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The life of Apollonius of Tyana

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Book VIII.

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BOOK VIII.—CONTENTS.

Trial of Apollonius before Domitian—Apology, Departure from the Tribunal, and sudden Appearance at Puteoli after the Trial—Sails into Greece—Goes to Olympia—Visits the Cave of Trophonius—Sees at Ephesus the Murder of Domitian as it happened at Rome—His Letter to Nerva—His Mode of leaving this World unknown.

CHAP. I.

LET us now approach the tribunal, and hear Apollonius make his defence. We are told that from sun-rise the people of the higher ranks had access to the court. Some persons belonging to the royal household say, that the Emperor eat nothing from the preceding day, which must have arisen from his thoughts being all taken up with the business which was to come before him. It is said he perused the indictment which was given him, sometimes in great wrath, and sometimes with more composure. I think we may represent Domitian to our minds as a man highly incensed at the laws for ever having suffered such things as tribunals to have been constructed.

CHAP. II.

ON this occasion, Apollonius appears more like a man taking a part in a mere matter of dispute, than in that of pleading a cause in which his life was concerned, and this, I think, is manifest from what took place before the trial.

Whilst on his way, he asked the officer of the court, who conducted him, where they were taking him? who replied, to the tribunal. Then, said Apollonius, against whom am I to plead? Against your accuser, returned the officer; and afterwards the Emperor will give sentence. But who, said Apollonius, will judge between the Emperor and me? for I will demonstrate the injury he does philosophy. And what cares the Emperor, answered the officer, whether he injures philosophy or not? And yet, returned Apollonius, it is of infinite consequence to philosophy that the Emperor governs with prudence and discretion. As this remark met the full approbation of the officer, who, from the first, was well-disposed to Apollonius, he said, What quantity of water will you require for your defence,* a circumstance necessary to be known before you make it. If, replied Apollonius, the Emperor permits me to say as much as the cause requires, all the water of the Tiber will not be enough to measure the time; but if only as much as I wish, the interrogant will fix the limits of time necessary for the respondent. I see, said the officer, you have cultivated very opposite talents, in the knowledge you have acquired of speaking either briefly, or at length, on the same subject. The talents you mean, said Apollonius, are not opposite, but very similar, for he who excels in the one, will not be deficient in the other; but there is a talent lying between both, and equally partaking of one and the other, which constitutes, not what I shall call the third, so much as the first talent, of an oration. My fourth talent on a trial, is what I call silence. Sure, returned the officer, this is a talent which can be of no use, either to you or any other person in a capital in-

* Here an allusion is made to the Clepsydra, which will be more particularly mentioned in a future note.

formation. And yet, said Apollonius, it was extremely useful to Socrates, the Athenian, when he delivered himself from the charge brought against him. And pray, answered the officer, how did it serve him, inasmuch as he died in consequence of his being silent. He did not die, said Apollonius, but the Athenians believed it. It was thus Apollonius was prepared against every thing which could befall him from the tyrant.

C H A P. III.

WHILST they were waiting at the door of the tribunal, another officer belonging to the same, came up, and said, Tyanean, you must enter naked. What, returned Apollonius, is it to bathe, or to plead my cause I am come here? What I have said, replied the officer, alludes, not to your clothes, but to the Emperor's order, forbidding your bringing with you either amulet, or book, or charm, or any writing whatever. And does he also forbid, continued Apollonius, my bringing along with me a rod for the back of those who have given him such foolish advice. On hearing this, the accuser cried out with a loud voice, This conjurer, O Emperor! threatens me with stripes, as being the man who gave you this advice. To which Apollonius answered, if that is so, you are more of a conjurer than I am, for you confess you have persuaded the Emperor to believe I am *that* which I never could make him comprehend that I am not. One of the freed men of Euphrates stood by the side of the accuser all the time he was uttering these calumnies. This man had been sent by Euphrates into Ionia to collect every thing Apollonius said whilst there, with orders at the same time to furnish the accuser with whatever money he might want. This is what may be called the prelude, as it were, to the trial.

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C H A P. IV.

WHAT passed at the trial is as follows.* The court was fitted up as if a panegyric was to be pronounced in it. All the illustrious men of the day attended the emperor, who was particularly anxious to make it appear that the persons accused were concerned in the guilt of rebellion. Apollonius treated the Emperor with a great degree of supercilious pride, without once deigning to look at him. This mark of disrespect was turned to the disadvantage of Apollonius by the accuser, who commanded him to look on the Emperor as the God of all men.† When Apollonius heard this, he lifted up his eyes to the vaulted arch of the court, and by his gesture shewed they were turned to Jupiter, and that he looked on him who admitted of such gross flattery, viler than the flatterer himself. On this the accuser exclaimed,‡ measure out now, O Emperor, the water for him, for if this fellow is suffered to speak without some certain limits first assigned, he will suffocate us all. I have here

* This trial, Echard, in his Ecclesiastical History, supposes to have taken place in the fourteenth year of Domitian, under the consulship of Asprenas and Lateranus, a little before the second general persecution of the church, about twenty five years after the destruction of Jerusalem.

† When Domitian dictated, says Suetonius, the form of a letter to be used by his procurators, he began it thus, "*Our Lord and God commands so and so,*" whence it became a custom to style him so, both in writing and conversation.

‡ The time which judicial speeches were not suffered to exceed, was previously fixed, according to the nature of the cause, and was regulated by the dropping of water through a glass called Clepsydra.

the roll containing the heads of the charge to which he must answer, and reply distinctly to each and every one of them.

CHAP. V.

THE Emperor commended the accuser for his good advice, and ordered Apollonius to plead in the way he (his accuser) should prescribe. Hence those articles were omitted which did not deserve notice, and four only retained, as being esteemed most embarrassing and difficult to be answered. The accuser thus began his examination. What is the reason, Apollonius, you do not wear the same kind of garments other men do, but only such as are peculiar, and truly singular? Because, replied he, the earth which supplies me with food, supplies me also with raiment, and by wearing garments derived from it, I offer no injury to miserable animals. The accuser proceeded, Why do men call you a God? Because, said he, every man that is good, is entitled to the appellation.* How this doctrine came to form part of his philosophical system, has been already shewn by the conversations he held when among the Indians. His third interrogatory turned on the plague at Ephesus, and he was asked, whether it was by an instinctive impulse or mere conjecture he predicted it? By living on a lighter diet than other men, O Emperor, I was the first, said he, to foresee its approach: and if it now meets your approbation, I will enumerate the several causes of pestilential diseases. Domitian, apprehending lest he might consider among the

* This is one attestation, says Dr. Enfield, among many others, of Apollonius's great celebrity, that during his lifetime, he was called a God, and accepted the appellation, saying that every good man is honored by it.

causes, his injustice, his incestuous nuptials,* said, it was not necessary at present to enter into the detail. On the accuser's coming to the fourth interrogatory, relative to the suspected persons, he did not at once enter on it with ardor, but paused long, like one in deep thought; and then, as if embarrassed, brought it forward in a way which disappointed all present, who supposed the mask would be thrown off, that no mercy would be shewn to any of them, and that loud complaints would be made of the sacrifice. But the case was the very reverse, for the accuser approaching the question, as it were, by little and little, said, tell me, Apollonius, on whose account you sacrificed a boy on the day you left your house and went into the country? Apollonius, like one chiding a child, said, good words I beseech you: if it can be proved I left my house on the day alluded to, I will grant my being in the country and offering the sacrifice in question; and if I did offer such a sacrifice, I will allow (what is of all things the most atrocious) that I eat of the human flesh on the occasion. At the same time that I allow all this, I must say, that it will require persons of both credit and character to substantiate the fact. On saying this, a shout of applause arose, louder than what was suitable to the gravity of an imperial tribunal. This note of praise was ascribed by the Emperor to the approbation of the spectators, and being himself affected by the strength and ingenuity of his answers, he said, I acquit you of the crimes laid to your charge, but here you shall stay till I have had some private conversation with you. As this mode of acquittal added new strength to the natural courage of Apollonius, he replied, I thank you, O King, for this; but on account of the wicked informers by whom you are infested, I must tell you, your cities are in ruins,

* Book vii. c. 7.

the islands are filled with exiles, the continent with groans, the army with fears, and the senate with suspicions. Listen to me if you please, if not, send persons to take my body, for it is impossible to take my soul: and I will add, not even my body, for as Homer says, "not even thy deadly spear can slay me, because I am not mortal," in uttering these words, he vanished* from the tribunal, taking the wisest part, as I think, when all the circumstances of the case are considered: for it was notorious that the Emperor was insincere, and bore him no good will; and that had he remained, he would have been interrogated on matters very irrelevant, merely from idle curiosity. In the part Domitian acted, he thought himself entitled to great credit for not having put him to death; and Apollonius, by what he did, thought he had secured himself from ever falling into the like difficulties. Besides, he judged that it would make his peculiar character better known to the world, and at the same time shew that there would be no possibility of taking him against his will; and lastly, that it would free him from any fears he might have of injuring the men in question. For how would it be possible for

* But the great miracle of all, says Bishop Parker, was his vanishing away at his trial before Domitian, in the presence of all the great men of Rome. But then, though our historian be very desirous we should believe it, yet he falters afterwards, like a guilty liar, in his confidence. In the passage before us, he positively affirms, *ηφανισθη*—he quite vanished away, and yet in the 8th chapter, which follows, he only says *απηλθε*—he went away. And this, though he would seem to affirm, that it was after a wonderful manner, and nobody knows how, is a pitiful abatement to the bigness of his former expression, "vanishing away." Though the truth is, if he had stood to it, it must unavoidably have proved itself a lie: for it is utterly incredible, that so strange a thing as that should have been done in so great a presence, and yet never any notice be taken of it. Of course it certainly was a gross untruth, and the historian who could be guilty of such disingenuity, deserves little credit as to almost any thing he says.

the tyrant to sentence men to death, under any plausible colour of law, whose crimes had not been legally proved, and concerning whom no inquiry had been instituted. This is all that passed at the trial as far as I can find.

CHAP. VI.

BUT as a speech was written by Apollonius, which he intended to have spoken by the Clepsydra, I shall give it to the public, though he did not speak it, in consequence of the Emperor having confined him to the four interrogatories before enumerated. I know the speech is not relished by persons who approve of no style of speaking but what is seasoned with such language as only the licence of a buffoon could warrant; they say, also, it is not so correct as what it ought to be, and is not sufficiently elevated either in language or sentiment. But when I take into consideration the character of the man as a philosopher, I think he would not have rightly consulted the respect due to it, by delivering a speech full of measured cadences and antitheses, and words sounding like timbrels, a species of oratory fit for rhetoricians, but not for such men as Apollonius. For the power of eloquence in judicial pleadings, if once it becomes apparent, will make the speaker be suspected of a design of imposing on his judges: but when concealed, he will come off victorious. Eloquence has effect in proportion as its manifest object is kept out of sight of him who sits in judgment. A wise man, in defending himself, (for he who is wise will never bring to trial those whom he can punish himself) will pursue a different practice from what they do who pass their lives in judicial proceedings. The speech of a wise man should be laboured without appearing to be so, and should possess an elevation of mind that scorned the common forms of pleading. He should not suffer persons to

imagine that he wished to excite compassion, for why should he endeavour to do it, who suffers no intercession to be made in his favour? Such, I think, the following defence will appear to all who have not been heedless listeners either to me or him. Here is the speech just as it was composed by him.

CHAP. VII.

THE defence intended to have been spoken by Apollonius before the Emperor Domitian—1. The cause at present before us, O Emperor, is concerning matters of great moment. You run a greater risk than ever Emperor did, if you appear, without reason, to be the enemy of philosophy; and I encounter a greater danger than ever Socrates at Athens did, whose accusers affirmed, he supported new opinions touching the religion of the state, but they did not call him a God, nor did they think him one. As the danger hanging over us both is so imminent, I will not fear to give you that advice, of which I feel myself persuaded. Since an informer has given rise to the difference at present subsisting between you and me, an opinion is gone abroad of us, little conformable to the truth. It is imagined, that in hearing this cause, you will listen only to anger, and consequently, that I shall be put to death without considering whether a sentence of that nature is right or wrong. As to myself, it is believed, I shall withdraw from the tribunal by some of the various ways that are supposed to be in my power. Though all these things have reached my ears, I do not therefore appear with any prejudice against you, nor do I think unfavourably of the hearing you will give my cause. In obedience to the laws I stand before my judge, and I advise him to listen to their voice. Justice requires of you neither to condemn me

without a fair hearing, nor to carry to the seat of judgment any prejudice whatever, or persuasion of my having committed any evil against your person or interest. I know you trust in Armenians, and Babylonians, and others bearing rule in the most distant provinces, who command a numerous cavalry, and legions of archers and soldiers, and a rich country: and you would laugh, I suppose, if told that any one of them could deprive you of your empire; and yet you distrust a poor harmless unarmed philosopher, as if he had the means of attacking the Emperor of Rome; and listen to the idle tales of an Egyptian sycophant, of whose truth you have received no intimation from Pallas, whom you consider as your protectress, and guardian Deity. This I do not understand, unless it is that calumny and flattery have so prospered with some men, as to have given them the power of making you believe, that in things of little consequence, as for instance, ophthalmies, and fevers, and intestine complaints, the Gods condescend to act as your advisers, and sometimes even as your physicians; but that in matters wherein the interest of the state, and your own individual security are concerned, these same Gods neither council you as to the persons you should avoid, nor as to the way in which you should guard against your enemies. Have they persuaded you to think, that calumniators stand in the place of the Ægis of Pallas, and the hand of Jove? Is it possible, I say, such men could make you believe, that in what concerns your own safety, they know more than what the Gods themselves do; and that their sleeping and waking is all for your sake, if ever it can be supposed such men sleep, who are heaping woes upon woes, and composing, as the proverb says, a succession of Iliads. Let these men then have the liberty of keeping white horses, and driving about the forum in splendid equipages: let them eat off gold and silver, and form alliances by marriages, and maintain

boys at a monstrous expence, and intrigue with married women whilst it can be done in secret; and afterwards marry the victims of their adulteries when discovered, and be praised for their glorious deeds; whilst a philosopher, or a man of consular rank, of the best character, if he happens to fall into their hands, is unjustly devoted by you to destruction at their suggestion. That such wretches should be suffered to indulge in this abominable style of living, and at the same time be considered as wiser than the rest of mankind, and more knowing than the Gods, is what I cannot praise, nor reflect on without the greatest horror. If such conduct meets your approbation, I should not wonder if these men were to accuse you of holding heretical opinions concerning the established religion; and I should expect that such an accusation should be brought against yourself, whenever these sycophants shall have no one else to accuse. But I find I am acting rather as a plaintiff than a defendant; and therefore I hope you will pardon me for having spoken in favour of laws, which ought to govern you, if you wish to govern others.

2. But who is to be my advocate? For if I invoke Jupiter, by whom I know I live, I shall be called an enchanter, and said to bring down heaven on earth. That being so, let us appeal to a man, whom many suppose dead, but I do not; I mean your father, in whose eyes I was held in the same estimation as he is in yours. He made you Emperor, but I made him. He shall be my advocate in pleading my cause, for he knows my affairs better than you do. He came into Egypt before he was made Emperor, to offer sacrifice to the Gods of the country, and to confer with me on the then critical state of the empire. When he met me in my long flowing hair, and in the dress I now wear, he made no particular inquiries about it, from an idea that every thing I did was

right. He confessed he undertook the journey on my account; he parted with me after much commendation, and said he had communicated with no other person, nor had heard from any man what he heard from me. I confirmed him in his purpose of aspiring to the diadem, though *others** made him hesitate, which, I think, you yourself would consider as unwise; and the men who advised him against taking into his hands the reins of government, were they who would have deprived you of the power of succeeding him. I advised him to think himself deserving of the empire, which was, as it were, at his door, and to make you his heir. He acknowledged the wisdom of my advice, which raised him to the summit of his wishes, and you likewise. Had he deemed me a magician, he would never have made me acquainted with his most secret purposes. When he first met me, he did not speak of my compelling the Fates, or of my affecting a power greater than Jupiter himself, or even of my pretending to any thing extraordinary in order to shew and prove my character, as for instance, of making the sun rise in the west, and set in the east, &c. I should not have considered him worthy of the throne, had he thought me capable of such a conduct, or of having recourse to any other means in seeking it, than those pointed out by virtue. Moreover, I discoursed with him publicly in the temples of the Gods, which are known to be avoided by the corporation of magicians, as being holy, and hostile to their craft, who, wrapped up in darkness and obscurity, suffer not their foolish votaries to make use of either their eyes or ears. I have talked with him also in private, when only Euphrates and Dion were present, of whom the first was my greatest enemy, and the latter a friend, tied to me by all the bonds of affection: for whilst I live, I shall

* Dion and Euphrates.

never cease ranking Dion amongst my best friends. Who would presume talking of magic before wise men, or men pretending to wisdom? And who is there that is not desirous of appearing in a good light as well to friends as foes? on the contrary, we have spoken against magicians. You will not perhaps believe, that your father trusted more to magic, in looking to the empire, than to his own virtue; and that it was at my suggestion alone, he ascribed the acquisition of it to the Gods. Vespasian, before his coming into Egypt, entertained hopes of gaining the empire; and after his arrival, he talked to me only of the most important subjects, namely, the laws, the right possession of riches, the lawful worship of the Gods, and the advantages, which they who govern according to justice, are to hope from such conduct. To such subjects I need not say that magicians are the greatest enemies; and why? because whenever the laws are in force, the magic art is gone.

3. There is one thing, O Emperor! you ought to consider, which is, that all the arts exercised by men, though different in their operations, have but one object, which is the acquisition of money, of which some bring in little, others much, and others only bare necessaries. This is not only the object of the servile, but also of the liberal arts, and those that have any affinity with them, to the exception of philosophy alone. I call the liberal arts, poetry, music, astronomy, logic, and oratory, as practised in the forum by sophists and rhetoricians. The arts allied to the liberal ones, are painting, carving, sculpture, pilotage, and agriculture, when under the guidance and regulation of the seasons. These are arts which are not much inferior to what are called the liberal. There is also an art, O Emperor! that does not appertain to true wisdom, and is only becoming the practice of vain quacks and mountebanks, which ought not to be confounded with the art of divination: an art, if true, most highly to

be prized; and yet I am at a loss whether to call it an art, or not. Magicians, I affirm, are pseudosophists, and I attribute entirely to the heated imaginations of their duped votaries, the power they possess of making that which is, appear as if it was not; and that which is not, appear as if it was. The truth is, their whole art lies in the deluded fancies of the spectators. And yet magic is an art, for they who profess it, love money, and all the impositions they practise, is for the sake of vile lucre. They amass great wealth by deluding all their votaries, who are fond of it, and making them believe they can do every thing. But of what wealth have you discovered me possessed, O Emperor! as to make you think I profess a pseudophilosophy? particularly as I am the man whom your father found superior to corruption by money.

To shew you I utter the truth, where is the letter of that great, if not rather divine man, wherein he praises me for many things, but above all things for my poverty?

The Emperor Vespasian's Letter to the Philosopher
Apollonius, greeting.

"If all men, Apollonius, as well as you, would but cultivate philosophy, philosophy and poverty would flourish and be happy. The former would then be above corruption, and the latter respected. Farewel."

This is the defence your father set up for me, in which he ascribed to me a philosophy incorruptible, and a voluntary poverty. He remembered what happened in Egypt, when Euphrates and others, that masked themselves under the cloak of philosophy, came to him, asking for money, and that not in silence. As to myself, I never paid him court for the sake of money, and ever discouraged those who did, as soon as I discovered them not sincere in the cause of philosophy. From my very youth I despised riches: the fortune I derived from my forefathers, which was considerable, appeared to me but as

the transitory possession of a day, and I gave it up to my brothers, and friends, and indigent relations, having learnt, as it were, from my cradle, the virtue of living on a little. I speak nothing here of Babylon, and India on the other side Caucasus and the river Hyphasis, countries which I traversed always like myself: how I conducted myself in them and abstained from money, I appeal even to the testimony of the Egyptian himself. With respect to the criminal conduct and wicked councils imputed to me, he has not set forth either what I acquired by them, or what I proposed to acquire. And does he now think me so mad as to turn magician and perpetrate crimes for nothing, which are committed by others so much to their own advantage? Is it expected I should have a market, with a cryer proclaiming thus, "Come hither, all ye blockheads who have lost your senses, I practise magic, not for money, but for nothing: you shall all and every one of you obtain whatever you wish, and I shall have the satisfaction of being exposed to all the dangers and informations arising from it."

4. But not to be carried away too far by this foolish rhapsody, let me ask of my accuser to what charge I must first speak? And why necessary to interrogate him? for he, in the exordium of his speech, spoke of my dress, and of the particular kind of food of which I did, and did not, eat. To you, O divine Pythagoras! I will commit my defence on these two articles; for we are summoned here to give an account of those peculiar precepts of which you are the author, and I the follower. The earth, O Emperor! supplies all things necessary for man, who, if they would but live in peace with the brute beasts, would want for nothing needful to existence. Enough may be had from her, by the help of the plough and sickle, to support her own children, according to the proper seasons. But men, forgetful, as it were, of all her favours to them, have unsheathed the sword against her

animals, for the sake of procuring food and raiment. Such a conduct on their part was not approved by the Indian Brachmans, who persuaded the Gymnosophists of Egypt not to sanction it by their approbation. When Pythagoras, the first Greek who ever conversed with the Egyptians, understood this, he left the earth its animals, and lived on its genuine productions, from an idea of their being clean, and sufficient to support soul and body. Garments made from what hath life, and which are worn by the bulk of mankind, he held as impure; and on that account he clothed himself in linen, and wore shoes, in obedience to the same rule of discipline, made out of the bark of trees. From this pure mode of living he derived many advantages, and above all, that of knowing his own soul, for he knew he lived at the time when Troy was besieged on account of the rape of Helen, that he, who was the most beautiful of the sons of Panthus, wore the finest clothes, was killed in the flower of his age, and was lamented by Homer for his untimely fate. After migrating through various bodies, agreeable to the Adrastian law, which requires the soul's passage through different states, he at length assumed the human form, and was born of Mnesarchus the Samian, being changed from a barbarian into a sage, and from a Trojan into an Ionian; and rendered so immortal in death, that he never forgot he was Euphorbus. I have now given the father of my philosophical system, and proved that it is not my invention, but that of another, and is come to me as an inheritance. But however that is, I will not condemn those who feast on the Phœnicopterus,* or the bird of

* Phœnicopterus, Red Flamingo, a bird, having its wings of a crimson colour, whose tongue was a great dainty among the Romans:

Et Scythicæ Volucres et Phœnicopterus ingens. JUVENAL.

Apicius describes the scientific mode of seasoning them. Heliogabalus ordered for his table dishes filled with their tongues.

Phasis,* or the martin of Pannonia,† which is fattened up for the banquets of those who indulge in every kind of luxury. I will pass no sentence against those who buy fish at greater price, than what were formerly given by the rich for horses branded with the mark Koppa.‡ I will envy no man his wearing purple or Pamphylian garments;§ but I will, O ye Gods! strive to defend myself from an action brought against me for eating asphodels, and fruits, and pure food.

5. My very garments are not safe, for my accuser endeavours to deprive me of them, just as if a particular kind of dress was a matter of some moment in the eyes of a magician. But if once the doctrine which makes the difference between animate and inanimate things be done away, in the observance, or neglect of which, one may appear pure and another not, wherein will be the advantage of wearing a linen habit in preference to one of wool? The wool is shorn from the gentlest of all ani-

* Pheasants, or the birds of Phasis, were confined, it is said, to Colchis, before the expedition of the Argonauts, who, finding these beautiful birds scattered on the banks of that river, carried them home to Greece.

† Martin of Pannonia—this is not mentioned in the text, and is only collected from an epigram of Martial, which says,

“*Pannonicas nobis nunquam dedit Umbria catta.*”

What animal is understood by *catta*, is not known accurately.

‡ This custom of marking horses with some letter is very ancient, and is mentioned in the clouds of Aristophanes, ὄτ' ἐπιγράμην τον κοππατιαν, &c.—Eustathius says, the Greek letter *Cappa* is called by some *Coppa*. The custom which we have at this day of marking horses on the flank with a red-hot iron is mentioned in Anacreon.

Εὐισκίους μὲν ἵπποις
Πυρός χαραγμὴ ἐκασί

§ Pamphylian garments.—Olearius supposes the sheep that pastured among the rocks of Pamphylia produced fleeces, from the wool of which most expensive garments were made.

mals, one dear to the Gods* themselves, who have not disdained being shepherds. An animal which the Gods, or ancient fables, have adorned with gold.† Flax is sown without previous preparation, and no fables whatever make any allusion to it of gold. But as it is not torn from any living creature, the Indians and Egyptians reckon it pure, and on that account it is the cause of its supplying Pythagoras and me with the garments we wear, whilst engaged in disputing, praying, and sacrificing. We even suppose the mere passing the night under linen contributes to a greater purity; for the dreams of those who live as I do, are wont to convey more luminous oracles.

6. It is necessary also for me to set up a defence on account of my hair, which I formerly let grow; seeing a charge of a criminal nature is preferred against me for its negligent, undrest appearance. An accusation of this kind surely comes not well from the mouth of an Egyptian, who would have acted more in character, had he brought such a charge against those nice, well-drest beaux with golden hair, whose only object is to kindle a flame in the hearts of their mistresses, to whom they are so assiduous in paying their addresses. The accuser has my full permission to think them happy in their flowing perfumed locks, provided he does not deprive me of the pleasure I enjoy in my negligence of attire, and dislike of love. But what follows, is the answer I shall make to his objections. I will say, Cease, ye unhappy youths, to disparage by your calumnies, an invention of the Dorians. The letting the hair grow, is a custom derived from the Lacedemonians, who adopted it at the time when their military character

* Apollo—Pan—and Mercury.

† The ram with the golden fleece, the offspring of Neptune and Theophane, so celebrated in ancient story.

was at its highest pitch. Leonidas,* King of Sparta, wore his hair long as a mark of courage; he wore it so to appear venerable to his friends, and formidable to his foes. Hence Sparta wore the hair in his time as it did in that of Lycurgus and Iphitus. Scissars should never come in contact with the hair of a wise man. It is a sacrilege to let them approach the head, the source and seat of all the senses, from whence proceed oracles, and prayers, and speech, the intérpreter of wisdom. Empedocles† marched boldly through the most frequented places of Greece with his hair tied up in fine purple fillets, reciting hymns, in which he announced his change from a man to a God.‡ Yet I, who wear my hair careless and neglected, and never composed any hymns in praise of it, am dragged to justice before this tribunal. But what shall I say of Empedocles? Was it the effect of his own happy temper, or that of the age in which he lived, that he was never exposed to the tongue of calumny on account of it.

7. However, on the subject of hair I will not say a word more: mine has been cut off, and the prejudice which preceded this part of my accusation, makes it now necessary for me to vindicate myself from another most grievous charge, which in itself, O King! is enough not only to terrify you, but even Jupiter himself. My accuser says, Men think me a God, and publish this opinion, which they found on the various tricks and delusions I practise. Now, before an accusation of this kind should be made,

* Long hair distinguished the free man from the slave, and according to Plutarch, Lycurgus was accustomed to say, that long hair added grace to handsome men, and made those who were ugly more terrific. The answer brought back by Xerxes's messenger from Thermopylæ, was, that the Lacedemonians were employed in combing their hair.

† Diogenes Laertius says, that Empedocles, after restoring peace and good government in Agrigentum, clothed himself in purple, and wore a golden girdle, as Phavorinus says, and a Delphic crown, and had servants attending him.

‡ See b. i. c. 1.

I think it would be first right to mention the subjects of my disputation; and next, the wonderful things, either said or done, that could have prevailed on men to worship me. I never declared to the Greeks either from what body my soul has migrated, or into what body it is to migrate, though perfectly acquainted with it. I never spread abroad such an opinion of myself, nor went about publishing oracles and predictions in my favour, like other itinerant fanatics. I never knew of any city making proclamation of offering sacrifice to Apollonius; yet I have benefitted as many as stood in need of my assistance, and many there have been who required it in curing the sick, in promoting a stricter observance of religious ceremonies, and in checking oppression by giving a greater energy to the laws. And what has been my reward for all this? Nothing but the reformation thereby effected, wherein I considered myself as having rendered to you, O Emperor! a great service. For as graziers serve their employers by keeping their cattle always in good condition, and as shepherds take care to fatten their sheep for the benefit of their employers, and bee-keepers save their hives from distempers for the better security of their master's swarms, so did I bring your cities under a more regular police by correcting in them whatever I found amiss. If then they considered me as a God, it is to you the error would have been of service; under this delusion they would have listened more willingly to any advice of mine, through the fear of doing any thing displeasing to the Gods. But the truth is, they never formed any such opinion of me; they conceived, and rightly too, that men had some degree of affinity with a deity, in virtue of which, they of all creatures know a God, and can reason philosophically of their own nature, and how far it is participant of the divine. Our form speaks its likeness to a God, as appears* from the arts of

* Statuaries and painters always represent the Gods with human countenances.

statuary and painting. The virtues are supposed to descend from the Gods, in consequence of which, they who are endowed with them, most resemble them. I will not call the Athenians the authors of this sentiment on account of their being the first who gave men the titles of *Just*, and *Olympian*,* and other † like appellations, which seem to include something more divine than what is befitting mortals; but I will call the Pythian Apollo himself the author of it, as appears from what I am going to mention. Lycurgus of Sparta visited the temple of Apollo after delivering to his countrymen that code of laws and statutes on which their city was founded. The God ‡ addressed him on his entrance, and it is said, seemed to deliberate, as it were, with himself what judgment he should form of him, in giving his answer; at first he was in doubt whether to call him a God or a man, and at last decreed him the style and title of a God, as being a man of virtue. No process of any kind was issued against Lycurgus for this, nor did he incur any danger with the Lacedemonians, either for having aspired to immortality, or for having not corrected the Pythian God for his mode of salutation. The answer returned by the oracle gained universal assent, from a full conviction that Lycurgus merited the appellation before it was delivered. This doctrine is that of the Indians and Egyptians. The latter blame the Indians in some things, and call in question certain of their precepts touching morality; but the doctrine which the philosophers of the East

* Aristides and Pericles, the former obtained the appellation of the *just* on account of his integrity—and the latter that of the *Olympian*, on account of his commanding eloquence.

† Olearius says, Cleon was surnamed Pythius.

‡ Herodotus has preserved the answer of the oracle.—

“Thou com'st, Lycurgus, to this honour'd shrine,

“Favour'd by Jove, and ev'ry pow'r divine.

“Or God, or mortal: how shall I decide;

“Doubtless to heaven, most dear, and most allied.”

hold of the *Demiurgus*,* or maker of all things, is so approved of by the Egyptians, that they instruct others in its tenets, notwithstanding it is of Indian origin. This doctrine acknowledges God to be the author of nature and of all existence; and makes his goodness the efficient cause of all things. If, then, goodness is so intimately connected with the Divinity, I cannot avoid considering myself founded in the opinion of good men partaking of the Divine nature. By the world, which depends on God as its great *Demiurgus*, we understand all things in heaven, and in earth, and in the sea, of which all men equally partake, though their several conditions as to fortune may be very different. But there is a world in every good man's power, the regulation of which does not exceed the limits of human wisdom, which you will allow, O Emperor! requires a man like unto a God to govern. What is the appearance of this world? Souls in a state of corruption assume various forms in despite of reason. Laws to them seem obsolete, moderation lost, the worship of the Gods neglected, idletalking in fashion, and dissipation, from whence flows indolence, the very worst counsellor in all things. Souls of this description, besotted, as it were, by intemperance, plunge inconsiderately into a variety of excess, and nothing is able to restrain their wild irregularity: not if they were to swallow all those potions, which, like mandragora,†

* From all the properties of man and of nature, from all the various branches of science, from all the deductions of human reason, the general corollary, admitted by *Hindus*, Arabs, and Tartars, by Persians, and by Chinese, is the supremacy of an all-creating and all-preserving spirit, infinitely wise, good, and powerful, but infinitely removed from the comprehension of his most exalted creatures. Sir W. Jones on the Philosophy of the Asiatics.

† ——— Not poppy, nor mandragora,
 Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world,
 Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep,
 Which thou owedst yesterday.

OTHELLO.

are medicined for sleep. The man who is to take the care of regulating a world of such souls as these, should resemble a God* deputed by Divine wisdom. He alone is capable of recalling them from love, to which they are carried by more than usual bias; and from avarice, which is never satisfied with riches till choaked by them. Such a man may, perhaps, not find it impossible to keep them from the pollution of murder, but † to purge them for murder committed, is neither possible for me, nor for that God who is the maker of all things.

S. Now as to the charge of my having restored health to Ephesus, let my accuser bring it forward in the way most fitting his purpose: let him, if he pleases, urge it in the following manner, The Scythians and Celtæ, who dwell not far from the banks of the Danube and Rhine, have a town belonging to them, not much inferior to Ephesus in Ionia. This town is the bulwark to the barbarians, your enemies. A plague was on the point of destroying it, and Apollonius saved it. In a case like this, a wise man would not be without his answer, if the Emperor wished to destroy his enemies by force of arms, and not by force of disease. But God forbid, O Emperor! that any city should be utterly destroyed either by you or me; and as to myself, I would not like to see diseases in the temples, ‡ to where the sick repair for the sake of health. But granting it was not necessary to assist the barbarians in their distress, or to restore them to health when sick, on account of being the great and implacable enemies of our nation; who, I say, will presume to say

* Θεός ἀπο εὐφρίας, seems to allude, in the opinion of Olearius, to the well-known phrase of Θεός ἀπο ῥακκωνίης—the introduction of a God on the stage.

“Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit.” HORACE.

† ἀπονίψαι.—By those who spoke accurately, to wash the hands before supper, was termed νίψασθαι—to wash after supper ἀπονίψασθαι.

‡ Temples of Esculapius.

it was not right to deliver Ephesus from the plague? Ephesus that derives its origin from the purest Attic* source, that has grown in rank above all the cities in Ionia or Lydia, and has stretched even to the sea by means of the neck of land on which it is built. A city rich in the literary labours of its philosophers and rhetoricians, insomuch, that it flourishes not so considerably by the strength of its cavalry, as by the number of its citizens devoted to science. Do you think there is any wise man who would not take much pains to save a city like this? particularly if he called to mind Democritus† who delivered the people of Abdera from a plague; and Sophocles the Athenian, who appeased the winds‡ when blowing louder than usual; or if he recollected Empedocles' § checking the fury of a cloud when ready to burst over Agrigentum.

9. But I see the accuser looking at me; you see it also, O Emperor! he says I am accused, not for having

* Founded by Androclus, son of Codrus, king of Athens.

† This account of Democritus's delivering the Abderites from a plague, is not mentioned by Laertius—he says, however, that he was honored as a God by them on account of his predictions. Olearius refers us to the observations of Menage on the Lives of Laertius, for the confirmation of this delivery from the plague.

‡ To this Mr. Gerard Hamilton alludes in his *Ode to Sleep*—Printed for Mr. Payne. 1808.

With longing taste, with eager lip,

In raptured visions oft I sip

The honeys of the tragic bee;**

Whose strains could every tempest quell,

Could every noxious blast dispel,

And still the hollow roaring of the sea, &c.

§ Laertius relates, that when the Etesian winds were very violent at Agrigentum, so as to destroy the fruits of the earth, Empedocles ordered some asses to be flayed, and that having made bottles of their skins, they were placed at the tops of the hills for stopping the winds. What can be thought of a speech illustrated by so silly an allusion.

** Sophocles.

delivered the Ephesians from a plague, but for having foretold that it would attack them. This foreknowledge he thinks is more than human, and partakes of the marvellous: and he is of opinion I could never have arrived at its discovery without being either a magician or one of the wicked. What will Socrates say here, to defend what he said he had from his Demon? What will Thales and Anaxagoras say, of whom the one predicted a great plenty of olives,* and the other,† a variety of celestial phenomena? Was it the magic art they made use of to utter these predictions? They were brought before tribunals for very different reasons, and amongst all the articles alledged against them, it was never once insinuated they were magicians for having foretold what was to happen. A charge of this nature would have appeared ridiculous, and one which it was not probable would have been brought against wise men in Thessaly, where old women are under the evil report of drawing down the moon‡ from heaven. You will ask, perhaps, how have I foreseen the extraordinary phenomenon which happened at Ephesus? You heard my accuser speak to that point, he said himself, I did not live after the manner of other men, which was noticed by me in the exordium of my speech, when I allowed I used a particular kind of food that was most frugal, and more agreeable to me than the nicest delicacies of Sybaris. This is the kind of living which acts in the place of an occult cause, and keeps my senses unimpaired, without suffering any thing to obscure

* Thales predicted a plenty of olives, *antequam florere cepissent*, says Cicero.

† For the predictions of Anaxagoras, see b. i. c. 2.

‡ *Carmina vel cœlo possunt deducere lunam.* VIRGIL.

The Thessalians were thought to be possessed of this art, more than any other people.

The sorceress in Theocritus frequently calls on the moon to tell her whence her passion came.

them; this, in fine, is the cause of my seeing, as it were, in the speculum of a mirror, all that is, and is to be. A wise man will not wait till the earth sends forth vapor, or the atmosphere is infected, if evil comes from above; but he will perceive such things are at hand, not so soon as the Gods, yet sooner than the generality of men. The Gods see what is to come, men what is come, and wise men what is coming. As to what respects the causes of the plague, inquire of me, O Emperor! in private, for they are too deep to be divulged. The way in which I live is the only thing which gives that subtilty to the senses, or more properly speaking, that energy which is fit for producing great and wonderful effects. The truth of what I say may be collected from many things, but particularly from what occurred at Ephesus, during the time of the plague. The form the malady assumed, was that of an old beggar-man.* I saw him, and as soon as I saw him, I apprehended him: not abating the distemper, but extirpating it. The statue erected by me at Ephesus to Hercules Avernuncus, is a proof whose assistance I implored on the occasion. To him I offered up my prayers, whose wisdom and courage of old delivered Elis from a plague, at the time he turned the course of a river into that province, which swept away all its pestilential vapors, in the reign of King Augeas. Will any man, O Emperor! who wishes to pass for a magician, ascribe to a God what he has performed himself? Will any man admire his craft, if he gives to a God the merit of all that is marvellous? or did you ever hear of a magician calling on Hercules for assistance? Such things magicians ascribe

* Had Apollonius been suffered to make this defence, what must Domitian and the court have thought of his representing the plague as an old beggar-man.

Si dicentis erunt fortunis absona dicta,
Romani tollent equites peditesque cachinnum. HORACE.

to the digging of trenches and the infernal Gods, with whom Hercules has no place on account of the purity of his life, and his benevolence to men. Corinth was once infested with the appearance of a Lamia, who supported herself by devouring beautiful boys. In combating with her, Hercules lent me his assistance, and what did he ask as a reward for this service? only a few cakes made of honey, a little frankincense, and the pleasure of doing good to mortals. This is the recompense he looked to, for all the labors which he accomplished by the orders of Eurystheus. Take it not ill, O Emperor! that I speak to you of the labours of Hercules: he was under the immediate protection of Minerva, because he was good and useful to mankind.

10. But seeing you wish me to speak on the subject of the sacrifice, which I suppose is signified by the motion of your hand, listen to what is the ingenuous truth. Though anxious to do all I can for the good of mortals, I never sacrificed for them, nor mean to do it. I wish to have nothing to do with sacrifices where blood is shed, or to offer up my vows with the sacrificing knife in view, or with any thing which you call a sacrifice. I am no Scythian, O Emperor! nor one sprung from an inhospitable soil. Far from adopting the religious ceremonies of the Massagetæ or Tauri, I have caused them to cease from their usual bloody sacrifices, and blamed their folly in many discourses had with them on the subject of divination, and in what it may be considered as efficient, and in what not. Can I, therefore, (who know better than any other, that the Gods declare their will to men who are wise and pure, though they do not aim at the gift of divination) stain my hands in blood, and touch the entrails of victims, the bare mention of which is forbidden, and excites horror: and by such a defilement thereby forfeit the gift of divination? But setting aside the horror I feel

at such sacrifices, I think, if my accuser was desired to reflect on what he has said, he will acquit me himself. He has said I foretold the plague at Ephesus, without having recourse to any sacrifice, and if he did say so, why does he suppose it necessary for me now to offer bloody sacrifices to foretel what might have been foretold without them? Or why suppose I stood in want of the gift of divination, concerning events of which I and others were fully persuaded. If I am called on to answer for Nerva and his friends, I shall only repeat what I said before, when accused by you. I look on Nerva as fit for the discharge of any office, and worthy of all praise; but ill calculated for the execution of any enterprize. His body is enfeebled with disease, which has so affected his mind, as to leave him scarcely equal to the management of his domestic concerns. He* commends the vigor of your body and mind, wherein he is right, for men are ever prone to praise in others what they are incapable of doing themselves. In his intercourse with me, his modesty is remarkable, for I never saw him laugh or indulge in a jest in my company, as he is accustomed to do in that of his friends, but like boys in the presence of their parents or preceptors, he utters, with a kind of blushing timidity, whatever he has to say.† Sensible of the value I set upon modesty, he is so particular in making a show of it before me, as to appear more

* Domitian's person was graceful, and in his youth was completely such, excepting only that his toes were bent somewhat inward.

SUETONIUS.

† Nerva is commended by all the ancients, as a prince of a most sweet and humane temper, and one who looked upon himself as raised to the empire, not for his own advantage, but for that of his people. He seems to have been naturally timorous. Apollonius was the first, if Philostratus is to be credited, who solicited him to assume the sovereignty, or at least to deliver Rome from the tyranny of Domitian.

humble than what he ought, or is becoming. Who* can think that Nerva would aim at sovereign power, who is well content with the government of his own family? Or that he should confer with me on subjects of the greatest moment, who has not courage to talk to me on the most trifling? or communicate matters to me, which he ought not to breathe to any mortal living, if he took my advice? or how could I ever expect to pass for a wise man, if I was to rest my credit on the art of divination, without once listening to the dictates of prudence? Orfitus and Rufus are men of integrity and moderation, and peaceable, as far as I know them. When it is said they are suspected of aspiring to the empire, I know not whether the mistake is not as great with respect to them, as it is with respect to Nerva, or if it is more probable, Nerva wishes to mount the throne under the direction and guidance of such advisers, or that these advisers have inspired him with such an idea.

11. But he who summoned me to trial, should have considered how, or in what way I could have given assistance to innovators in the empire. My prosecutor does not say I have received money from them, or have been bribed to join their party. But it may be said I had great claims on them, and on that account put off the day of retribution to that in which it might be supposed they would be masters of the government, when I might have demanded much, and obtained more. But how can this be proved? Call to mind, O Emperor! yourself and your predecessors, I mean your brother† and your father,‡ and likewise Nero, whilst they governed the empire. Under

* The evasive mode of reasoning adopted here by Apollonius, is not perfectly suitable to the openness and candour of a great philosopher.

† Titus.

‡ Vespasian.

them I lived in some degree of celebrity, even before my journey to India. During the space of eight and thirty years,* which is the time elapsed since, I never frequented the doors of Emperors, (save those of your father in Egypt, but he was not as yet Emperor, and he confessed it was on my account he came) nor ever condescended to any thing humiliating in complimenting Kings, or even people for the sake of Kings. I never boasted of the letters written me by Kings, nor of those I wrote to them; nor did I ever once deviate from the respect due to myself, by a mean flattery of Kings for what they had to bestow. If you ask me, after due consideration had of the condition of poor and rich, amongst whom I enrol myself, I will say amongst the very rich. For I consider the virtue of wanting nothing equal to the possession of the riches of Lydia and Pactolus. How could I expect that men not in possession of power, should make presents to me when they were, who never accepted any thing from you, or those who were in full enjoyment of it? or how could any body suppose I should have been dreaming of changes in government to enrich myself, who never once made use of the people in power to do it? And yet what may be acquired by a philosopher paying his court to the great, is evident from the history of Euphrates. From what, I pray you, does he draw his wealth? There are springs from whence his wealth flows; at this time he holds his philosophical disputations at the tables of the money-changers, where he appears in the several characters of a merchant, a retailer, a publican, and an usurer, in short, where he appears all things to all, a seller, and yet to be sold. He is more nailed to the doors of the great, and spends more time in dangling

* We have so few documents to ascertain the different eras in the life of Apollonius, that I think it useless to enter into the discussion, particularly as both the year of his birth, and that of his death, are equally unknown.

after them, than their porters. He is often found shut up in their houses like one of their hungry dogs. No philosopher ever contrives to get a farthing from him; he hoards up his riches, and with what he can extort, and squeeze from others, he feeds this Egyptian, and sharpens a tongue against me, which if it had its desert, ought to be cut out of his head.

12. But to you, O Emperor! I resign Euphrates; if you are not very much enamoured of flatterers, you will find him worse than I have described him. Listen, I pray thee, to what remains of my defence. And what is it, and upon what subject? My accuser has told you a melancholy tale of my cutting an Arcadian boy in pieces, and though he has told you, I know not yet whether he says it happened by night or in a dream. This boy, he adds, was of a good family, and as handsome as Arcadians generally are, whose good looks are not affected by the meanness of their attire. This youth I am accused of killing whilst in the act of supplicating me with tears, and at the time, when my hands were stained with his blood, of having implored the Gods to reveal the truth of what was to come to pass. Thus far the accusation comes home to myself; what follows concerns the Gods, for it is added, they heard my prayers, displayed favourable signs in the entrails, and put not to death the impious sacrificer. Why is it necessary for me, O Emperor! to speak of that which cannot be heard without a crime? As to what respects this part of my defence concerning the Arcadian, let us inquire who he is? For if he was not of an obscure family, and of no inelegant appearance, surely it is time to ask the name of his parents and family; and in what town of Arcadia he was educated, and from what penates he was dragged here to be sacrificed? For notwithstanding my accuser's ingenuity in the art of lying, he has no evidence on which to found these things. Granted—let us then suppose the boy a slave, for whom this up-

roar is made, for what else can he be who has no name, nor parentage, nor city, nor inheritance. And if all this is so, we may fairly ask who sold him? and who was the purchaser? for if an Arcadian's entrails are the fittest for illustrating the power of divination, it is probable the boy must have cost much, and that a special messenger was dispatched to Peloponnesus to bring him to Rome. Here there is no difficulty in buying Pontic, or Lydian, or Phrygian slaves, of whom you may sometimes meet whole droves on their way to Rome. The countries from whence these slaves come, and the other barbarous ones who have always been under the rule of foreign masters, do not consider slavery as disgraceful. Nothing is commoner in Phrygia than parents selling their children, and if once made slaves, never thinking of their ransom. But the Greeks are still fond of liberty, and not one of them will sell a slave to be carried out of the country. Hence it is that Greece is not visited either by slave-stealers, or slave merchants; but of all parts of it, Arcadia is the least subject to this traffic, both on account of its inhabitants loving liberty better than the other Greeks, and of their requiring a greater number of slaves for their own use. Arcadia is a country spacious, abounding in plants and herbs, with lands, of which some are open and flat, and some mountainous. The cultivation and management of these grounds require many hands to till them, together with many persons to take care of their goats, and swine, and sheep, and oxen, and horses. It requires also many wood-cutters, and in this kind of labour, the inhabitants are employed from their youth. But supposing the Arcadians not such as here described, and suppose they sold their slaves, like other people, what advantage could this famous art derive from its having an Arcadian sacrifice made in preference to any other? The Arcadians do not so much exceed the other Greeks in wisdom, as to make us perceive any thing in their entrails different from what

is to be seen in those of others. They are the simplest of all people in their manners, and in some circumstances, as well as in that of eating acorns, resemble their swine. In painting the manners of the Arcadians, and digressing into Peloponnesus, I have, I fear, pleaded my cause more after the manner of a rhetorician than what I ought. What then is the defence I should have made, as most becoming my character? It is the following:—"I have shed no blood in sacrificing; I shed no blood, I touch no blood, nor any altar sprinkled with it." This is what Pythagoras and his disciples, the Gymnosophists in Egypt, and the wise men in India, have commanded and ordained. They who perform their religious duty pursuant to their institutions, do nothing displeasing to the Gods; they grow old by the means of moderate indulgence, and keep their bodies and minds in sound health, and free from disease. They encrease in wisdom, are less dependant than others, and want for nothing. I think it not absurd to pray to the Gods, who are good, by making them pure offerings, and I think the Gods themselves have been of the same opinion, as appears from their having placed the frankincense-bearing country * in the purest region of the world, from whence men might get wherewithal to offer to them, without being obliged to fly to the sacrificing knife, and the shedding of blood. And yet it is supposed, that I, without any respect had for the Gods and myself, have sacrificed in a way not familiar to me, and in which I wish not to be followed by any mortal.

13. But the time marked by my accuser, will acquit me. For if the day on which he says I committed the crime, I was in the country, I will confess having offered the sacrifice; and if I do that, I will not deny the having

* Arabia thurifera, called also, odorifera, dives and beata.

shared in eating it. And yet you, O Emperor! continue to repeat the question, whether I was not at that time in Rome? a thing not denied. You were there likewise, most excellent Prince, and I am sure, will not allow of having offered such a sacrifice. My accuser himself was also there, and will never own to the having committed murder. Multitudes of other people were there as well as we, whom you would treat with more lenity by sending at once into banishment, than by exposing them to accusations, in which their being at Rome might be brought forward as an argument of their guilt. On the other hand, I think the very circumstance of a man's coming to Rome, is a proof of innocence, and of his not being concerned in rebellion. For unless a man had an inclination to leave this world, he would never meddle with innovation in a city, where all eyes and ears are open to see and hear, both what is done, and what is not; and where all moderate and prudent men learn to walk heedful, in the most plain and direct paths.

14. What then, O accuser! did I do that night? if you were to question me as if I was yourself, since you are come to interrogatives, I would tell you, I was laying indictments against the worthy, and snares for the ruin of the innocent, and instilling lies into the mind of the Emperor, for the purpose of honouring myself, and dishonouring him. If you were to ask me as a philosopher what I was doing, I would say, I was commending the laughter of Democritus which he used in deriding all human things. But if you were to ask myself what I was doing—here is my answer, Philiscus of Melos who studied philosophy with me for four years, was then very sick in his bed, and on that night I sat by him till he died. Then it was that I wished to possess such magic charms as could have saved his life, and to know if Orpheus had any verses by which the dead are restored to this world. Had it

been permitted, I should have gone to the infernal regions on his account, so endeared was he to me, both as a friend of congenial sentiments, and a philosopher of my way of thinking. Of the truth of what I say, O Emperor! Teli-sinus, the consul, will inform you, who passed the same night I did with Philiscus in the most friendly attentions. And if any doubt is entertained of his testimony, from being numbered with the philosophers, I appeal to that of the physicians who attended him, Seleucus of Cyzicus, and Stratocles of Sidon, from whom you may learn whether what I say is true or not. Besides, Philiscus himself had above thirty disciples who can all testify the same. I would wish to call in the relations of Philiscus, but if I expressed this wish, you might think I was inclined to put off judgment, as they have all left Rome, for Melos, to pay the last sad duties to the deceased. Come into court, ye other witnesses who are cited, and are permitted to appear. (Here follows, it may be supposed, the depositions of such witnesses as were examined). The depositions you have just heard, prove clearly how very consistent with truth the libel was laid, for it appears from them I was not in the suburbs, but in the city; not outside the walls, but within them; not with Nerva, but with Philiscus; not offering bloody sacrifices, but prayers for the recovery of my friend's health; not occupied in the business of the state, but in that of philosophy; not planning insurrection against you, but intent on saving the life of a man like myself.

15. What then becomes of the story of the Arcadian boy? what of the story of the victims, and the credit which has been given them? For supposing what is false to be adduced in a court of justice, instead of that which is true; in what way, I pray thee, O Emperor! should the absurdity of such a sacrifice be treated? In old times there were soothsayers, whose business was to inspect the exta of beasts; men versed in the art, and of

great celebrity, of whom Megistias,* the Acarnanian, Aristander † the Lycian, and Silanus ‡ the Ambracian, were the chief. The first was soothsayer to Leonidas, the King of Sparta; the second to Alexander of Macedon; and Silanus, the third, to Cyrus, at the time he was aspiring to the throne of his brother. If any thing had been discovered by these men in the exta of human victims, more luminous, more profound, or more explicit than in those of others, they would have had neither scruples nor difficulty in procuring them; for the Kings by whom they were employed had plenty of cupbearers and slaves at their disposal; and they were men themselves of such character as would not have declined making use of human victims, through any fears either of danger or prosecution. But I take for granted the same sentiments occurred to them, as do to me, who stand here arraigned for my life for similar offences; they thought that probably the exta of animals that lose their lives without having any pre-science of death, or sense of what they are about to suffer, undergo no change whatever. But who will believe that a man who has ever some fear of death, though not immediate, can, whilst the apprehension of death is present, and as it were before his eyes, give any intimation of futurity by his exta, and be a proper subject for a sacrifice? To be convinced that my conjectures are right, and consonant to the truth, I think, O Emperor! you should consider the matter in the following light. The liver, which the most skilful soothsayers affirm to be the tripod of divination, consists not of pure blood, for it is

* Megistias, a soothsayer, who told the Spartans that defended Thermopylæ, that they should all perish. HERODOTUS.

† Aristander, a celebrated soothsayer, greatly esteemed by Alexander. It is said Alexander relied much on his veracity. PLINY.

‡ Silanus, an augur in the army of the ten thousand Greeks, at their return from Cynaxa. See Xenophon's Anabasis.

the heart which retains and circulates, by the veins, the pure blood through the whole body. The gall which is contained in the liver, is put into motion by anger, and is confined by fear within the cavities of the liver. So that the gall, whenever it becomes to effervesce in men of warm passions, and is not able to be kept within its own proper vessels, diffuses into the liver, by which it occupies the whole left region of the entrails, wherein is seated the foundation of the art of divination. When a man is under the influence of fear, his liver contracts and darkens the light in the left region. For then the purer part of the blood withdrawing itself, by means of which the liver is distended like the spleen, and sinking by a natural motion into the membrane inclosing the heart, swims upon the gross matter. Whence then, O Emperor! the necessity of human sacrifices, if they give no signs of futurity to be depended on? But man's own nature is the true cause of its not giving such signs, he himself being under the fear of death. Brave men die with anger, cowards with fear. Hence this art of divination, with people not wholly savage, approves of the sacrificing of kids and lambs, because of their being harmless, and not differing from creatures entirely devoid of sense. But cocks, and swine, and bulls, as being of a more generous nature, it considers unfit to be used in their secret rites. I see, O Emperor! that my adversary is not pleased with my making you a more enlightened hearer than himself, nor with the attention you seem to pay to my defence. If in any point I have explained myself in a way not so satisfactory as what I ought, I beg you may interrogate me respecting it.

16. I have said what was necessary as an answer to the libel of the Egyptian. But since the calumnies of Euphrates are not to be passed over in silence, you will judge, O Emperor! which of us two philosophizes best. His object is to say every thing false of me, and mine not to follow his example. He fears you, as a slave fears his master, and I respect you as a subject should his sovereign.

He puts a sword into your hand against me, but I do not arm you against him. He makes my conversations in Ionia the grounds of his charge against me, which he says were uttered with an evil mind? and yet all I said there regarded nothing but fate and necessity. To illustrate my discourse by examples, I sought in the history of princes for such as were appropriate, because, in human affairs, your rank, O Emperor! is most conspicuous. I reasoned on the force of fate, and said, its decrees are so unchangeable, that if they decreed a kingdom to one man, which, at the time of making the decree was possessed by another, and that, if the reigning prince was even to put to death his appointed successor to prevent his succeeding to the throne, I said the dead man would return to life to satisfy the decrees of fate. Men, you know, are sometimes accustomed to talk in figures and hyperboles to those who will not believe them when they talk in reason and moderation. It is as if I was to speak in the following language, He whom the Fates destine to be a carpenter, will be one though his hands were cut off. He whom they appoint to win at the Olympic Games, will win even if his legs were broken: and he whom they have decreed to hit his mark, will do it though his eyes were put out. My examples which I adduced, were taken from the history of Kings, and those I had in view, were Acrisius,* Laius,† and Astyages the Mede, and many others who thought they had taken the best precautions to secure themselves in their kingdoms. Of these princes, some by putting to death their sons, and others their grandsons, thought to give themselves security; and yet they were all bereft of their kingdoms by those sons and grandsons, who rose out of darkness by the predominant power of fate. If I was inclined to flatter, O Emperor! I would say that your situa-

* Acrisius, the father of Danaë, whose story is well known.

† Laius, the father of Œdipus, and Astyages, the grandfather of Cyrus, whose stories are equally well known.

tion* occurred strongly to me when you were besieged in this city by Vitellius, and the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was burnt. Vitellius supposed every thing would go well with him, could he have prevented your escape from the capitol, though at that time you were young, and far from what you are at present. But as the Fates decreed otherwise, he perished in the midst of his projects, and you now possess his throne. However, as the song of flattery is displeasing to my ears, from its want of due cadence and melody, I must break its string. Do not believe my thoughts have been engrossed by your affairs; I have spoken only of the Fates and Necessity, which is what my accuser has alledged against me. As to the doctrine of Necessity, most of the Gods themselves do not object to it, and even Jupiter is not displeas'd at hearing it mentioned by the poets, who, when speaking of the affairs of Lycia, make him say,

“The hour draws on, the destinies ordain,

“My godlike son shall press the Phrygian plain.”

Nor is he angry with the Fates, when they deprive him of that son. And in other places, the poets, when speaking of the abode of departed spirits, tell us that Jupiter appointed Minos,† Sarpedon's brother, whom he could not

* Domitian on the first eruption of the besiegers, was conveyed to the apartments of the warden of the temple; and there protected till one of his freedmen had the address to conduct him to a place called the Velabrum, where he lodged him safe, under the care of a man firmly attached to Vespasian.

TACITUS, Hist. iii. c. 74.

† High on a throne, tremendous to behold,
Stern Minos waves a mace of burnish'd gold;
Around ten thousand thousand spectres stand
Thro' the wide dome of Dis, a trembling band.
Still as they plead, the fatal lots he rolls,
Absolves the just, and dooms the guilty souls.

Odyssey, b. xi. l. 567. POPE.

exempt from the laws of destiny, judge in the court of Pluto, and honored him with a golden sceptre. Why then, O Emperor! are you displeased with this doctrine? a doctrine tolerated by the Gods themselves, whose condition is unchangeable, and who punish not with death the poets on account of it. We must obey the destinies, we must not repine at the changes and chances of this life, and must give credit to Sophocles, who says, "The Gods alone are exempt from old age and death," and, "Time in the end is victorious over all things," and in this, he expresses himself better than was ever done by mortal. The fortune of men is variable, and their happiness only endureth for that of a day.* Neither he who has my estate, nor the man who has the estate of him who possesses mine, can be considered as the real possessors. Taking this into consideration, put a stop, O Emperor! I beseech you, to all banishments and shedding of blood. Use philosophy in every thing you like, for true philosophy frees the mind from trouble. Wipe the tears from the eyes of men, whose multiplied groans resound from the sea, and yet more from the land, all and every one lamenting what they held most dear. The evils resulting from hence are more in number than can be counted, evils all to be ascribed to the tongues of informers, who make every thing odious to you, and you, O Emperor! odious to every one.†

* Hence to your fields, ye rustics; hence away,
Nor stain with grief the pleasures of a day.

Od. b. xxi. l. 85. POPE.

† The observation of Tillemont on this long and laboured defence of Apollonius, is just, and much to the purpose: Apollonius pretended to know the thoughts of men, and to foresee futurities; nevertheless, as he observes, he composed a very long apology for himself, with a design to deliver it to Domitian: but his pretended prophetic spirit did not advertise him, that Domitian would not give him time to pronounce it, and that the pains he was at in composing it would be useless.

CHAP. VIII.

I HAVE given the speech Apollonius prepared for his defence. At the close of his first speech before Domitian, I found these words of Homer, "Not thy deadly spear can slay me, because I am not mortal," to which were added the ones preceding, on which they depended. After Apollonius departed from the tribunal,* the Emperor behaved like one under a divine influence, and in a way not easy to be explained, because it was totally different from the general expectation of those who were best acquainted with the tyrant. It was supposed he would have burst out into violent exclamations, and have issued orders through all parts of the empire, for discovering and prosecuting him wherever found.—It was the very reverse; it seemed as if he intended to disappoint all mens' expectations, by the conduct he adopted. Whether it was, that he had not sufficient power against the man, or that he held him in contempt, may be conjectured from what is to follow. I think it will appear that he was an object more to excite wonder with Domitian, than contempt.

CHAP. IX.

THE Emperor heard another cause the same day with that of Apollonius. One of his cities had a matter of

* ἀπηνάθη—In chapter 5—Philostratus says, that Apollonius vanished away out of the Emperor's presence before a great number of people: "But here reason bids me observe, that although it is reported to have been done in the presence of a great number of people, yet I have but the testimony of one man for the truth of it, and that man not a contemporary."

dispute with a certain citizen on the subject of a will, as I remember. During the hearing of this cause, Domitian forgot not only the names of the parties, but the arguments used in the case. His questions were unmeaning, and his answers totally irrelevant to the cause; all which argued the degree of astonishment and perplexity under which he laboured, so much so that his flatterers made him believe that nothing escaped his recollection.

CHAP. X.

LEAVING the tyrant in this state of mind, and shewing that he, who was the terror of Greek and barbarian, was but a play-thing in the hands of philosophy,* Apollonius vanished from the tribunal before mid-day, and in the evening of the same, appeared to Demetrius and Damis at Puteoli.† This accounts for his having desired Damis to go there without waiting for his defence. He had given Damis, however, no previous notice of his intentions, but only told him, who was so very useful to him, to do what best accorded with his plans.

CHAP. XI.

DAMIS had arrived at Puteoli the day before, and had informed Demetrius of all that took place previous to the

* *παύσιον ἄνθρωπος Θεῶν* is a sentiment of Plato's.

† Which was above three days' journey from Rome: the dispatch with which he made this journey was not exceeded by his great prototype Pythagoras, who was on the same day present, and discoursed in public, at Metapontum in Italy—and at Tauromenium in Sicily. If it could be proved he had found the flying arrow of Abaris, there would have been no difficulty on the occasion. This journey has been noticed before, of Pythagoras from Metapontum to Tauromenium. B. iv. c. 10.

hearing judgment. This account filled Demetrius with fears, and made him more uneasy about the fate of Apollonius, than what was becoming one of his hearers. He questioned Damis the following day of all that passed, whilst they were musing and walking together on the sea shore celebrated by the story of Calypso. They had little or no hopes of ever seeing him again, from the knowledge they had of the tyrant's cruelty, being felt among all descriptions of people. And yet out of respect for his character, they wished to obey his commands. Tired at length with their walk, they sat down in a Nymphæum,* wherein was a cistern of white marble, containing a living spring of water which never rose above its margin, nor lessened by being drawn from. They talked of the nature of this water with less interest than usual, on account of the sorrow which filled their hearts, and then turned the conversation to what had happened before the trial.

CHAP. XII.

HERE Damis's grief breaking out afresh, he cried, O ye Gods! are we never to see more our good and virtuous friend? When Apollonius, who had already arrived at the Nymphæum, heard this, he said, you shall see him, or rather you have seen him. What, alive? cried Demetrius, for if dead we shall never have done lamenting him. Hereupon Apollonius stretching out his hand, said, take it, and if I escape you, regard me as an apparition just arrived from the kingdom of Proserpine, of the same

* Nymphæa, were buildings adorned with statues of the nymphs, and abounding, as it is thought, with fountains, and waterfalls, which afforded an agreeable and refreshing coolness, borrowed from the Greeks.

Adam's Rom. Antiquities.

kind with those which the terrestrial Gods present to the eyes of afflicted mortals. But if I bear being touched, I wish you would persuade Damis to think I am alive, and have not yet laid aside the body. Doubting no longer the truth of what he said, they rose, and ran to the man and kissed him. Afterwards they asked him if he had made a defence. Demetrius thought he had made none, from knowing that he must die, though innocent. Damis thought he had made a defence, but sooner than was supposed: for he never supposed it was that day. Apollonius says, my friends, I have made my defence, and we are victorious; I made it a few hours ago,* whilst the day was verging to noon. How, said Demetrius, have you performed † so long a journey in so short a time? Think of it, as you please, answered Apollonius, but think not I made use either of the ram of Phryxus, or the wings of Dedalus; ascribe it to a God. I am clearly of opinion, says Demetrius, that a God is interested in all you do and say, under whose direction it is your affairs prosper. But tell me, I pray you, the defence you made, and what were the several articles of accusation laid against you: tell me the character of your judge, with the questions asked, and the objections urged for and against, that I may relate every thing to Telesinus, who never ceases making inquiries. It is now fifteen days since Telesinus was with me at Antium, and when we were sitting at supper, he leant on the table and fell asleep. Whilst the cup ‡ of good Genius was carrying round, he

* Of the truth of this fact we have no testimony except his own *ipse dixit*—and the *ipse dixit* of no man ever did, or can establish the truth of a miracle.

† Performed as Pythagoras' journey was from Metapontum to Tauromenium, as I have observed before in speaking of his journey from Smyrna to Ephesus.

‡ The first cup was that of Jupiter the Saviour, the second that of good Genius, and the third that of Mercury.

had a dream in which he thought he saw a fire running along the ground, overwhelming every thing in its way; he thought he saw it sweeping away like a torrent all who even attempted to fly from it, whilst you alone suffered not with the rest, but passed safely through it as it divided on either side. After this dream Telesinus offered libations to the Deities presiding over propitious dreams, and bid me keep up my spirits, and hope the best. Telesinus, thinking of me in his dream, said Apollonius, does not surprise me; for I know he has long thought of me when awake. I will withhold nothing from you that passed at the trial, but I will not tell it here. Mid-day is past, and it is time to return to the city. Talking on the way is pleasant,* as it stands in the place of company. Let us therefore set out, and as we proceed, talk of what you wish to know. You shall hear every thing that passed in court to day. You both know what took place before the trial; you, Damis, from being present, and you, Demetrius, from having heard it not only once, but many times, if I am not mistaken. I shall therefore relate what you do not yet know, beginning with some things that happened before the hearing, and with what related to my appearing naked. He then reported his speech, without forgetting the line of Homer beginning with "Thou shalt not kill me," and the identical way in which he took his departure from the tribunal.

C H A P. XIII.

WHEN he had ended, Demetrius cried out, I thought you out of danger, and it is only the commencement of it. Domitian will proscribe you, and reduce you to the dilemma

* ——— varioque viam sermone levabat.—VIRG.

of not knowing where to turn for safety. But Apollonius bidding his fears to cease, says, I wish to God it was not more easy for him to take you, than it is to take me. I know how he is situated at this moment. He who has ever been accustomed to hear nothing but flattery, has of late heard something of a very different nature. This is what breaks and irritates the tempers of tyrants. But I have need of rest, having enjoyed none since I first engaged in this contest. Then Damis turning to Demetrius, said, the opinion I had of this man's situation was such, that I endeavoured what I could to divert him from the way he took. You also advised him not to expose himself to so great danger. But after he was cast into prison, where he lay bound with chains, as I thought, and when I supposed his situation most critical, he assured me he was at perfect liberty, and without a word more, shewed me his leg free from the bonds. Then it was, indeed, I began to understand what sort of a man he was; that there was something divine about him, and much superior to our wisdom. This is the reason why I did not fear, under his auspices, to expose myself to greater risk than I ought, and even to the loss of life. But since the evening is at hand, let us retire to a tavern, and take care of him. When Apollonius heard this, he said, I require nothing but sleep;* for as to every thing else, it is a matter of indifference whether I get them or not. Afterwards paying his vows to Apollo and the Sun,* he entered the house where Demetrius lodged, and washing his feet, he gave orders to Damis and his companions to take some refreshment, which they seemed in want of, and then threw himself on the bed. Instead of an hymn to

* Il avone, says Du Pin, qu'il avoit bien besoin de repos, parcequ'il depuis qu'il estoit sorti du Pretoire, il ne s'estoit point repose. Si c'estoit par une vertu divine qu' Apollone eût été transporté, le Dieu qui lui avoit fait faire tant de chemin en si peu de temps, eût dû aussi le preserver de cette grande lassitude.

sleep, he repeated some verses of Homer,* and went to rest, as if the present state of his circumstances required no manner of solicitude whatever.

CHAP. XIV.

EARLY in the morning Demetrius, (whose ears were already filled with the imaginary sounds of the horses and horsemen, dispatched by the tyrant in search of Apollonius) waited on him to know where he intended to stay, or what he intended to do. Apollonius said, wherever I am, or wherever I go, neither Domitian, nor any one else will follow me; I shall now sail into Greece. And do you suppose you will be safe there, said Demetrius? that country is most illustrious; do you think you will be able to elude the tyrant's grasp in a place of such notoriety, which you find so much difficulty in doing in a place of obscurity? To this Apollonius said, I want no place wherein to conceal myself, for if, as you think, the whole earth is the tyrant's, it is better to die in the sight of men, than live in secret. Saying this, he turned to Damis, and asked him if he knew of any vessel that was shortly to sail for Sicily? I do, said Damis, we are at the sea-side, the crier is at the door, and a ship ready to sail, which I collect from the shouting of the sailors, and the exertions they are making to weigh the anchor. Let us embark in this vessel, cried Apollonius, and sail to Sicily, and afterwards to Peloponnesus. I am satisfied, replied Damis, let us get on board. They then took leave of Demetrius, who was sorrowful at their going; they bid him keep up his spirits, and behave like a man who had his friends in-

* Iliad—14—v. 233.

Sleep over all, both Gods and men, supreme;

If ever thou hast heard, hear also now

My suit; I will be grateful evermore.

COWPER.

terest at his heart. With these words they set sail with a fair wind, and got over to the coast of Sicily,

C H A P. XV.

PASSING by Messana, they arrived on the third day at Tauromenium. From thence sailing to Syracuse, they got over to Peloponnesus by the beginning of Autumn. On the sixth day after crossing the bay, they came to the mouths of the Alpheus,* where that river pours its waters, still sweet, into the seas of Adria and Sicily. Landing here, and thinking it would be worth their while to go to Olympia, they went there, and spent some time in the temple of Jupiter, without proceeding farther from it than the little town of Scillus.† A rumour, constant and repeated, ran through Greece, that Apollonius was alive and at Olympia: at first little or no credit was given to the story; for humanly speaking, they could never suppose he would escape safe from the prison into which he had been thrown. Various rumours were spread concerning him; one was that he was burnt alive, another was that he was alive, but had his back stuck full of little hooks; some people said he was cast into a deep pit, and others that he was drowned in a well. But as soon as his arrival was fully ascertained, all Greece flocked to see him with more eagerness than they ever did to the Olympic Games. People came there from Elis, and Sparta, and from Corinth situate at the extremity of the Isthmus. Athe-

* The story of the river Alpheus passing under the sea without mingling itself with the salt water, and rising in Ortygia on the coast of Sicily, is well known.

† Scillus is a town near Olympia, rendered illustrious by being made the retreat of Xenophon, where he is said to have written most of his works. See Mitford's Hist. of Greece.

nians, though out of the precincts of Peloponnesus, were found among the people who flocked to the gates of Pisa ; and the temple was visited by the principal Athenians and the youth who had come to Athens from all parts of the world. Some magicians were likewise there, together with many Beotians, and Argives, and others of some note from Phocis and Thessaly. Of these many had conversed with him before, who were all again anxious to acquire a new stock of knowledge, being satisfied they had heard a greater number of extraordinary things from him, than from any other person. There were others who had never known him, and who would have thought it a shame not to have heard him. They asked him how he had escaped from the hands of the tyrant ? Apollonius, wishing to avoid all vain-boasting, said only, he pleaded his cause and came off safe. But as many who had just come from Italy, told what passed at the trial, the Greeks were so affected by the recital, that they proceeded almost to adoration, from an idea that he was a divine man, on account of his not exalting himself above others.

CHAP. XVI.

OF the young men who came from Athens, there was one who happened to say that the Goddess Minerva was extremely partial to the Emperor, which when Apollonius heard, he replied, take care, Sir, how you talk of such things at Olympia, and revile the Goddess in the presence of her father.* The youth without attending to what was said, indulged in a greater license of expression, and observed that the Goddess was right in so doing, because

* Jupiter.

the Emperor was sovereign of the city which bore her name. - And does he also preside as sovereign, returned Apollonius, at the feasts of the Panathenea? * He silenced the young man, in making him see by his first answer, that he had but a bad opinion of the Gods if he thought them favourable to tyrants; and by his second he shewed clearly that the Athenians would annul their decree passed in favour of Harmodius † and Aristogiton, whose statues had been erected by them in the forum for their patriotic conduct, if they should now freely grant to tyrants, and their deputies, the honours of presiding at this festival.

CHAP. XVII.

DAMIS seeing there was but little money for their journeying and expenses on the way, told Apollonius of it, who immediately replied, "I will remedy it to-morrow." Next day entering the temple, he bid the priest give him a thousand drachmas out of the treasury of Jupiter, if he did not think such a sum would be displeasing to the God. The reply of the priest was, that it was a matter of little consequence to the God, who, he supposed, would rather be uneasy at his not taking more.

* Panathenea, an Athenian festival in honour of Minerva, the protectress of the city of Athens.

† The account of those two celebrated friends of liberty is well known.

Quis myrteâ ensem frondè reconditum

Cantabit? illum, civibus Harmodi

Dilecte servatis, tenebas:

Tu que fidelis Aristogiton.

Ad Libertatem carmen, by Sir W. Jones.

C H A P. XVIII.

A CERTAIN Thessalian, named Isagoras, in a conversation he had with Apollonius, was thus addressed, What do you think of the Panegyris? * said Apollonius. I think, returned Isagoras, it is, of all human things, the most charming, and the most acceptable to the Gods. But of what materials, said Apollonius, does it consist? the purport of my question is the same, as if I asked you of the materials of this statue, and you replied, it consisted of gold and ivory. What, said the Thessalian, can be the materials of a thing incorporeal? Things of many and various kinds, returned Apollonius. In the Panegyris are sacred places and holy rites, and stadia for running, and other scenic decorations; in it are men of different descriptions, some from the neighbourhood, others from remote countries, and some even from beyond the sea. Besides, it is probable that many arts and inventions go to form it, as well as true wisdom, and poetry, and civil disputations, and logical controversy, and the gymnastic and musical professions, as are practised by ancient custom at the Pythian Games. So then it seems, O Apollonius, said Isagoras, that the Panegyris is a thing not only corporeal, but composed of more noble materials than cities; inasmuch as it brings into one place whatever is most excellent and most valuable in the world. Shall we then, Isagoras, continued Apollonius, consider such places of general resort as the Panegyris, in the way people do walled cities

* The Olympic Games drew together all Greece, and hence obtained the name of *πανηγυρις*—Panegyris.

Quintilian says, “Panegyrim a Græcis appellari scimus Nundinas, festas celebritatas, et conventus.”

and ships? or must we form a different idea of them? Your idea is right, said Isagoras, and I think it will be proper to adopt it. And yet, in my opinion, returned Apollonius, it will appear incorrect to him who considers the Panegyris in the light I do. Ships seem to me to require the assistance of men, and men also to require the assistance of ships, and I do not think men would ever have thought of going to sea had there not been ships: in like manner it is that men give security to walls, and vice versa, walls give security to men. By parity of reasoning the Panegyris appears to me only a convention of men, and at the same time is a place where men necessarily assemble; the hand of man is required to build fortified places, and ships, and the same hand spoils those places whereof we are speaking, by depriving them of their natural beauty, for it is supposed that people meet in them on account of that very circumstance. It is true that gymnasia, and porticos, and fountains, and houses, are constructed by human industry, as well as cities and ships. But the Alpheus here, and the hippodrome and stadium, with the groves thereunto belonging, existed before men did. The river gave plenty of water for the use of drinking and bathing; the circus, a wide plain, wherein horses might run; and the stadium, a place for the *athletæ* to contend, not only in running, but in wrestling, as the length of the valley gives the length and limits of the stadium. From the groves the victors were supplied with garlands, and a shade under which to exercise themselves in the course. It is in this point of view Hercules considered the place, when, attracted by its natural beauty, he deemed it worthy of all the games which at this day are celebrated in it.*

* It is not easy to ascertain the tendency of the above dialogue on the Panegyris, nor to understand it.

CHAP. XIX.

APOLLONIUS staid forty days at Olympia engaged in disputes, in which he explained a variety of matters with great wisdom. After this, he said, I will for the time to come discourse with you, O Greeks! in your towns, in your assemblies, in your sacred processions, mysteries, sacrifices, and libations, for all these things require the advice and assistance of a good man. But at present I must go down into Lebadea, because I have not yet conversed with Trophonius, though I formerly visited his temple. Saying this, he set out for Arcadia, attended by all his real admirers, of whom not one remained behind. There is at Lebadea* a cave dedicated to Trophonius, the son of Apollo, and only accessible to those who consult the oracle. The entrance to this cave is not in the temple, but at a little distance from it on a rising piece of ground, surrounded with a sort of balustrade, on which are placed obelisks of iron. The aperture is so narrow, that they who go down are hurried along in a sitting posture, dressed in white garments, carrying in their hands cakes made of honey to appease the reptiles that might assail them in descending. Of the votaries who consult the oracle, some are restored to the light near the entrance of the cavern, and others at a greater distance from it. Some make their appearance on the other side of Locris and Phocis, but most of them within the precincts of Beotia. When Apollonius entered the temple, he says, I have a mind to go down for the sake of philosophy: here the priests made an objection, and told the people they would never suffer a man who was an enchanter to examine the sacred cave;

* See a minute description of this cave in Pausanias.

and turning to Apollonius, put him in mind that it was only the wicked and impure who were to consult the oracle. After this he took his seat near the springs of Hercyne, and talked the remainder of the day of nothing but the rise of the oracle and the manner of consulting it, because, of all oracles it was the only one which gave its answers to the consulter himself, without their passing through any intermediate person. As soon as evening arrived, he went up to the mouth of the cave,* and plucking up four of the obelisks which surrounded the entrance of it, he descended, wrapped up in his cloak, as if prepared for a conference. The God was so pleased with his conduct, that he appeared in person to the priests, and severely chid them for their treatment of Apollonius, at the same time ordering them to go to Aulis, where he was to issue from the cavern in a most extraordinary manner. On the seventh day he made his appearance by a way untrodden by any who had ever before consulted the oracle, and brought with him a book fitted for answering all questions; for in going down he had asked Trophonius what philosophy he accounted the best and most pure. The little book he brought with him contained the opinions of Pythagoras, to which the oracle gave its full suffrage.

C H A P. XX.

THIS book is kept at Antium, which, on this account, is visited by the curious traveller. Antium is a maritime town of Italy, and the history I have given of the book

* The oracle of Trophonius was upon a mountain, within an inclosure made of white stones, upon which were erected obelisks of brass. —In this inclosure was a cave, of the figure of an oven, cut out by art. The mouth of it was narrow, and the descent to it was not by steps, but by a small ladder.

was taken from the inhabitants of Lebadea. As to the book itself, I will tell you all I know of it. It was carried to the Emperor Adrian along with some letters written by Apollonius, (for all did not reach him) and was left in his palace at Antium, which, by the way, he preferred to all his other palaces in Italy.*

CHAP. XXI.

ALL his followers, whom the Greeks named Apollonians, come to him out of Ionia, and with them, the young men of the parts adjacent, forming a company that, both for their numbers and philosophical zeal, were entitled to admiration. At this time the art of rhetoric lay neglected, and little or no attention was shewn its professors by the Apollonians, on account of its making only elocution its chief object. But people went in crowds to hear the philosophy of Apollonius; and as it is said, Gyges and Cresus opened the doors of their treasuries to all who wanted money, so did Apollonius impart his wisdom to all who came to make inquiry, by granting to all, and every one, permission to ask whatever questions they pleased.

CHAP. XXII.

WHEN some people reproached him for not suffering his followers to accept of magisterial offices, and for rather promoting idleness in them; and when by way of

* This is a proof of the fame Apollonius enjoyed after his death, that the Emperor Adrian collected his letters, and kept them in his palace at Antium, with a book written by him, containing answers from the oracle of Trophonius.

raillery one told him, that he drove away his flock whenever he saw the men of the law approach, he answered, I do it through fear of the wolves coming and attacking the fold. By these words he meant, that the people of the law were in great credit with the multitude, that by them they rose from poverty to riches, that their consequence was derived from the contests and divisions existing among mankind, from which they drew their support, and that it was on this account he wished to keep the young men out of their society. Those who lived in familiarity with them, he rebuked sharply, as if to clear them of so foul an aspersion. It is true he had an old grudge against the attorneys, and was angry with the profession, from seeing in the Roman prisons some suffering, and even perishing in their chains; all which he thought was to be ascribed rather to their wranglings and false eloquence, than to the cruelty of the tyrant.

CHAP. XXIII.

AT this time, when Apollonius philosophized in Greece, an extraordinary phenomenon* was seen in the heavens. There appeared a circle of the likeness of a rainbow surrounding the orb of the sun, and obscuring his rays. Every one understood a change of some kind or other was portended by it.† It was on occasion of this appear-

* Philostratus seems to have borrowed a phenomenon, (not mentioned by any other writer) from the 28th chapter of the second book of Pliny, and the explanation of the name from him who was to perpetrate the deed, which he intended should be prefigured by the appearance in the text.—Στεφανος—corona.—a circle.

† —Cernuntur & Stellæ cum sole totis diebus, plerumque et circa solis orbem, ceu spicæ coronæ, et versicolores circuli, qualiter Augusto Cesare in prima Juventa Urbem intrante, post obitum patris, ad nomen ingens capessendum.

ance, that Apollonius was invited by the governor of Achaia to come from Athens into Beotia. As soon as he arrived, the governor told him he had heard of his knowledge in things divine. And have not you also heard, replied Apollonius, of my knowledge in things human? I have, returned the governor, and believe it. Since, said Apollonius, you grant me this knowledge, I advise you not to search too minutely into the will of the Gods; and this advice I give from what I know of things human. When the governor pressed him in flattering terms to say what he thought on the subject, as he was afraid of all things being involved in general darkness, Apollonius said, keep up your spirits, for some light will * arise out of this night.

C H A P. XXIV.

APOLLONIUS satisfied with having staid two years in Greece, during which he had not neglected the affairs of that country, sailed into Ionia with his whole company. He philosophized most part of his time whilst there, at Smyrna and Ephesus, without overlooking the other towns, of which there was not one wherein he was not well received; on the contrary, he was in all thought worthy of a reception the most flattering, on account of the advantage he was to every one who deserved his attention.

C H A P. XXV.

THE time was now at hand which the Gods decreed for depriving Domitian of the empire. He had lately put to

* He was wise in keeping clear of what he did not understand.

death Clemens,* a man of consular rank, to whom he had married his sister.† Three or four days after this murder, he had determined she should follow him. This is the reason why her freed-man, Stephanus, ‡ marked out by the late phenomenon in the heavens, resolved, whether from regard § to the deceased, or love to mankind, to rid the world of a tyrant after the manner practised by the Athenians, who were such lovers of liberty. Fastening a dagger under his left arm, which was tied up in a bandage to make it look as if broken, he approached the tyrant as he was coming from the tribunal, and said, I wish to have a private conference with you, O Emperor! as I have matters of great moment to communicate. Not refusing an audience, he took Stephanus into his private closet, where, when they came, the freed-man said, Your mortal enemy Clemens is not dead as you think, but lives in a place I know, and is now preparing to attack you. At these words the Emperor uttered a loud shriek; Stephanus attacked him in this confusion, and drawing the dagger he had concealed under his arm, he gave him || a wound in the thigh, which though it did not instantly kill him, was mortal. Domitian, who was robust of body, and not more than forty years of age, turned upon Stephanus, wounded as he was, threw him on the floor, and himself over him, and then endeavoured to pull out his eyes, striking him on the face with a golden chalice,

* He put to death Clemens his cousin German, and his two sons, upon some very slight suspicion, by which violent act, says Suetonius, he very much hastened his own destruction.

† Flavia Domitilla the wife of Clemens, was not the sister of Domitian, but his niece, his sister's daughter.

‡ Stephanus—in Greek Στεφανος—corona, a circle.

§ Suetonius says, Stephanus was then under a prosecution for defrauding his mistress—he was a man of great strength, and well fitted for the enterprise.

|| Suetonius says he stabbed him in the groin—suffodit inguina.

that happened to be in the room for some sacrificial purpose, and at the same time calling on Pallas * for her assistance. His body-guards hearing the noise, and concluding all was not well, rushed into the closet, and finding the tyrant fainting, put an end to his life.

C H A P. XXVI.

ALL this happened at Rome, and all this Apollonius saw at Ephesus, † as if he had been present at the transaction, which took place about mid-day in the Emperor's palace, at the time when Apollonius was walking and disputing among the trees planted in one of the xystas, near the town. At first he let his voice fall, as if alarmed at something; he then went on conversing, but in a lower accent than usual, like persons whose thoughts are engaged with something different from what they are saying; at last he became quite silent, as if he had lost the thread of his discourse. Then fixing his eyes stedfastly on the earth, and advancing three or four steps, he cried out, "Strike the tyrant,"—"Strike—" this he did, not like one who guessed at what was passing from seeing its image in a mirror, but from literally seeing it, and as it were promoting it. All Ephesus was astonished at what they heard, (for every one was present at this disputation) but Apollonius stopping for some time, like those who wait the issue of a doubtful action, at length cried out, "Keep up your spirits, O Ephesians! for this day the tyrant is killed; ‡ and why do I say this day? at this very

* His guardian Deity.

† What would Boswell say to this second sight?

‡ Philostratus, says Crevier in his Roman Emperors, asserts this positively as a fact, and Dion Cassius will not allow one to doubt it. We

moment, whilst the words are in my mouth, I swear it by Minerva, the deed is done;" after this he became silent. The Ephesians thought him mad, who, though they devoutly wished he had spoken the truth, feared to run the risk of giving credit to it. For my part, said Apollonius, I am not surprised at your hesitating about a transaction not yet known in all parts of Rome. But hold, "it is now known," exclaimed he, "for it has run through the whole city. Thousands at this moment believe it, and are leaping with joy. Twice as many credit it, yes four times as many, and now all Rome. The news will soon be here. You will be right to suspend all sacrifices till the arrival of the messenger. For myself, I will go and pay my vows to the Gods for what I have seen with my eyes."*

can have no interest, adds he, to deny it, since it does not at all exceed the power of the Demons with whom Apollonius held a magic commerce. I shall only observe, continues Crevier, that Philostratus and Dion Cassius are two such credulous writers, that their testimony can be of little weight to counterbalance so great an absurdity as this, if it be called a miracle.

* In Xiphilius's abridgment of Dion Cassius, the same thing is mentioned in the following terms. That which appears to be more extraordinary than the rest, and which I reserved to mention in this place, is, that on the very day, nay, the moment Domitian was assassinated, as it was afterwards known upon a very exact search into the matter, Apollonius Tyaneus got up, whether it was in the city of Ephesus or elsewhere, upon a very high stone, and calling the people together, cried out with a loud voice, "Courage, Stephanus, courage, strike the murderer. Thou hast struck him. Thou hast wounded him. Thou hast killed him." As incredible as this fact seems to be, it is no less true. There might have been some accidental coincidence of circumstances which seemed to countenance this.

At all events it can only be credited upon the supposition, that the plot against the life of the Emperor had been concerted with him, and the day and hour fixed for perpetrating the same.

C H A P. XXVII.

FULL credit was not given to what Apollonius said, till the good news was brought by messengers, who confirmed by their testimony the wisdom of the philosopher. The death of the tyrant, with the day and hour in which it happened, and the murderers whom Apollonius encouraged, corresponded exactly with the account given by Apollonius whilst holding his disputations. Thirty days afterwards, Nerva sent him a letter, saying he possessed the empire by the councils of the Gods and Apollonius, which he thinks he would more easily maintain, if Apollonius would come to Rome, and assist him with his advice. The answer written by Apollonius appeared at the time enigmatical, which was, "we shall live together a very long time, in which we shall not command others, nor shall others command us;"* by these words he wished to say that he was soon to leave this world, and that Nerva's reign was not to be long. In fact, his reign lasted but a year and four months, during which short space he established a character of the greatest moderation.

C H A P. XXVIII.

HOWEVER, not to appear unmindful of his excellent friend and sovereign, he wrote him a letter some short time after, in which he gave him advice as to the best mode of governing well. When finished, he sent for Damis, and said to him, the critical state of my affairs requires your assistance: the secrets contained in this epis-

* Intimating, probably, his expectation that they would soon live together in another world.

tle are addressed to the Emperor, and are of such a nature as can only be communicated by myself in person, or by you as an internuntio. Damis allows it was some time before he understood his artifice in this business. He says the letter was written in the best style, and contained matters of the greatest importance; but he adds, there was another reason for making use of him as a messenger to carry it. What then was the cause of his using a particular address on this occasion? During his whole life he used, it is said, to have these words frequently in his mouth, "Conceal your life, and if you cannot do that, conceal your death." To remove Damis from his presence, in order not to have any witnesses to his death, was the reason of his using the pretext of sending him to Rome with a letter. Damis speaks of the sorrow he had at parting with him, though then ignorant of what was to be the consequence. Apollonius, who knew it well, said not a word of what is generally done by people who are not to see each other again, so desirous was he of persuading Damis he would live for ever. All I find he said to him was, "Whenever you are alone, and give up your whole mind to philosophy, think of me."

CHAP. XXIX.

HERE ends the history of Apollonius the Tyanean, as written by Damis the Assyrian. Concerning the manner of his death, if he did die,* various are the accounts.

* If he did die—O Philostratus!

Here is an imitation of the writers of the life of Pythagoras, who either give no account of his death, or say there are different accounts in several authors of the manner of his death. And some said he died in the eightieth year of his age, others in the ninetieth, and some said

Damis says not a word of it. But as I wish to have my history complete, I cannot pass it over in total silence: of his age Damis says nothing, but some say he was above fourscore, others above fourscore and ten, and there are some who say his age exceeded one hundred years.* His body carried with it the marks of old age, but his mind was vigorous and more agreeable than what even young people are in general. His wrinkles had something pleasing in them, which added a brilliancy to his looks,† which is still to be seen in his effigies in the temple built to him at Tyana; and what literary monuments still survive, speak more highly of his old age than they do of the youth of Alcibiades.

CHAP. XXX.

SOME say he died at Ephesus, waited on by two handmaids,‡ (for his freed-men, whom we have before spoken of, had already paid the debt of nature) of whom, when he gave the one her liberty, he was upbraided by the other for not thinking her entitled to the same favour. The observation Apollonius made on the occasion was

he lived to be almost an hundred, others that he reached to the hundred and fifth year of his age.

LARDNER.

To the above may be added, that Apollonius often said he would die without any one's knowing it, to the end ;† it may be supposed, that he, as Empedocles, might be thought immortal.

* He died, it is supposed by some, at Ephesus, from the mere decay of nature, about the year 97, having nearly reached the great age of one hundred years.

† Philostratus never loses sight of Pythagoras, his hero's prototype, who was reckoned the handsomest man of the age in which he lived.

‡ A most indecorous death for a philosopher to die, between two young damsels.

this, It is meet the one should serve the other, as it will be the beginning of good fortune to her. After Apollonius's death, the one became the slave of the other, who sold her to a slave-merchant for but a small price; this merchant sold her, though she was not handsome, to another slave-merchant, who, being a man in good circumstances, fell in love with her, married her, and had by her sons, whom he acknowledged as his own. To return to Apollonius, some say he entered the temple of Minerva at Lindus,* and there disappeared. Others affirm his exit was made at Crete in a more extraordinary way than it was at Lindus. During his stay in Crete, it is said, he possessed greater authority, and was more admired than he ever was before, and used to enter the temple of Dictynna,† at unseasonable hours of the night. This temple is under the protection of dogs, who take care of the riches laid up in it. These dogs are supposed by the Cretans to be of a breed not inferior to that of bears, or other wild beasts. Whenever Apollonius entered the temple, these dogs did not bark at him, but received him with as much fawning affection as they would have done their most familiar friends. The priests who had the care of the temple seeing this, seized him at his entrance, and bound him, as if he was not only a magician but a robber, saying he had given them a sop to tame them. About midnight he freed himself from his chains, and called those who had bound him in them, to shew he did nothing in secret, then running to the gates of the temple, he found them open. As soon as he entered

* Lindus, a city at the south east part of Rhodes, built by Circaphus, son of Sol and Cydippe. The Danaids built there a temple to Minerva, surnamed Lindia.

† Diana was worshipped in Crete, indifferently under the name of Dictynna and of Britomartis.

them, they shut of themselves as they had been before, and the temple resounded with the singing of many virgins, the burden of whose song was, "Leave the earth, come to heaven—come—come," which seemed as if they said, "Proceed from earth to heaven."*

CHAP. XXXI.

OF the immortality of the soul, Apollonius philosophized even after his death, teaching that the doctrine is true, but that all too curious investigations concerning things so important is to be avoided.† There happened to come

* Ces circonstances de la mort D'Apollone (says Du Pin) se contredisent, et elles ne sont toutes fondées de l'aveu même de Philostrate, que sur des bruits vagues et incertains, qui ne meritent aucune creance.

† But in the last place, says Bishop Parker, the historian would fain bid at something of his hero's appearing after death: yet he does it so faintly, that in the conclusion of all it comes to nothing, especially when he tells us, that the time of his death was altogether unknown, and that the uncertainty of it took in no less than the compass of thirty years. And then, they that were so utterly at a loss, as to the time of his decease, and that for so long a space, were very likely to give a very wise account of the certain time of any thing he did after it.

But how, or to whom did he appear? Why, to a young man, one of his followers, that doubted of the immortality of the soul for ten months together after his death. But how, or where? Why, the young man being tired with watching and praying to Apollonius that he would appear to him, only to satisfy him in this point, one day fell into a dead sleep in the school, where the young men were performing their several exercises: and on a sudden he starts up in a great fright and a great sweat, crying out, *πειθομαι σοι*, I believe thee—O Tyanean! And being asked by his companions the meaning of this transport: Why, says he, do you not see Apollonius? They answer him—No: but they would be glad to give all the world if they could. It is true, says

to Tyana a young man who was a fierce disputant, and one not much inclined to listen to the truth. Apollonius was no longer numbered with the living: after this change, great was the opinion abroad of him, and no one presumed to call in question his being immortal. At this time there were many opinions concerning the nature of the soul, for numbers of young men were addicted to philosophical studies. The aforesaid youth not assenting to the doctrine of the immortality, said, all you who are present come and bear witness, that for these ten months past I have prayed to Apollonius to enlighten me on the subject, but I have prayed in vain—he, poor man, is so dead that he has neither appeared, nor attended to my prayers, nor persuaded me that he is immortal. This is the purport of what the young man said. Five days afterwards he resumed the same subject, and fell asleep in the place he had the conversation. Whilst he slept, the rest of the young men, who had been disputing with him, amused themselves, some in reading, and others in describing geometrical figures in the dust. At length the youth, still half asleep, started up like one suddenly seized with madness, and whilst the sweat was running down his body, cried out—*I believe you now*. The people present asked him what was the matter? What, replied he, do you not see *there* the wise Apollonius listening to our disputations, and chanting forth the most wonderful things of the soul? Where is he? they all cried, and why does he not shew himself to us, who wish more to see such a sight than the richest earthly possessions? He seems to have come, said

says he, for he only appears to me, and for my satisfaction, and is invisible to all others. And then he tells them what he had said to him in his sleep concerning the state of souls.

This poor account of a dream and vision of an over-watched boy, is all that this great story affords as to the resurrection of Apollonius.

the youth, for the sake of discoursing solely with me concerning what I was unwilling to believe. Listen then to what he speaks, as it were from a tripod. "The soul is immortal—immortality does not belong to you, but to the goodness of Providence. After the dissolution of the body, the soul like a mettlesome courser, when freed from all restraint, mingles in thin air, impatient of the servile state to which it was subject. But how do these things affect you, who say that the soul does not survive the destruction of the body? why search into such matters you who are like unto the brutes?"—So luminous was the oracle which issued from the tripod of Apollonius, declaring the Arcana of the soul, in order that men fully conscious of their own nature might cheerfully go wherever their Fates direct. I do not remember ever having seen any tomb or cenotaph raised to the honour of the man, though I have gone over most part of the known world, and met in all countries with men who told wonderful things of him. Tyana is held sacred, not being under the jurisdiction* of governors sent from Rome, and Emperors† have not refused him the same honours paid to themselves.

* At what time Tyana received this privilege is not known: when Aurelian took the town—Gibbon says, a superstitious reverence induced him to treat with lenity the countrymen of Apollonius the philosopher.

† The Emperor Adrian made a collection of his letters, which he deposited in his palace at Antium. Caracalla honoured him, and built a temple to him as a hero,—and he was in such estimation with Alexander Severus that he had his statue in his private closet.

TILLEMONT.

And now upon the review of this whole history, concludes Bishop Parker, it seems evident to me, that this man was so far from being endowed with any extraordinary divine power, that he does not deserve the reputation of an ordinary conjurer: for though Huctius has taken some pains to prove him so, yet he gives no evidence of it besides the
opinion

opinion of the common people; and if that were enough to make a conjurer, there is no man of an odd and singular humour (as Apollonius affected to be) who is not so thought of by the common people. And therefore, when he was accused for it before Domitian, the Emperor upon coming to hear the cause, slighted both him and his accuser, and dismissed him the court for an idle and fantastic fellow. And it is manifest, continues the bishop, from the whole series of his history, that he was a very vain man, and affected to be thought something extraordinary: and so wandered all the world over in an odd garb to be gazed at and admired, and made himself considerable in that age by wit, impudence, and flattery; of all which he had a competent share. And for his wonder-working faculty which he would needs pretend to, he fetched that as far off as the East Indies, that is, the farthest off as he thought from confutation: and yet the account which he has given of those parts is so grossly fabulous, that that alone convicts his whole life of imposture and impudence. From whence it appears, says Dr. Lardner, that his history, as told by Philostratus, is fabulous, and not to be relied on, and that Apollonius was not so considerable a person as some have imagined. And I hope I may say, concludes Lardner, that these observations of Dr. Parker do in a great measure confirm those which have been before proposed by me. In fine, the history of Apollonius which is now offered to the public, may be admitted, say the liberal compilers of the New Biographical Dictionary, in concurrence with other collateral evidence, as sufficient testimony, not only that such a man as Apollonius existed, but that he was an eminent philosopher of the Pythagorean sect, who travelled as his master did, through almost every part of the civilized world, exhibiting in his own character, an example of rigid morality, teaching lessons of moral wisdom, and doctrines of speculative philosophy; at the same time attracting popular attention and reverence by pretending to supernatural powers. They add, that it is not easy to separate the impostures of the man from the tales of his biographers; but from the whole narrative just perused, I think with them, that there can be little or no room to doubt, that after the example of Pythagoras, he practised the arts of delusion, and that though with wise men he was a philosopher, among the vulgar he was a magician.

FINIS.