom he said he did not know. Well, returned the tribune, I do, and it is the worship paid you by some men, which has given rise to the suspicion of your wishing to pass for a God. And pray who, replied Apollonius, has worshipped me? I myself, said the tribune, when a boy, at Ephesus, at the time you delivered us from the plague. You did well, answered Apollonius, as did the city of Ephesus when delivered from such a calamity. With this consideration, continued the tribune, I have found out the means of saving you, and drawing you out of the above difficulty. Let us go outside the city, and if I cut off your head with a sword, the accusation against you will fall to the ground, and you will stand acquitted. But if you terrify me so as to make the sword drop out of my hand, then you will be esteemed a God, and acknowledg-

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\* Rigidâ cum Gorgone Perseus. CLAUDIAN.

ed as such by a public decree.\* Here was a tribune who far surpassed in barbarity, him who wished to banish Aristides, inasmuch as all he said was done in way of jest and mockery. But Apollonius never once affected to hear him, for he was talking all the time to Damis on the nature of the Delta, around which, it is said, the Nile divides into two branches.

## CH A P. XXII.

AFTER this, Ælian sending for Apollonius, ordered him into the prison where the captives were not bound, and there to remain till the Emperor had leisure to speak to him, as he wished, in private. When dismissed from the tribunal and led back to prison, he said to Damis, Let us have some conversation with the people here, for what else can we do till the Emperor thinks fit to give us an audience. I fear, replied Damis, that the prisoners will think us rather officious, and will not be much obliged to us if we keep them from thinking of their defence; and besides, I think it will appear rather absurd in us to talk to people in grief, and who must have very little inclination to hear us. On the contrary, said Apollonius, I think people in their situation stand more in need of assistance and comfort than others. For were I to call to mind what Homer says of Helen's† mixing certain Egyptian

\* On ne comprend pas bien (says Du Pin) le dessein de cet homme, ou plutot de Philostrate dans cette histoire; mais quel qu'il puisse être, on ne croira jamais, que cela ait pu être dit serieusement, et on ne peut excuser Apollone de l'approbation qu' il donne à ceux qui lui avoient rendu des honneurs divins à Ephese.

† Meantime, with genial joy to warm the soul,  
Bright Helen mix'd a mirth-inspiring bowl,  
Temper'd with drugs of sov'reign use, t'assuage  
The boiling bosom of tumultuous rage;  
To clear the cloudy front of wrinkled care,  
And dry the tearful sluices of despair. HOMER, Od. b. iv.

drugs in a bowl, for curing the diseases of the mind, I might suppose Helen, who was instructed in the learning of Egypt, assuaged sorrow by the enchantments of her cup, and applied both the powers of eloquence and wine to the comfort of the afflicted. What you say, said Damis, is likely enough, especially if it is certain that Helen came into Egypt, and conversed with Proteus; or if, as Homer says, she was acquainted with Polydamna the wife of Thone.\* However, for the present let us change the conversation, as I wish to propose some questions myself. I know them already, said Apollonius, you wish to know all that passed between Ælian and me, and whether his manner of receiving me was kind, or not; and then he proceeded to give him a particular account of their interview, which, when he had finished, Damis adored him, and said, that he now entertained no doubt of Leucothea having formerly given Ulysses a scarf,† by means of which he passed the sea, after the loss of a ship, by only the steerage of his arms. For to us who have fallen into difficulties great and perilous, I think, says he, some God has stretched out a hand to save us from perishing. Here Apollonius, not exactly approving of what Damis said, replied, how long will you continue to entertain such fears, and know not that wisdom deeply affects all who are but sensible of its influence, and is itself affected by no one. But, returned Damis, we have now to deal with a man who is destitute of wisdom, who cannot be affected by us, and who does not suffer himself to be affected by

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\* These drugs, so friendly to the joys of life  
Bright Helen learn'd from Thone's imperial wife.

HOMER, Od. b. iv.

Thon, or Thonis, was King of Egypt.

† This heav'nly scarf beneath thy bosom bind,  
And live; give all thy terrors to the wind.

HOMER, Od. b. iv.

any person. Seest thou not, said Apollonius, that Domitian is inflated with pride, and labours under evident insanity. I do, replied Damis, it is impossible not to see it. Well then, added Apollonius, the more you are acquainted with the tyrant, the more you ought to despise him and all he can do.

### CHAP. XXIII.

WHILST they were talking in this manner, a man from Cilicia, I believe, approached, and said to them, all my danger, Sirs, arises from my riches. That's not improbable, answered Apollonius, if you have acquired them by means not justifiable; for instance, by robbery, or by the vending of poisonous drugs, or by ransacking\* the tombs of ancient kings, stored with gold and precious treasure; if, I say, you have been guilty of such dark transactions, you ought not only to be called to account for the same, but capitally punished. I know that wealth is sometimes procured by ways such as these, but then it is always accounted infamous and accursed. But if what you possess has been acquired by inheritance, or by fair, and not usurious dealings, what man has the effrontery to dare to deprive you of that under the colour of law, which has been made under its venerable sanction. My property, returned the Cilician, has arisen from numerous relations, all which has at last centered in myself; I use it not as if it belonged to other people, but I use it as my own sole right; and yet not absolutely as my own, because I share it in common with all good men. How-

\* Humana effodiens ossa, thesaurum canis

Invenit: et violavit quia manes Deos,

Injecta est illi divitiarum cupiditas

Panas ut sanctæ religioni penderet.

PHÆDRUS.

ever informers abuse me, and pretend to say that the possession of such a property cannot be to the interest of the prince; because, if I attempted any innovation, it might be injurious to him; and in case I joined the disaffected party, it might be of the most serious consequence. Then allegations are produced like so many oracles against me, as, that riches when they exceed mediocrity, generate pride; that when they pass the common measure of great fortune, they raise the head of the possessor above other men, elate the heart, inspire a contempt of the laws, and smite, as it were, the very face of the magistrates sent out to rule the provinces, and who are themselves the slaves of riches, or who overlook the crimes of their possessors, merely because they are rich. As to myself, when I was young, and not master of one hundred talents, I laughed at every thing, and had but few fears then on account of fortune. And yet when, by the death of an uncle, I became in one day possessed of five hundred talents, what a change was made in my way of thinking! exactly the same as is made in horses by the skill of intelligent grooms, who break and cure them of all their bad habits. But after Plutus made such an accession to my property, both by sea and land, I became such a slave to fear, that part of it I gave to sycophants to stop their mouths, part to magistrates to defend me against cheats and impostors, part to relations to prevent envyings and jealousies, and part to my slaves to keep them from growing worse under pretence of being neglected by me. To this may be added, that I supported a numerous retinue of friends, of whom, some were to superintend my affairs, and others to give advice. And notwithstanding all the pains I have taken to secure my riches, and to fence them round, as it were, by a wall, I am in perils on their account, and know not whether I shall come out safe or not. When he had done speaking, Apollonius said, take courage, Plutus is responsible for your person, for it is

on his account you are in prison; he will deliver you from it, and the necessity you are under of complying with the wishes of slaves and informers, to whom you have been exposed hitherto for his sake.

#### CHAP. XXIV.

TO the chief magistrate of Tarentum, who was to vindicate himself from the charge of having omitted to say that Domitian was the son of Pallas,\* in a sacrifice he made, Apollonius thus replied: You, forsooth, believed that Pallas never brought forth by reason of her perpetual virginity, and yet were ignorant, I suppose, that the Goddess was accessory in giving the Athenians a serpent.†

#### CHAP. XXV.

THE case of one of their fellow prisoners was as follows. He possessed a piece of ground in Acarnania, near the mouths of the Achilous, from whence he used to visit the Echinades‡ in a little boat. Observing that one of these islands was joined to the main land, he planted it with goodly trees and sweet-bearing vines; and made it

\* Minerva, whom he worshipped even to superstition.

SUETONIUS.

† Ericthonius, a deformed monster, with the tails of serpents instead of legs, said to be the offspring of Minerva by Vulcan, though properly only of Vulcan himself.

Addison calls her, "The childless Goddess."

‡ Five small islands near Acarnania, at the mouth of the river Achilous. They have been formed by the inundations of that river, and by the sand and mud which its waters carry down, and now bear the name of Carzolari.

so convenient for living in, that he introduced whatever water was necessary for its use from the continent. Hence a suspicion arose, that the Acarnanian was guilty of great crimes: his accusers added, he had left the continent because it was polluted by him. As Alcmeon, the son of Amphibiaurus, after being delivered from the furies who persecuted him on the death of his mother, had retired to the mountains of the Achilous, so it was concluded this Acarnanian had taken the same resolution from a consciousness of a similar offence, or one not very different. On the part of the Acarnanian, it was said, he did not go there for any such cause, but only to enjoy the quiet and peace which the place afforded; let it be what it may, it was made an occasion for instituting a suit against him, in consequence of which he was thrown into prison.

#### CHAP. XXVI.

IT was said there were above fifty persons confined in prison, of whom, some laboured under sickness, others under dejection of spirits, and some under the expectation of death, whilst others bewailed and called on their children, parents, and wives. Of these wretched sufferers, many flocked about Apollonius, making bitter complaints of their hard situation, to whom he said, turning to Damis, these men seem to require that medicine\* to which I have before alluded. For whether it be the growth of Egypt, or the production of every soil, which has wisdom enough to gather it, I know not; but let us give plenty of it to these miserable men, lest the present state of their sufferings may not take them out of the world before the

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\* Helen's Egyptian Drug, mentioned in c. 22.

sentence of Domitian. I agree with you, replied Damis, in thinking they should get plenty of it, for greatly do they seem to require it. Whereupon Apollonius, calling them together, thus addressed them. O you, who are my fellow companions in this dreary abode, I am sorry to see you putting yourselves to death before it is known whether the information against you will destroy you. I think you are killing yourselves before the judge pronounces sentence, and are bold in what you ought to have fears, and have fears in what you ought to be bold. You should not so conduct yourselves, but should remember the words of Archilochus the Parian, who said, that patience under adversity, which he called endurance, was an invention of the Gods to enable men to bear the evils of life, after the manner of those, who by superior skill and judgment, are able to get the better of the waves at the time they are rising above the sides of the vessel. Account not then those things so hard, which you endure and cannot help, and to which I have exposed myself of my own free will and consent. For if you are conscious of guilt, you should lament the day in which your hearts deceived you, and made you commit actions at once unjust and cruel. But if you, Sir, say that you did not inhabit an isle near the Achilous, for the reasons assigned by your accuser; nor that you, Sir, disposed of your wealth in a way to hurt your prince, nor that it was your intention, Sir, to strip him of his title of being called the son of Minerva; if, I say, you are able to prove, that all the reasons held out for your being here, are unfounded, why all these whinings and lamentations for nothing? Believe me, your courage should rise in proportion to the sorrow you feel for them most nearly connected with you. These are the trials of patience. Perhaps you think it a hard thing to be detained here, and to live in a prison? Or think perhaps that this is only the beginning of sorrow? Or else suppose it punishment sufficient,

though you may not suffer more? But for me, who am acquainted with the nature of man, I will give you some instruction which is not inferior to the prescriptions by physicians, particularly as what I give procures strength and releases from death. Whilst we live, we are all men in prison. Our soul, attached to this mortal body, suffers much, and is subject to all the vicissitudes of mortality. The men who first built houses, never supposed they were inclosing themselves in a second prison. For undoubtedly they who inhabit the strongest fortified palaces, are to be considered in closer custody than they whom they put in chains. When I turn my eyes to cities and fortifications, I find them only to be common prisons. So that in truth, merchants and orators, frequenters of the public shews, and the managers of the same, are all only so many prisoners. The Scythians\* who live in waines, are as much in prison as we are: they are shut in by the Ister, the Thermodon, and Tanais rivers, which can only be passed when congealed with ice. They spread awnings over the waines in which they travel, by means of which they are inclosed in small dwellings. And if it is not to be considered as too puerile an observation, I should say that the ocean incloses the earth as it were with a chain. Draw near, ye poets, (for it is your deeds I am going to relate) and sing to these poor afflicted prisoners, how that Saturn of old was bound by the artful contrivance of Jupiter; and Mars the belligerent was confined by Vulcan in heaven, and by the Aloidæ in earth.† Think

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\* Called from so living, Hamaxobii.

† Otus and Ephialtus sons of Aloeus the giant.

The mighty Mars in mortal fetters bound,  
 And lodg'd in brazen dungeons under ground,  
 Full thirteen moons imprison'd roar'd in vain;  
 Otus and Ephialtes held the chain : &c.

HOMER, POPE, b. 5.

of all this, and of the number of wise and powerful men whom the tyranny of the people, or of the prince, has thrown into prison, and never let it be said that we are not equal to them in bearing like calamities. What Apollonius said, had such an effect on the prisoners, that some of them took food, whilst others wiped away their tears, and entertained hopes that no harm could befall them as long as Apollonius was with them.

#### CHAP. XXVII.

NEXT day, whilst Apollonius was haranguing in the same strain, a person entered the prison, who was sent by Domitian to take note of our philosopher. He had a melancholy air, and was, as he said himself, in imminent danger. He had great volubility of speech, and talked much after the manner of those pleaders who have had the drawing up of eight or ten malicious informations. Apollonius seeing at once the snare that was laid for him, said nothing which could serve his purpose. He talked of rivers, and mountains, and wild beasts, and trees: all this, whilst it amused the other prisoners, profited nothing the informer. He tried, however, to induce Apollonius to say something to the disadvantage of the tyrant; but he was on his guard, and said, you may say any thing you please, my friend, for I will not turn informer: as to myself, I will tell the Emperor in person whatever I think reprehensible in his conduct.

#### CHAP. XXVIII.

OTHER circumstances fell out in the prison, of which some were designedly and insidiously contrived, others the effects of mere chance; all were however of no great

moment, and deserved little attention. Damis speaks of them, in order not to be charged with any omission. Such as merit attention, I shall notice. On the evening of the fifth day of his confinement a stranger came into the prison, who used the Greek tongue, and asked where the Tyanean was. As soon as he was shewn him, he took him aside from the other prisoners, and said, the Emperor will speak to you to-morrow; and this information he seemed to have received from Ælian. This is a secret I understand, said Apollonius, for it is what Ælian alone could know. The messenger proceeded, orders are given to the keeper of the prison to supply you with what you want. That is doing what is right, said Apollonius, but my manner of living is the same here as it is in every place else. I talk on common occurrences as usual, and I want nothing. But, returned the messenger, would not you wish for the advice of a friend, O Apollonius, just to say how you should address the Emperor. I should, indeed, said Apollonius, provided he were not one who would advise me to flatter him. But suppose, replied the messenger, he was to advise you not to treat him with disrespect, nor speak to him with any kind of insolence? I thank you for the advice, said Apollonius, it is good, and what I am determined to follow. To give this advice, answered the messenger, was the cause of my coming here, and I am rejoiced you are resolved to keep your temper, and act in obedience to it. I thought it right to prepare you to support, as you ought, the voice and terrible \* countenance of the Emperor; for the former is harsh and dissonant, even when he wishes to speak gently

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\* Pliny, in his panegyric, says, he was *visu terribilis*. Tacitus says he had *sævus vultus*. Murphy has thus translated the whole passage, "With that fiery visage, of a dye so red, that the blush of guilt could never colour his cheek, he marked the pale, languid countenance of the unhappy victims who shuddered at his frown."

to you, and the latter is furnished with a pair of eye-brows which hang heavy over his eyes, and with cheeks so bloated with bile as to distinguish him from all other men. But let not these things, O Tyanean, intimidate you, for they are natural and unavoidable defects. When Ulysses, replied Apollonius, entered the cave of Polyphemus, he neither knew his gigantic stature, nor the kind of food he used, nor his thundering voice; he did not lose his presence of mind, and though at first he entertained some fears, he soon recovered his accustomed courage; and acting like a man of spirit, he left the cave in perfect safety. For my part I shall be satisfied if I can escape myself, together with my companions, for whose sakes I am in my present perilous situation. All that passed in conversation with the messenger he repeated to Damis, and then went to sleep.

#### CHAP. XXIX.

ABOUT break of day a notary belonging to the Emperor's tribunal arrived, with orders for Apollonius to attend the palace at noon, not, said he, for the pleading your cause, but that the Emperor may see what you are, and may speak to you face to face. But why, replied Apollonius, do you speak to me on that subject? What, said the notary, are not you Apollonius? Yes, I am the Tyanean. And to whom then, returned the notary, should I deliver my orders, if not to you? To those officers, replied Apollonius, whose business it is to conduct me to the palace, for you know I must come out of prison. I have given proper orders for that purpose to the guards, said the notary, and I will take care to be punctual as to time. My duty is to give you this information in consequence of the orders which were give to me late the evening before, and saying this, he departed.

## CHAP. XXX.

WHILST Apollonius was in bed, he said to Damis, I have need of sleep, I have passed a sleepless night in calling to mind all Phraotes said to me. I think, said Damis, you had done better, had you remained awake, and prepared for the announced interview, as being a matter of some moment. And how can I, replied Apollonius, prepare for what I am as yet ignorant of? And is it your intention, said Damis, to argue a cause, in which your life is concerned, without any preparation? It is, replied Apollonius, for as my way of life has been hitherto without preparation, it shall remain so to the end of it. But I shall now tell you all that occurred to me of what Phraotes said, as bearing on my present situation. In the taming of lions Phraotes ordered no severity to be used, from an idea that such treatment would not be forgotten; nor on the other hand did he recommend too much gentleness, lest it might tend to make them unmanageable; but both methods properly blended, he thought best adapted to render them more tame and manageable. This advice of Phraotes was not given for the purpose of taming lions, for we were not then reasoning on the best mode of managing wild beasts, but on that of putting a bridle into the mouths of tyrants, which he hoped whoever would apply, would do it in a way not to exceed the bounds of moderation. A lesson of this kind, says Damis, is well suited to the nature of tyrants. In Æsop there is a fable of a lion who lay stretched out in his den, not sick, but only pretending to be so, for the purpose of seizing on every animal who came to visit him. But Æsop adds, there was a fox, who, in considering the case of this lion, observed, I do not find that any one remains with him, nor

the footsteps of any who return from him.\* And yet, said Apollonius, I should have thought more of the fox's † wisdom, had he entered the cave without suffering himself to be taken; and on his return, had been able to shew his own footsteps. After saying this, he had some sleep, light and of short continuance.

### CHAP. XXXI.

AS soon as it was day, Apollonius paid his adorations to the rising Sun, as well as he could in a prison, and talked to all who came to him on whatever subjects they liked themselves. About mid-day an officer arrived, ordering his attendance at the palace, who said he came to have him in readiness before he was called. As soon as Apollonius heard this, he said, "Let us go," and forthwith set out with some eagerness. He was guarded by four men who attended him, but who kept at a greater distance from him than was their custom when guarding a common prisoner. Damis followed him, but followed him with great fear and pensiveness. All eyes were turned upon him; his singular dress attracted their attention, and the admiration which his whole appearance excited, bordered on something divine. The dangers he encountered for the sake of Nerva, Rufus, and Orfitus, conciliated the affection of all, even of his enemies. Whilst he stood at the palace gates, he particularly noticed the attentions and the compliments which were mutually given and received

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\* ————— Quia me vestigia terrent

Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.

HORACE.

† The fox, I think, shewed himself wiser than Apollonius, in not going to the den at all.

by different classes of people, together with the noise and hurry attending such as were passing and repassing; after considering it all, he said, this scene reminds me of a bath, for they who are without, are trying to get in, and they who are within, are trying to get out; the former are like those who have not bathed, and the latter those who have. This idea I wish to have appropriated solely to Apollonius, and not ascribed to any other person: it is so peculiarly his property, that he has used it in one of his letters. Observing in the crowd a man worn out with years, canvassing for the government of a province, and on that account paying the most servile court to the Emperor, he says, O Damis, Sophocles himself would be unable to persuade this man to fly a wild and furious master. Whom, replied Damis, we have of our own accord chosen, Apollonius, and for that now stand before these doors. I believe, Damis, said Apollonius, you imagine *Cæcus* to be the keeper of these gates, as he is said to be of those of Hell, for you appear to me like a dead man. Not quite a dead man, returned Damis, but one about to die shortly. So, Damis, said Apollonius, you still seem rather averse to death, notwithstanding your long attachment to me, who have been a philosopher from my youth. I thought you prepared for death, and instructed, as well as myself, in all the necessary means of defence. And as courage is necessary for great warriors, together with a knowledge of tactics sufficient to instruct them in the best mode of attack, in the same manner should philosophers consider the time most fitting them to die, at which they should leave the world with the greatest deliberation, and not after the manner of men taken by surprise and unprepared. I have proved in a set apology in your presence, and often and fully to yourself, that my mind is always on reflection prepared for death whenever any person is pleased to inflict it, and that in a way most becoming a philosopher. But of this subject enough.

## C H A P. XXXII.

AS soon as the Emperor was at leisure and free from business, Apollonius was introduced into the palace by the officers in waiting, who took care not to let Damis follow him. The Emperor having on his head a garland of green boughs, had stopt in the hall of Adonis. This hall was embellished with shells of flowers, like as are carried about by the Assyrians in their sacred festivals;\* and these shells were so arranged as to be under the protection of the same roof with the hall itself. The Emperor, who was still intent on the sacrifice in which he had been engaged, turning about, and being struck with the extraordinary appearance of the man, cried out, O Ælian, you have brought me a Demon. At this, Apollonius, without being in the least intimidated, taking occasion from what he heard, said, O Emperor, I was considering you like Diomed at Troy under the protection of Pallas,† who purged his eyes of that mist which dims the sight of mor-

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\* The *Adonia*, or feasts of Adonis, were celebrated in most of the cities of Greece in honour of Venus, and in memory of her beloved Adonis. Images or pictures of Adonis and Venus were brought forth with all the pomp and ceremonies used at funerals—the women tore their hair, beat their breasts, &c. They also carried with them shells filled with earth, in which grew several sorts of flowers and herbs, particularly lettuces; in memory that Adonis was laid out by Venus on a bed of lettuces. These were called *κηποι*, gardens, and hence *Αδωνιδος κηποι* were proverbially applied to things unfruitful and fading; because these herbs were sown only a short time before the festival after which they were cast out into the water. It is manifestly in this sense that Plato, Plutarch, and the Emperor Julian, employed this proverb, the hint of which was borrowed from the pots and baskets of flowers which were carried in the above procession.

† I also purge thy sight; the mist, that once  
Obscur'd it, fled, thou shalt distinguish Gods  
From mortals clearly:—

HOMER, *Iliad*, b. v.

*Not interest  
with down*

tals, and gave him the faculty of distinguishing between Gods and men. But from your eyes, O Emperor, the Goddess has not yet removed that mist, otherwise you would have known better Pallas herself, and not have ranked men among the appearances of Demons. But how long, philosopher, replied the Emperor, is it since your eyes were purged of their darkness? It is a good while now, returned Apollonius, it is from the time in which I began to study philosophy. And how has it come to pass that you have considered as Gods my greatest enemies, said the Emperor? What, answered Apollonius, do you war with Iarchas and Phraotes, Indians, whom of all other men, I consider as divine and deserving of the appellation of Gods? I beg you may not turn the conversation to Indians, but answer me as to Nerva, your intimate friend, and his accomplices. What, said Apollonius, do you command me to plead his cause, or not? I do, returned the Emperor; plead it, for he is already convicted of his crime. And are not you also arraigned as being privy to the same? This is what I wish to be informed of? Listen, said Apollonius, and you shall hear how far I am concerned, for why should I conceal the truth? From this the Emperor had hopes of coming at some notable secrets, and concluded that every thing now promised fair for the ruin of these men.

CHAP. XXXIII.

WHEN Apollonius perceived that the Emperor's expectations were raised to the highest pitch, he said, I know Nerva to be one of the most moderate and mildest of men; I know that he is much attached to you, and is an excellent magistrate, and one so little disposed to meddle in affairs of state, that he even shrinks from the honours attending them. Besides, his friends, Rufus and Orfitus,



T. O

are, in my opinion, moderate men and despisers of worldly wealth; they are, in short, as far as I know them, men too backward to interfere where they ought, and is lawful.\* Men of this description, O Emperor, do not readily attempt innovations in governments, nor have much inclination to lend assistance to those who do. On hearing this, the Emperor, burning with anger, exclaimed, And have you found me guilty of uttering a calumny against those men? Do you recommend as peaceable and loyal subjects those whom I have found out to be the vilest of mortals, and the common disturbers of my empire: men who, if interrogated about you, would probably say that you were neither an enchanter, nor hot-headed, nor a braggadocio, nor covetous, nor a despiser of the laws, so much are ye all agreed in mischief, ye wicked ones. But the charge now preferred against you, will bring all to light: for I know as well as if I had been on the spot with you, the oath which was taken on the occasion, and the cause and time of you meeting, and the sacrifice offered. But Apollonius, without being intimidated by what he heard, said, it is not honest in you, O King, nor agreeable to law, either to enter into a judicial discussion of what you are already persuaded, nor to be persuaded of that of which the merits have not been discussed. If such is your pleasure, permit me to begin my defence, with saying that you are prejudiced against me, and more unjust than the common informer; for what he has promised to prove, you take for granted without any proof. Begin then, said Domitian, your defence, from whatever circumstance you please, as to myself I know where I ought to begin, and end.

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\* Martial has an Epigram characteristic of Nerva's disposition.

"Quanta quies placidi, tanta est facundia Nervæ—

"Sed cohibet vires, ingeniumque pudor."

## C H A P. XXXIV.

AFTER this the Emperor began to treat him with great contempt: he ordered his hair and beard to be cut off,\* and to be sent back to prison loaded with irons, and cast among the vilest felons. It was on this occasion Apollonius said he did not know he incurred any danger on account of his hair: and added, if, O Emperor, you consider me as an enchanter, how can you think of binding me in chains? I have bound you, returned the Emperor, and I will not let you go till you first become either water, or a wild beast, or a tree. Though I was capable of becoming what you say, answered Apollonius, I will not do it, lest I should betray those men who run the risque of being unjustly put to death. What I am, that I will remain, subject to all you can inflict, till I have pleaded their cause. And who, said the Emperor, will defend you? Time, answered Apollonius, and the spirit of the Gods,† and the love of philosophy, to which I have been addicted.

## C H A P. XXXV.

THIS, says Damis, was the preamble to the defence made by Apollonius in private before Domitian. There are some who give an invidious turn to the whole transaction,

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\* The cutting off the hair of guilty persons, seems to have been a punishment rather shameful, than painful: and yet it is thought that pain was added to the disgrace, and that they sometimes *tore* off the hair with violence, as if they were *plucking* a bird alive.

† A mode of speech rare amongst heathens, which Olearius supposes Apollonius learnt at Babylon. *Daniel, in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods.* c. 4, v. 8.

and say that he first made his defence, was then put in irons, and afterwards shaved. They have also forged a letter, written in the Ionic dialect, and tediously prolix, wherein Apollonius is made to deprecate as a suppliant, the chains ordered by the Emperor. It is true that Apollonius wrote his will in that dialect; but though I have made a collection of most of his letters, I never saw one written in the same language. Besides, I never discovered he was prolix in his style; his letters being all concise, and composed after the manner of the dispatches of the Lacedemonian Scytale.\* There can be no doubt of his coming off superior in his cause; and if so, how did it happen he was put in chains after sentence passed? But the question is not now of what took place at the trial, but of what preceded it, relative to the cutting of his hair, and the conversation on the occasion, which I have deemed worthy of notice.

#### CHAP. XXXVI.

TWO days after he was bound in chains, a stranger entered the prison, who said he could be of considerable service to him, if allowed a conference, and that the object of his visit was to advise with him on his present situation. He was a Syracusan,† *the mind and tongue of Domitian*, and like one some time ago, was suborned by the Emperor; but the part he had to act was better contrived and more difficult to be found out. The first took a most circuitous way of sounding Apollonius; the one we are now speaking of, began his attack at once, exclaiming, who, O ye Gods, could have thought of binding Apollo-

\* As expressive of their brevity.

† This is agreeable to the style of speaking among the Persians, whose kings called their ministers, *their ears and eyes*.

nus in chains? He who did it, replied Apollonius; and he would not have done it, had he not thought himself capable of it; and who, continued the Syracusan, could have thought of cutting off your ambrosial hair? Myself, said Apollonius, who let it grow. And how do you bear your confinement? As a man should do, who came here, not entirely of his own accord, nor yet entirely against it. But pray, said the Syracusan, how do your legs bear the fetters? I know not, answered Apollonius, for my mind is otherwise employed. And yet, continued the other, the mind is in general affected by the sufferings of the body? Not at all, said Apollonius, because the mind, in a man of courage, will either not feel pain; or if it does, will be able to lighten it. And how, says the other, is the mind all the time employed? In not thinking of it, said Apollonius. The Syracusan then turned the conversation to the subject of the cutting off his hair, when Apollonius observed, it is well, young man, you were not one of those Greeks who sailed to Troy; for if you had, how much would you have lamented the loss of Achilles's hair, which he cut off in honour of Patroclus (if it was cut off) and how sorely would you have been distressed: for, if as you say, you really grieve for mine, among which are scattered many gray and squalid locks, what would have been your sufferings for the loss of his golden hair, so nicely trimmed and curled? All the Syracusan said, was spoken with the insidious design of trying his temper, and finding out whether he would reproach the Emperor for his sufferings. Being at last reduced to silence by the answers which fell from the lips of Apollonius, he said, you have incurred the Emperor's displeasure on many accounts, but particularly on account of Nerva and his friends having made their escape, though guilty of high treason. Certain false accusations have been also carried to him of some discourses held by you when in Ionia, and which have been reported as uttered with most hostile tendency. But as far as I un-

derstand, he pays little or no attention to such calumnies, because his displeasure on the present occasion has arisen from subjects of higher moment. And yet the man who has given him all his present information, is one who stands high in reputation. You allude, said Apollonius, to some person who has gained a crown at the Olympic Games, and now supposes he can acquire another by excelling in calumny. I know you mean Euphrates, who has calumniated me, and to whom I am indebted for other instances of similar kindness. This man, when he learnt I was going to visit the Gymnosophists in Ethiopia, even there had his malicious calumnies gone before me; and had I not had a previous knowledge of his wicked machinations, I might have been forced to return without having seen them. The Syracusan, amazed at what he heard, said, do you think it then of less account to be accused by the Emperor, than to be under-rated by the Gymnosophists on account of what Euphrates said. I do indeed, said he, for I went to them to acquire knowledge, and to you I am come to communicate it. To communicate what, are you come? returned the Syracusan. That I am of good and honest repute, replied Apollonius, of which the Emperor is ignorant. But I think, said the Syracusan, you would consult your own interest better, if you should tell him now, what if you had done before, you would never have been cast into prison. When Apollonius found that the discourse of the Syracusan was of the same tendency with that of the Emperor, and that it was expected he was to turn evidence against the men from dislike to his confinement, he said, if, my friend, I have merited these chains by speaking the truth to Domitian, what do you think I should gain by telling him the contrary? When he said this, the Syracusan left the prison, declaring that he admired Apollonius as a man who was more than a philosopher.

## C H A P. XXXVII.

AS soon as he was gone, Apollonius, turning to Damis, says, did you understand that Python? I did, said he, and knew he was suborned for the very purpose of taking you by surprise: but I know not what you mean by Python, or who he was? Python,\* returned Apollonius, was a Byzantine orator, a man, in the opinion of some, possessed of great powers of persuasion. He was sent by Philip, the son of Amyntas, to persuade the Greeks to submit to his yoke, who, regardless of the other Greeks, cultivated the Athenians alone, amongst whom the art of rhetoric flourished. He complained of the injuries they did Philip, and said they were highly criminal in their endeavours to restore Greece to its liberty, of which, they say, he made a public declaration before the people. But Demosthenes, the Pæanian, opposed this audacious man with great spirit, and writes that he alone was a match for him in speaking. For my own part I do not think my having made resistance to such a train of machinations a matter of very great consequence; he had the same part to act that Python had, for he was bribed by a tyrant's gold to give the worst advice.

## C H A P. XXXVIII.

DAMIS says Apollonius held many conversations of the same kind, but for himself he confessed he had lost all

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\* Python, a native of Byzantium, in the age of Philip of Macedon. He was a great favourite of that monarch, who sent him to Thebes, when that city, at the instigation of Demosthenes, was going to take arms against him.

hopes, and saw no other way of escaping from their present difficulties, except what might arise from prayers to the Gods, which had saved them from greater perils. Sometime before mid-day, Damis said to him, O Tyanean (an appellation with which he was always pleased) what do you think will become of us? Nothing but what has usually happened to us, returned Apollonius, for there is no one will put us to death. And do you think, replied Damis, any one is invulnerable? Who, after saying this, asked, But when, Sir, will you be set at liberty? Tomorrow, answered he, if it depended on the judge; and this instant, if it depended on myself. And without a word more,\* he drew his leg out of the fetters, and said to Damis, You see the liberty I enjoy, and therefore I request you will keep up your spirits. It was on this occasion, Damis says, he was first sensible of Apollonius possessing a nature something divine, and above what was human. For without offering sacrifice, which he could not do in a prison, without sending up any prayers to the Gods, and without saying a word, he made a mockery of his fetters; and again put his leg into them, and continued to behave like men in chains.

#### C H A P. XXXIX.

OPERATIONS of this kind are ascribed to magicians by weaker mortals, who are subject to similar mistakes in many other things, the mere effects of human industry.

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\* As Damis's word is not enough to prove the fact mentioned in the text, it consequently can only be considered as the unfounded assertion of a weak man, easily imposed on, who was willing to magnify the character of his master at the expence of truth: therefore he who wishes to be deceived by the evidence of such a Sancho Panca, let him, I say, be deceived.

The very athletæ, and other candidates at the Olympic Games, fly to the magic art\* from a desire of victory; and yet if they knew the truth, they would know that such means avail but little in securing it. Whatever success they meet with, is imprudently ascribed, not to themselves, but the magic art; and what is strange, is, that when the very contrary happens, it is attributed to the same cause. For they all say, had they sacrificed this thing, or burnt that, victory would not have deserted them; and of this they say they are persuaded. A similar species of folly pervades the houses of the merchants, who ascribe the profits arising from trade, to the arts of the enchanter, and their losses to a parsimony in sacrificing in a manner adequate to their means. But people in love, above all others, are devoted to this art, for they labour under a malady, which so peculiarly makes them the dupes of this imposition, that they have recourse even to the assistance and advice of old women. Nothing worthy of admiration is ever executed by those who consult the professors of this art, and lend their ears to magicians, who give out charmed girdles,† and stones,‡ some dug out of the

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\* Ammianus Marcellinus writes, that one Hilarius, a horse-racer, was put to death by Apronianus, then governor of Rome, for being convicted of having sent his son to a magician to be taught by him certain secret spells and charms, by which, without any man's knowledge, he might be enabled, in the way of his profession, to effect all he desired. A magician in those ages, says Dr. Douglas, bishop of Salisbury, was looked upon (as appears from Origen, adds he) to be one who, by the use of certain incantations and charms, and forms of barbarous words, or by the celebration of certain odd rites, could force superior beings or demons to assist him.

† *Φαρμακία*—A divination commonly performed by certain medicated and enchanted compositions of herbs, minerals, &c. To this also belonged enchanted girdles and other things worn about the bodies, &c.

Some Cytheriaco medicatum nectare ceston: MARTIAL.

‡ Called *Λιδομαντία*—it was performed by a precious stone called Sderites,

bowels of the earth, and others that have fallen from the moon and stars : to which they add all the aromatics\* that grow in the gardens of the Indians : by such means great fortunes are made by these people, and no good ever done to their duped votaries. If affection meets with a return, either from the good pleasure of the object beloved, or from the force of presents, the magic art is praised as all-powerful ; but if it does not, the failure is laid to the account of something being omitted either in the burning or sacrificing the victim, or melting † something in the fire that ought to have been done ; a matter looked on by them as of great moment. The means such impostors use to perform their wonderful tricks, have been all described by writers, who have uniformly derided the art. As to myself it is enough, by way of digression, to have shewn to young people that they should never form any connection with such false pretenders, or make themselves familiar with their practices, even in merriment and sport. I have done, for why dwell on a subject which is as contrary to the laws of nature, as it is to the laws of the land.

#### CHAP. XL.

WHILST Apollonius was shewing Damis what kind of man he was, and talking to him on a variety of subjects, a certain person entered the prison about mid-day, with the following verbal message from Domitian. The Em-

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Siderites, which they washed in spring water in the night by candle-light.

\* *Verbenosque adole pingues, et mascula thura.*

VIRGIL.

† — *Hæc ut cera liquescit*

*Uno codemque igni sic nostro Daphnis amore.*

VIRGIL.

peror, says he, at the solicitation of Ælian, orders you to be loosed from your fetters, and gives you leave to inhabit a more roomy apartment till the time for making your defence arrives, and which, I hear, will be allowed you five days hence. But who, said Apollonius, will take me out of this place? I myself, answered the stranger, come, and follow me. As soon as they who inhabited this new part of the prison where Apollonius was carried, cast their eyes upon him, they all run and embraced him, as one restored to them contrary to all expectation. For like as children love their parents, who give them good advice with gentleness, and tell all that befel them in their youth, so did these prisoners express their regard for Apollonius, in the most public manner. As to Apollonius, he never ceased giving advice.

## CHAP. XII.

THE day after Apollonius called Damis to him, and said, I must make my defence at the time appointed: but do you, my friend, take the road leading to Dicæarchia,\* and go on foot, as it is the better mode of travelling; you will salute Demetrius, and then turn to the sea-side, where is the island of Calypso, and there you will see me. What, alive,† said Damis, or how else? At hearing this, Apollonius laughed, and answered, alive in my opinion, but in yours, raised from the dead.‡

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\* Puteoli.

† See b. 8, c. 10.

‡ On voit par-là (says Du Pin) que Philostrate affecte de relever les moindres circonstances des discours et des actions d'Apollone, afin de les faire passer pour des merveilles et de les faire cadrer aux événements qu'il suppose être arrivés.

After this, Damis says, he set out sore against his will, doubtful between hope and fear, and not knowing whether he would be saved, or perish. Arriving at Dicaearchia the third day, he heard of a violent storm at sea, accompanied with heavy rain, in which some vessels were lost, and others driven to the Sicilian straits. When Damis heard this, he understood why Apollonius advised him to make his journey on foot.