

Αἰῶντας ἄγων ποτὲ ἐχειρώσατο. οὐ γὰρ μάχονται τοῖς προσελθούσῃ, ἀλλὰ διοσημίας τε καὶ σκηπτῶς βάλ-
λοντες ἀποκρούοντα σφῶς ἱεροὶ καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ὄντες.

2 “Τὸν γοῦν Ἡρακλέα τὸν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τὸν Διό-
νυσον ξὺν ὅπλοις διαδραμόντας τὸ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος φασὶ
μὲν ποτε ἐλάσσει ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἄμα, μηχανάς τε παλ-
μήσασθαι καὶ τοῦ χωρίου ἀποπειρᾶσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀντι-
πράττειν οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ ἀρμεῖν, ὥς ἐκείνους ἐφάλοντο,
ἐπεὶ δ’ αὐτοὶ προσήσαν, πρηστῆρες αὐτοὺς ἀπεί-
σαντο καὶ βρονταὶ κάτω στρεφόμεναι καὶ ἐμπύπτου-
σαι τοῖς ὅπλοις, τὴν τε ἀσπίδα χρυσῇν οἶσαν ἀπο-
βαλεῖν ἐκεῖ λέγεται ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, καὶ πεποίηται αὐτῇν
ἀνάθημα οἱ σοφοὶ διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους δόξαν,
διὰ τε τὸ ἐκτύπωμα τῆς ἀσπίδος· αὐτὸς γὰρ πεποίηται
ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὀρίλων τὰ Τάδερα, καὶ τὰ ὅρη στῆλας
ποιοῦμενος, τὸν τε Ὀκεανὸν ἐς τὰ ἔσθω²⁴ ἐπισπώμενος.
ὅθεν δηλοῦνται μὴ τὸν Θεβαίων Ἡρακλέα, τὸν δὲ
Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπὶ τὰ Τάδερα ἐλθεῖν καὶ ὁρίστην γε-
νέσθαι τῆς γῆς.”

34. Τοιαῦτα διαλεγόμενων αὐτῶν ἐπηλθεν [ὁ]²⁵
ῥυμος αὐλῶ ἄμα, ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὸν
Βασιλέα, ὃ τι ἐθέλοι ὁ κῶμος, “Ἰνδοὶ” ἔφη “παρ-
νέσεις τῷ Βασιλεῖ ἄδουσιν, ἐπειδὴν πρὸς τῷ καθεύ-
δων γίγνηται, ὠνείρασί τε ἀγέλοῖς χρῆσθαι χρῆσθαι
τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ εὐξήμελον τοῖς ὑπηκόοις.” “πῶς
οἶν,” ἔφη “ὁ Βασιλεῦ, διάκειται πρὸς ταῦτα; σὲ γὰρ
που ἀνιούσιν.” “οὐ καταγέλω,” ἔφη “δεῖ γὰρ προο-
ίεσθαι αὐτὰ τοῦ νόμου ἔνεκεν, παραινέσεως μέντοι

208

thousand Ajaxes without ever subduing them. They do not
fight their attackers, but fend them off by hurling thunder
and lightning at them, being holy and beloved of the gods.

2 “Indeed, it is said that once upon a time the Egyptian
Heraclēs and Dionysus, after invading the land of India
with an army, made a concerted campaign against them,
devising siege engines and trying to take their citadel. The
Wise Men took no countermeasures and stayed quiet, so it
appeared to their assailants, but when these approached,
they were driven off by whirlwinds and thunderbolts that
hurtles down and struck their weapons, so that they say
Heraclēs lost his shield, which was of gold, on that occa-
sion. The Wise Men made a dedication of it, both because
of Heraclēs’s fame and because of the relief on the shield;
for it shows Heraclēs himself limiting the earth at Ga-
deira,³⁴ turning the mountains into boundary stones, and
admitting the Ocean between them. This shows that it was
not the Theban but the Egyptian Heraclēs that reached
Gadeira, and was the surveyor of the earth.”

34. They were conversing in this way when the sound
reached them of a hymn accompanied by the pipe. Apollo-
nius asked the king what this revelry meant, and he re-
plied: “The Indians sing words of advice to their king when
he is ready for sleep, in order that he should enjoy happy
dreams, and be kind when he gets up and approachable to-
wards his subjects.” “And how do you take all this, king,”
said Apollonius, “since clearly they are serenading you?” “I
do not laugh at it,” he replied, “since one must allow it for

³⁴ Modern Cádiz.

²⁴ ἔσθω Bentl.: ἔξω ²⁵ secl. Kay.

μηδεμίας δεῖσθαι, ὅσα γὰρ αὐτὸ βασιλεὺς μετρίως τε καὶ χρηστῶς πράττει, ταῦτα ἑαυτῷ δήπου χαριεῖται μάλλον ἢ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις."

35. Τοιαῦτα διαλεχθέντες ἀνεπαύσαντο, ἔπειθ' δὲ ἡμέρα ὑπεφάνητο, αὐτὸς δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸ δωματίον, ²⁶ ἐν ᾧ ἐκάθηντο οἱ περὶ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, καὶ τὸν σκύμποδα ἐπιηλαφίσας προσέειπ' τε τὸν ἀνδρα, καὶ ἤρετο αὐτόν, ὃ τι ἐνεθυμέτο, "οὐ γὰρ πού καθεύδεις" εἶπεν "ῥῳα πίνων καὶ καταγέλωτ' τοῦ οἴνου." "οὐ γὰρ καθεύδω ἡ γῆ" ἔφη "τοὺς ῥῳα πίνοντας;" "καθεύδω μὲν," ἔφη "λαττὸν δὲ ὕπνον, ὅνπερ ἄλλοις αὐτῶν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐφύζανεν φάμεν, οὐ τῷ νῷ." "ἀμφοτέροις" εἶπε, "καὶ ἴσως τῷ νῷ μάλλον· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἀτρεμῆσαι ὁ νοῦς, οὐδὲ ὑποδέξονται οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τὸν ὕπνον. οἱ γοῦν μέμνηστές οὐδὲ καθεύδω δύναται διὰ τὴν τοῦ νοῦ πῆδησιν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα ἀπαιούσης τῆς ἐννοίας γοργώτερόν τε ἀναβλέπουσι καὶ ἀναδέεστερον, ὥσπερ οἱ αὐτοῦ τῶν δρακόντων.

2
"Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν, ὦ βασιλεῦ," εἶπε "σαφῶς ἡρμήνευται τὸ τοῦ ὕπνου ἔργον καὶ ἄλλα δηλοῦντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, σκελιώμεθα, τί μεινεκτῇσαι ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοῦ μεθύοντος ὁ τὸ ῥῳα πίνων." "μὴ σοφίζου," ἔφη ὁ βασιλεὺς "εἰ γὰρ μεθύοντα ὑποθήσῃ, οὐ καθευδήσει γ' οὐτος,²⁷ βακχεύοντα γὰρ ἡ γνώμη στροβήσῃ τε αὐτὸν καὶ παραχῆς ἐμπλήσῃ· δοκοῦσ' τοι πάντες οἱ ἐκ μέθης καταδραβεῖν πειρώμενοι ἀναπέμπεσθαι τε ἐς τὸν ὄροφον, καὶ αὐτὸ ὑπόγειοι εἶναι δύναν τε ἐμ-

custom's sake. But one should not need any advice, for any things that a king does with moderation and kindness will doubtless give more pleasure to him than to his subjects."

35. After this conversation, they went to bed, but at daybreak the king himself came into the room where Apollonius and his companions were sleeping. After groping for the bunk he addressed the Master, and asked him what he was thinking about, "since no doubt you are not sleeping" he said, "being a teetotaler who laughs at wine." "Why," said Apollonius, "do you not think teetotalers sleep?" "They do," the other replied, "but it is a light sleep, the kind which we say settles on the surface of their eyes, not on the mind." "On both," said Apollonius, "and perhaps more on the mind, since if the mind cannot rest, the eyes too will receive no sleep. Madmen cannot go to sleep at all because of the throbbing of their minds; their thoughts rove from one subject to another, and so their glances get fiercer and bolder, like those of unsleeping snakes.

"Well, Majesty," he continued, "since we have clearly explained the effect of sleep and what things are revealed to humans, let us consider how a teetotaler fares worse than a drunkard in the matter of sleep." "Do not confuse the issue," said the king, "for if you are talking about a drunkard, he at least will not sleep; his raging thoughts will spin him around and fill him with turmoil. Why, everyone who tries to sleep after being drunk feels that he is being raised to the roof and then is below ground, and a whirling

²⁶ <ἐν> Ion. (ᾧ ἐνεκάθεντον Rsk.)

²⁷ γ' οὐτος Rsk.: τοῦτο

πεπραμέναι σφίσι, οἷα δὴ περὶ τὸν Ἰξίωνα λέγεται
ξυμβαίνειν. οὐκ οὐκ ἀξίω τὸν μεθύοντα, ἀλλὰ τὸν πε-
πωκότα μὲν τοῦ αἵνου, νηφόντα δὲ θεωρεῖν, ὥς καθευ-
δῆσαι, καὶ ὡς πολλὰ βέλτων τοῦ αἵνου.

36. Καλέσας οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τὸν Δάμιον "πρὸς
δεῶν ἀνδρα" ἔφη "ὁ λόγος καὶ σφόδρα γεγενημασμέ-
νον τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι." "ὦρῶ," ἔφη "καὶ τοῦτ' ὥς τις τῇ
τὸ μέγαπυγρον τυχεῖν. κάμει δὲ πᾶν αἰρεῖ ὁ λόγος, ὃν
ἐίρηκεν ὦρα οὖν σοι ἀφ' ὑπνίσταται ἀποτελεῖν αὐτόν."
ἀνακουφίσας οὖν τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος "καὶ
μῆν ὅσον" ἔφη "πλευροκτοῦμαι οἱ τὸ ὕδαρ πύοντες
πρὸς τὸ καθεῖδεν ἥδιον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω τοῦ γε σοῦ
λόγου ἐχόμενος· ὡς μὲν γὰρ τετέρακται ἡ γνώμη
τοῖς μεθύουσι καὶ μανικώτερον διάκεινται, σαφῶς
ἐίρηκας, ὁρῶμεν γὰρ τοὺς μέθη κατεσχημένους διττὰς
μὲν στήντας δοκοῦντας βλέπειν, διττοὺς δὲ ἡλίους,
τοὺς δὲ ἥττον πεπωκότας, καὶ πᾶν νηφῶσιν, οὐδὲν
μὲν τούτων ἡγουμένους, μεστοὺς δὲ εὐφροσύνης καὶ
ἡδονῆς, ἣ δὴ προσπίπτει σφίσι οὐδὲ ἐξ ἐμπραγίας
πολλὰς, καὶ μελεῶσι δὲ οἱ τοιοῦτοι δίκας οὐδὲ
φθελγόμενοι πῶς ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, καὶ πλουτεῖν φασιν
οὐδὲ δραχμῆς αὐτοῖς ἔνδον οὐσας.

2
"Ταῦτα δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μανικὰ πάθη· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ
τὸ ἥδεσθαι διακινεῖ τὴν γνώμην, καὶ πολλοὺς οἶδα
τῶν σφόδρα ἡγουμένων εὖ πράττειν οὐδὲ καθεῖδεν
δυναμένους, ἀλλ' ἐκπηδῶντας τοῦ ὕπνου, καὶ τοῦτ' αὖ
εἴη τὸ παρέχειν φροντίδας καὶ τάχαθ' ἔστι δὲ καὶ
φάρμακα ὕπνου μεμνηχαιγμένα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὧν

seizes him such as they say happens to Ixion. It is not there-
fore with reference to the drunkard, but to the man who
remains sober even when drinking wine, that I think we
should be discussing the nature of his sleep, and how it will
be much better than a teetotaler's."

36. Addressing Damis, Apollonius said, "My discussion
is with a clever man, and one well practiced in dialectic."
"So I see," said Damis, "and this is perhaps what the prov-
erb means about catching a Tartar. I too am very taken with
the discourse he has given, so it is high time you woke up
and finished it off." So raising his head Apollonius said,
"Yet I will prove the advantage which we teetotalers have
in the matter of sleeping soundly, using your own argu-
ments. You clearly said that drunkards are confused in
their minds and rather inclined to madness. We see those
prey to drunkenness thinking that they see two moons and
two suns,³⁵ while those who have drunk less, even if they
are fully sober, have no such thoughts as that, but are full of
cheerfulness and pleasure. This often comes over them
without being the result of any success, and people like
that rehearse legal speeches when they have never even
been in a courtroom, and say they are rich when they have
not got a drachma in the house.

"These are manic tendencies, Majesty, for pleasure it-
self disturbs the mind. I know many people who thought
themselves very well off and yet had insomnia, starting up
from their sleep, and this is what the saying means that
'even good fortune breeds cares.' People have devised
sleeping drugs, which they drink or rub on, and then they

³⁵ Allusion to Euripides, *Bacchae* 918-19.

πλέοντες τε καὶ ἀλκυιάμενοι καθεδύουσιν, ἐκτρέφουσιν αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ ἀποθαύοντες, ὅθεν μετὰ τινος λήθης ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἀλλοσεῖ ποι μᾶλλον εἶναι ἢ οὐτέρῃ εἶσθαι²⁸ δοκοῦσιν. ὅτι μὲν διὰ τὰ πυνόμενα, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ ἐπαυλούμενα τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι οὐ γνήσιον οὐδὲ οὐκείον ἐπεσάγεται τὸν ὕπνον, ἀλλ' ἢ βαθεῖν καὶ ἡμιβήητα, ἢ βραχὺν καὶ διασπώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν-
τρεχόντων, καὶ Χρηστὰ ἦ, ξυνηύση τάχα, εἰ μὴ τὸ δύσερι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἐρωστικὸν σπουδάζεις.

3 "Οἱ δὲ ἐμοὶ ξυμπόται τὰ μὲν ὅντα ὀρώσων ὥς ὄντα, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ὄντα ὥτ' ἀμεγράφουσιν αὐτοῖς οὐθ' ὑποτυπῶνται, κοῦβοί τε ὅπῃ ἐδοξάν, οὐδὲ μεστοὶ βλακείας οὐδὲ εὐηθείας, ἢ ἰαδράττειν τοῦ προσήκου-
τος, ἀλλ' ἐφεστηκότες εἰσι καὶ λογισμοὶ πλέγῃ, παρα-
πλήσιοι δέλῃς τε καὶ ὁπότε ἀγορὰ πλήθει, οὐ γὰρ νυστάζουσιν οὐτοι, καὶ πόρρω τῶν νυκτῶν σπου-
δάζουσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἐξωθεῖ αὐτοὺς ὁ ὕπνος ὥσπερ δεσπό-
της βρότας ἐς τὸν αὐχένα δεδουλωμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ αἵνου, ἀλλ' ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ ὀρθοὶ φαίνονται, κατα-
δαρβόντες²⁹ δὲ καθαρά τῇ ψυχῇ δέχονται τὸν ὕπνον, ὅτε ὑπὸ τῶν εἰπραγίων ἀνακουφίζμενοι αὐτοῖ,³⁰
οὔτε ὑπὸ κακοπραγίας τινος ἐκθρόσσκοντες. ξύμμετρος γὰρ πρὸς ἄμφο τὰντα ψυχῇ νήφουσα καὶ οὐδετέρου τῶν παθῶν ἦττων, ὅθεν καθενόει ἥδιστα καὶ ἀλυσό-
τατα μὴ ἐξίσταμένη τοῦ ὕπνου.

37. "Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ μαυτικὸν τὸ ἐκ τῶν ὄνειράτων, ὃ θειότατον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων δοκεῖ, ῥῆγον διορᾷ μὴ ξυντεθλωμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου, ἀλλ' ἀκήρατος δεχο-

sleep stretched out as if they were dead. After that, they get up in a kind of amnesia, and think they are somewhere other than they really are. Things that people drink, or more precisely drown body and soul with, do not produce a true or proper sleep, but rather one that is deep and death-like, or brief and disturbed by random thoughts, even if they are pleasant ones. You will perhaps agree to that, unless you are more interested in argument than in debate.

"But my fellow drinkers see things as they really are, and do not conceive or imagine what is unreal. Never have they seemed lightheaded or full of exaggeration and folly, or unduly cheerful, but are attentive, full of reason, unaltered both at evening and at noon, because they never nod, even when they study far into the night. Sleep does not overpower them like a slave driver, treading on necks that are subjugated by wine. They are visibly free and upright, and when they drift off, they receive sleep with an untainted soul, not suspended over it by good fortune, or starting out of it from misfortune. For a sober soul is equally immune to both of these, and subject to neither of the two emotions, and hence it enjoys the soundest and most untroubled rest, and is not woken from sleep.

37. "Moreover, prophecy arising from dreams, which is agreed to be the most heavenly of all human gifts, is more easily visible to a soul that is not obfuscated by wine, but in

²⁸ εἶναι . . . εἰσι Jackson: εἶσιν . . . εἶναι
²⁹ καταδαρβόντες Cob.: καταδαρβέιντες
³⁰ αὐτοῦ Kay: αὐτοῖ

μένη αὐτὸ καὶ περιεβροῦσα. οἱ γοῦν ἐξηγητὰι τῶν ὄψεων, οὓς ὀνειροπόλους οἱ ποιητὰι καλοῦσιν, οὐδ' αὖ ἀν' ὑποκρίναντο ὅλην οὐδεμίαν μὴ πρότερον ἐρόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν, ἐν ᾧ εἶδεν. ἀν μὲν γάρ ἔπος ἦ καὶ τοῦ περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ἔπνου, ξυμβάλλονται αὐτῇν ὡς ὕλης μαυτευομένης τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐπειδὴ ἀπορρύπηται τὸν οἶνον, εἰ δ' ἀμφὶ πρῶτον ἔπνου ἢ μέσας νύκτας, ὅτε βεβύβισται τε καὶ ξυντεθλόσται ἔτι ὑπὸ τοῦ οἶνου, παραπτοῦνται τῇν ὑπόκρισιν σοφοὶ ὄντες. ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς δοκεῖ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ χρησιμῶδες ἐν ταῖς νηφοῦσιν ψυχαῖς τίθεται, σαφῶς δηλώσω.

2
“Ἐγείετο, ὦ βασιλεῦ, παρ' Ἑλλήσιν Ἀμφιάρεως ἀνὴρ μάντις.” “οἶδα,” εἶπε “λέγεις γάρ που τὸν τοῦ Οἰκλέους, ὃν ἐκ Θηβῶν ἐπανόντα ἐπεσπάσατο ἡ γῆ ξῶνα.” “οὗτος, ὦ βασιλεῦ,” ἔφη “μαυτευόμενος ἐν τῇ Ἄρτυκῇ νῦν ὀείρατα ἐπάγει τοῖς Χρωμέουσιν, καὶ λαβόντες οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸν χρησόμενον σίτον τε εἰργουσι μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ οἶνον τρεῖς, ἵνα διαλαμπούσῃ τῇ ψυχῇ τῶν λογίων σπάσθῃ. εἰ δὲ ὁ οἶνος ἀγαθὸν ᾗν τοῦ ἔπνου φάρμακον, ἐκέλευσεν αὖ ὁ σοφὸς Ἀμφιάρεως τοὺς θεαροὺς τὸν ἐπαιτὸν ἐσκευασμένους τρόπον καὶ οἶνον μεστός, ὥσπερ ἀμβορέας, ἐς τὸ αὐτοῦ αὐτὸ φέρεσθαι.

3
“Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μαρτεῖα λέγουμι αὖ εὐδόκιμα παρ' Ἑλλήσιν τε καὶ βαρβάροις, ἐν οἷς ὁ ἱερεὺς ὕδατος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ οἶνον σπάσας ἀποφθέγγεται τὰ ἐκ τοῦ

31 οὐδ' West.: οὐκ

216

a pure and impressionable state for receiving it. Interpreters of visions, 'dream dealers' as poets call them, cannot interpret any vision without first ascertaining the time when the soul perceived it. If it comes in the early morning from dawn-time sleep, they interpret it in the belief that the soul prophesies correctly when it is purged of wine; but if it comes in the first sleep or the small hours, when the soul is still weighed down and obfuscated by wine, they withhold interpretation, and wisely too.

2
“That the gods are also of this opinion, and implant the prophetic power in souls that are sober, I will clearly prove. There once existed among the Greeks, Majesty, a prophet called Amphiarus.”³⁶ “I know,” he replied, “you mean the son of Oicles, whom the earth swallowed up alive as he was returning from Thebes.” “Yes, Majesty,” Apollonius replied, “though now he prophesies in Attica. He sends dreams to his inquirers, so that the priests take the would-be inquirer, and deprive him of food for one day and of wine for three, so that he can absorb the messages with his soul in a state of illumination. If wine were a good sleeping draught, the wise Amphiarus would have told sacred visitors to prepare themselves in the opposite way, and to be carried into the very shrine full up with wine, like casks.³⁷

3
“I could name many oracles highly reputed among Greeks and barbarians in which the priest partakes of water, not wine, before pronouncing from the tripod. So you

³⁶ Legendary Argive prophet, with an oracle on the territory of Oropus between Boeotia and Attica.

³⁷ Pun on the word for “cask,” *amphiorus*.

217

τρίποδος. θεοφόρον δὴ καὶ ἡγοῦ καὶ πάντας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοὺς τὸ ὕδωρ πίνοντας· νημφόληπτοι γὰρ ἡμεῖς καὶ βάκχοι τοῦ νήφειν.” ποιήσῃ οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, καὶ μεθυσάτω; “εἴτερ μὴ φορτικός” εἶπε “τοῖς ὑπηκόοις δόξεις· φιλοσοφία γὰρ περὶ βασιλεῦ ἀνδρὶ ξύμμερος μὲν καὶ ὑπαιεμένη θαυμαστὴν ἐργάζεται κρᾶσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν σοὶ διαφάναται, ἡ δ’ ἀκριβὴς καὶ ὑπερτείνουσα φορτική τε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ ταπεινότερα τῆς ὑμετέρας σπηγῆς φαίνεται, καὶ τύφου δὲ αὐτὸ τὴν ἀν’ ἐξέω³⁸ ἡγοῦντο βάσκαυοι.”

38. Ταῦτα διαλεχθέντες, καὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἦδη ἐπύχυνεν, ἐς τὸ ἕξω προηλθον. καὶ ξυνεῖς ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὡς χρηματίζειν δέοι τὸν βασιλέα πρεσβείας τε καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, “σὺ μέν, ἔφη ὁ βασιλεῦ, τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ πράττει, ἐμὲ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἀνέστῃ ἡλίου, δεῖ γάρ με τὴν εἰσοσμένην εὐχὴν εὔξασθαι.” καὶ ἀκούοι γε εὐχομένου, ἔφη “χαμεῖται γὰρ πᾶσιν, ὅπου σὺ σοφία τῇ σῇ χαίρουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ περιμενῶ σε ἐπιαιδῶντα, καὶ γὰρ δικάσαι τινὰς Χρὴ Δίκας, αἷς παρατῶν τὰ μέγιστα με ἀνήσεις.”

39. Ἐπαυελθὼν οὖν προκεχωρηκίας ἦδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἡρώτα περὶ τῶν ἐδίκασεν, ὁ δὲ “τῆμερον” ἔφη “οὐκ ἐδίκασα, τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ οὐ ξυνεχώρει μοι.” ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος “ἐβ’ ἱεροῖς οὖν” ἔφη “ποιεῖσθε καὶ ταύτας, ὥσπερ τὰς ἐξόδους τε καὶ τὰς στυρατείας;” “γῆ Δί” εἶπε “καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα κύωνος, εἰ ὁ δικάζων ἀπενεχθείη τοῦ εὐθέος;” εὖ λέγειν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἔδοξε, καὶ ἦρετο αὐτὸν πάλιν, τίς εἴη, ἣν δικάσαι

should consider myself and all teetotalers. Majesty, to be divinely inspired; we are mediums, and fanatics of sobriety.” Well then, Apollonius,” said the king, “will you make me a member of your confraternity?” “I will,” said Apollonius, “unless that makes your subjects think you irksome. Philosophy in a royal personage forms a wonderful blend when it is measured and moderate, as it appears to be in you, but if it is harsh and concentrated it seems irksome, Majesty, and too humble for the state of such as you, and envious people would say that it has an element of pride.”

38. During this conversation daylight had come, and they went outdoors. Realizing that the king had to deal with embassies and so on, Apollonius said, “You must perform the duties of your position, Majesty, but during this interval leave me free to worship the Sun god, since I have to offer him my usual prayer.” “May he hear your prayer,” said the king, “for he will be generous to all that favor your wisdom. I will await your return, since I must judge some cases in which your presence will be very useful to me.”

39. Returning when the day was now far along, Apollonius asked the king about the cases he had judged. He replied, “I did not dispense justice today, since the omens prevented me.” Apollonius said in answer, “Why, do your lawsuits depend on omens, as your departures and your campaigns do?” “Certainly,” he replied, “since here too there is danger if the judge strays from what is right.” The answer seemed good to Apollonius, and he asked him again what case it was that he was going to judge, “since I

³⁸ <ἐξέω> Kay.

δίκην, "ὅρῳ γὰρ" εἶπεν "ἐφέστηκότα σε καὶ ἀπο-
ρῶντα, ὅπῃ ψηφίσταο."

2 "Ὁμολογῶ" ἔφη "ἀπορεῖν, ὅθεν ξύμβουλον ποι-
οῦμαί σε ἀπέδοτο μὲν γάρ τις ἐτέρῃ γῆν, ἐν ᾗ
θησαυρὸς ἀπέκειτό τις οὐπω δῆλος, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον
ἡ γῆ βαγείῳα Χρυσοῦ πτω ἀέδειξε θήκη, ᾗν φησι
μὲν ἑαυτὴ προστήκειν μάλλον ὁ τῇν γῆν ἀποδόμενος,
καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' αὖ ἀποδόσθαι τῇν γῆν, εἰ προσῦμμεν, ὅτι
βίον ἡμεῖς αὐτῇ ἔχοι. ὁ πριάμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἀξιοῖ
πεπᾶσθαι, ἃ ἐν τῇ λουτρὸν ἑαυτοῦ γῆ εὔρε. καὶ δίκαιος
μὲν ὁ ἀμφοῖν λόγος, εὐρήθης δ' αὖ ἐγὼ φανούμην, εἰ
κελεύσασμαι ἄμφω νέμασθαι τὸ Χρυσίον, τουτὶ γὰρ αὖ
καὶ γρᾶν διαστήη."

3 "Προλαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος "ὥς μὲν οὐ φιλο-
σφῶ" ἔφη "τὸ ἀνδρε, δηλοῖ τὸ περὶ Χρυσίου δια-
φέρεσθαι σφῶς, ἄμυστα δ' αὖ μοι δικάσαι δόξεις ὡδε
ἐνθυμηθείς, ὥς οἱ θεοὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιμέλειαν ποι-
οῦνται τῶν ξὺν ἀρετῇ φιλοσοφούντων, δεύτερον δὲ
τῶν ἀναμαρτήτων τε καὶ μηδὲν πώποτε ἀδικεῖν δοξά-
σων. διδόναι δὲ τοῖς μὲν φιλοσοφούντι διαγινώσκουσιν
εἰ τὰ θεῖα τε καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις
Χρηστοῖς βίον ἀποχρῶντα, ὥς μὴ χῆρει ποτὲ τῶν
ἀναγκαίων ἀδικοὶ γένωνται. δοκεῖ δὴ μοι, βασιλεῦ,
καθάπερ ἐπὶ τρυφάνης ἀντικρύναι τοῦτους καὶ τὸν
ἀμφοῖν ἀναθεωρεῖν βίον, οὐ γὰρ αὖ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ
θεοὶ τὸν μὲν ἀφελείσθαι καὶ τῇν γῆν, εἰ μὴ φαῦλος ᾗν,
τῷ δ' αὖ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῇ γῇ δοῦναι, εἰ μὴ βελτίαν ᾗν τοῦ
ἀποδομένου."

see," he said, "that you are hesitating and uncertain on
which side your verdict will be."

"I am uncertain, I admit," he said, "and that is why I am
making you my counselor. One man sold another some
land that contained a hidden treasure. Some time later, a
fissure in the earth revealed a jar of gold. The seller of the
land says that the jar properly belongs to him, and that he
would not have sold the land had he known in advance that
it contained his fortune, while the buyer for his part claims
to be the possessor of what he found in land now belonging
to him. The arguments of both are just, but I would seem a
simpleton if I ordered both to share the gold, since even an
old woman could decide that."

Apollonius said in reply, "That the two men are not
philosophers follows from their quarrelling about gold,
but it seems to me that you will judge best if you take
the following into consideration. The gods provide first of
all for those who are virtuous students of wisdom, and
secondly for innocent people who have never been seen to
do wrong. They grant philosophers the ability to distin-
guish correctly between things divine and human, but to
all other good people they grant enough to live on, so
that they may not become unjust for lack of necessities. It
seems to me, therefore, Majesty, that you should weigh
these two as in a balance, and examine the lives of them
both. The gods would not have deprived one of them of his
land as well, it seems to me, unless he was bad, nor would
they have given the other what was actually below ground,
unless he was better than the seller."

³³ ἡμῶν Jackson: ἐπῶ

4 ἄφικοντο ἐς τὴν ὑπεραίαν δικασθόμενοι ἀμφω, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀποδόμιενος ὑβριστῆς τε ἠλέεγχετο καὶ θυσίας ἐκλειτουργῶς, ὡς ἔδει τοῖς ἐν τῇ γῇ θεοῖς θύειν, ὁ δὲ ἐπιεικής τε ἐφαίμετο καὶ ὁσιώτατα θεοματεύων τοὺς θεούς. ἐκράτησεν οὖν ἡ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου γνώμη, καὶ ἀπηλλθευ ὁ χρηστὸς ὡς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ταῦτα ἔχων.

40. Ὡπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῆς δίκης ὥδε ἔσχε, προσελθὼν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος τῷ Ἰνδοῦ "τῇμέρον" εἶπεν "ἡ τρίτη τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐν αἷς ἐποιοῦ με, ὦ Βασίλει, ξένου, τῆς δ' ἐπιουστῆς ἔω χρεὶ ἐξελάυνειν ἐπόμενον τῷ νόμῳ." "ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ νόμος" εἶπεν "ἡδὴ διαλέγεταί σοι, καὶ γὰρ τῇ αὐρῷ μόνον ἔξεσται, ἐπειδὴ μετὰ μεσημβρίαν ἀφίκου." "χαίρω" ἔφη "τῷ ξενίῳ, καὶ γὰρ μοι δοκεῖς κατασοφίσεσθαι.³⁴ τὸν νόμον δι' ἐμέ." "εἰ γὰρ καὶ λῦσαι αὐτὸν ἠδυνάμην" εἶπε "τό γε ὑπὲρ σοῦ. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό μοι εἰπέ, Ἀπολλώνιε, αἱ κάμηλοι, ἐφ' ὧν ὀχεύσθαί σέ φασιν, οὐκ ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἄγουσιν ὑμᾶς;" "ἐκείθεν" ἔφη "δόντος γε αὐτὰς Οὐαρδάνου." "ἔρ' οὖν ὑμᾶς ἀπάγειν δύνησονται, τοσαῦτα ἡδὴ σταδία ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἦκουσαι;"

2 Ἐστάντισσε μὲν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ὁ δὲ Δάμιος "οὗτω συνήσων," ἔφη "ὦ Βασίλει, τῆς ἀποδημίας ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐν οἷς λουπὸν ἔσμεν, ἀλλ' ὡς πανταχοῦ σέ τε καὶ Οὐαρδάνην ἔξων παιδιᾶν ἠγείναι τὸ ἐς Ἰνδοὺς παρελθεῖν. τό τοι τῶν καμῆλων οὐ διομολογεῖται πρὸς σέ, δὴ ἔχει τρόπον διάκεινται γὰρ οὕτω κακῶς, ὥς αὐταὶ μάλλον ὑφ' ἡμῶν φέρεσθαι, καὶ δεῖ ἑτέρων. ἂν γὰρ ὀκλάσσω ἐν ἐρήμῳ που τῆς

4 On the next day the two parties came to argue their case, and the seller turned out to be a scowllaw who had omitted the customary sacrifices to the gods below earth, while the other appeared to be virtuous and their very reverent worshiper. Apollonius's opinion therefore prevailed, and the good man left as if he had got his rewards from the gods.

40. When the dispute had been settled in this way, Apollonius approached the Indian and said, "This is the third of the days, Majesty, in which you were to make me your guest. At dawn tomorrow I must leave as the law commands." "No," he said, "not even the law requires this of you, but you can stay tomorrow too, since you arrived in the afternoon." "I appreciate your present," said Apollonius, "as you seem to be stretching the law for my benefit." "I only wish," he replied, "that for you I could break it. But tell me, Apollonius, the camels which I hear you are riding, they have brought you from Babylon, have they not?" "Yes," said Apollonius, "Vardanes gave them to us." "Will they be able to carry you on again, then, when they have already come so many stades from Babylon?"

2 Apollonius did not answer, but Damis said, "The Master here has no conception of this journey, or of the tribes among which we are going to be. He supposes we will find others like you and Vardanes everywhere, and that reaching India is child's play. As for the camels, he does not admit to you what state they are in; they are in such bad shape that on the contrary we are carrying them, not they us, and we need others. If they collapse in some deserted part of

³⁴ κατασοφίσεσθαι. Valck.: καὶ σοφίσεσθαι

Ἰνδικῆς, ἡμεῖς μὲν ἔφη "καθεδούμεθα τοὺς γυῖπας τε καὶ τοὺς λύκους ἀποσποβοῦντες τῶν καμήλων, ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀποσποβήσεται, προσπαλοῦμέθα γάρ." ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς "ἐγὼ" ἔφη "τοῦτο ἰσχυροῦμαι, ὑμῶν τε γὰρ ἑτέρας δώσω, τετάρτων, οἷμαι, δεῖσθε, καὶ ὁ σατράπης δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ πέμψει ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἑτέρας τέτταρας, ἔστι δέ μοι ἀγέλη καμήλων ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰνδῷ, λευκαὶ πᾶσαι."

3

"Ἡγεμόνα δὲ" εἶπεν ὁ Δάμιος "οὐκ αἶν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, δοίης;" καὶ κάμηλόν γε ἔφη "τῷ ἡγεμόνι δώσω καὶ ἐφόδια, ἐπιστελῶ δὲ καὶ Ἰάρχε τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν σοφῶν, ὃν Ἀπολλώνιον μὲν ὡς μηδὲν κακίᾳ ἑμαυτοῦ δέξεται, ὑμᾶς δὲ ὡς φιλοσόφους τε καὶ ὁπαδοὺς ἀνδρὸς θείου." καὶ Χρυστόν δὲ ἐδίδου ὁ Ἰνδὸς καὶ ψήφους καὶ ὀθόνας καὶ μυρία τοιαῦτα· ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος Χρυστόν μὲν ἔφη ἱκανὸν εἶναι δόνητος γε Οὐαρδάνου τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἀφανῶς αὐτό, τὰς δὲ ὀθόνας λαμβάνειν, ἐπειδὴ εὐκατα τρήβων τῶν ἀρχαίων τε καὶ πᾶν Ἀττικῶν. μίαν δὲ τυια τῶν ψήφων ἀνελόμενος "ὦ βελτίστη" εἶπεν "ὡς ἐς καιρὸν σε καὶ οὐκ ἀθεεὶ εὐρηκα," ἰσχυρὸν, οἷμαί, τυια ἐν αὐτῇ καθεσπασκῶς ἀπορρητὸν τε καὶ θείαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Δάμιον Χρυστόν μὲν οὐδ' αὐτοὶ προσέειπον, τῶν ψήφων δὲ ἱκανῶς ἐδιδότωντο, ὡς θεοὺς ἀναθήσονται, ὅτε ἐπαυλέθουεν ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἥθη.

41. Καταμείνυσαι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ ἐπιποῦσαι, οὐ γὰρ μέλιτο σφῶν ὁ Ἰνδός, δίδωσι τῇ πρὸς τὸν Ἰάρχου ἐπιστολὴν γεγραμμένην ὧδε· "Βασιλεὺς Φρα-

224

India, we will sit fending vultures and wolves away from the camels, but no one will fend them away from us, because we will be dead too." So the king answered, "I will remedy that, and give you new ones. You need four, I believe, and the viceroy guarding the Indus will send four others to Babylon, since I have a herd of pure white camels by the Indus."

3

"Will you not also give us a guide, Majesty?" said Damiis. "Of course," he replied, "and I will give the guide a camel and provisions, and I will write to Iarchas, the senior philosopher, so that he will welcome Apollonius as a man not inferior to myself, and welcome you as lovers of wisdom and as the companions of a holy man." The Indian also offered them money, precious stones, linen, and countless similar things. But Apollonius said that he had enough money, since Yardanes had given some secretly to the guide; but he would take the linen, since it resembled a philosopher's cloak of the old-fashioned, genuine Attic kind. He also took one of the stones and said, "You excellent stone, I have found you at the right time and not without divine assistance." I suppose he had discerned some mysterious, divine power in it. Damiis and the others refused gold, but helped themselves to plenty of the precious stones, planning to dedicate them to the gods after returning to their own countries.

41. When they had stayed there the next day too, since the Indian did not want to part with them, he gave them his letter to Iarchas, which ran as follows: "King Phraotes

225

ὁτ' Ἰάργχα διδασκάλῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν χαίρειν. Ἀπολλώνιος ἀνὴρ σοφώτατος σοφωτέρους ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ ἡγείναι καὶ μαθητούμενος ἦκει τὰ ὑμέτερα. πέμπετε οὖν αὐτὸν εἰδότα ὅποσα ἴσται ὡς ἀπολείπει οὐδὲν τῶν μαθημάτων ὑμῶν, καὶ γὰρ λέγει ἀριστα ἀνθρώπων καὶ μέμνηται. ἰδέτω δὲ καὶ τὸν θρόνον, ἐφ' οὗ καθίσαντί μοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἔδωκας, Ἰάργχα πάτερ, καὶ οἱ ἐπόμενοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἄξιοι ἐπαύου, ὅτι τοιοῦδε ἀνδρὸς ἡττηται. εὐτύχει καὶ εὐτυχέστε·"

42. Ἐξελάσσαντες δὲ τῶν Ταξίων καὶ δύο ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν διελθόντες, ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ πεδίου, ἐν ᾧ λέγεται πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἀγωνίσασθαι Πάρος, καὶ πύλας ἐν αὐτῷ ἰδεῖν φασὶ ξυγκλειούσας οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ τροπαίων ἕνεκα ὑποδομημένας. ἀνακείσθαι γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐφειστηκότες τετραρρύμιος ἄρμασιν, οἷος ἐπὶ τοῖς Δαρείου σαρμάπταις ἐν ἱστοῖς ἕστηκε. διαλείπονται δ' οὐ πρὸς ἀλλήλων δύο ἐξυποδομηθεῖσθαι λέγονται πύλαι, καὶ φέρειν ἢ μὲν Πάρον, ἢ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον, ξυμβεβηκότες, οἷμαι, μετὰ τὴν μάχην, ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀσπαζομένῳ ἔσκει, ὁ δὲ προσκυνοῦντι.

43. Ποταμὸν δὲ Ἵδραώτην ὑπερβαύτες καὶ πλείους ἔθνη ὑμέμνητες, ἐγένοντο πρὸς τῷ Ὑφάστι, σταδία δὲ ἀπέχοντες τούτου τριάκοντα βωμοῖς τε ἐνέτυχον, οἷς ἐπεγέγραπτο "Ἰατρὶ Ἀμμωνί, καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ Ἀθηναίᾳ Προνοίᾳ, καὶ Διὶ Ὀλυμπίᾳ, καὶ Σαμύθρᾳξί, Καβείροις, καὶ Ἰνδῷ Ἠλίῳ, καὶ Δελφῷ Ἀπολλῶνι." φασὶ δὲ καὶ στήλην ἀνακείσθαι Χαλκῆν, ἣ

greet his teacher Iarchas and his companions. Apollonius, a very wise man, thinks you wiser than himself, and is coming to learn your lore. When he leaves you, make sure he knows all that you do. He will not forget any of your lessons, since he is the most eloquent of humans and the most retentive. Let him see the throne on which I sat when you gave me my kingdom, father Iarchas. His companions also deserve praise for their devotion to such a Master. Goodbye to yourself and your followers."

42. When they had left Taxila and gone two days' journey, they came to the plain on which the battle of Alexander and Porus is reported to have occurred, and they say they saw gates there which did not enclose anything, but were built as a trophy. On top of them there was dedicated a statue of Alexander riding an eight-horse chariot, the way he stood when he conquered the viceroys of Darius at Issus.³⁸ In fact there are said to be two sets of gates, not far from one another, one bearing Porus and the other Alexander, represented as they met after the battle. I suppose, since one of them appears in a pose of greeting, and the other in a pose of obeisance.

43. When they had crossed the Hydrantes and passed several tribes, they came to the Hyphasis. About thirty stades further on they found altars with this inscription: "To my father Ammon, my brother Heracles, Athena of Forethought, Olympian Zeus, the Cabiri of Samothrace, the Sun of India, and Apollo of Delphi." They say there was also a bronze tablet dedicated there with the legend "Alex-

³⁸ City of eastern Cilicia near which Alexander won a great victory over Darius III (and not only over his satraps) in 333 BCE.

APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

ἐπυγεγράφθαι "Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπαύθη ἔσση." τοὺς μὲν
δὴ βαμοὺς Ἀλέξανδρου ἡγάμεθα τὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρ-
χῆς τέγμα τυμῶτος, τῇν δὲ στήλην τοὺς μετὰ τὸν
Ῥφασιν Ἰνδοὺς ἀναθεῖναι, δοκῶ μοι λαμπρυνομένους
ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλέξανδρον μὴ προελθεῖν πρόσσω.

BOOK II

ander stopped here." We must suppose that the altars were
set up by Alexander to honor the limit of his empire, while
the Indians across the Hyphasis dedicated the tablet, pre-
sumably in order to boast that Alexander had advanced no
further.