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Philostratus and Eunapius

Philostratus (the
Athenian),
Eunapius

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PHILOSTRATUS
AND
EUNAPIUS
THE LIVES OF THE SOPHISTS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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ERRATA

Page xxxiii. line 26. For of Nazianzen read Gregory Nazianzen

Page 7 line 24. For with a view . . . art read according to the rules of art

Page 7 lines 25, 26. For with . . . case. read as they pleased.

PHILOSTRATUS

INTRODUCTION

THE island Lemnos was the ancestral home of the Philostrati, a family in which the profession of sophist was hereditary in the second and third Christian centuries. Of the works that make up the Philostratean corpus the greater part belong to the author of these *Lives*. But he almost certainly did not write the *Nero*, a dialogue attributed by Suidas the lexicographer to an earlier Philostratus; the first series of the *Imagines* and the *Heroicus* are generally assigned to a younger Philostratus¹ whose premature death is implied by our author who survived him and was probably his father-in-law; and the second series of the *Imagines* was by a Philostratus who flourished in the third century, the last of this literary family.

There are extant, by our Philostratus, the *Gymnasticus*, the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, the *Lives of the Sophists*, the *Erotic Epistles*, and a brief discourse (διάλεξις) *On Nature and Law*, a favourite commonplace of sophistic. In the *Lives* he quotes the *Life of Apollonius* as his own work, so that his authorship of the two most important works in the corpus is undisputed.

Flavius Philostratus was born about 170, perhaps

¹ For Philostratus "the Lemnian" see marginal pp. 627-628.

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in Lemnos, and studied at Athens with Proclus, Hippodromus, and Antipater, and at Ephesus with the aged Damianus from whom he learned much of the gossip that he retails about the second-century sophists. Philostratus wrote the *Lives* of his teachers. Some time after 202, perhaps through the influence of the Syrian sophist Antipater, who was a court favourite, he entered the circle of the philosophic Syrian Empress, Julia Domna. Julia spent much of her time in travelling about the Empire, and Philostratus may have gone with her and the Emperor Septimius Severus to Britain¹ in 208, and to Gaul in 212; and we may picture him at Pergamon, Nicomedia, and especially at Antioch,² where Julia preferred to reside. All three towns were centres of sophistic activity. The husband of Julia, the Emperor Septimius Severus, was himself a generous patron of letters, and, as Philostratus says, loved to gather about him the talented from all parts. But it was Julia who, first as his consort, and later as virtual regent in the reign of her son Caracalla, gave the court that intellectual or pseudo-intellectual tone which has reminded all the commentators of the princely Italian courts of the Renaissance. I say pseudo-intellectual, because, when Philostratus speaks of her circle of mathematicians and philosophers, it must be remembered that the former were certainly astrologers—the Syrian Empress was deeply dyed

¹ This is Münscher's conclusion from a remark in the *Life of Apollonius* v. 2, where Philostratus says that he has himself observed the ebb and flow of the Atlantic tides in "the country of the Celts." But this may have been Gaul, not Britain.

² In the dedication to Gordian Philostratus refers to their intercourse at Antioch.

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with Oriental superstition—and that the latter were nearly all sophists. However, to converse with sophists on equal terms, as Julia did, she must have been well read in the Greek classics, and so we find Philostratus, in his extant letter¹ to her, reminding her of a discussion they had had on Aeschines, and defending Gorgias of Leontini from his detractors. We do not meet with such another court of literary men until, in the fourth century, the Emperor Julian hastily collected about him the sophists and philosophers who were so soon to be dispersed on his death. Cassius Dio² tells us that Julia was driven by the brutality of her husband to seek the society of sophists. However that may be, it was during her son's reign that she showed especial favour to Philostratus. After her downfall and death he left Antioch and went to Tyre, where he published the work called generally the *Life of Apollonius*, though the more precise translation of its title would be *In Honour of Apollonius*. His wife, as we learn from an inscription³ from Erythrae, was named Aurelia Melitine. From the same source we may conclude that the family had senatorial rank, which was no doubt bestowed on Philostratus during his connexion with the court. We have no detailed knowledge of the latter part of his life, but he evidently settled at Athens, where he wrote the *Lives of the Sophists*. He survived as late as the reign of Philip the Arab.⁴ Like other Lemnians he had the privilege of Athenian citizenship, and he is

¹ Letter 63.

² lxxv. 15.

³ Dittenberger, *Sylloge* i. 413.

⁴ A.D. 244–249; the Emperor Philip was elected by the army after the murder of Gordian III.

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variously called in antiquity "Tyrian," from his stay in Tyre, "Lemnian," and "Athenian." That he himself preferred the last of these epithets may be gathered from the fact that he calls the younger Philostratus "the Lemnian," evidently to avoid confusion with himself.

Philostratus dedicates the *Lives* to Gordian, and on this we depend for the approximate date of their composition. Gordian was consul for the second time in 229-230, and, since Philostratus suddenly changes his form of address, first calling him consul and then proconsul, he seems to have written the dedication when Gordian was proconsul of Africa, immediately after his consulship. Gordian at the age of eighty assumed the purple in 238, and shortly after committed suicide. The *Lives* were therefore ready to publish between the years 230 and 238, but there is no certain evidence for a more precise date.

Philostratus in writing the *Lives* evidently avoided the conventional style and alphabetical sequence used by grammarians for biographies; for he had no desire to be classed with grammarians. He wrote like a well-bred sophist who wished to preserve for all time a picture of the triumphs of his tribe, when sophists were at the height of their glory. His *Lives*, therefore, are not in the strict sense biographies. They are not continuous or orderly in any respect, but rather a collection of anecdotes and personal characteristics. He seldom gives a list of the works of a sophist, and when he does, it is incomplete, so far as we are able to check it, as we can for Dio or Aristeides. He was, like all his class, deeply interested in questions of style and the

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various types in vogue, but he must not be supposed to be writing a handbook, and hence his discussions of style are capricious and superficial. He had collected a mass of information as to the personal appearance, manners and dress, temperament and fortune of the more successful sophists, and the great occasions when they triumphantly met some public test, and he shows us only the *splendeurs*, not the *misères* of the profession. He has no pity for the failures, or for those who lost their power to hold an audience, like Hermogenes, who "moulded" too early, and from a youthful prodigy fell into such insignificance that his boyish successes were forgotten. But to those who attained a ripe old age and made great fortunes Philostratus applies every possible superlative. They are the darlings of the gods, they have the power of Orpheus to charm, they make the reputation of their native towns, or of those in which they condescend to dwell. In fact, he did not observe that he made out nearly every one of these gifted beings to be the greatest and most eloquent of them all. Polemo and Herodes are his favourites, and for them he gives most details, while for Favorinus he is unusually consecutive. But no two *Lives* show the same method of treatment, a variety that may have been designed. He succeeded in founding a type of sophistic biography, and in the fourth century, in Eunapius, we have a direct imitation of the exasperating manner and method of Philostratus. To pronounce a moral judgement was alien to this type of biography. Philostratus does so occasionally and notably in the *Life* of Critias, whom he weighs in the balance. This is, perhaps, because, as a tyrant,

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Critias was often the theme of historical declamations, and Philostratus takes the occasion to use some of the commonplaces of the accusation and defence.

After his hurried and perfunctory review of the philosophers who were so eloquent that they were entitled to a place among the sophists, of whom the most important are Dio Chrysostom and Favorinus, he treats of the genuine sophists; first, the older type from Gorgias to Isocrates; then, with Aeschines, he makes the transition to the New Sophistic. Next comes a gap of four centuries, and he dismisses this period with the bare mention of three insignificant names which have no interest for him or for us, and passes on to Nicetes of Smyrna in the first century A.D. This break in the continuity of the *Lives* is variously explained. Kayser thinks that there is a lacuna in the mss., and that Philostratus could not have omitted all mention of Demetrius of Phaleron, Charisius, Hegesias, who is regarded as having founded Asianism, not long after the death of Alexander the Great; or of Fronto, the "archaist," that is to say Atticist, the friend and correspondent of Herodes Atticus, not to speak of others. In ignoring the sophistic works of Lucian in the second century, Philostratus observes the sophistic convention of silence as to one who so excelled and satirized them all. He was a renegade not to be named. In accounting for the other omissions, a theory at least as likely as Kayser's is that there lay before Philostratus other biographies of these men, and that he had nothing picturesque to add to them. Hesychius evidently used some such source, and Philostratus seems to refer to it when he remarks with complete vagueness that on this or that question, usually the

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place of birth or the death of a sophist, "some say" this and "others" that. In the *Life* of Herodes he says that he has given some details that were unknown "to others"; these were probably other biographers. Thus he arrives at what is his real aim, to celebrate the apotheosis of the New Sophistic in the persons of such men as Polemo, Scopelian, and, above all, Herodes Atticus, with whom he begins his Second Book.

Without Philostratus we should have a very incomplete idea of the predominant influence of Sophistic in the educational, social, and political life of the Empire in the second and third Christian centuries. For the only time in history professors were generally acknowledged as social leaders, went on important embassies, made large fortunes, had their marriages arranged and their quarrels settled by Emperors, held Imperial Secretaryships, were Food Controllers,¹ and high priests; and swayed the fate of whole cities by gaining for them immunities and grants of money and visits from the Emperor, by expending their own wealth in restoring Greek cities that were falling into decay, and not least, by attracting thither crowds of students from the remotest parts of the Empire. No other type of intellectual could compete with them in popularity, no creative artists existed to challenge their prestige at the courts of phil-Hellenic Emperors, and though the sophists often show jealousy of the philosophers, philosophy without eloquence was nowhere. But besides all this, they kept alive an interest in the

¹ Lollianus in the second, and Prohaeresius in the fourth century, were appointed to the office of στρατοπεδάρχης, for which Food Controller is the nearest equivalent.

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Greek classics, the ἀρχαῖοι or standard authors; and a thorough knowledge of the Greek poets, orators, and historians such as we should hardly find equalled among professors of Greek to-day was taken for granted in Syrian, Egyptian, Arab, and Bithynian humanists, who must be able to illustrate their lectures with echoes of Homer, Plato, Thucydides, and Demosthenes. In their declamations historical allusions drawn from the classics played much the same part and were as essential as the heroic myths had been to the *Odes* of Pindar or Bacchylides. Not only were they well read, but their technical training in rhetoric was severe, and they would have thought any claim of ours to understand the art of rhetoric, or to teach it, superficial and amateurish. We do not even know the rules of the game. Moreover, they had audiences who did know those rules, and could appreciate every artistic device. But to be thus equipped was not enough. A successful sophist must have the nerve and equipment of a great actor, since he must act character parts, and the terminology of the actor's as well as the singer's art is frequently used for the sophistic profession; he must have unusual charm of appearance, manner, and voice, and a ready wit to retort on his rivals. All his training leads up to that highest achievement of the sophist, improvisation on some theme which was an echo of the past, stereotyped, but to be handled with some pretence to novelty. The theme was voted by the audience or propounded by some distinguished visitor, often because it was known to be in the declaimer's *répertoire*. He must have a good memory, since he must never repeat himself except by special request, and then he must do so with
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perfect accuracy, and, if called on, must reverse all his arguments and take the other side. These themes were often not only fictitiously but falsely conceived, as when Demosthenes is represented pleading for Aeschines in exile, a heart-breaking waste of ingenuity and learning; or paradoxical, such as an encomium on the house-fly. Lucian from his point of view ridiculed the sophists, as Plato had satirized their intellectual and moral weakness in his day, but the former could not undermine their popularity, and the latter might well have despaired if he could have foreseen the recurring triumphs of the most sensational and theatrical forms of rhetoric in the second, third, and fourth Christian centuries. For now not only the middle-class parent, like Strepsiades in the *Clouds*, encourages his son to enter the sophistic profession; noble families are proud to claim kinship with a celebrated sophist; sophists preside at the Games and religious festivals, and, when a brilliant sophist dies, cities compete for the honour of burying him in the finest of their temples.

The official salaries were a small part of their earnings. Vespasian founded a chair of rhetoric at Rome,¹ and Hadrian and Antoninus endowed Regius Professorships of rhetoric and philosophy in several provincial cities. At Athens and, later, Constantinople, there were salaried imperial chairs for which the normal pay was equivalent to about £350, and professors enjoyed certain immunities and exemptions that were later to be reserved for the clergy. The profession was definitely organized by Marcus Aurelius, who assigned an official chair to rhetoric

¹ A.D. 67-79.

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and another to political oratory, and as a rule himself made the appointment from a list of candidates. Many municipalities maintained salaried professors. But, once appointed, a professor must rely on his powers of attraction; there was complete liberty in education; anyone who wished could open a school of rhetoric; and sometimes a free lance would empty the lecture theatre of the Regius Professor, as Libanius did in the fourth century. Nor did the Christian Emperors before Julian interfere with the freedom of speech of famous sophists, though these were usually pagans without disguise who ignored Christianity. In order to reserve for pagan sophists the teaching of the classics Julian tampered with this freedom and, as is described in the *Lives* of Eunapius, extended the powers of the crown over such appointments.

Political oratory, which was a relatively severe type and must avoid emotional effects and poetical allusions, was reduced to school exercises and the arguing of historical or pseudo-historical themes, and was not so fashionable or so sought after by sophists as the chair of pure rhetoric. Though officially distinct in the second century, the "political" chair was gradually absorbed by its more brilliant rival, and in the third and fourth centuries no talented sophist would have been content to be merely a professor of political oratory, a πολιτικός. The study of law and forensic oratory was on a still lower plane and is referred to with some contempt by Philostratus. The writing of history was an inferior branch of literature. In short every form of literary composition was subservient to rhetoric, and the sophists whom Plato perhaps hoped to discountenance with a
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definition were now the representatives of Hellenic culture. "Hellene" had become a technical term for a student of rhetoric in the schools.

Philostratus had no foreboding that this supremacy was doomed. For him, as for Herodes, Sophistic was a national movement. The sophist was to revive the antique purer form of religion and to encourage the cults of the heroes and Homeric gods. This was their theoretical aim, but in fact they followed after newer cults—Aristeides for instance is devoted to the cult of Asclepius whose priest he was, and there were probably few like Herodes Atticus, that ideal sophist, who was an apostle of a more genuinely Hellenic culture and religion. By the time of Eunapius the futility of Philostratus' dream of a revival of Greek religion and culture is apparent, Sophistic is giving way to the study of Roman law at such famous schools as that of Berytus, and the best a sophist can hope for is, like the sober Libanius, to make a living from his pupils and not to become obnoxious to the all-powerful prefects and pro-consuls of the Christian Emperors who now bestow their favours on bishops.

There are two rival tendencies in the oratory of the second and third centuries, Asianism and Atticism. The Asianic style is flowery, bombastic, full of startling metaphors, too metrical, too dependent on the tricks of rhetoric, too emotional. In short, the Asianic declaimer aims at but never achieves the grand style. The Atticist usually imitates some classical author, aims at simplicity of style, and is a purist, carefully avoiding any allusion or word that does not occur in a writer of the classical period. In Aristeides, we have the works of an

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Atticist, and we know that he had not the knack of "improvisation" and was unpopular as a teacher. He was thought to be arid, that is, not enough of an Asianist to please an audience that was ready to go into ecstasies over a display of "bombast and importunate epigram." Philostratus never uses the word Asianism, but he criticizes the "Ionian" and "Ephesian" type of rhetoric, and it was this type which then represented the "theatrical shamelessness" that in the first century Dionysius of Halicarnassus deplored.

Philostratus was one of those who desired to achieve simplicity of style, ἀφέλεια, but when a sophist attempts this the result is always a spurious naïveté such as is seen at its worst in the *Imagines*, the work of his kinsman. Above all the classical writers he admires for his style Critias, who was the ideal of Herodes Atticus also, and the fluent eloquence of Aeschines. He was an Atticist, but not of the stricter type, for he held that it was tasteless and barbarous to overdo one's Atticism. He writes the reminiscence Greek of the cultured sophist, full of echoes of the poets, Herodotus, Plato, and Xenophon. His sentences are short and co-ordinated, his allusions are often so brief that he is obscure, and in general he displays the carelessness of the gentlemanly sophist, condescending to write narrative. If we may judge from his scornful dismissal of Varus as one who abused rhythmical effects in déclamation, he himself avoided such excess in his sophistic exercises, μελέται, which are no longer extant. He was a devoted admirer of Gorgias, and in one passage¹ at least he

¹ *Life of Adrian*, p. 589, where he carefully distinguishes between δωπεαί and δῶρα.

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imitates the careful distinction of synonyms that was characteristic of Prodicus. In fact he regarded the Atticizing sophists of his day as the true descendants of the Platonic sophists, and scolds Plutarch¹ for having attacked, in a work that has perished, the stylistic mannerisms of Gorgias. Like all his Greek contemporaries he lacked a sense of proportion, so that his literary criticisms are for the most part worthless, and the quotations that he asks us to admire are puerile. He longed for a revival of the glories of Hellenism, but it was to be a literary, not a political revival, and he shows no bitterness at the political insignificance of Greece. The Hellenes must impress their Roman masters with a sense of the inferiority of Roman culture and he will then have nothing to complain of. In the opinion of the public, improvisation was the highest achievement of Sophistic, and so thought Philostratus. He believed that the scorn of Aristides for this fashionable form of display, ἐπίδειξις, masked chagrin at his failure, and dismisses with contempt² the later career of Hermogenes the technical writer; whereas Norden³ praises Hermogenes for giving up declamation and devoting himself to more sober and scientific studies. Philostratus has preserved the renown of a number of these improvisators who, but for him, would have perished as completely as have the actors and dancers of those centuries. More than half the sophists described by him are ignored even by Suidas. Yet they were names to conjure with in the schools of rhetoric all through the Roman world, until the Christian Fathers and the rhetoric of the pulpit took

¹ Letter 63.

² See p. 577 for Hermogenes.

³ *Antike Kunst-Prosa* i. 382.

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the place of the declaimers. Christianity was fatal to Sophistic, which seems to wither, like a Garden of Adonis, never deeply rooted in the lives of the common people. But sophists for centuries had educated Christians and pagans alike, and it was from their hands, unintelligent and sterile as they often were in their devotion to Hellenic culture, that the Church received, though without acknowledgement, the learning of which she boasted, and which she in her turn preserved for us.

The following notices of the sophists of whom we know more than is to be found in Philostratus are intended to supplement him with dates and facts that he ignored, or to correct his errors. They are in the order of the *Lives*.

EUDOXUS of Cnidus (408-352 B.C.), famous for his researches in geometry, astronomy, and physics, was for a short time a pupil of Plato. He went to Magna Graecia to study with Archytas the Pythagorean, and to Egypt in the reign of Nectanebus. Strabo¹ describes his observatories at Heliopolis and Cnidus. He opened a school at Cyzicus and made laws for Cnidus.² Plutarch³ praises the elegance of his style.

LEON of Byzantium was a rhetorician and historian about whom we have confused and contradictory accounts in Suidas and Hesychius, especially as to the precise part that he played when Philip of Macedon tried to take Byzantium in 340 B.C. The story is partly told by Plutarch, *Phocion* 14, where

¹ xvii. 806.

² Diogenes Laertius viii. 88.

³ *Marcellus* 4.

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Leon probably played the part there assigned to one Cleon.

DIAS may be, as Natorp suggests, a mistake for Delios. Others read Bias. Delios of Ephesus is mentioned by Plutarch as a contemporary of Alexander the Great. In any case we know nothing more of this philosopher than is related here.

CARNEADES (213-129 B.C.) is reckoned as an Athenian, though he was born at Cyrene. He founded the New Academy at Athens, and in 155 was sent to Rome on an embassy for the Athenians. He is so celebrated as a philosopher that Philostratus, whose interest is in the genuine sophists, can dismiss him in a sentence, but no doubt Cato, who disapproved of his influence at Rome, would have called him a sophist.

PHILOSTRATUS the Egyptian was not connected with the Lemnian family. But for the facts of his life something may be added to the scant notice by his biographer. In his *Life of Antony* 80 Plutarch relates that after the defeat of Antony by Octavian, the latter pardoned the members of Cleopatra's circle, among them Areius¹ the Stoic, who was then in Alexandria. "Areius craved pardon for himself and many others, and especially for Philostratus the most eloquent man of all the sophists and of orators of his time for present and sudden speech; howbeit he falsely named himself an Academic philosopher. Therefore Caesar, who hated his nature and conditions, would not hear his suit. Thereupon Philostratus let his grey beard grow long, and followed Areius step by step in a long mourning gown, still buzzing in his ears this Greek verse :

¹ See Julian, *The Caesars* 326 B ; Cassius Dio lvi. 43.

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A wise man if that he be wise indeed
May by a wise man have the better speed.

Caesar understanding this, not for the desire he had to deliver Philostratus of his fear, as to rid Areius of malice and envy that might have fallen out against him, pardoned him." We have also an epigram by Crinagoras of Mytilene, a contemporary, a lament over the downfall of this favourite of princes:—"O Philostratus, unhappy for all thy wealth, where are those sceptres and constant intercourse with princes? . . . Foreigners have shared among them the fruit of thy toils, and thy corpse shall lie in sandy Ostrakine."¹

DIO CHRYSOSTOM, the "golden-mouthed," was born in Bithynia about A.D. 40. Exiled for fourteen years by his fear of Domitian, he acquired the peculiar knowledge of the coast towns of the Black Sea and of the savage Getae that is shown in his writings. We have eighty of his speeches, or rather essays; they are partly moral lectures or sermons delivered both during and after his exile, which ended in 96 with the accession of his friend Nerva. He denounces the "god-forsaken" sophists, but for part at least of his life he was a professed sophist, and many of his essays are purely sophistic. Dio labelled himself a philosopher, and he was one of Plutarch's type, borrowing the best from all the schools. He wrote the "plain" style and Xenophon and Plato were his favourite models. Next to Lucian he is the most successful and the most agreeable to

¹ *Palatine Anthology* vii. 645. The "foreigners" are Romans, and Ostrakine is a desert village between Egypt and Palestine.

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read of all the Atticizing writers with sophistic tendencies.

FAVORINUS (A.D. 80–150) was a Gaul who came to Rome to study Greek and Latin letters in the second Christian century; he spent much of his professional life in Asia Minor. He became the intimate friend of Plutarch, Fronto, and other distinguished men, and had a powerful patron in the Emperor Hadrian. He wrote Greek treatises on history, philosophy, and geography. A statue of him was set up in the public library of Corinth to encourage the youth of Corinth to imitate his eloquence. He was regarded as a sort of encyclopaedia, and his learning is praised by Cassius Dio, Galen, and Aulus Gellius. He belonged to the Academic school of philosophy, but composed numerous sophistic speeches including paradoxical panegyrics, *e.g.* an *Encomium of Quartan Fever*. Lucian¹ speaks of him disparagingly as “a certain eunuch of the school of the Academy who came from Gaul and became famous in Greece a little before my time.” He was an Asianist in his use of broken and excessive rhythms. We can judge of his style from his *Corinthian Oration*, which survives among the *Orations* of Dio Chrysostom. It is the longest extant piece of Asianic prose of the early second century.² The *Universal History* of Favorinus was probably the chief source used by Athenaeus for his *Deipnosophists*, and was freely borrowed from by Diogenes Laertius.

GORGAS of Leontini in Sicily came to Athens in 427 B.C., at the age of about fifty-five, on an embassy from Leontini, and that date marks a turning-point

¹ *Eunuch* 7; *cf.* *Demonax* 12.

² Norden, *Kunst-Prosa*, p. 422.

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in the history of prose-writing. The love of parallelism and antithesis was innate in the Greeks, and the so-called "Gorgianic" figures, antithesis, similar endings (homoioteleuta), and symmetrical, carefully balanced clauses were in use long before the time of Gorgias. They are to be found in Heracleitus and Empedocles, and in the plays of Euripides that appeared before 427. But by his exaggerated use of these figures and his deliberate adoption for prose of effects that had been held to be the property of poetry, Gorgias set a fashion that was never quite discarded in Greek prose, though it was often condemned as frigid and precious. He is the founder of epideictic oratory, and his influence lasted to the end. But the surer taste of Athenian prose writers rejected the worst of his exaggerations, and later, when Aristotle or Cicero or Longinus points out the dangers of making one's prose "metrical" by abuse of rhythms, or condemns short and jerky clauses, *minuta et versiculorum similia* (Cicero, *Orator* 39), they cite the mannerisms of Gorgias. A fragment of his *Funeral Oration* survives, and, though scholars are not agreed as to the genuineness of the *Helen* and the *Palamedes* which have come down under his name, these are useful as showing the characteristic features of his style. We have the inscription that was composed for the statue of Gorgias dedicated at Olympia by his grand-nephew Eumolpus; in it he defends Gorgias from the charge of ostentation in having in his lifetime dedicated a gold statue of himself at Delphi.

PROTAGORAS of Abdera in Thrace was born about 480 B.C. and came to Athens about 450. His agnostic utterances about the gods led to his prosecution for
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impiety by the Athenians who would not tolerate a professed sceptic. He may be called the founder of grammar, since he is said to have been the first to distinguish the three genders by name, and he divided the form of the verb into categories which were the foundation of our moods. In speech he was a purist. His philosophy was Heracleitean, and to him is ascribed the famous phrase "Man is the measure of all things." His aim was to train statesmen in civic virtue, by which he meant an expert knowledge how to get the better of an opponent in any sort of debate. We have no writings that are certainly his, but can judge of his style by Plato's imitation in the *Protagoras*. A treatise on medicine called *On the Art*, which has come down to us among the works of Hippocrates, has been assigned by some to Protagoras. For his *Life* Philostratus used Diogenes Laertius.

Hippias of Elis was the most many-sided of the early sophists, the polymath or encyclopaedist. He professed to have made all that he wore, taught astronomy and geography, and was a politician rather than a professed teacher of rhetoric. In the two Platonic dialogues that bear his name he appears as a vain and theatrical improvisator. In the *Protagoras* his preference for teaching scientific subjects is ridiculed, in passing, by Protagoras. Philostratus derives his account of Hippias from Plato, *Hippias Maior* 282-286, where Socrates draws out Hippias and encourages him to boast of his versatility and success in making money.

Prodicus of Ceos was a slightly younger contemporary of Protagoras. He was famous for his study of synonyms and their precise use, and may

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be regarded as the father of the art of using the inevitable word, *le mot juste*. Plato speaks of him with a mixture of scorn and respect, but perhaps Prodicus showed him the way to his own nice distinction of terms. "Cleverer than Prodicus" became a proverbial phrase.

POLUS of Sicily, "colt by name and colt by nature," is the respondent to Socrates in the second part of Plato's *Gorgias*, and on that dialogue and the *Phaedrus* we rely mainly for our knowledge of this young and ardent disciple of Gorgias. He had composed an *Art of Rhetoric* which Socrates had just read, and he provokes Socrates to attack rhetoric as the counterfeit of an art, like cookery. In the *Phaedrus* 267 B, he is ridiculed as a Euphuist who had invented a number of technical rhetorical terms and cared chiefly for fine writing; but he is far inferior, we are told, to his teacher Gorgias, and exaggerates his faults.

THRASYMACHUS of Chalcedon is said to have been the first to develop periodic prose, and hence he may be said to have founded rhythmic prose. In the *Phaedrus* 267 C, D Plato parodies his excessive use of rhythm and poetical words. In the First Book of the *Republic* Plato makes him play the part of a violent and sophistic interlocutor whom Socrates easily disconcerts with his dialectic. He wrote handbooks of rhetoric, and according to the *Phaedrus* he was a master of the art of composing pathetic commonplaces (τόποι), *miserationes*, "piteous whinings," as Plato calls them. Like Polus, his name, "hot-headed fighter," indicates the temperament of the man.

ANTIPHON of the Attic deme Rhamnus was born
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soon after 480 B.C., and was a celebrated teacher of rhetoric at Athens. He was deeply influenced by Sicilian rhetoric. Thucydides says that no man of his time was superior to Antiphon in conceiving and expressing an argument and in training a man to speak in the courts or the assembly. He was an extreme oligarch, and was deeply implicated in the plot that placed the Four Hundred in power in 411. When they fell he was condemned to death and drank hemlock, his fortune was confiscated, and his house pulled down. We have his *Tetralogies*, fifteen speeches all dealing with murder cases; twelve of these are in groups of four, hence the name, and give two speeches each for the plaintiff and the defendant in fictitious cases. He uses the commonplaces of the sophists, but his style is severe and archaic. The only other authority for the generally discredited statement of Philostratus that he increased the Athenian navy is pseudo-Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators*. Recently there have been found in Egypt four fragments of his *Apology*, that defence which Thucydides¹ called "the most beautiful apologetic discourse ever given." Antiphon tries to prove that his motives in bringing the oligarchs into power were unselfish. He reminds the judges of his family, whom he did not want to abandon, and without whom he could easily have made his escape. I assume that Antiphon was both orator and sophist, though some maintain that throughout the *Life* Philostratus has confused two separate Antiphons.

CRITIAS, "the handsome," son of Callaeschrus, is remembered chiefly for his political career as a

¹ viii. 68.

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leader of the oligarchy, a pro-Spartan, and one of the Thirty Tyrants. He was exiled from Athens in 407 B.C., and returned in 405. It was Xenophon who said¹ that he degenerated during his stay in Thessaly. He was killed fighting against Thrasybulus and the democrats a year later. Critias was a pupil of Socrates and also of the sophists. He wrote tragedies, elegies, and prose works, of which not enough has survived for any sure estimate to be made of his talent. He was greatly admired by the later sophists, especially by Herodes Atticus.

ISOCRATES (436-338) was trained by the sophists, by Prodicus certainly, and perhaps Protagoras, for a public career, but a weak voice and an incurable diffidence barred him from this, and after studying in Thessaly with Gorgias he became a professional rhetorician at Athens, where he opened his school about 393. In that school, which Cicero calls an "oratorical laboratory," were trained the most distinguished men of the fourth century at Athens. It was his fixed idea that the Greeks must forget their quarrels and unite against Persia, and towards the end of his life he believed that Philip of Macedon might reconcile the Greek states and lead them to this great enterprise. The tradition that, when Philip triumphed over Greece at Chaeronea, Isocrates, disillusioned, refused to survive, has been made popular by Milton's sonnet, *To the Lady Margaret Ley*. Isocrates did in fact die in 338, but he was ninety-eight, and it is not certain that he would have despaired at the success of Philip. He was a master of epideictic prose, and brought the period to perfection in long and lucid sentences. Since Cicero's

¹ *Memorabilia* i. 3. 24.

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style is based on Isocrates, the latter may be said to have influenced, through Cicero, the prose of modern Europe.

AESCHINES was born in 389 B.C. of an obscure family, and after being an actor and then a minor clerk, raised himself to the position of leading politician, ambassador, and rival of Demosthenes. He supported Philip of Macedon, and in 343 defended himself successfully in his speech *On the False Embassy*, from an attack by Demosthenes, whom he attacked in turn without success in the speech *Against Ctesiphon* in 330; to this Demosthenes retorted with his speech *On the Crown*. After this failure, Aeschines withdrew to Rhodes, where he spent the rest of his life in teaching, and it is because he taught rhetoric that Philostratus includes him here and calls him a sophist.

NICETES flourished in the latter half of the first Christian century under the Emperors Vespasian, Domitian, and Nerva. After the *Life* of Aeschines Philostratus skips four centuries and passes to a very different type of orator. He is the first important representative of Asianic oratory in the *Lives*. Philostratus calls this the Ionian type, and it was especially associated with the coast towns of Asia Minor, and above all Smyrna and Ephesus. Nicetes is mentioned in passing by Tacitus,¹ as having travelled far from the style of Aeschines and Demosthenes; Pliny the Younger says² that he heard him lecture. Nothing of his is extant. There was another sophist of the same name whom Seneca quotes, but he lived earlier and flourished under Tiberius.

¹ *Dialogus* 15.

² *Epistles* vi. 6.

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ISAEUS will always be remembered, but he does not owe his immortality to Philostratus, but rather to the fact that Pliny¹ praised his eloquence in a letter to Trajan, and Juvenal,² in his scathing description of the hungry Greekling at Rome, said that not even Isaeus could pour forth such a torrent of words. He came to Rome about A.D. 97 and made a great sensation there.

SCOPELIAN of Clazomenae lived under Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan. His eloquence was of the Asianic type, as was natural in a pupil of Nicetes. In the letter addressed to him by Apollonius of Tyana,³ Scopelian is apparently warned not to imitate even the best, but to develop a style of his own; this was shockingly heterodox advice. For Philostratus, his popularity with the crowd was the measure of his ability.

DIONYSIUS of Miletus is mentioned in passing by Cassius Dio lxi. 789, who says that he offended the Emperor Hadrian. Nothing of his survives, for he almost certainly did not write the treatise *On the Sublime* which has been attributed to him, as to other writers of the same name, though on the very slightest grounds. He was inclined to Asianism, if we may trust the anecdote of his rebuke by Isaeus; see p. 513.

LOLIANUS of Ephesus, who lived under Hadrian and Antoninus, is ridiculed by Lucian, *Epigram* 26, for his volubility, and his diction is often criticized by Phrynichus. He wrote handbooks on rhetoric which have perished. From the quotations of Philostratus it is evident that he was an Asianist. He made the New Sophistic popular in

¹ *Epistles* ii. 3.

² *Satire* iii. 24.

³ *Letter* 19.

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Athens. He was *curator annonae*, an office which in Greek is represented by *στρατοπεδάρχης* or *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν*; the title had lost its military significance.¹ We have the inscription² composed for the statue of Lollianus in the agora at Athens; it celebrates his ability in the lawcourts and as a declaimer, but in a brief phrase, while the rest of the inscription aims at securing the immortal renown of the "well-born pupils" who dedicated the statue.

POLEMO of Laodicea was born about A.D. 85 and lived under Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus. There have survived two of his declamations in which two fathers of Marathon heroes dispute the honour of pronouncing the funeral oration on those who fell at Marathon. We can judge from them of the Asianic manner of the time, with its exaggerated tropes, tasteless similes, short and antithetic clauses, and, in general, its obvious straining after effect and lack of coherent development of ideas. Polemo makes an attempt at Attic diction, but is full of solecisms and late constructions. These compositions seem to us to lack charm and force, but his improvisations may have been very different. Even as late as the fourth century he was admired and imitated, *e.g.* by Gregory of Nazianzen.

✓ HERODES ATTICUS, the most celebrated sophist of the second century, was born about A.D. 100 at Marathon, and died about 179; he was consul in 143. With him begins an important development of Sophistic, for he and his followers at least strove to

¹ See for this office the *Lives* of Eunapius, especially the *Life* of Prohaeresius.

² Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* 877.

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be thorough Atticists and were diligent students of the writers of the classical period. They set up a standard of education that makes them respectable, and we may say of them, as of some of the sophists of the fourth Christian century, that never has there been shown a more ardent appreciation of the glorious past of Greece, never a more devoted study of the classical authors, to whatever sterile ends. But it is evident that Herodes, who threw all his great influence on the side of a less theatrical and more scholarly rhetoric than Scopelian's, failed to win any such popularity as his. For the main facts of his life we rely on Philostratus. Of all his many-sided literary activities only one declamation remains, in which a young Theban oligarch urges his fellow-citizens to make war on Archelaus of Macedonia. But its authenticity is disputed, and it shows us only one side of his rhetoric. Its rather frigid correctness is certainly not typical of the New Sophistic, nor has it the pathos for which he was famed. There are many admiring references to Herodes in Lucian, Aulus Gellius, and Plutarch. In the *Lives* that follow his it will be seen how deeply he influenced his numerous pupils, and, through them, the trend of the New Sophistic.¹ The notice of Herodes in Suidas is independent of Philostratus. If we accept the theory of Rudolph, Athenaeus in his *Deipnosophists* (*Banquet of the Learned*), has given us a characterization of Herodes as the host, disguised under the name Larensius.

There are extant two long Greek inscriptions²

¹ See Schmid, *Atticismus* 201.

² Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* 1046, gives a useful commentary on the dates in the life of Herodes.

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found at Rome, composed for Regilla, the wife of Herodes, one for her heroum or shrine on the Appian Way, the other for her statue in the temple of Minerva and Nemesis. Her brother Braduas was consul in 160. The inscription for the Appian Way must have been composed before 171, the date of the encounter at Sirmium of Herodes and Marcus Aurelius related by Philostratus, since in it Elpinice his daughter is named as still alive; it was partly grief for her death that made Herodes indifferent to his fate at Sirmium.

ARISTOCLES, the pupil of Herodes, wrote philosophical treatises and rhetorical handbooks which have all perished. He was evidently a thorough Atticist. His conversion from philosophy to sophistic and his personal habits are described by Synesius, *Dio* 35 D. Synesius says that, whereas Dío was converted from sophistic to philosophy, Aristocles in his old age became a dissipated sophist and competed with his declamations in the theatres of Italy and Asia.

ALEXANDER the Cilician probably derived his love of philosophy from his teacher Favorinus, but his nickname "Clay Plato" implies that his pretensions were not taken seriously. However sound may have been the studies of these more scholarly sophists or the type of Herodes, they evidently resorted to the trivial devices and excessive rhythms that the crowd had been taught by the Asianists to expect from a declaimer. If Alexander really declaimed more soberly than Scopelian, as Herodes said, the quotations from him in Philostratus do not show any real difference of style. Alexander was, however, something more than a mere expert in the etiquette of Sophistic.

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HERMOGENES of Tarsus is the most famous technical writer on rhetoric in the second century, though one would not infer this from Philostratus. His career as a declaimer was brief, but it is improbable that, as Suidas says, his mind became deranged at twenty-four. He was a youthful prodigy, a boy orator, who turned to the composition of treatises when his knack of declamation forsook him in early manhood. We have his *Preparatory Exercises*, Προγυμνάσματα, his treatise, *On the Constitution of Cases*, Περί τῶν στάσεων, *On Invention*, Περί εὐρέσεως, and, best known of all, *On the Types of Style*, Περί ἰδεῶν. For him Demosthenes is the perfect orator who displays all the seventeen qualities of good oratory, such as clearness, beauty, the grand manner, and the rest. Hermogenes defines and classifies them, together with the formal elements of a speech. His categories are quoted by all the technical rhetoricians who succeed him. All his work was intended to lead to the scientific imitation of the classical writers, though he admired also a few later authors, especially the Atticist Aristeides, the strictest of the archaists. Philostratus, who can admire only the declaimer, says nothing of his success as a technical writer.

ÆLIUS ARISTEIDES, surnamed Theodorus, was born in Mysia, in 117. According to Suidas, he studied under Polemo, but no doubt he owed more to the teaching of Herodes. He is the chief representative of the religious and literary activity of the sophists and their revival of Atticism in the second century, and we must judge of that revival mainly from his works which are in great part extant. We have fifty-five *Orations* of various kinds, and two treatises on rhetoric in which he shows himself inferior in

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method and thoroughness to Hermogenes. He was proverbially unpopular as a teacher of rhetoric, and though the epigram on *the seven pupils of Aristeides, four walls and three benches*, which is quoted in the anonymous argument to his *Panathenaic Oration*, is there said to have been composed for a later rhetorician of the same name, it somehow clung to his memory, and a denial was felt to be necessary. His six *Sacred Discourses*, in which he discusses the treatment by Asclepius of a long illness of thirteen years with which he was afflicted, are one of the curiosities of literature. They mark the close association of Sophistic and religion in the second century, and it is to be observed that Polemo, Antiochus, and Hermocrates also frequented the temple of Asclepius. The sophists constantly opposed the irreligion of the contemporary philosophers, but it is hard to believe that an educated man of that time could seriously describe his interviews with Asclepius and the god's fulsome praises of his oratory. It is less surprising when Eunapius, in the fourth century, reports, apparently in good faith, the conversations of his contemporaries with Asclepius at Pergamon, for superstition, fanned by the theurgists, had by that time made great headway.

For the later sophists described by Eunapius, Aristeides ranks with Demosthenes as a model of Greek prose, and he was even more diligently read; it was the highest praise to say that one of them resembled "the divine Aristeides." For them he was the ideal sophist, and he did indeed defend Sophistic with all his energy against the philosophers, whom he despised. He even carried on a polemic against Plato, and made a formal defence of Gorgias whom

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Plato had attacked in the *Gorgias*. In spite of his lack of success as a declaimer, he was an epideictic orator. He rebuked his fellow sophists for their theatrical methods, and his *Oration Against the Dancing Sophists* is the bitterest invective against Asianic emotional eloquence that we possess. But he was no less emotional than they, when there was a chance for pathos. When Smyrna was destroyed by an earthquake in 178 he wrote a *Monody on Smyrna* which has all the faults of Asianism. There is little real feeling in this speech over which Marcus Aurelius shed conventional tears. Yet he was in the main an Atticist, who dreamed of reproducing the many-sided eloquence of Demosthenes and pursued this ideal at the cost of popularity with the crowd. He had his reward in being for centuries rated higher than Demosthenes by the critics and writers on rhetoric. Libanius, in the fourth century, was his devout imitator, though he himself practised a more flexible style of oratory. Aristeides died in the reign of Commodus, about A.D. 187.

ADRIAN, the Phoenician pupil of Herodes, is hardly known except through Philostratus. He can scarcely have been as old as eighty when he died, for, as Commodus himself died in 190, that is the latest year in which he can have sent an appointment to the dying Adrian, as Philostratus relates. Now Herodes had died about 180 at the age of seventy, and Philostratus makes it clear that Adrian was a much younger man. This is of small importance in itself, but it illustrates the carelessness of Philostratus as a chronicler.

JULIUS POLLUX of Naucratis came to Rome in the reign of Antoninus or Marcus Aurelius, and taught
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rhetoric to the young Commodus to whom he dedicated his *Onomasticon*. His speeches, which even Philostratus found it impossible to praise, are lost, but we have the *Onomasticon*, a valuable thesaurus of Greek words and synonyms, and especially of technical terms of rhetoric. It was designed as a guide to rhetoric for Commodus, but Pollux was to be more useful than he knew. He is bitterly satirized by Lucian in his *Rhetorician's Guide*, where he is made to describe with the most shameless effrontery the ease with which a declaimer may gull his audience and win a reputation. How far this satire was justified we cannot tell, but we may assume that Pollux had made pretensions to shine as a declaimer, and Lucian, always hostile to that type, chose to satirize one who illustrated the weaknesses rather than the brilliance of that profession. Nevertheless the passage quoted from a declamation of Pollux by Philostratus is not inferior to other such extracts in the *Lives*.

PAUSANIAS the sophist is assumed by some scholars to be the famous archaeologist and traveller. But the latter was not a native of Lycia, and though he speaks of Herodes, he nowhere says that he had studied with him. Nor does Suidas in his list of the sophist's works mention the famous *Description of Greece*. The Pausanias of Philostratus is perhaps the author of the *Attic Lexicon* praised by Photius. We have some fragments of this work.

ANTIPATER the Syrian was one of the teachers of Philostratus. At the court of Septimius Severus he had great influence, perhaps due in part to his Syrian birth, for the compatriots of the Empress Julia were under her special patronage. At Athens he had

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been the pupil of Adrian, Pollux, and a certain Zeno, a writer on rhetoric whom Philostratus does not include in the *Lives*. He educated the Emperor's sons, Caracalla and Geta, received the consulship, and was for a short time Governor of Bithynia. Galen, the court physician, praises Severus for the favour shown to Antipater. He starved himself to death after Caracalla's favour was withdrawn. This was about 212. We may therefore place his birth about 144. Philostratus studied with him before he became an official. Antipater's marriage with the plain daughter of Hermocrates took place when the court was in the East, but whether Philostratus in his account of this event means the first or the second Eastern expedition of Severus he does not say, so that we cannot precisely date Antipater's appointment as Imperial Secretary; it occurred about 194 or 197; Kayser prefers the later date. We learn from Suidas that Antipater was attacked by Philostratus the First in an essay, *On the Name*, or *On the Noun*. This statement is useful as fixing the date of the father of our Philostratus. The Antipater of the *Lives* must not be confused with an earlier sophist of the same name mentioned by Dio Chrysostom.

CLAUDIUS AELIAN, the "honey-tongued," as Suidas tells us he was called, is the most important of the learned sophists of the third century. He was born at Praeneste towards the close of the second century, and was a Hellenized Roman who, like Marcus Aurelius, preferred to write Greek. He was an industrious collector of curious facts and strange tales, but, in spite of the statement of Philostratus as to the purity of his dialect, he hardly deserves to rank as a writer of Greek prose. Though he claims

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to write for "educated ears," his language is a strange mixture of Homeric, tragic, and Ionic Greek, with the "common" dialect as a basis. He is erudite in order to interest his readers and with no purpose of preserving a literary tradition; and in his extant works he observes none of the rules of rhetorical composition as they were handed down by the sophists. He aims at simplicity, ἀφέλεια, but is intolerably artificial. We have his treatise in seventeen books, *On Animals*, a curious medley of facts and anecdotes designed to prove that animals display the virtues and vices of human beings; and the less well preserved *Varied History*, a collection of anecdotes about famous persons set down without any attempt at orderly sequence or connexion. Two religious treatises survive in fragments. In choosing to be a mere writer rather than an epideictic orator he really forfeited the high privilege of being called a sophist.

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ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

ΒΙΟΙ ΣΟΦΙΣΤΩΝ

479 ΤΩΙ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΩΙ ΤΠΑΤΩΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΩΙ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΩΙ
ΦΛΑΥΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

Τοὺς φιλοσοφῆσαντας ἐν δόξῃ τοῦ σοφιστεῦσαι
καὶ τοὺς οὕτω κυρίως προσρηθέντας σοφιστὰς ἐς
δύο βιβλία ἀνέγραψά σοι, γινώσκων μὲν, ὅτι καὶ
γένος ἐστὶ σοι πρὸς τὴν τέχνην ἐς Ἡρώδην τὸν
480 σοφιστὴν ἀναφέροντι, μεμνημένος δὲ καὶ τῶν
κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν σπουδασθέντων ποτὲ ἡμῖν
ὑπὲρ σοφιστῶν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Δαφναίου ἱερῷ. πατέρας
δὲ οὐ προσέγραψα, μὰ Δί' οὐ, πᾶσιν,¹ ἀλλὰ τοῖς
ἀπ' εὐδοκίμων· οἶδα γὰρ δὴ καὶ Κριτίαν τὸν
σοφιστὴν οὐκ ἐκ πατέρων ἀρξάμενον,² ἀλλὰ Ὀμή-
ρου δὴ μόνου σὺν τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιμνησθέντα, ἐπειδὴ
θαῦμα δηλώσειν ἔμελλε πατέρα Ὀμήρῳ ποταμὸν
εἶναι. καὶ ἄλλως οὐκ εὐτυχὲς τῷ βουλομένῳ

¹ μὰ Δία, οὐ πᾶσιν Kayser; μὰ Δί' οὐ, πᾶσιν Richards.

² ἀρξάμενον add. Richards.

¹ See Introduction, p. xii.

² On the famous temple of Apollo in the suburb of Daphne
cf. Julian, *Misopogon* 346; Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius*
of Tyana i. 16.

PHILOSTRATUS

LIVES OF THE SOPHISTS

DEDICATED BY FLAVIUS PHILOSTRATUS TO THE MOST
ILLUSTRIOUS ANTONIUS GORDIANUS, CONSUL¹

PREFACE

I HAVE written for you in two Books an account of certain men who, though they pursued philosophy, ranked as sophists, and also of the sophists properly so called; partly because I know that your own family is connected with that profession, since Herodes the sophist was your ancestor; but I remembered, too, the discussions we once held about the sophists at Antioch, in the temple of Daphnean Apollo.² Their fathers' names I have not added in all cases, God forbid! but only for those who were the sons of illustrious men. For one thing I am aware that the sophist Critias also did not begin with the father's name as a rule, but only in the case of Homer mentioned his father, because the thing he had to relate was a marvel, namely, that Homer's father was a river.³ And further it would be no great piece of luck for one who desired to be really

³ There was a tradition that Homer's father was the river Meles, near Smyrna.

πολλὰ εἰδέναι πατέρα μὲν τοῦ δεῖνος ἐξεπίστασθαι καὶ μητέρα, τὰς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετὰς τε καὶ κακίας οὐ γινώσκειν, μὴδ' ὃ τι κατώρθωσέ τε οὗτος καὶ ἐσφάλη ἢ τύχη ἢ γνώμη. τὸ δὲ φρόντισμα τοῦτο, ἄριστε ἀνθυπάτων, καὶ τὰ ἄχθη σοι κουφιεῖ τῆς γνώμης, ὥσπερ ὁ κρατὴρ τῆς Ἑλένης τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις φαρμάκοις. ἔρρωσο Μουσ-
ηγέτα.

Α'

Τὴν ἀρχαίαν σοφιστικὴν ῥητορικὴν ἡγεῖσθαι χρή φιλοσοφοῦσαν· διαλέγεται μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες, ἃ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι τὰς ἐρωτήσεις ὑποκαθήμενοι καὶ τὰ σμικρὰ τῶν ζητουμένων προβιβάζοντες οὐπω φασὶ γινώσκειν, ταῦτα ὁ παλαιὸς σοφιστὴς ὡς εἰδὼς λέγει. προοίμια γοῦν ποιεῖται τῶν λόγων τὸ “οἶδα” καὶ τὸ “γινώσκω” καὶ “πάσαι διέσκεμμαι” καὶ “βέβαιον ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδέν.” ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη ἰδέα τῶν προοιμίων εὐγένειάν τε προηχεῖ τῶν λόγων καὶ φρόνημα καὶ κατάληψιν σαφῇ τοῦ ὄντος. ἡρμοσται
481 δὲ ἡ μὲν τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ μαντικῇ, ἣν Αἰγυπτιοὶ τε καὶ Χαλδαῖοι καὶ πρὸ τούτων Ἴνδοι ξυνέθεσαν, μυρίοις ἀστέρων στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ ὄντος, ἡ δὲ τῇ θεσπιωδῶ τε καὶ χρηστηριώδει· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦ Πυθίου ἐστὶν ἀκούειν

¹ A sophistic commonplace from *Odyssey* iv. 220; cf. *Life of Apollonius* vii. 22, and note on Julian, *Oration* viii. 240 c, vol. ii.

² For Plato's criticism of sophistic assurance cf. *Meno* 70, *Symposium* 208 c, *Theaetetus* 180 a.

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well informed, to know precisely who was So-and-so's father and mother, yet fail to learn what were the man's own virtues and vices, and in what he succeeded or failed, whether by luck or judgement. This essay of mine, best of proconsuls, will help to lighten the weight of cares on your mind, like Helen's cup with its Egyptian drugs.¹ Farewell, leader of the Muses!

BOOK I

We must regard the ancient sophistic art as philosophic rhetoric. For it discusses the themes that philosophers treat of, but whereas they, by their method of questioning, set snares for knowledge, and advance step by step as they confirm the minor points of their investigations, but assert that they have still no sure knowledge, the sophist of the old school assumes a knowledge of that whereof he speaks. At any rate, he introduces his speeches with such phrases as "I know," or "I am aware," or "I have long observed," or "For mankind there is nothing fixed and sure." This kind of introduction gives a tone of nobility and self-confidence to a speech and implies a clear grasp of the truth.² The method of the philosophers resembles the prophetic art which is controlled by man and was organized by the Egyptians and Chaldeans and, before them, by the Indians, who used to conjecture the truth by the aid of countless stars; the sophistic method resembles the prophetic art of soothsayers and oracles. For indeed one may hear the Pythian oracle say:

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οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμον τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης
καὶ

τείχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
καὶ

Νέρων Ὀρέστης Ἀλκμαίων μητροκτόνοι
καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα, ὥσπερ σοφιστοῦ, λέγοντος.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ ἀρχαία σοφιστικὴ καὶ τὰ φιλοσοφού-
μενα ὑποτιθεμένη διήκει αὐτὰ ἀποτάδην καὶ ἐς
μῆκος, διελέγετο μὲν γὰρ περὶ ἀνδρείας, διελέγετο
δὲ περὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἡρώων τε πέρι καὶ θεῶν καὶ
ὅπῃ ἀπεσχημάτισται ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ κόσμου. ἡ δὲ
μετ' ἐκείνην, ἣν οὐχὶ νέαν, ἀρχαία γάρ, δευτέραν
δὲ μᾶλλον προσρητέον, τοὺς πένητας ὑπετυπώ-
σατο καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους καὶ τοὺς ἀριστέας καὶ
τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τὰς ἐς ὄνομα ὑποθέσεις, ἐφ'
αἷς ἡ ἱστορία ἄγει. ἤρξε δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀρχαιοτέρας
Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντίνος ἐν Θετταλοῖς, τῆς δὲ δευ-
τέρας Αἰσχίνης ὁ Ἀτρομήτου τῶν μὲν Ἀθήνησι
πολιτικῶν ἐκπεσῶν, Καρία δὲ ἐνομιλῆσας καὶ
Ῥόδῳ, καὶ μετεχειρίζοντο τὰς ὑποθέσεις οἱ μὲν
κατὰ τέχνην, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Γοργίου κατὰ τὸ δόξαν.
482 Σχεδίων δὲ πηγὰς λόγων οἱ μὲν ἐκ Περικλέους
ῥυῆναι πρώτου φασίν, ὅθεν καὶ μέγας ὁ Περι-
κλῆς ἐνομίσθη τὴν γλῶτταν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυ-
ζαντίου Πύθωνος, ὃν Δημοσθένης μόνος Ἀθηναίων

¹ Herodotus i. 147; *Life of Apollonius* vi. 11.

² i.e. Athene, whose city Athens is protected by the wooden wall of her navy.

³ Suetonius, *Nero* 39; *Life of Apollonius* iv. 38; the enigmatic or bombastic phraseology of the oracles reminds Philostratus of the oracular manner and obscurity of certain sophists.

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I know the number of the sands of the sea and the measure thereof,¹

and

Far-seeing Zeus gives a wooden wall to the Triton-Born,²
and

Nero, Orestes, Alcmaeon, matricides,³

and many other things of this sort, just like a sophist.

Now ancient sophistic, even when it propounded philosophical themes, used to discuss them diffusely and at length;⁴ for it discoursed on courage, it discoursed on justice, on the heroes and gods, and how the universe has been fashioned into its present shape. But the sophistic that followed it, which we must not call "new," for it is old, but rather "second," sketched the types of the poor man and the rich, of princes and tyrants, and handled arguments that are concerned with definite and special themes for which history shows the way. Gorgias of Leontini founded the older type in Thessaly,⁵ and Aeschines, son of Atrometus, founded the second, after he had been exiled from political life at Athens and had taken up his abode in Caria and Rhodes; and the followers of Aeschines handled their themes with a view to elaborating the methods of their art, while the followers of Gorgias handled theirs with a view to proving their case.

The fountains of extempore eloquence flowed, some say, from Pericles their source, and hence Pericles has won his great reputation as an orator; but others say that it arose with Python of Byzantium, of whom Demosthenes says⁶ that he

¹ Plato, *Sophist* 217 c.

² Plato, *Meno* 70 B.

³ Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 136; the same account is given by Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* vii. 37. Python came to Athens as the agent of Philip of Macedon.

ἀνασχεῖν φησι θρασυνόμενον καὶ πολὺν ῥέοντα, οἱ δὲ Αἰσχίνου φασὶ τὸ σχεδιάζειν εὖρημα, τοῦτον γὰρ πλεύσαντα ἐκ Ῥόδου παρὰ τὸν Κᾶρα Μαύσωλον σχεδίῳ αὐτὸν λόγῳ ἦσαι. ἐμοὶ δὲ πλείστα μὲν ἀνθρώπων Αἰσχίνης δοκεῖ σχεδιάσαι πρεσβεύων τε καὶ ἀποπρεσβεύων συνηγορῶν τε καὶ δημηγορῶν, καταλιπεῖν δὲ μόνους τοὺς συγγεγραμμένους τῶν λόγων, ἵνα τῶν Δημοσθένους φροντισμάτων μὴ πολλῶ λείποιτο, σχεδίου δὲ λόγου Γοργίας ἄρξαι — παρελθὼν γὰρ οὗτος ἐς τὸ Ἀθήνησι¹ θέατρον ἐθάρρησεν εἰπεῖν “προβάλλετε” καὶ τὸ κινδύνευμα τοῦτο πρῶτος ἀνεφθέγγατο, ἐνδεικνύμενος δήπου πάντα μὲν εἰδέναι, περὶ παντὸς δ’ ἂν εἰπεῖν ἐφιεῖς τῷ καιρῷ — τοῦτο δ’ ἐπελθεῖν τῷ Γοργίᾳ διὰ τόδε. Προδίκῳ τῷ Κεῖῳ συνεγέγραπτό τις οὐκ ἀηδὴς λόγος· ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ κακία φοιτῶσαι παρὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐν εἵδει γυναικῶν, ἐσταλμένοι ἡ μὲν ἀπατηλῶ τε καὶ ποικίλῳ, ἡ δὲ ὥς ἔτυχεν, καὶ προτείνουσαι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ νέῳ ἔτι ἡ μὲν ἀργίαν καὶ τρυφήν, ἡ δὲ αὐχμὸν καὶ πόνους· καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσι διὰ πλειόνων συντεθέντος, τοῦ λόγου ἔμμιστον ἐπί-
483 δειξιν ἐποιεῖτο Πρόδικος περιφοιτῶν τὰ ἄστυ καὶ
θέλων αὐτὰ τὸν Ὀρφέως τε καὶ Θαμύρου τρό-

¹ Ἀθηναίων Kayser; Ἀθήνησι Cobet.

¹ For an account of Prodicus and his famous fable see below, p. 496.

² An echo of Plato, *Protagoras* 315 A, where it is said of Protagoras.

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alone of the Athenians was able to check Python's insolent and overpowering flow of words; while yet others say that extempore speaking was an invention of Aeschines; for after he sailed from Rhodes to the court of Mausolus of Caria, he delighted the king by an improvised speech. But my opinion is that Aeschines did indeed improvise more often than any other speaker, when he went on embassies and gave reports of these missions, and when he defended clients in the courts and delivered political harangues; but I think that he left behind him only such speeches as he had composed with care, for fear that he might fall far short of the elaborate speeches of Demosthenes, and that it was Gorgias who founded the art of extempore oratory. For when he appeared in the theatre at Athens he had the courage to say, "Do you propose a theme"; and he was the first to risk this bold announcement, whereby he as good as advertised that he was omniscient and would speak on any subject whatever, trusting to the inspiration of the moment; and I think that this idea occurred to Gorgias for the following reason. Prodicus of Ceos¹ had composed a certain pleasant fable in which Virtue and Vice came to Heracles in the shape of women, one of them dressed in seductive and many-coloured attire, the other with no care for effect; and to Heracles, who was still young, Vice offered idleness and sensuous pleasures, while Virtue offered squalor and toil on toil. For this story Prodicus wrote a rather long epilogue, and then he toured the cities and gave recitations of the story in public, for hire, and charmed them after the manner of Orpheus² and Thamyras. For these recitations he won a great

πον, ἐφ' οἷς μεγάλων μὲν ἡξιούτο παρὰ Θηβαίοις, πλειόνων δὲ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὡς ἐς τὸ συμφέρον τῶν νέων ἀναδιδάσκων ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ Ἰοργίας ἐπισκώπτων τὸν Πρόδικον, ὡς ἔωλά τε καὶ πολλάκις εἰρημένα ἀγορεύοντα, ἐπαφῆκεν ἑαυτὸν τῷ καιρῷ. οὐ μὴν φθόνου γε ἡμαρτεν· ἦν γάρ τις Χαιρεφῶν Ἀθήνησιν, οὐχ ὃν ἡ κωμωδία πύξινον ἐκάλει, ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ φροντισμάτων ἐνόσει τὸ αἷμα, ὃν δὲ νυνὶ λέγω, ὕβριν ἤσκει καὶ ἀναιδῶς ἐτώθαζεν. οὗτος ὁ Χαιρεφῶν τὴν σπουδὴν τοῦ Ἰοργίου διαμασῶμενος “διὰ τί” ἔφη “ὦ Ἰοργία, οἱ κύαμοι τὴν μὲν γαστέρα φυσῶσι, τὸ δὲ πῦρ οὐ φυσῶσιν;” ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν παραχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐρωτήματος “τουτὶ μὲν” ἔφη “σοὶ καταλείπω σκοπεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκεῖνο πάλαι οἶδα, ὅτι ἡ γῆ τοὺς νάρθηκας ἐπὶ τοὺς τοιούτους φύει.”

Δεινότητα δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τοὺς σοφιστὰς ὀρώντες ἐξεῖργον αὐτοὺς τῶν δικαστηρίων, ὡς ἀδίκῳ λόγῳ τοῦ δικαίου κρατοῦντας καὶ ἰσχύοντας παρὰ τὸ εὐθύ, ὅθεν Αἰσχίνης καὶ Δημοσθένης προὔφερον μὲν αὐτὸ ἀλλήλοις, οὐχ ὡς ὄνειδος δέ, ἀλλὰ ὡς διαβεβλημένον τοῖς δικάζουσιν, ἰδίᾳ

¹ Chaerephon was a favourite butt of Comedy and was thus nicknamed on account of his sallow complexion, as one should say “tallow-faced”; cf. Eupolis, *Kolakes*, fr. 165 Kock; scholiast on *Wasps* 1408 and on *Clouds* 496; Athenaeus iv. 164. He was also called the “bat.”

² There is a play on the verb, which means both “inflate” and “blow the bellows.” The same question is asked in Athenaeus 408; in both passages “fire” seems to mean “the intelligence” as opposed to material appetite. The comic poets satirized the sophists for investigating such questions.

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reputation at Thebes and a still greater at Sparta, as one who benefited the young by making this fable widely known. Thereupon Gorgias ridiculed Prodicus for handling a theme that was stale and hackneyed, and he abandoned himself to the inspiration of the moment. Yet he did not fail to arouse envy. There was at Athens a certain Chaerephon, not the one who used to be nicknamed "Boxwood" in Comedy,¹ because he suffered from anaemia due to hard study, but the one I now speak of had insolent manners and made scurrilous jokes; he rallied Gorgias for his ambitious efforts, and said: "Gorgias, why is it that beans blow out my stomach, but do not blow up the fire?"² But he was not at all disconcerted by the question and replied: "This I leave for you to investigate; but here is a fact which I have long known, that the earth grows canes³ for such as you."

The Athenians when they observed the too great cleverness of the sophists, shut them out of the law-courts on the ground that they could defeat a just argument by an unjust, and that they used their power to warp men's judgement. That is the reason why Aeschines⁴ and Demosthenes⁵ branded each other with the title of sophist, not because it was a disgrace, but because the very word was suspect in the eyes of the jury; for in their career outside the courts they claimed consideration and applause on

³ The jest lies in the ambiguity of the meaning and also the application here of this word, which is originally "hollow reed," such as that used by Prometheus to steal fire from heaven, but was also the regular word for a rod for chastisement; it has the latter meaning in the *Life of Apollonius* viii. 3.

⁴ e.g. *Against Timarchus* 170.

⁵ e.g. *On the Crown* 276.

γὰρ ἡξίουں ἀπ' αὐτοῦ θαυμάζεσθαι. καὶ Δημο-
σθένης μὲν, εἰ πιστέα Αἰσχίνη, πρὸς τοὺς γνωρί-
μους ἐκόμπαζεν, ὥς τὴν τῶν δικαστῶν ψῆφον
484 πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν ἑαυτῷ μεταγαγών, Αἰσχίνης δὲ
οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκεῖ πρεσβεῦσαι παρὰ Ῥοδίοις, ἃ
μήπω ἐγίγνωσκον, εἰ μὴ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν αὐτὰ
ἐσπουδάκει.

Σοφιστὰς δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐπωνόμαζον οὐ μόνον
τῶν ῥητόρων τοὺς ὑπερφωνοῦντάς τε καὶ λαμ-
προύς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων τοὺς ξὺν εὐροΐᾳ
ἐρμηνεύοντας, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀνάγκη προτέρων λέγειν,
ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὄντες σοφισταί, δοκοῦντες δὲ παρ-
ῆλθον ἐς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην.

α'. Εὐδοξος μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κνίδιος τοὺς ἐν Ἀκα-
δημίᾳ λόγους ἱκανῶς ἐκφροντίσας ὁμῶς ἐνεγράφη
τοῖς σοφισταῖς ἐπὶ τῷ κόσμῳ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας καὶ
τῷ σχεδιάζειν εὖ, καὶ ἡξιούτο τῆς τῶν σοφιστῶν
ἐπωνυμίας καθ' Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ Προποντίδα
κατὰ τε Μέμφιν καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν Αἴγυπτον,
ἣν Αἰθιοπία τε ὀρίζει καὶ τῶν ἐκείνη σοφῶν οἱ
Γυμνοί.

485 β'. Λέων δὲ ὁ Βυζάντιος νέος μὲν ὧν ἐφοίτα
Πλάτωνι, ἐς δὲ ἄνδρας ἥκων σοφιστῆς προσερ-
ρήθη πολυειδῶς ἔχων τοῦ λόγου καὶ πιθανῶς
τῶν ἀποκρίσεων. Φιλίππῳ μὲν γὰρ στρατεύοντι
ἐπὶ Βυζαντίους προαπαντήσας "εἰπέ μοι, ὦ
Φίλιππε," ἔφη "τί παθὼν πολέμου ἄρχεις;"

¹ *Against Timarchus* 170.

² Aeschines founded a school of rhetoric at Rhodes.

³ A full account of the Gymnosophists is given by Philo-
stratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* vi. 5.

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the very ground that they were sophists. In fact, Demosthenes, if we may believe Aeschines,¹ used to boast to his friends that he had won over the votes of the jury to his own views; while Aeschines at Rhodes² would not, I think, have given the first place to a study of which the Rhodians knew nothing before his coming, unless he had already devoted serious attention to it at Athens.

The men of former days applied the name "sophist," not only to orators whose surpassing eloquence won them a brilliant reputation, but also to philosophers who expounded their theories with ease and fluency. Of these latter, then, I must speak first, because, though they were not actually sophists, they seemed to be so, and hence came to be so called.

1. EUDOXUS OF CNIDUS, though he devoted considerable study to the teachings of the Academy, was nevertheless placed on the list of sophists because his style was ornate and he improvised with success. He was honoured with the title of sophist in the Hellespont and the Propontis, at Memphis, and in Egypt beyond Memphis where it borders on Ethiopia and the region inhabited by those wise men who are called Naked Philosophers.³

2. LEON OF BYZANTIUM was in his youth a pupil of Plato, but when he reached man's estate he was called a sophist because he employed so many different styles of oratory, and also because his repartees were so convincing. For example, when Philip brought an army against Byzantium, Leon went out to meet him and said: "Tell me, Philip, what moved you to begin war on us?" And when

τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος “ ἡ πατρίς ἡ σὴ καλλίστη πόλεων οὔσα ὑπηγάγετό με ἐρᾶν αὐτῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ θύρας τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ παιδικῶν ἦκω,” ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Λέων “ οὐ φοιτῶσιν ” ἔφη “ μετὰ ξιφῶν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν παιδικῶν θύρας οἱ ἄξιοι τοῦ ἀντεράσθαι, οὐ γὰρ πολεμικῶν ὀργάνων, ἀλλὰ μουσικῶν οἱ ἐρῶντες δέονται.” καὶ ἡλευθεροῦτο¹ Βυζάντιον Δημοσθένους μὲν πολλὰ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους εἰπόντος, Λέοντος δὲ ὀλίγα πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν² Φίλιππον. καὶ πρεσβεύων δὲ παρ’ Ἀθηναίους οὗτος ὁ Λέων, ἐστασίαζε μὲν πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον ἡ πόλις καὶ παρὰ τὰ ἦθῃ ἐπολιτεύετο, παρελθὼν δ’ ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προσέβαλεν αὐτοῖς ἀθρόον γέλωτα ἐπὶ τῷ εἶδει, ἐπειδὴ πίων ἐφαίνετο καὶ περιττὸς τὴν γαστέρα, ταραχθεὶς δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ γέλωτος “ τί,” ἔφη “ ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, γελᾶτε; ἢ ὅτι παχὺς ἐγὼ καὶ τοσοῦτος; ἔστι μοι καὶ γυνὴ πολλῶ παχυτέρα, καὶ ὁμονοοῦντας μὲν ἡμᾶς χωρεῖ ἡ κλίνη, διαφερομένους δὲ οὐδὲ ἡ οἰκία,” καὶ ἐς ἐν ἦλθεν ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος ἀρμοσθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Λέοντος σοφῶς ἐπισχεδιάσαντος τῷ καιρῷ.

γ’. Δίας δὲ ὁ Ἐφέσιος τὸ μὲν πείσμα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φιλοσοφίας ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας ἐβέβλητο, σοφιστῆς δὲ ἐνομίσθη διὰ τὸδε· τὸν Φίλιππον ὀρῶν χαλεπὸν ὄντα τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν στρα-
 486 τεύειν ἔπεισε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας διεξῆλθε λέγων, ὥς δέον ἀκολουθεῖν στρατεύοντι, καλὸν

¹ ἡλευθέρου τὸ Kayser; ἡλευθεροῦτο Valckenaer.

² τὸν add. Kayser.

¹ cf. *Life of Apollonius* vii. 42.

² Diogenes Laertius iv. 37 tells the same story about Arcesilaus the head of the Academy. Athenaeus 550

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he replied: "Your birthplace, the fairest of cities, lured me on to love her, and that is why I have come to my charmer's door," Leon retorted: "They come not with swords to the beloved's door who are worthy of requited love. For lovers need not the instruments of war but of music."¹ And Byzantium was freed, after Demosthenes had delivered many speeches to the Athenians on her behalf, while Leon had said but these few words to Philip himself. When this Leon came on an embassy to Athens, the city had long been disturbed by factions and was being governed in defiance of established customs. When he came before the assembly he excited universal laughter, since he was fat and had a prominent paunch, but he was not at all embarrassed by the laughter. "Why," said he, "do ye laugh, Athenians? Is it because I am so stout and so big? I have a wife at home who is much stouter than I, and when we agree the bed is large enough for us both, but when we quarrel not even the house is large enough." Thereupon the citizens of Athens came to a friendly agreement, thus reconciled by Leon, who had so cleverly improvised to meet the occasion.²

3. DIAS OF EPHEBUS made fast the cable³ of his philosophy to the Academy, but he was held to be a sophist for the following reason. When he saw that Philip was treating the Greeks harshly, he persuaded him to lead an expedition against Asia, and went to and fro telling the Greeks that they ought to accompany Philip on his expedition, since it was no

says that Leon told this anecdote not about himself but Python.

³ For this figure cf. *Life of Apollonius* vi. 12.

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γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἔξω δουλεύειν ἐπὶ τῷ οἴκοι ἐλευθεροῦσθαι.

δ'. Καὶ Καρνεάδης δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν σοφισταῖς ἐγγράφετο, φιλοσόφως μὲν γὰρ κατεσκευάστο τὴν γνώμην, τὴν δὲ ἰσχὺν τῶν λόγων ἐς τὴν ἄγαν ἤλαυνε δεινότητα.

ε'. Οἶδα καὶ Φιλόστρατον τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Κλεοπάτρα μὲν συμφιλοσοφοῦντα τῇ βασιλίδι, σοφιστὴν δὲ προσρηθέντα, ἐπειδὴ λόγου ιδέαν πανηγυρικὴν ἤρμοστο καὶ ποικίλην, γυναικὶ ξυνών, ἥ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ φιλολογεῖν τρυφήν εἶχεν, ὅθεν καὶ παρώδουν τινὲς ἐπ' αὐτῷ τόδε τὸ ἐλεγείον·

πανσόφου ὄργην ἴσχε Φιλοστράτου, ὃς Κλεοπάτρα
νῦν προσομιλήσας τοῖος ιδεῖν ἐφάνη.¹

ς'. Καὶ Θεόμνηστον δὲ τὸν Ναυκρατίτην ἐπιδήλως φιλοσοφήσαντα ἢ περιβολὴ τῶν λόγων ἐς τοὺς σοφιστὰς ἀπήνεγκεν.

ζ'. Δίωνα δὲ τὸν Προυσαῖον οὐκ οἶδ' ὃ τι χρὴ προσειπεῖν διὰ τὴν ἐς πάντα ἀρετὴν, Ἀμαλθείας
487 γὰρ κέρας ἦν, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, ξυγκείμενος μὲν τῶν ἄριστα εἰρημένων τοῦ ἀρίστου, βλέπων δὲ πρὸς τὴν Δημοσθένους ἡχὴ καὶ Πλάτωνος, ἥ, καθάπερ αἱ μαγάδες τοῖς ὀργάνοις, προσηχεῖ ὁ Δίων τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἴδιον ξὺν ἀφελείᾳ ἐπεστραμμένη. ἀρί-

¹ πέφαται Kayser; ἐφάνη Cobet.

¹ The original of this parody is Theognis 215 where he advises men to be as adaptable as the polypus which takes on the colour of its rock. It became a proverb: Athenaeus 317; Julian, *Misopogon* 349 n.

² We know nothing of Theomnestus, unless he be the Academician mentioned by Plutarch, *Brutus* 24, as a teacher at Athens.

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dishonour to endure slavery abroad in order to secure freedom at home.

4. CARNEADES OF ATHENS was also enrolled among the sophists, for though his mind had been equipped for the pursuit of philosophy, yet in virtue of the force and vigour of his orations he attained to an extraordinarily high level of eloquence.

5. I am aware that PHILOSTRATUS THE EGYPTIAN also, though he studied philosophy with Queen Cleopatra, was called a sophist. This was because he adopted the panegyrical and highly-coloured type of eloquence; which came of associating with a woman who regarded even the love of letters as a sensuous pleasure. Hence the following elegiac couplet was composed as a parody aimed at him:

Acquire the temperament of that very wise man, Philostratus, who, fresh from his intimacy with Cleopatra, has taken on colours like hers.¹

6. THEOMNESTUS² OF NAUCRATIS was by profession a philosopher, but the elaborate and rhetorical style of his speeches caused him to be classed with the sophists.

7. As for DIO OF PRUSA, I do not know what one ought to call him, such was his excellence in all departments; for, as the proverb says, he was a "horn of Amalthea,"³ since in him is compounded the noblest of all that has been most nobly expressed. His style has the ring of Demosthenes and Plato, but Dio has besides a peculiar resonance of his own, which enhances theirs as the bridge enhances the tone of musical instruments; and it was combined with a serious and direct simplicity of expression.

³ The horn of plenty, or cornucopia, was said to have belonged to a goat named Amalthea which suckled the infant Zeus.

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στη δὲ ἐν τοῖς Δίωνος λόγοις καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἥθους κρᾶσις· ὑβριζούσαις τε γὰρ πόλεσι πλεῖστα ἐπιπλήξας οὐ φιλολοίδορος οὐδὲ ἀηδὴς ἔδοξεν, ἀλλ' οἷον ἵππων ὑβριν χαλινῶ καταρτύνων μᾶλλον ἢ μάστιγι, πόλεων τε εὐνομουμένων ἐς ἐπαίνους καταστὰς οὐκ ἐπαίρειν αὐτὰς ἔδοξεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιστρέφειν μᾶλλον ὡς ἀπολουμένας, εἰ μεταβαλοῖντο.¹ ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἄλλης φιλοσοφίας ἥθος οὐ κοινὸν οὐδὲ εἰρωνικόν, ἀλλὰ ἐμβριθῶς μὲν ἐγκείμενον, κεχρωσμένον δέ, οἷον ἡδύσματι, τῇ πραότητι. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἱστορίαν ἱκανὸς ἦν ξυγγράφειν, δηλοῖ τὰ Γετικά, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐς Γέτας ἦλθεν, ὁπότε ἡλᾶτο. τὸν δὲ Εὐβοέα καὶ τὸν τοῦ ψιττακοῦ ἔπαινον καὶ ὅποσα οὐχ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων ἐσπούδασται τῷ Δίωνι, μὴ μικρὰ ἡγώμεθα, ἀλλὰ σοφιστικά, σοφιστοῦ γὰρ τὸ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοιούτων σπουδάζειν.

Γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς Ἀπολλώ-
 488 νιὸς τε ὁ Τυανεὺς καὶ Εὐφράτης ὁ Τύριος ἐφιλο-
 σόφουν, ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιτηδείως εἶχε καίτοι δια-
 φερομένοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔξω τοῦ φιλοσοφίας
 ἥθους. τὴν δὲ ἐς τὰ Γετικά ἔθνη πάροδον τοῦ
 ἀνδρὸς φυγὴν μὲν οὐκ ἀξιῶ ὀνομάζειν, ἐπεὶ μὴ
 προσετάχθη αὐτῷ φυγεῖν, οὐδὲ ἀποδημίαν, ἐπειδὴ
 τοῦ φανεροῦ ἐξέστη κλέπτων ἑαυτὸν ὀφθαλμῶν

¹ μεταβάλλονται Kayser; μεταβαλοῖντο Cobet.

¹ This work is lost.

² This charming idyl of pastoral life in Euboea as witnessed by a shipwrecked traveller is included with the *Orations* of Dio Chrysostom, the "Golden-mouthed" as he is usually called.

³ See *Life of Apollonius* v. 33 and 37. The quarrel was

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Again, in Dio's orations the elements of his own noble character were admirably displayed. For though he very often rebuked licentious cities, he did not show himself acrimonious or ungracious, but like one who restrains an unruly horse with the bridle rather than the whip; and when he set out to praise cities that were well governed, he did not seem to extol them, but rather to guide their attention to the fact that they would be ruined if they should change their ways. In other connexions also the temper of his philosophy was never vulgar or ironical; and though his attacks were made with a heavy hand, they were tempered and as it were seasoned with benevolence. That he had also a talent for writing history is proved by his treatise *On the Getae*¹; he did in fact travel as far as the Getae during his wandering as an exile. As for his *Tale of Euboea*,² the *Encomium of a Parrot*, and all those writings in which he handled themes of no great importance, we must not regard them as mere trifles, but rather as sophistic compositions; for it is characteristic of a sophist to devote serious study to themes even so slight as these.

He lived at a time when Apollonius of Tyana and Euphrates³ of Tyre were teaching their philosophy, and he was intimate with both men, though in their quarrel with one another they went to extremes that are alien to the philosophic temper. His visit to the Getic tribes I cannot rightly call exile, since he had not been ordered to go into exile, yet it was not merely a traveller's tour, for he vanished from men's sight, hiding himself from their eyes and ears, and

kept up in the *Letters of Apollonius*. Euphrates is praised by Pliny, *Epistles* i. 10.

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τε καὶ ὧτων καὶ ἄλλα ἐν ἄλλῃ γῇ πράττων δέει τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τυραννίδων, ὅφ' ὧν ἡλαύνετο φιλοσοφία πᾶσα. φυτεύων δὲ καὶ σκάπτων καὶ ἐπαντλῶν βαλανείοις τε καὶ κήποις καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπὲρ τροφῆς ἐργαζόμενος οὐδὲ τοῦ σπουδάζειν ἡμέλει, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ¹ δυοῖν βιβλίων ἑαυτὸν ξυνεΐχεν· ταυτὶ δὲ ἦν ὁ τε Φαίδων ὁ τοῦ Πλάτωνος καὶ Δημοσθένους ὁ κατὰ τῆς πρεσβείας. θαμίζων δὲ ἐς τὰ στρατόπεδα, ἐν οἷσπερ εἰώθει τρύχεσι,² καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁρῶν ἐς νεώτερα ὁρμώντας ἐπὶ Δομετιανῷ ἀπεσφαγμένῳ οὐκ ἐφείσατο ἀταξίαν ἰδὼν ἐκραγεῖσαν, ἀλλὰ γυμνὸς ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ βωμὸν ὑψηλὸν ἤρξατο τοῦ λόγου ὧδε· “αὐτὰρ ὁ γυμνώθη ῥακέων πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς,” καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα καὶ δηλώσας ἑαυτὸν, ὅτι μὴ πτωχός, μηδὲ ὄν ᾤοντο, Δίῳ δὲ εἶη ὁ σοφός, ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν κατηγορίαν τοῦ τυράννου πολὺς ἔπνευσεν, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἐδίδαξεν ἄμεινον³ φρονεῖν τὰ δοκοῦντα Ῥωμαίοις πράττοντας. καὶ γὰρ ἡ πειθὼ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οἷα καταθέλξαι καὶ τοὺς μὴ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἀκριβοῦντας· Τραιανὸς γοῦν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἀναθέμενος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐς τὴν χρυσὴν ἄμαξαν, ἐφ' ἧς οἱ βασιλεῖς τὰς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων πομπὰς πομπεύουσιν, ἔλεγε θαμὰ ἐπιστρεφόμενος ἐς τὸν Δίωνα “τί μὲν λέγεις, οὐκ οἶδα, φιλῶ δέ σε ὡς ἑμαυτόν.”

¹ Cobet would read ἐπὶ.

² τρύχεσθαι Kayser ; τρύχεσι Cobet.

³ ἀμείνω Kayser ; ἄμεινον Cobet.

¹ Rome.

² *Life of Apollonius* vii. 4.

³ Suetonius, *Domitian* 23.

⁴ *Odyssey* xxii. 1.

⁵ This incident is improbable and is not elsewhere

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occupying himself in various ways in various lands, through fear of the tyrants in the capital¹ at whose hands all philosophy was suffering persecution.² But while he planted and dug, drew water for baths and gardens, and performed many such menial tasks for a living, he did not neglect the study of letters, but sustained himself with two books; these were the *Phaedo* of Plato, and Demosthenes *On the False Embassy*. He often visited the military camps in the rags he was wont to wear, and after the assassination of Domitian, when he saw that the troops were beginning to mutiny,³ he could not contain himself at the sight of the disorder that had broken out, but stripped off his rags, leaped on to a high altar, and began his harangue with the verse :

Then Odysseus of many counsels stripped him of his rags,⁴ and having said this and thus revealed that he was no beggar, nor what they believed him to be, but Dio the sage, he delivered a spirited and energetic indictment of the tyrant; and he convinced the soldiers that they would be wiser if they acted in accordance with the will of the Roman people. And indeed the persuasive charm of the man was such as to captivate even men who were not versed in Greek letters. An instance of this is that the Emperor Trajan in Rome set him by his side on the golden chariot in which the Emperors ride in procession when they celebrate their triumphs in war, and often he would turn to Dio and say: "I do not understand what you are saying, but I love you as I love myself."⁵ recorded. That Trajan understood Greek is probable from Cassius Dio lxxviii. 3, where Nerva in a letter exhorts him with a quotation from Homer; cf. also Cassius Dio lxxviii. 7, and Pliny's *Panegyric* xlvii. 1.

Σοφιστικώταται δὲ τοῦ Δίωνος αἱ τῶν λόγων εἰκόνες, ἐν αἷς εἰ καὶ πολὺς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναργής καὶ τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ὁμοιος.

489 ἡ'. Ὁμοίως καὶ Φαβωρίνον τὸν φιλόσοφον ἡ εὐγλωττία ἐν σοφισταῖς ἐκήρυττεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐσπερίων Γαλατῶν οὗτος, Ἀρελάτου πόλεως, ἡ ἐπὶ Ῥοδανῷ¹ ποταμῷ ᾤκισται, διφυῆς δὲ ἐτέχθη καὶ ἀνδρόθηλος, καὶ τοῦτο ἐδηλοῦτο μὲν καὶ παρὰ τοῦ εἵδους, ἀγενεῖως γὰρ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ γηράσκων εἶχεν, ἐδηλοῦτο δὲ καὶ τῷ φθέγματι, ὀξυηχὲς γὰρ ἠκούετο καὶ λεπτὸν καὶ ἐπίτονον, ὥσπερ ἡ φύσις τοὺς εὐνούχους ἤρμοκεν. θερμὸς δὲ οὕτω τις ἦν τὰ ἐρωτικά, ὥς καὶ μοιχοῦ λαβεῖν αἰτίαν ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ὑπάτου. διαφορὰς δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀδριανὸν βασιλέα γενομένης οὐδὲν ἔπαθεν. ὅθεν ὥς παράδοξα ἐπεχρησμῶδει τῷ ἑαυτοῦ βίῳ τρία ταῦτα· Γαλάτης ὢν ἐλλήνιζεν, εὐνούχος ὢν μοιχείας κρίνεσθαι, βασιλεῖ διαφέρεσθαι καὶ ζῆν. τουτὶ δὲ Ἀδριανοῦ ἔπαινος εἶη ἂν μᾶλλον, εἰ βασιλεὺς ὢν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου διεφέρετο πρὸς ὃν ἐξῆν ἀποκτεῖναι. βασιλεὺς δὲ κρείττων,

“ὅτε χώσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρην,”

ἦν ὀργῆς κρατῇ, καὶ

“θυμὸς δὲ μέγας ἐστὶ διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων,”

ἦν λογισμῷ κολάζηται. βέλτιον δὲ ταῦτα ταῖς

¹ Ῥοδανῷ Kayser ; Ῥοδανῷ Cobet.

¹ Arles.

² *Iliad* i. 80. Philostratus interprets κρείσσων as “morally superior” whereas in the original it simply means “stronger.”

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The images employed by Dio in his orations are entirely in the sophistic manner, but though he abounds in them his style is nevertheless clear and in keeping with the matter in hand.

8. FAVORINUS the philosopher, no less than Dio, was proclaimed a sophist by the charm and beauty of his eloquence. He came from Western Gaul, from the city of Arelatum¹ which is situated on the river Rhone. He was born double-sexed, a hermaphrodite, and this was plainly shown in his appearance; for even when he grew old he had no beard; it was evident too from his voice which sounded thin, shrill, and high-pitched, with the modulations that nature bestows on eunuchs also. Yet he was so ardent in love that he was actually charged with adultery by a man of consular rank. Though he quarrelled with the Emperor Hadrian, he suffered no ill consequences. Hence he used to say in the ambiguous style of an oracle, that there were in the story of his life these three paradoxes: Though he was a Gaul he led the life of a Hellene; a eunuch, he had been tried for adultery; he had quarrelled with an Emperor and was still alive. But this must rather be set down to the credit of Hadrian, seeing that, though he was Emperor, he disagreed on terms of equality with one whom it was in his power to put to death. For a prince is really superior if he controls his anger

When he is wrath with a lesser man,²

and

Mighty is the anger of Zeus-nurtured kings,

if only it be kept in check by reason. Those who

τῶν ποιητῶν δόξαις προσγράφειν τοὺς εὖ τιθε-
μένους τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἥθη.

490 Ἀρχιερεὺς δὲ ἀναρρηθείς ἐς τὰ οἴκοι πάτρια
ἐφῆκε μὲν κατὰ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων νόμους,
ὡς ἀφειμένος τοῦ λειτουργεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ἐφιλοσόφει,
τὸν δὲ αὐτοκράτορα ὁρῶν ἐναντίαν ἑαυτῷ θέσθαι
διανοούμενον, ὡς μὴ φιλοσοφοῦντι, ὑπετέμετο
αὐτὸν ὧδε· “ἐνύπνιον μοι,” ἔφη “ὦ βασιλεῦ,
γέγονεν, ὃ καὶ πρὸς σέ χρὴ εἰρῆσθαι· ἐπιστὰς
γάρ μοι Δίων ὁ διδάσκαλος ἐνουθέτει με ὑπὲρ
τῆς δίκης λέγων, ὅτι μὴ ἑαυτοῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ταῖς πατρίσι γεγόναμεν· ὑποδέχομαι δῆ, ὦ βασι-
λεῦ, τὴν λειτουργίαν καὶ τῷ διδασκάλῳ πείθομαι.”
ταῦτα ὁ μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ διατριβὴν ἐπεποίητο,
καὶ διῆγε τὰς βασιλείους φροντίδας ἀπονεύων ἐς
σοφιστὰς τε καὶ φιλοσόφους, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ δεινὰ
ἐφαίνετο καὶ συνδραμόντες αὐτοὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἐν
τέλει Ἀθηναῖοι χαλκῆν εἰκόνα κατέβαλον τοῦ
ἀνδρὸς ὡς πολεμιωτάτου τῷ αὐτοκράτορι· ὁ δέ,
ὡς ἤκουσεν, οὐδὲν σχετλιάσας οὐδὲ ἀγριάνας
ὑπὲρ ὧν ὕβριστο “ὦνητ’ ἄν” ἔφη “καὶ Σωκρά-
της εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ὑπ’ Ἀθηναίων ἀφαιρεθεῖς
μᾶλλον ἢ πιὼν κώνειον.”

Ἐπιτηδειότατος μὲν οὖν Ἡρώδῃ τῷ σοφιστῇ
ἐγένετο διδάσκαλόν τε ἡγουμένῳ καὶ πατέρα καὶ
πρὸς αὐτὸν γράφοντι “πότε σε ἶδω καὶ πότε σου
περιλείξω τὸ στόμα;” ὅθεν καὶ τελευτῶν κληρο-

¹ The high priest was president of the public games in the cities of his district and provided them at his own expense as a “liturgy.”

² An echo of Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 205, and perhaps also of Plato, *Crito* 50.

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endeavour to guide and amend the morals of princes would do well to add this saying to the sentiments expressed by the poets.

He was appointed high priest,¹ whereupon he appealed to the established usage of his birthplace, pleading that, according to the laws on such matters, he was exempt from public services because he was a philosopher. But when he saw that the Emperor intended to vote against him on the ground that he was not a philosopher, he forestalled him in the following way. "O Emperor," he cried, "I have had a dream of which you ought to be informed. My teacher Dio appeared to me, and with respect to this suit admonished and reminded me that we come into the world not for ourselves alone, but also for the country of our birth.² Therefore, O Emperor, I obey my teacher, and I undertake this public service." Now the Emperor had acted thus merely for his own diversion, for by turning his mind to philosophers and sophists he used to lighten the responsibilities of Empire. The Athenians however took the affair seriously, and, especially the Athenian magistrates themselves, hastened in a body to throw down the bronze statue of Favorinus as though he were the Emperor's bitterest enemy. Yet on hearing of it Favorinus showed no resentment or anger at the insult, but observed: "Socrates himself would have been the gainer, if the Athenians had merely deprived him of a bronze statue, instead of making him drink hemlock."

He was very intimate with Herodes the sophist who regarded him as his teacher and father, and wrote to him: "When shall I see you, and when shall I lick the honey from your lips?"³ Accord-

³ An echo of Aristophanes *frag.* 231 preserved in Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 52 Arnim.

νόμον Ἡρώδην ἀπέφηνε τῶν τε βιβλίων, ὅποσα ἐκέκτητο, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ οἰκίας καὶ τοῦ Αὐτοληκύθου. ἦν δὲ οὗτος Ἰνδὸς μὲν καὶ ἱκανῶς μέλας, ἄθυρμα δὲ Ἡρώδου τε καὶ Φαβωρίνου, ξυμπίνοντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς διῆγεν ἐγκαταμιγνὺς Ἰνδικοῖς Ἀττικὰ καὶ πεπλανημένην τῇ γλώττῃ βαρβαρίζων.

Ἡ δὲ γενομένη πρὸς τὸν Πολέμωνα τῷ Φαβωρίνῳ διαφορὰ ἤρξατο μὲν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ προσθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν Ἐφεσίων, ἐπεὶ τὸν Πολέμωνα ἡ Σμύρνα ἐθαύμαζεν, ἐπέδωκε δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ὑπατοὶ γὰρ καὶ παῖδες ὑπάτων οἱ μὲν τὸν ἐπαινοῦντες, οἱ δὲ τόν, ἤρξαν αὐτοῖς φιλοτιμίας, ἡ πολὺν ἐκκαίει φθόνον καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν. συγγνωστοὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς φιλοτιμίας, τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύ-
 491 σεως τὸ φιλότιμον ἀγῆρων ἡγουμένης,¹ μεμπτέοι δὲ τῶν λόγων, οὓς ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ξυνέθεσαν, ἀσελγῆς γὰρ λοιδορία, κἂν ἀληθὴς τύχη, οὐκ ἀφήσιν αἰσχύνῃς οὐδὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ τοιούτων εἰπόντα. τοῖς μὲν οὖν σοφιστὴν τὸν Φαβωρίνον καλοῦσιν ἀπέχρη ἐς ἀπόδειξιν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ διενεχθῆναι αὐτὸν σοφιστῇ, τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον, οὗ ἐμνήσθη, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιτέχνους φοιτᾷ.

Ἑρμοσται δὲ τὴν γλώτταν ἀνειμένως μὲν, σοφῶς δὲ καὶ ποτίμως. ἐλέγετο δὲ σὺν εὐροίᾳ σχεδιάσαι. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς Πρόξενον μῆτ' ἂν ἐνθυ-

¹ Cobet suggests *κεκτημένης* to improve the sense.

¹ The name means "he who carries his own oil-flask" which was the mark of a slave. It was a mannerism of the Atticists to use words compounded with "auto," cf. Lucian, *Lexiphanes* ii. 9; in the latter passage the word occurs which is here used as a proper name. In the *Life of*
 26

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ingly at his death he bequeathed to Herodes all the books that he had collected, his house in Rome, and Autolecythus.¹ This was an Indian, entirely black, a pet of Herodes and Favorinus, for as they drank their wine together he used to divert them by sprinkling his Indian dialect with Attic words and by speaking barbarous Greek with a tongue that stammered and faltered.

The quarrel that arose between Polemo and Favorinus began in Ionia, where the Ephesians favoured Favorinus, while Smyrna admired Polemo; and it became more bitter in Rome; for there consuls and sons of consuls by applauding either one or the other started between them a rivalry such as kindles the keenest envy and malice even in the hearts of wise men. However they may be forgiven for that rivalry, since human nature holds that the love of glory never grows old;² but they are to be blamed for the speeches that they composed assailing one another; for personal abuse is brutal, and even if it be true, that does not acquit of disgrace even the man who speaks about such things. And so when people called Favorinus a sophist, the mere fact that he had quarrelled with a sophist was evidence enough; for that spirit of rivalry of which I spoke is always directed against one's competitors in the same craft.³

His style of eloquence was careless in construction, but it was both learned and pleasing. It is said that he improvised with ease and fluency. As for the speeches against Proxenus, we must conclude that

Apollonius iii. 11 this slave is referred to as Meno and is called an Ethiopian.

² An echo of Thuc. ii. 44.

³ Hesiod, *Works and Days* 25.

μηθῆναι τὸν Φαβωρίνον ἡγώμεθα μήτ' ἂν ξυνθεῖναι, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτὰ μεираκίου φρόντισμα μεθύοντος, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐμοῦντος, τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν μονομάχων καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν βαλανείων γνησίους τε ἀποφαινόμεθα καὶ εὖ ξυγκειμένους, καὶ πολλῷ μᾶλλον τοὺς φιλοσοφουμένους αὐτῷ τῶν λόγων, ὧν ἄριστοι οἱ Πυρρώνειοι· τοὺς γὰρ Πυρρωνεῖους ἐφεκτικούς ὄντας οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ τὸ δικάζειν δύνασθαι.

Διαλεγομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην μεστὰ ἦν σπουδῆς πάντα, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὅσοι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς φωνῆς ἀξύνετοι ἦσαν, οὐδὲ τούτοις ἀφ' ἡδονῆς ἢ ἀκρόασις ἦν, ἀλλὰ κακείνους ἔθελγε τῇ τε ἡχῇ τοῦ φθέγματος καὶ τῷ σημαίνοντι τοῦ βλέμματος καὶ τῷ
 492 ῥυθμῷ τῆς γλώττης. ἔθελγε δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, ὃ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὠδὴν ἐκάλουν, ἐγὼ δὲ φιλοτιμίαν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἀποδεδειγμένοις ἐφυμνέται. Δίωνος μὲν οὖν ἀκοῦσαι λέγεται, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀφέστηκεν, ὅσον οἱ μὴ ἀκούσαντες.

Τοσαῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων ἐν δόξῃ τοῦ σοφιστεῦσαι. οἱ δὲ κυρίως προσρηθέντες σοφισταὶ ἐγένοντο οἷδε·

θ'. Σικελία Γοργίαν ἐν Λεοντίνοις ἤνεγκεν, ἐς ὃν ἀναφέρειν ἡγώμεθα τὴν τῶν σοφιστῶν τέχνην, ὥσπερ ἐς πατέρα· εἰ γὰρ τὸν Αἰσχύλον ἐνθυμηθείημεν, ὥς πολλὰ τῇ τραγωδίᾳ ξυνεβάλετο ἐσθῆτί τε αὐτὴν κατασκευάσας καὶ ὀκρίβαντι ὑψηλῷ καὶ

¹ cf. the saying of Aristeides below, p. 583.

² This work was called *On the Tropes of Pyrrho*.

³ On this sophistic mannerism see below, p. 513. Dio, *Oration* xxxii. 68, ridicules this habit of singing instead of speaking, which, he says, has invaded even the law courts; cf. Cicero, *Orator* 18.

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Favorinus would neither have conceived nor composed them, but that they are the work of an immature youth who was intoxicated at the time, or rather he vomited them.¹ But the speeches *On One Untimely Dead*, and *For the Gladiators*, and *For the Baths*, I judge to be genuine and well written; and this is far more true of his dissertations on philosophy, of which the best are those on the doctrines of Pyrrho²; for he concedes to the followers of Pyrrho the ability to make a legal decision, though in other matters they suspend their judgement.

When he delivered discourses in Rome, the interest in them was universal, so much so that even those in his audience who did not understand the Greek language shared in the pleasure that he gave; for he fascinated even them by the tones of his voice, by his expressive glance and the rhythm of his speech. They were also enchanted by the epilogue of his orations, which they called "The Ode,"³ though I call it mere affectation, since it is arbitrarily added at the close of an argument that has been logically proved. He is said to have been a pupil of Dio, but he is as different from Dio as any who never were his pupils. This is all I have to say about the men who, though they pursued philosophy, had the reputation of sophists. But those who were correctly styled sophists were the following.

9. Sicily produced GORGAS OF LEONTINI, and we must consider that the art of the sophists carries back to him as though he were its father. For if we reflect how many additions Aeschylus made to tragedy when he furnished her with her proper costume and the buskin that gave the actor's height, with the types

ἡρώων εἶδεν ἀγγέλοις τε καὶ ἐξαγγέλοις καὶ οἷς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τε καὶ ὑπὸ σκηνῆς χρή πράττειν, τοῦτο ἂν εἴη καὶ ὁ Γοργίας τοῖς ὁμοτέχνουσι. ὁρμῆς τε γὰρ τοῖς σοφισταῖς ἤρξε καὶ παραδοξολογίας καὶ πνεύματος καὶ τοῦ τὰ μεγάλα μεγάλως ἐρμηνεύειν, ἀποστάσεων τε καὶ προσβολῶν, ὑφ' ὧν ὁ λόγος ἡδίων ἑαυτοῦ γίνεται καὶ σοβαρώτερος, περιεβάλλετο δὲ καὶ ποιητικὰ ὀνόματα ὑπὲρ κόσμου καὶ σεμνότητος. ὥς μὲν οὖν καὶ ῥᾶστα ἀπεσχεδίαζεν, εἴρηται μοι κατὰ ἀρχὰς τοῦ λόγου, διαλεχθεὶς δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἤδη γηράσκων εἰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐθαυμάσθη, οὕτω θαῦμα, ὁ δέ, οἶμαι, καὶ τοὺς ἐλλογιμωτάτους ἀνηρτήσατο, Κριτίαν μὲν καὶ 493 Ἀλκιβιάδην νέω ὄντε, Θουκυδίδην δὲ καὶ Περικλέα ἤδη γηράσκοντε. καὶ Ἀγάθων δὲ ὁ τῆς τραγωδίας ποιητής, ὃν ἡ κωμωδία σοφόν τε καὶ καλλιεπῆ οἶδε, πολλαχού τῶν ἰάμβων γοργιάζει.

Ἐμπρέπων δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πανηγύρεσι τὸν μὲν λόγον τὸν Πυθικὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἤχησεν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ χρυσοῦς ἀνετέθη, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Πυθίου ἱερῷ, ὁ δὲ Ὀλυμπικὸς λόγος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγίστου αὐτῷ ἐπολιτεύθη. στασιάζουσιν γὰρ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὁρῶν ὁμονομίας ξύμβουλος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο τρέπων ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ πείθων ἄθλα ποιεῖ-

¹ For this term see Glossary.

² See p. 482.

³ This is one of the most obvious errors of Philostratus. Pericles had been dead for two years when Gorgias came to Athens.

⁴ Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazuses* 49. Plato, *Symposium* 195 foll., with satirical intention makes Agathon speak in the style of Gorgias.

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of heroes, with messengers who tell what has happened at home and abroad, and with the conventions as to what must be done both before and behind the scenes, then we find that this is what Gorgias in his turn did for his fellow-craftsmen. For he set an example to the sophists with his virile and energetic style, his daring and unusual expressions, his inspired impressiveness, and his use of the grand style for great themes; and also with his habit of breaking off his clauses and making sudden transitions,¹ by which devices a speech gains in sweetness and sublimity; and he also clothed his style with poetic words for the sake of ornament and dignity. That he also improvised with the greatest facility I have stated at the beginning of my narrative;² and when, already advanced in years, he delivered discourses at Athens, there is nothing surprising in the fact that he won applause from the crowd; but he also, as is well known, enthralled the most illustrious men, not only Critias and Alcibiades, who were both young men, but also Thucydides and Pericles³ who were by that time well on in years. Agathon also, the tragic poet, whom Comedy calls a clever poet and "lovely in his speech,"⁴ often imitates Gorgias in his iambics.

Moreover, he played a distinguished part at the religious festivals of the Greeks, and declaimed his *Pythian Oration* from the altar; and for this his statue was dedicated in gold and was set up in the temple of the Pythian god. His *Olympian Oration* dealt with a theme of the highest importance to the state. For, seeing that Greece was divided against itself, he came forward as the advocate of reconciliation, and tried to turn their energies against the barbarians

σθαι τῶν ὄπλων μὴ τὰς ἀλλήλων πόλεις, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων χώραν. ὁ δὲ ἐπιτάφιος, ὃν διῆλθεν Ἀθήνησιν, εἴρηται μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων, οὓς Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίᾳ ξὺν ἐπαῖνοις ἔθαψαν, σοφία δὲ ὑπερβαλλούσῃ ξύγκειται· παροξύνων τε γὰρ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Πέρσας καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν νοῦν τῷ Ὀλυμπικῷ ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας μὲν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας οὐδὲν διῆλθεν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἦν ἀρχῆς ἐρώντας, ἦν οὐκ ἦν κτήσασθαι μὴ τὸ δραστήριον αἵρουμένους, ἐνδιέτρυψε δὲ τοῖς τῶν Μηδικῶν τροπαίων ἐπαῖνοις, 494 ἐνδεικνύμενος αὐτοῖς, ὅτι τὰ μὲν κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων τρόπαια ὕμνους ἀπαιτεῖ, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων θρήνους.

Λέγεται δὲ ὁ Γοργίας ἐς ὀκτὼ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐλάσας ἔτη μὴ καταλυθῆναι τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως, ἀλλ' ἄρτιος καταβιῶναι καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἥβων.

ι'. Πρωταγόρας δὲ ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης σοφιστῆς Δημοκρίτου μὲν ἀκροατῆς οἴκοι ἐγένετο, ὠμίλησε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ Περσῶν μάγοις κατὰ τὴν Ξέρξου ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔλασιν. πατὴρ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ Μαίανδρος πλούτῳ κατεσκευασμένος παρὰ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ, δεξάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Ξέρξην οἰκία τε καὶ δώροις τὴν ξυνουσίαν τῶν μάγων τῷ παιδί παρ' αὐτοῦ εὔρετο. οὐ γὰρ παιδεύουσι τοὺς μὴ Πέρσας Πέρσαι μάγοι, ἦν μὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφῇ. τὸ δὲ ἀπορεῖν φάσκειν, εἴτε εἰσὶ θεοί, εἴτε οὐκ εἰσὶ, δοκεῖ

¹ cf. Isocrates, *Panegyric* 42.

² This is a lapse of memory on the part of Philostratus. Diogenes Laertius tells this story of Democritus, not of Protagoras. For the father of Democritus as the host of Xerxes cf. Valerius Maximus viii. 7.

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and to persuade them not to regard one another's cities as the prize to be won by their arms, but rather the land of the barbarians.¹ The *Funeral Oration*, which he delivered at Athens, was spoken in honour of those who had fallen in the wars, to whom the Athenians awarded public funerals and panegyrics, and it is composed with extraordinary cleverness. For though he incited the Athenians against the Medes and Persians, and was arguing with the same purpose as in the *Olympian Oration*, he said nothing about a friendly agreement with the rest of the Greeks, for this reason, that it was addressed to Athenians who had a passion for empire, and that could not be attained except by adopting a drastic line of policy. But he dwelt openly on their victories over the Medes and praised them for these, making it evident to them the while that victories over barbarians call for hymns of praise, but victories over Greeks for dirges.

It is said that though Gorgias attained to the age of 108, his body was not weakened by old age, but to the end of his life he was in sound condition, and his senses were the senses of a young man.

10. PROTAGORAS OF ABDERA, the sophist, was a pupil of Democritus in the city of his birth, and he also associated with the Persian magi² when Xerxes led his expedition against Greece. For his father was Maeander, who had amassed wealth beyond most men in Thrace; he even entertained Xerxes in his house, and, by giving him presents, obtained his permission for his son to study with the magi. For the Persian magi do not educate those that are not Persians, except by command of the Great King. And when he says that he has no knowledge whether

μοι Πρωταγόρας ἐκ τῆς Περσικῆς παιδεύσεως παρανομήσαι· μάγοι γὰρ ἐπιθειάζουσι μὲν οἷς ἀφανῶς δρῶσι, τὴν δὲ ἐκ φανεροῦ δόξαν τοῦ θείου καταλύνουσιν οὐ βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ δύνασθαι. διὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πάσης γῆς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἡλάθη, ὥς μὲν τινες, κριθεῖς, ὥς δὲ ἐνίοις δοκεῖ, ψήφου ἐπενεχθείσης μὴ κριθέντι. νήσους δὲ ἐξ ἡπείρων ἀμείβων καὶ τὰς Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις φυλαττόμενος πάσαις θαλάτταις ἐνεσπαρμένας κατέδυν πλέων ἐν ἀκατίῳ μικρῷ.

Τὸ δὲ μισθοῦ διαλέγεσθαι πρῶτος εὔρε, πρῶτος δὲ παρέδωκεν Ἑλλησι πρᾶγμα οὐ μεμπτόν, ἃ γὰρ σὺν δαπάνῃ σπουδάζομεν, μᾶλλον ἀσπαζόμεθα τῶν προῖκα. γνοὺς δὲ τὸν Πρωταγόραν ὁ Πλάτων σεμνῶς μὲν ἐρμηνεύοντα, ἐνυπτιάζοντα δὲ τῇ
 495 σεμνότητι καὶ πού καὶ μακρολογώτερον τοῦ συμμέτρου, τὴν ἰδέαν αὐτοῦ μύθῳ μακρῷ ἐχαρακτήρισεν.

ια'. Ἰππίας δὲ ὁ σοφιστὴς ὁ Ἡλείος τὸ μὲν μνημονικὸν οὕτω τι καὶ γηράσκων ἔρρωτο, ὥς καὶ πεντήκοντα ὀνομάτων ἀκούσας ἅπαξ ἀπομνημονεύειν αὐτὰ καθ' ἣν ἤκουσε τάξιν, ἐσήγετο δὲ ἐς τὰς διαλέξεις γεωμετρίαν ἀστρονομίαν μουσικὴν ῥυθμούς, διελέγετο δὲ καὶ περὶ ζωγραφίας καὶ περὶ ἀγαλματοποιίας. ταῦτα ἐτέρωθι, ἐν Λακεδαίμονι

¹ For these triremes, sixty in number, cf. Plutarch, *Pericles* 11.

² *Protagoras* 349 A and *Gorgias* 520 c.

³ This is the myth of Prometheus and Epimetheus in the *Protagoras*.

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the gods exist or not, I think that Protagoras derived this heresy from his Persian education. For though the magi invoke the gods in their secret rites, they avoid any public profession of belief in a deity, because they do not wish it to be thought that their own powers are derived from that source. It was for this saying that he was outlawed from the whole earth by the Athenians, as some say after a trial, but others hold that the decree was voted against him without the form of a trial. And so he passed from island to island and from continent to continent, and while trying to avoid the Athenian triremes¹ which were distributed over every sea, he was drowned when sailing in a small boat.

He was the first to introduce the custom of charging a fee for lectures, and so was the first to hand down to the Greeks a practice which is not to be despised, since the pursuits on which we spend money we prize more than those for which no money is charged. Plato recognized² that though Protagoras had a dignified style of eloquence, that dignity was a mask for his real indolence of mind, and that he was at times too long-winded and lacked a sense of proportion, and so, in a long myth, he hit off the main characteristics of the other's style.³ ✕

11. HIPPIAS OF ELIS, the sophist, had such extraordinary powers of memory, even in his old age, that after hearing fifty names only once he could repeat them from memory in the order in which he had heard them. He introduced into his discourses discussions on geometry, astronomy, music, and rhythms, and he also lectured on painting and the art of sculpture. These were the subjects that he handled in other parts of Greece, but in Sparta he

δὲ γένη τε διήγει πόλεων καὶ ἀποικίας καὶ ἔργα, ἐπειδὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι ἄρχειν τῇ ιδέα ταύτῃ ἔχαιρον. ἔστιν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Τρωικὸς διάλογος, οὐ λόγος· ὁ Νέστωρ ἐν Τροίᾳ ἀλούσῃ ὑποτίθεται Νεοπτολέμῳ τῷ Ἀχιλλέως, ᾧ χρηρ ἐπιτηδεύοντα ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν φαίνεσθαι.¹ πλεῖστα δὲ Ἑλλήνων πρεσβεύσας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἥλιδος οὐδαμοῦ κατέλυσε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν δημηγορῶν τε καὶ διαλεγόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα πλεῖστα ἐξέλεξε καὶ φυλαῖς ἐνεγράφη πόλεων μικρῶν τε καὶ μειζόνων. παρήλθε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰνυκὸν ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, τὸ δὲ πολίχνιον τοῦτο Σικελικοὶ εἰσιν, οὓς ὁ Πλάτων ἐπισκώπτει. εὐδοκιμῶν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον
 496 ἔθελγε τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ λόγοις ποικίλοις καὶ πεφροντισμένοις εὖ. ἐρμήνευε δὲ οὐκ ἑλλιπῶς, ἀλλὰ περιττῶς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν, ἐς ὀλίγα καταφεύγων τῶν ἐκ ποιητικῆς ὀνόματα.

ιβ'. Προδίκου δὲ τοῦ Κείου ὄνομα τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ ἐγένετο, ὥς καὶ τὸν Γρύλλου ἐν Βοιωτοῖς δεθέντα ἀκροᾶσθαι διαλεγομένου, καθιστάντα ἐγγυητὴν τοῦ σώματος. πρεσβεύων δὲ παρὰ Ἀθηναίους παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἱκανώτατος ἔδοξεν ἀνθρώπων, καίτοι δυσήκοον καὶ βαρὺ φθεγγόμενος. ἀνίχνευε δὲ οὗτος τοὺς εὐπατρίδας τῶν νέων καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν βαθέων οἰκων, ὥς καὶ προξέ-

¹ Cobet would read γίγνεσθαι.

¹ i.e. he was given the privileges of a citizen.

² In Plato *Hippias Maior* 282 e Hippias says that at Inycus alone, a small city, he made more than twenty minae, i.e. about £80; Plato scoffs at the luxurious Sicilians for paying to learn virtue, whereas at Sparta Hippias made nothing.

³ Xenophon.

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described the different types of states and colonies and their activities, because the Spartans, owing to their desire for empire, took pleasure in this kind of discourse. There is also extant by him a Trojan dialogue which is not an oration—Nestor in Troy, after it has been taken, expounds to Neoptolemus the son of Achilles what course one ought to pursue in order to win a good name. On behalf of Elis he went on more embassies than any other Greek, and in no case did he fail to maintain his reputation, whether when making public speeches or lecturing, and at the same time he amassed great wealth and was enrolled in the tribes¹ of cities both great and small. In order to make money he also visited Inycus, a small town in Sicily, to whose people Plato alludes sarcastically.² In the rest of his time also he won renown for himself, and used to charm the whole of Greece at Olympia by his ornate and carefully studied orations. His style was never meagre, but copious and natural, and he seldom had to take refuge in the vocabulary of the poets.

12. PRODICUS OF CEOS had so great a reputation for wisdom that even the son of Gryllus,³ when he was a prisoner in Boeotia,⁴ used to attend his lectures, after procuring bail for himself. When he came on an embassy to Athens and appeared before the Senate, he proved to be the most capable ambassador possible, though he was hard to hear and had a very deep bass voice.⁵ He used to hunt out well-born youths and those who came from wealthy families,⁶

¹ There is no other evidence for this imprisonment of Xenophon, but it may have occurred in 412 when the Boeotians took Oropus; cf. Thucydides viii. 60.

² Probably an echo of Plato, *Protagoras* 316 A.

³ Plato, *Sophist* 231 D.

νοὺς ἐκτῆσθαι ταύτης τῆς θήρας, χρημάτων τε γὰρ ἥττων ἐτύγχανε καὶ ἡδοναῖς ἐδεδώκει. τὴν δὲ Ἑρακλέους αἵρεσιν τὸν τοῦ Προδίκου λόγον οὐ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπεμνήσθην, οὐδὲ Ξενοφῶν ἀπηξίωσε μὴ οὐχὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι. καὶ τί ἂν χαρακτηρίζοιμεν τὴν τοῦ Προδίκου γλῶτταν, Ξενοφώντος αὐτὴν ἱκανῶς ὑπογράφοντας;

497 γ'. Πῶλον δὲ τὸν Ἀκραγαντῖνον Γοργίας σοφιστὴν ἐξεμελέτησε πολλῶν, ὥς φασι, χρημάτων, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῶν πλουτούντων ὁ Πῶλος. εἰσὶ δέ, οἱ φασι καὶ τὰ πάρισα καὶ τὰ ἀντίθετα καὶ τὰ ὁμοιοτέλευτα Πῶλον εὐρηκέναι πρῶτον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες, τῇ γὰρ τοιαύτῃ ἀγλαίᾳ τοῦ λόγου Πῶλος εὐρημένην κατεχρήσατο, ὅθεν ὁ Πλάτων διαπτύων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ ταύτῃ φησὶν. "ὦ λῶστε Πῶλε, ἵνα σε προσείπω κατὰ σέ."

ιδ'. Οἱ δὲ καὶ Θρασύμαχον τὸν Καλχηδόνιον ἐν σοφισταῖς γράφοντες δοκοῦσί μοι παρακοῦειν Πλάτωνος λέγοντος¹ ταῦτόν εἶναι λέοντα ξυρεῖν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν Θρασύμαχον· δικογραφίαν γὰρ αὐτῷ προφέροντός ἐστὶ πού ταῦτα καὶ τὸ ἐν δικαστηρίοις συκοφαντοῦντα τρίβεσθαι.

498 ιε'. Ἀντιφῶντα δὲ τὸν Ῥαμνούσιον οὐκ οἶδ', εἴτε χρηστὸν δεῖ προσειπεῖν, εἴτε φαῦλον. χρηστός μὲν γὰρ προσειρήσθω διὰ τὰδε· ἐστρατήγησε πλεῖστα, ἐνίκησε πλεῖστα, ἐξήκοντα τριήρεσι πεπληρωμέναις ἠϋξῆσεν Ἀθηναίοις τὸ ναυτικόν, ἱκανώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἔδοξεν εἰπεῖν τε καὶ γινῶναι· διὰ

¹ λέγοντος Cobet adds.

¹ *Memorabilia* ii. 1. 21.

² *Gorgias* 467 b. In the Greek the sentence contains two jingles of sound such as Polus and his school employed. cf. Plato, *Symposium*, 185.

³ *Republic*, 341 c.

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so much so that he even had agents employed in this pursuit; for he had a weakness for making money and was addicted to pleasure. Even Xenophon¹ did not disdain to relate the fable of Prodicus called *The Choice of Heracles*, which I mentioned when I began my narrative. As for the language of Prodicus, why should I describe its characteristics, when Xenophon has given so complete a sketch of it?

13. POLUS OF AGRIGENTUM, the sophist, was trained in the art by Gorgias, and for this he paid, as we are told, very high fees; for in fact Polus was a wealthy man. Some say that Polus was the first to use clauses that exactly balance, antitheses, and similar endings; but they are mistaken in so saying; for rhetorical ornament of this kind was already invented, and Polus merely employed it to excess. Hence Plato, to express his contempt for Polus because of this affectation, says: "O polite Polus! to address you in your own style."²

14. Those who include THRASYMACHUS OF CHALCEDON among the sophists fail, in my opinion, to understand Plato when he says³ that shaving a lion is the same thing as trying to get the law of Thrasymachus. For this saying really amounts to taunting him with writing legal speeches for clients, and spending his time in the law courts trumping up cases for the prosecution.

15. As for ANTIPHON OF RHAMNUS, I am uncertain whether one ought to call him a good or a bad man. On the one hand he may be called a good man, for the following reasons. Very often he held commands in war, very often he was victorious; he added to the Athenian navy sixty fully equipped triremes; he was held to be the most able of men, both in the art of speaking and in the invention

μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐμοί τε ἐπαινετός καὶ ἐτέρῳ. κακὸς δ' ἂν εἰκότως διὰ τάδε φαίνοιτο· κατέλυσε τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ἐδούλωσε τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, ἐλακόνισε κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀφανῶς, ὕστερον δ' ἐπιδήλως, τυράννων τετρακοσίων δῆμον ἐπαφῆκε τοῖς Ἀθηναίων πράγμασιν.

Ῥητορικὴν δὲ τὸν Ἀντιφῶντα οἱ μὲν οὐκ οὔσαν εὔρεῖν, οἱ δ' εὐρημένην αὐξῆσαι, γενέσθαι τε αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν αὐτομαθῶς σοφόν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ πατρός. πατέρα γὰρ εἶναι δὴ αὐτῷ Σώφιλον διδάσκαλον ῥητορικῶν λόγων, ὃς ἄλλους τε τῶν ἐν δυνάμει καὶ τὸν τοῦ Κλεινίου ἐπαίδευσεν. πιθανώτατος δὲ ὁ Ἀντιφῶν γενόμενος καὶ προσρηθείς Νέστωρ ἐπὶ τῷ περὶ παντὸς εἰπὼν ἂν πείσαι νηπενθείς ἀκροάσεις ἐπήγγειλεν, ὡς οὐδὲν οὕτω δεινὸν ἐρούντων ἄχος, ὃ μὴ
 499 ἐξελεῖν τῆς γνώμης. καθάπτεται δὲ ἡ κωμῶδία τοῦ Ἀντιφῶντος ὡς δεινοῦ τὰ δικανικὰ καὶ λόγους κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου ξυγκειμένους ἀποδιδομένου πολλῶν χρημάτων αὐτοῖς μάλιστα τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν. τουτὶ ὅποιαν ἔχει φύσιν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω· ἄνθρωποι κατὰ μὲν τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιστήμας καὶ τέχνας τιμῶσι τοὺς ἐν ἐκάστη αὐτῶν προὔχοντας καὶ θαυμάζουσι τῶν ἱατρῶν τοὺς μᾶλλον παρὰ τοὺς ἡττον, θαυμάζουσι δ' ἐν μαντικῇ καὶ μουσικῇ τὸν σοφώτερον,

¹ This account of Antiphon as the contriver of the whole scheme of the oligarchic revolution, and of his rhetorical ability, is probably derived from Thucydides viii. 68.

² Alcibiades.

³ *Νηπενθής* is an epic word and the reference is to the *φάρμακον νηπενθές* used by Helen, *Odyssey* iv. 221.

⁴ A paraphrase of Euripides, *Orestes* 1-3:

οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν δεινὸν ᾧδ' εἰπεῖν ἔπος
 οὐδὲ πάθος οὐδὲ συμφορὰ θεήλατος
 ἧς οὐκ ἂν ἄραιτ' ἄχος ἀνθρώπου φύσις.

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of themes. On these grounds, then, he deserves praise from me or any other. But on the other hand there are evidently good reasons for regarding him as a bad man, and they are the following. He broke up the democracy; he enslaved the Athenian people; he sided with Sparta, secretly at first, but openly later on; and he let loose on the public life of Athens the mob of the Four Hundred Tyrants.¹

Some say that Antiphon invented rhetoric which before him did not exist, others that it was already invented, but that he widened its scope; some say that he was self-taught, others that he owed his erudition to his father's teaching. For, say they, his father was Sophilus who taught the art of composing rhetorical speeches and educated the son of Cleinias,² as well as other men of great influence. Antiphon achieved an extraordinary power of persuasion, and having been nicknamed "Nestor" because of his ability to convince his hearers, whatever his theme, he announced a course of "sorrow-assuaging"³ lectures, asserting that no one could tell him of a grief so terrible that he could not expel it from the mind.⁴ Antiphon is attacked in Comedy for being too clever in legal matters, and for selling for large sums of money speeches composed in defiance of justice for the use of clients whose case was especially precarious. The nature of this charge I will proceed to explain. In the case of other branches of science and the arts, men pay honour to those who have won distinction in any one of these fields; that is to say, they pay more honour to physicians who are skilful than to those who are less skilful; in the arts of divination and music they admire the expert, and

PHILOSTRATUS

τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ περὶ τεκτονικῆς καὶ πασῶν βαναύσων
τιθέμενοι ψῆφον, ῥητορικὴν δὲ ἐπαινοῦσι μὲν,
ὑποπτεύουσι δὲ ὡς πανοῦργον καὶ φιλοχρήματον
καὶ κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου ξυγκειμένην. γινώσκουσι
δ' οὕτω περὶ τῆς τέχνης οὐχ οἱ πολλοὶ μόνον,¹ ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῶν σπουδαίων οἱ ἐλλογιμώτατοι· καλοῦσι
γοῦν δεινούς ῥήτορας τοὺς ἱκανῶς μὲν συνιέντας,
ἱκανῶς δὲ ἐρμηνεύοντας, οὐκ εὐφημον ἐπωνυμίαν
τιθέμενοι τῷ πλεονεκτήματι. τούτου δὲ φύσιν
τοιαύτην ἔχοντος οὐκ ἀπεικὸς ἦν, οἶμαι, γενέσθαι
καὶ τὸν Ἀντιφῶντα κωμωδίας λόγον αὐτὰ μάλιστα
κωμωδούσης τὰ λόγου ἄξια.

Ἀπέθανε μὲν οὖν περὶ Σικελίαν ὑπὸ Διονυσίου
τοῦ τυράννου, τὰς δ' αἰτίας, ἐφ' αἷς ἀπέθανεν,
Ἀντιφῶντι μᾶλλον ἢ Διονυσίῳ προσγράφομεν· διε-
500 φαύλιζε γὰρ τὰς τοῦ Διονυσίου τραγωδίας, ἐφ' αἷς
ὁ Διονύσιος ἐφρόνει μείζον ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ τυραννεύειν,
σπουδάζοντος δὲ τοῦ τυράννου περὶ εὐγενείας χαλ-
κοῦ καὶ ἐρομένου τοὺς παρόντας, τίς ἡπειρος ἢ
νῆσος, τὸν ἄριστον χαλκὸν φύει, παρατυχῶν ὁ
Ἀντιφῶν τῷ λόγῳ “ἐγὼ ἄριστον” ἔφη “οἶδα τὸν
Ἀθήνησιν, οὗ γεγόνασιν αἱ² Ἀρμοδίου καὶ Ἀρισ-
τογείτονος εἰκόνες.” ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἀπέθανεν,
ὡς ὑφέρπων τὸν Διονύσιον καὶ τρέπων ἐπ' αὐτὸν
τοὺς Σικελιώτας. ἤμαρτε δὲ ὁ Ἀντιφῶν πρῶτον

¹ μᾶλλον Kayser; μόνον Cobet.

² ai Cobet adds.

¹ Since the regular meaning of λόγου ἄξια is “noteworthy,” perhaps Philostratus intended nothing but a compliment to Antiphon.

² Philostratus confuses the orator Antiphon with a poet of the same name, who is said by Plutarch, *On the Flatterer*, to have been put to death for his rash epigram. The

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for carpentering and all the inferior trades they cast the same sort of vote; only in the case of rhetoric, even while they praise it they suspect it of being rascally and mercenary and constituted in despite of justice. And it is not only the crowd who so regard this art, but also the most distinguished among the men of sound culture. At any rate they apply the term "clever rhetorician" to those who show skill in the invention of themes and their exposition, thus attaching a far from flattering label to this particular excellence. Seeing that such conditions exist, it was, I think, not unnatural that Antiphon like the rest should become a theme for Comedy; for it is just the things which deserve to be a theme that Comedy makes fun of.¹

He was put to death in Sicily by Dionysius the tyrant,² and I ascribe to Antiphon himself rather than to Dionysius the responsibility for his death. For he used to run down the tragedies of Dionysius, though Dionysius prided himself more on these than on his power as a tyrant; and once when the tyrant was interested in finding out where the best kind of bronze was produced, and asked the bystanders what continent or island produced the best bronze, Antiphon broke into the conversation and said, "The best I know of is at Athens, of which the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton³ have been made." The result of this behaviour was that he was put to death on the charge of plotting against Dionysius and turning the Sicilians against him. And Antiphon was in the wrong, in the first place,

Athenian orator was executed in 411 and the tyranny of Dionysius did not begin till about 404.

³ Who overthrew the tyrants at Athens.

μὲν τυράννῳ προσκρούων, ὅφ' ὧ ζῆν ἤρητο μᾶλλον ἢ οἴκοι δημοκρατεῖσθαι, ἔπειτα Σικελιώτας μὲν ἐλευθερῶν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ δουλούμενος. καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦ τραγωδίαν ποιεῖν ἀπάγων τὸν Διονύσιον ἀπῆγεν αὐτὸν τοῦ ῥαθυμεῖν, αἱ γὰρ τοιαῖδε σπουδαὶ ῥάθυμοι, καὶ οἱ τύραννοι δὲ αἰρετώτεροι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἀνιέμενοι¹ μᾶλλον ἢ ξυντείνοντες, εἰ γὰρ ἀνῆσουσιν, ἤττον μὲν ἀποκτενοῦσιν, ἤττον δὲ βιάσονται² τε καὶ ἀρπάσσονται, τύραννος δὲ τραγωδίαῖς ἐπιτιθέμενος ἱατρῷ εἰκάσθω νοσοῦντι μὲν, ἑαυτὸν δὲ θεραπεύοντι· αἱ γὰρ μυθοποιαὶ καὶ αἱ μονωδίαὶ καὶ οἱ ῥυθμοὶ τῶν χορῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν ἡθῶν μίμησις, ὧν ἀνάγκη τὰ πλείω χρηστὰ φαίνεσθαι, μετακαλεῖ³ τοὺς τυράννους τοῦ ἀπαραιτήτου καὶ σφοδροῦ, καθάπερ αἱ φαρμακοποσίαι τὰς νόσους. ταῦτα μὴ κατηγορίαν Ἀντιφῶντος, ἀλλὰ ξυμβουλίαν ἐς πάντας ἡγώμεθα τοῦ μὴ ἐκκαλεῖσθαι τὰς τυραννίδας, μηδὲ ἐς ὀργὴν ἄγειν ἦθη ὡμά.

Λόγοι δ' αὐτοῦ δικανικοὶ μὲν πλείους, ἐν οἷς ἡ δεινότης καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τέχνης ἔγκεται, σοφιστικοὶ δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι μὲν, σοφιστικώτερος δὲ ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁμονοίας, ἐν ᾧ γνωμολογίαι τε λαμπραὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι σεμνὴ τε ἀπαγγελία καὶ ἐπηνθισμένη ποιητικοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τὰ ἀποτάδην ἐρμηνευόμενα παραπλήσια τῶν πεδίων τοῖς λείοις.

501 ις'. Κριτίας δὲ ὁ σοφιστὴς εἰ μὲν κατέλυσε

¹ ἀνιέμενοι Kayser; ἀνιέμενοι Richards.

² δρᾶσονται mss., Kayser; δράζονται Jahn; βιάσονται Cobet; cf. Plato, *Republic*, 574 B; διασπάσσονται Richards.

³ μεταβάλλει Kayser; μετακαλεῖ Cobet.

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for provoking a collision with a tyrant under whom he had chosen to live rather than be under a democracy at home; secondly he was wrong in trying to free the Sicilians, whereas he had tried to enslave the Athenians. Furthermore, in diverting Dionysius from writing tragedy he really diverted him from being easy-going; for pursuits of that sort belong to an easy temper, and their subjects may well prefer tyrants when they are slack rather than when they are strung up. For when they slacken their energies they will put fewer men to death, they will do less violence and plunder less; so that a tyrant who occupies himself with tragedies may be likened to a physician who is sick, but is trying to heal himself. For the writing of myths and monodies and choric rhythms and the representation of characters, the greater part of which necessarily present what is morally good, diverts tyrants from their own implacable and violent temper as taking medicines diverts the course of disease. What I have just said we must not regard as an indictment of Antiphon, but rather as advice to all men not to provoke tyrants against themselves, or excite to wrath their savage dispositions.

A good many of his legal speeches are extant, and they show his great oratorical power and all the effects of art. Of the sophistic type there are several, but more sophistic than any is the speech *On Concord*, in which are brilliant philosophical maxims and a lofty style of eloquence, adorned moreover with the flowers of poetical vocabulary; and their diffuse style makes them seem like smooth plains.

16. CRITIAS the sophist, even though he did over-

τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, οὐπω κακός — καταλυθείη γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ δῆμος οὕτω τι ἐπηρεζόμενος, ὥς μηδὲ τῶν κατὰ νόμους ἀρχόντων ἀκροᾶσθαι — ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ λαμπρῶς μὲν ἐλακύνισε, προὔδιδου δὲ τὰ ἱερά, καθήρει δὲ διὰ Λυσάνδρου τὰ τείχη, οὓς δ' ἤλαυνε τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ στήναί ποι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀφηγρεῖτο πόλεμον Λακωνικὸν ἀνειπὼν ἐς πάντας, εἴ τις τὸν Ἀθηναῖον φεύγοντα δέξοιτο, ὠμότητι δὲ καὶ μαιφονίᾳ τοὺς τριάκοντα ὑπερεβάλλετο βουλευμάτων τε ἀτόπου τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ξυνελάμβανεν, ὥς μηλόβοτος ἢ Ἀττικὴ ἀποφανθείη τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγέλης ἐκκενωθεῖσα, κάκιστος ἀνθρώπων ἔμοιγε φαίνεται ξυμπάντων, ὧν ἐπὶ κακία ὄνομα. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀπαίδευτος ὧν ἐς τὰδε ὑπήχθη, ἔρρωτο ἂν ὁ λόγος τοῖς φάσκουσιν ὑπὸ Θετταλίας καὶ τῆς ἐκείνη ὁμιλίας παρεφθορέναι αὐτόν, τὰ γὰρ ἀπαίδευτα ἦθη εὐπαράγωγα πάντως ἐς βίου αἵρεσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄριστα μὲν ἦν πεπαιδευμένος, γνώμας δὲ πλείστας ἐρμηνεύων, ἐς Δρωπίδαην δ' ἀναφέρων, ὃς μετὰ Σόλωνα Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξεν, οὐκ ἂν διαφύγοι παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰτίαν τὸ μὴ οὐ κακία φύσεως ἀμαρτεῖν ταῦτα. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ κακὲν ἄτοπον Σωκράτει μὲν τῷ Σωφρονίσκῳ μὴ ὁμοιωθῆναι αὐτόν, ᾧ πλείστα δὴ συνεφιλοσόφησε σοφωτάτῳ

¹ A favourite oratorical theme; cf. Thucydides iii. 58.

² For the disorder and licence of the Thessalians cf. Plato, *Crito* 53 D, and the proverb "Thessalian forcible persuasion" in Julian and Eunapius.

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throw democratic government at Athens, was not thereby proved to be a bad man; for the democracy might well have been overthrown from within, since it had become so overbearing and insolent that it would not heed even those who governed according to the established laws. But seeing that he conspicuously sided with Sparta, and betrayed the holy places¹ to the enemy; that he pulled down the walls by the agency of Lysander; that he deprived the Athenians whom he drove into exile of any place of refuge in Greece by proclaiming that Sparta would wage war on any that should harbour an Athenian exile; that in brutality and bloodthirstiness he surpassed even the Thirty; that he shared in the monstrous design of Sparta to make Attica look like a mere pasture for sheep by emptying her of her human herd; for all this I hold him to be the greatest criminal of all who are notorious for crime. Now if he had been an uneducated man, led astray into these excesses, there would be some force in the explanation of those who assert that he was demoralized by Thessaly² and the society that he frequented there; for characters that lack education are easily led to choose any sort of life. But since he had been highly educated and frequently delivered himself of philosophical maxims, and his family dated back to Dropides who was archon at Athens next after Solon, he cannot be acquitted in the sight of most men of the charge that these crimes were due to his own natural wickedness. Then again it is a strange thing that he did not grow to be like Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, with whom above all others he studied philosophy and who had the reputation of being the wisest and the most just

τε καὶ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ δόξαντι, Θετταλοῖς δ' ὁμοιωθῆναι, παρ' οἷς ἀγερωχία καὶ ἄκρατος καὶ τυραννικὰ ἐν οἴνῳ σπουδάζεται. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲ Θετταλοὶ σοφίας ἡμέλουν, ἀλλ' ἐγοργίαζον ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μικραὶ καὶ μείζους πό-
 502 λεις ἐς Γοργίαν ὀρώσαι τὸν Λεοντῖνον, μετέβαλον δ' ἂν καὶ ἐς τὸ κριτιάζειν, εἴ τινα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας ἐπίδειξιν ὁ Κριτίας παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐποιεῖτο· ὁ δὲ ἡμέλει μὲν τούτου, βαρυτέρας δ' αὐτοῖς ἐποίει τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας διαλεγόμενος τοῖς ἐκεῖ δυνατοῖς καὶ καθαπτόμενος μὲν δημοκρατίας ἀπάσης, διαβάλλων δ' Ἀθηναίους, ὥς πλείστα ἀνθρώπων ἀμαρτάνοντας, ὥστε ἐνθυμουμένῳ ταῦτα Κριτίας ἂν εἴη Θετταλοὺς διεφθορῶς μᾶλλον ἢ Κριτίαν Θετταλοί.

Ἀπέθανε μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ Θρασύβουλον, οἱ κατήγον ἀπὸ Φυλῆς¹ τὸν δῆμον, δοκεῖ δ' ἐνίοις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενέσθαι παρὰ τὴν τελευτήν, ἐπειδὴ ἐνταφίῳ τῇ τυραννίδι ἐχρήσατο· ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀποπεφάνθῳ μηδένα ἀνθρώπων καλῶς δὴ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐκ ὀρθῶς εἴλετο, δι' ἃ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ σοφία τοῦ ἀνδρός· καὶ τὰ φροντίσματα ἥττον σπουδασθῆναι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ὁμολογήσει ὁ λόγος τῷ ἡθελῆναι, ἀλλοτρία τῇ γλώττῃ δόξομεν φθέγγεσθαι, ὥσπερ οἱ αὐλοί.

Τὴν δὲ ἰδέαν τοῦ λόγου δογματίας ὁ Κριτίας καὶ πολυγνώμων σεμνολογήσαί τε ἱκανώτατος οὐ

¹ φυγῆς Kayser ; Φυλῆς Bentley, Cobet.

¹ i.e. he lost his life in its cause. For this favourite figure cf. p. 590 and *Gymnasticus* 34 ; it is derived from Isocrates, *Archidamus* 45.

² An echo of Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon* 623 ; cf.

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of his times ; but did grow to be like the Thessalians, who maintain by force an insolent arrogance, and practise tyrannical customs even in their wine-drinking. However, not even the Thessalians neglected learning, but all the cities great and small in Thessaly tried to write like Gorgias and looked to Gorgias of Leontini ; and they would have changed over and tried to write like Critias, if Critias had made any public display in their country of his own peculiar skill. But for this kind of success he cared nothing, and instead he tried to make the oligarchies more oppressive to the people, by conversing with the men in power there and assailing all popular government, and by falsely accusing the Athenians of an unheard of number of crimes ; so that, taking all this into consideration, it would seem that Critias corrupted the Thessalians, rather than the Thessalians Critias.

He was put to death by Thrasybulus and his party who restored the democracy from Phyle, and there are those who think that he played an honourable part at the last, because his tyranny became his shroud.¹ But let me declare my opinion that no human being can be said to have died nobly for a cause that he took up in defiance of the right. And I believe that this is the reason why this man's wisdom and his writings are held in slight esteem by the Greeks ; for unless our public utterances and our moral character are in accord, we shall seem, like flutes, to speak with a tongue that is not our own.²

As regards the style of his oratory, Critias abounded in brief and sententious sayings, and he

1 *Corinthians* xiii., "I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal."

τὴν διδυραμβώδη σεμνολογίαν, οὐδὲ καταφεύγουσαν ἐς τὰ ἐκ ποιητικῆς ὀνόματα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν
 503 κυριωτάτων συγκειμένην καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσαν. ὁρῶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ βραχυλογοῦντα ἱκανῶς καὶ δεινῶς καθαπτόμενον ἐν ἀπολογίας ἤθει, ἀττικίζοντά τε οὐκ ἀκρατῶς, οὐδὲ ἐκφύλως — τὸ γὰρ ἀπειρόκαλον ἐν τῷ ἀττικίζειν βάρβαρον — ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀκτίνων αὐγαὶ τὰ Ἀττικά ὀνόματα διαφαίνεται τοῦ λόγου. καὶ τὸ ἀσυνδέτως δὲ χωρίῳ προσβαλεῖν Κριτίου ὥρα, καὶ τὸ παραδόξως μὲν ἐνθυμηθῆναι, παραδόξως δ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι Κριτίου ἀγών, τὸ δὲ τοῦ λόγου πνεῦμα ἐλλιπέστερον μὲν, ἡδὺ δὲ καὶ λεῖον, ὥσπερ τοῦ Ζεφύρου ἢ αὔρα.

ἰζ'. Ἡ δὲ Σειρὴν ἢ ἐφέστηκυῖα τῷ Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ σοφιστοῦ σήματι, ἐφέστηκε δὲ καὶ οἶον ἄδουσα, πειθὼ κατηγορεῖ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἣν συνεβάλετο ῥητορικοῖς νόμοις καὶ ἡθεσι, πάρισα καὶ ἀντίθετα καὶ ὁμοιοτέλευτα οὐχ εὐρῶν πρῶτος, ἀλλ' εὐρημένοις εὖ χρησάμενος, ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ περιβολῆς καὶ ῥυθμοῦ καὶ συνθήκης καὶ κρότου. ταυτὶ δ' ἡτοίμασέ που καὶ τὴν Δημοσθένους
 504 γλῶτταν. Δημοσθένης γὰρ μαθητὴς μὲν Ἰσαίου, ζηλωτὴς δὲ Ἰσοκράτους γενόμενος ὑπερεβάλετο αὐτὸν θυμῷ καὶ ἐπιφορᾷ καὶ περιβολῇ καὶ ταχυ-

¹ Lucian, *Lexiphanes* 24, satirizes the hyperatticism which consists in using obsolete or rare words; on the Atticism of the Sophists see Introduction.

² On the invention of *προσβολαί* by Gorgias see Glossary.¹

³ For *περιβολή* see Glossary.

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was most skilful in the use of elevated language, but not of the dithyrambic sort, nor did he have recourse to words borrowed from poetry ; but his was the kind of elevated language that is composed of the most appropriate words and is not artificial. I observe, moreover, that he was a master of concise eloquence, and that even when he maintained the tone proper to a speech in defence, he used to make vigorous attacks on his opponent ; and that he Atticized, but in moderation, nor did he use outlandish words¹—for bad taste in Atticizing is truly barbarous—but his Attic words shine through his discourse like the gleams of the sun's rays. Critias also secures a charming effect by passing without connectives from one part of his speech to another.² Then, too, Critias strives for the daring and unusual both in thought and expression, yet his eloquence is somewhat lacking in virility, though it is agreeable and smooth, like the breath of the west wind.

17. The Siren which stands on the tomb of ISOCRATES the sophist—its pose is that of one singing—testifies to the man's persuasive charm, which he combined with the conventions and customs of rhetoric. For though he was not the inventor of clauses that exactly balance, antitheses, and similar endings, since they had already been invented, nevertheless he employed those devices with great skill. He also paid great attention to rhetorical amplification,³ rhythm, structure, and a striking effect, and in fact it was by his study of these very things that Demosthenes achieved his eloquence. For though Demosthenes was a pupil of Isaeus, it was on Isocrates that he modelled himself, but he surpassed him in fire and impetuosity, in amplification,

τῇτι λόγου τε καὶ ἐννοίας. σεμνότης δ' ἡ μὲν Δημοσθένους ἐπεστραμμένη μᾶλλον, ἡ δὲ Ἴσοκράτους ἄβροτέρα τε καὶ ἡδίων. παράδειγμα δὲ ποιούμεθα τῆς Δημοσθένους σεμνότητος. "πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, κἂν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθείρξας τηρῇ, δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν αἰεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δέ, ἃ ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῶ, γενναίως." ἡ δὲ Ἴσοκράτους σεμνότης ὧδε κεκόσμηται. "τῆς γὰρ γῆς ἀπάσης τῆς ὑπὸ τῷ κόσμῳ κειμένης δίχα τετμημένης, καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἀσίας, τῆς δὲ Εὐρώπης καλουμένης, τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἐκ τῶν συνθηκῶν εἴληφεν, ὥσπερ πρὸς τὸν Δία τὴν χώραν νεμόμενος."

- 505 Τὰ μὲν οὖν πολιτικὰ ὥκνει καὶ ἀπεφοίτα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν διὰ τε τὸ ἐλλιπὲς τοῦ φθέγματος, διὰ τε τὸν Ἀθήνησιν φθόνον ἀντιπολιτευόμενον αὐτοῖς μάλιστα τοῖς σοφώτερόν τι ἐτέρου ἀγορεύουσιν. ὁμως δ' οὐκ ἀπεσπούδαζε τῶν κοινῶν τόν τε γὰρ Φίλιππον, ἐν οἷς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔγραφεν, Ἀθηναίοις δῆπου διωρθοῦτο, καὶ οἷς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης συνέγραφεν, ἀνεσκεύαζε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῆς θαλάττης, ὡς κακῶς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀκούοντας, πανηγυρικός τ' ἐστὶν αὐτῷ λόγος, ὃν διῆλθεν Ὀλυμπίᾳσι τὴν Ἑλλάδα πείθων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατεύειν παυσάμενους τῶν οἴκοι ἐγκλημάτων. οὗτος μὲν οὖν εἰ καὶ κάλλιστος λόγων, αἰτίαν

¹ *On the Crown* 97. This is a favourite passage with the rhetoricians; cf. Lucian, *Encomium of Demosthenes* 5; Hermogenes, *On the Types of Oratory* 222 Walz.

² *Panegyricus* 179. Note the "similar endings" of the participles.

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and in rapidity both of speech and thought. Again, the grand style in Demosthenes is more vigorous, while in Isocrates it is more refined and suave. Let me give a specimen of the grand style of Demosthenes: "For to all mankind the end of life is death, though a man keep himself shut up in a closet; yet it is the duty of brave men ever to set their hands to all honourable tasks, setting their good hope before them as their shield, and endure nobly whatever comes from the hand of God."¹ With Isocrates on the other hand, the grand style is ornate, as in the following: "For since the whole earth that lies beneath the heavens is divided into two parts, and one is called Asia, the other Europe, he has received by the treaty one half thereof, as though he were dividing the territory with Zeus."²

He shrank from political life and did not attend political assemblies, partly because his voice was not strong enough, partly because of the jealous distrust that in politics at Athens was always especially opposed to those who had a talent above the average for public speaking.³ Yet in spite of this he took a strong interest in public affairs. Hence in the letters that he addressed to Philip he tried to reconcile him with the Athenians; in his writings on peace he tried to wean the Athenians from their maritime policy, on the ground that they thereby injured their reputation; and there is also his *Panegyric* which he delivered at Olympia, when he tried to persuade Greece to cease from domestic quarrels and make war on Asia. This oration, though it is the finest of all, nevertheless gave rise to the charge that it had

³ For this cf. Thucydides iii. 38, Cleon's attack on plausible orators.

ὁμως παρέδωκεν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Γοργία σπουδασθέντων ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν συντεθείη. ἄριστα δὲ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους φροντισμάτων ὃ τε Ἀρχίδαμος ξύγκειται καὶ ὁ Ἀμάρτυρος, τοῦ μὲν γὰρ διήκει φρόνημα τῶν Λευκτρικῶν ἀναφέρον καὶ οὐκ ἀκριβῆ μόνον τὰ ὀνόματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ξυνθήκη λαμπρά, ἐναγώνιος δὲ ὁ λόγος, ὡς καὶ τὸ μυθῶδες αὐτοῦ μέρος, τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὰς βοῦς σὺν ἐπιστροφῇ ἐρμηνεύσθαι, ὃ δὲ Ἀμάρτυρος ἰσχὺν ἐνδείκνυται κεκολασμένην ἐς ρυθμούς, νόημα γὰρ ἐκ νοήματος ἔς περιόδους ἰσοκώλους τελευτᾷ.

506 Ἀκροαταὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου πολλοὶ μὲν, ἐλλογιμώτατος δὲ Ὑπερίδης ὁ ῥήτωρ, Θεόπομπον γὰρ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Χίου καὶ τὸν Κυμαῖον Ἐφορον οὗτ' ἂν διαβάλοιμι οὗτ' ἂν θαυμάσαιμι. οἱ δὲ ἡγούμενοι τὴν κωμωδίαν καθάπτεσθαι τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς αὐλοποιού, ἀμαρτάνουσιν, πατὴρ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ Θεόδωρος ἦν, ὃν ἐκάλουν αὐλοποιὸν Ἀθήνησιν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὔτε αὐλοῦς ἐγίγνωσκεν οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐν βαναυσίοις, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲ τῆς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ εἰκόνης ἔτυχεν, εἴ τι τῶν εὐτελῶν εἰργάζετο. ἀπέθανε μὲν οὖν Ἀθήνησιν ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη, ἕνα δὲ αὐτὸν ἡγώμεθα τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ ἀποθανόντων, ἐπειδὴ μετὰ Χαιρώνειαν ἐτελεύτα μὴ καρτερήσας τὴν ἀκρόασιν τοῦ Ἀθηναίων παΐσματος.

¹ This is the sub-title of the speech *Against Euthynous*, and was so called because the plaintiff had no evidence to produce and depended on logical argument.

² Heracles carried off the oxen of Geryon.

³ These minor historians were fellow-pupils in the school which Isocrates opened at Chios.

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been compiled from the works of Gorgias on the same subject. The most skilfully composed of all the works of Isocrates are the *Archidamus* and the speech called *Without Witnesses*.¹ For the former is animated throughout by the desire to revive men's courage and spirit after the defeat at Leuctra, and not only is its language exquisitely chosen, but its composition is brilliant also, and the whole speech is in the style of a legal argument; so that even the myth in it, the story of Heracles and the oxen,² is expressed with vigour and energy. Again, the speech *Without Witnesses* in its rhythms displays a well-restrained energy, for it is composed of periods of equal length, as one idea follows another.

Isocrates had many pupils, but the most illustrious was the orator Hypereides; for as for Theopompus of Chios and Ephorus³ of Cumae, I will neither criticize nor commend them. Those who think that Comedy aimed her shafts at Isocrates because he was a maker of flutes,⁴ are mistaken; for though his father was Theodorus, who was known in Athens as a flute-maker, Isocrates himself knew nothing about flute-making or any other sordid trade; and he certainly would not have been honoured with the statue at Olympia if he had ever been employed in any low occupation. He died at Athens, aged about one hundred years, and we must reckon him among those who perished in war, seeing that he died after the battle of Chaeronea because he could not support the tidings of the Athenian defeat.⁵

¹ Strattis, *frag.* 712 Kock, refers to Isocrates as "the flute-borer"; cf. pseudo-Plutarch, *Isocrates* 836 E.

² cf. Milton, Sonnet—

As that dishonest victory,
At Chaeronea, fatal to liberty,
Killed with report that old man eloquent.

507 ιη'. Περὶ δὲ Αἰσχίνου τοῦ Ἀτρομήτου, ὃν
 φάμεν τῆς δευτέρας σοφιστικῆς ἄρξει, τάδε χρή
 ἐπεσκέφθαι· ἡ Ἀθήνησι δημαγωγία διεισθῆκει
 πᾶσα, καὶ οἱ μὲν βασιλεῖ ἐπιτήδευοι ἦσαν, οἱ
 δὲ Μακεδόσιν, ἐφέροντο δὲ ἄρα τὴν πρώτην τῶν
 μὲν βασιλεῖ χαριζομένων ὁ Παιανιεύς Δημο-
 σθένης, τῶν δὲ ἐς Φίλιππον ὀρώντων ὁ Κοθωκίδης
 Αἰσχίνης, καὶ χρήματα παρ' ἀμφοῖν ἐφοίτα σφίσι,
 βασιλέως μὲν ἀσχολοῦντος δι' Ἀθηναίων Φίλιπ-
 πον τὸ μὴ ἐπὶ Ἀσίαν ἐλάσαι, Φιλίππου δὲ πειρω-
 μένου διαλύειν τὴν ἰσχὺν Ἀθηναίων, ὥς ἐμπόδισμα
 τῆς διαβάσεως.

Διαφορᾶς δ' ἦρξεν Αἰσχίνη καὶ Δημοσθένει καὶ
 αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ἄλλον ἄλλω βασιλεῖ πολιτεύειν, ὥς
 δ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, τὸ ἐναντίως ἔχειν καὶ τῶν ἡθῶν,
 ἐξ ἡθῶν γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀντιξόων φύεται μῖσος
 αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχον. ἀντιξόω δ' ἦσθη καὶ διὰ τάδε·
 ὁ μὲν Αἰσχίνης φιλοπότης τε ἐδόκει καὶ ἡδὺς καὶ
 ἀνεμμένος καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐπίχαρι ἐκ Διονύσου ἡρη-
 κῶς, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῖς βαρυστόνοις ὑποκρι-
 ταῖς τὸν ἐν μεираκίῳ χρόνον ὑπετραγώδησεν, ὁ δ'
 508 αὖ συννεοφῶς τε ἐφαίνετο καὶ βαρὺς τὴν ὀφρὺν
 καὶ ὕδωρ πίνων, ὅθεν δυσκόλοις τε καὶ δυσ-
 τρόποις ἐνεγράφετο, καὶ πολλῶ πλέον, ἐπειδὴ
 πρεσβεύοντε ξὺν ἐτέροις παρὰ τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ

¹ Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 262; Aeschines was only a tritagonist.

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18. **AESCHINES**, the son of Atrometus, we are accustomed to call the founder of the Second Sophistic, and with respect to him the following facts must be borne in mind. The whole government at Athens was divided into two parties, of which one was friendly to the Persian king, the other to the Macedonians. Now among those who favoured the Persian king, Demosthenes of the deme Paeania was the recognized leader, while Aeschines of the deme Cothidae led those who looked to Philip; and sums of money used to arrive regularly from both these, from the king because with the aid of Athenians he kept Philip too busy to invade Asia; and from Philip in the attempt to destroy the power of Athens which hindered him from crossing over into Asia.

The quarrel between Aeschines and Demosthenes arose partly because of this very fact that the former was working in the interests of one king and the latter in the interests of another; but also, in my opinion, because they were of wholly opposite temperaments. For between temperaments that are antagonistic to one another there grows up a hatred that has no other grounds. And naturally antagonistic the two men were, for the following reasons. Aeschines was a lover of wine, had agreeable and easy manners, and was endowed with all the charm of a follower of Dionysus; and in fact while he was still a mere boy, he actually played minor parts for ranting tragic actors.¹ Demosthenes, on the other hand, had a gloomy expression and an austere brow, and was a water-drinker; hence he was reckoned an ill-tempered and unsociable person, and especially so when the two men along with others went on an embassy to Philip, and as messmates the one showed

PHILOSTRATUS

ὁμοδιαίτω ὄντε ὁ μὲν διακεχυμένος τε καὶ ἡδὺς
 ἐφαίνετο τοῖς συμπρέσβειν, ὁ δὲ κατεσκληκῶς
 τε καὶ αἰὶ σπουδάζων. ἐπέτεινε δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν
 διαφορὰν ὁ ὑπὲρ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἐπὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου
 λόγος, ὅτε δὴ ἐξέπεσε τοῦ λόγου ὁ Δημοσθένης,
 ὁ δ' Αἰσχίνης . . . οὐδὲ τῶν ἀποβεβλημένων ποτὲ
 τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐνθυμουμένῳ τὸ ἐν Ταμύναις ἔργον,¹ ἐν
 ᾧ Βοιωτοὺς ἐνίκων Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀριστεία τούτου
 δημοσία ἐστεφανοῦτο τά τε ἄλλα καὶ χρησάμενος
 ἀμηχάνῳ τάχει περὶ τὰ εὐαγγέλια τῆς νίκης. δια-
 βάλλοντος δὲ αὐτὸν Δημοσθένους, ὡς αἴτιον τοῦ
 Φωκικοῦ πάθους, ἀπέγνωσαν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν αἰ-
 τίαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ καταψηφισθέντι Ἀντιφῶντι ἦλθ
 μὴ κριθεῖς, καὶ ἀφείλοντο αὐτὸν οἱ ἐξ Ἀρείου
 πάγου τὸ μὴ οὐ συνειπεῖν σφισιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ
 τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ. καὶ μὴν καὶ πυλαγόρας ἀναρρη-
 θείς οὕτω παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς διαπέφευγε τὸ μὴ
 509 οὐκ αὐτὸς Ἐλατεία ἐπιστῆσαι τὸν Φίλιππον τὴν
 Πυλαίαν συνταράξας εὐπροσώποις λόγοις καὶ
 μύθοις. Ἀθηνῶν δὲ ὑπεξῆλθεν οὐχὶ φεύγειν προσ-
 ταχθείς, ἀλλ' ἀτιμία ἐξιστάμενος, ἣ ὑπήγετο

¹ Some words have dropped out which confuses the construction though the meaning is clear.

¹ The incident is described by Aeschines, *On the False Embassy* 34.

² The text is corrupt and the meaning is not clear.

³ The Athenian general Phocion won the battle of Tamynae in Euboea in 354 in an attempt to recover the cities which had revolted from Athens; cf. Aeschines, *On the False Embassy* 169.

⁴ Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 142; Demosthenes, *On the False Embassy* throughout makes Aeschines responsible for the crushing defeat of the Phocians by Philip when he seized

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himself pliant and amiable to his fellow-ambassadors, while the other was stiff and dry and took everything too seriously. And their quarrel was intensified by the discussions about Amphipolis in Philip's presence, when Demosthenes broke down in his speech¹; but Aeschines . . .² was not one of those who ever throw away the shield, as is evident when one considers the battle of Tamynae,³ when the Athenians defeated the Boeotians. As a reward for his part in this he was crowned by the state, both for his conduct in general and because he had conveyed the good news of the victory with extraordinary speed. When Demosthenes accused him of being responsible for the Phocian disaster,⁴ the Athenians acquitted him of the charge, but after Antiphon had been condemned Aeschines was found guilty without a trial, and the court of the Areopagus deprived him of the right to join them in pleading for the temple on Delos.⁵ And after he had been nominated as a deputy to Pylae⁶ he did not escape suspicion from most men of having himself prompted Philip to seize Elatea, by his action in stirring up the synod at Pylae with his specious words and fables.⁷ He secretly left Athens, not because he had been ordered to go into exile, but in order to avoid the political disgrace which he had incurred when he failed to secure the necessary votes in his

Delphi in 346. Aeschines had assured the Athenians that Philip would not deal harshly with the Phocians.

⁵ The Athenians were defending their right to control the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos.

⁶ *On the Crown* 149. This was in 346.

⁷ Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 143, brings this charge; Philostratus borrows freely from this speech in his account of the political life of Aeschines.

ὑπὸ Δημοσθένει καὶ Κτησιφῶντι ἐκπεσὼν τῶν ψήφων. ἡ μὲν δὴ ὁρμὴ τῆς ἀποδημίας αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἦν, ὡς αὐτίκα ἤξοντα ἐς Βαβυλῶνά τε καὶ Σοῦσα, καθορμισθεὶς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἔφεσον καὶ τὸν μὲν τεθνάναι ἀκούων, τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας οὕτω ξυγκεκλυσμένα πράγματα, Ῥόδου εἶχετο, ἡ δὲ νῆσος ἀγαθὴ ἐνσπουδάσαι, καὶ σοφιστῶν φροντιστήριον ἀποφήνας τὴν Ῥόδον αὐτοῦ διητᾶτο θύων ἡσυχίᾳ τε καὶ Μούσαις καὶ Δωρίοις ἤθεσιν ἐγκαταμιγνὺς Ἀττικά.

Τὸν δὲ αὐτοσχέδιον λόγον ξὺν εὐροΐᾳ καὶ θείῳ διατιθέμενος τὸν ἔπαινον τοῦτον πρῶτος ἠνέγκατο. τὸ γὰρ θείῳ λέγειν οὐπω μὲν ἐπεχωρίασε σοφιστῶν σπουδαῖς, ἀπ' Αἰσχίνου δ' ἤρξατο θεοφορήτῳ ὁρμῇ ἀποσχεδιάζοντος, ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἀναπνέοντες. ἀκροατῆς δὲ Πλάτωνός τε καὶ Ἰσοκράτους γενόμενος πολλὰ καὶ παρὰ
510 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως ἠγάγετο. σαφηνείας τε γὰρ φῶς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἄβρὰ σεμνολογία καὶ τὸ ἐπίχαρι σὺν δεινότητι καὶ καθάπαξ ἡ ἰδέα τοῦ λόγου κρείττων ἢ μιμήσει ὑπαχθῆναι.

Λόγοι δ' Αἰσχίνου γ' ¹ κατ' ἐνίους μὲν καὶ τέταρτός τις Δηλιακὸς καταψευδόμενος τῆς ἐκείνου γλώττης. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὴν Ἀμφισσαν λόγους, ὑφ' ὧν ἡ Κιρραία χώρα καθιερώθη, εὐπροσώπως τε καὶ ξὺν ὥρᾳ διέθετο κακὰ

¹ γ' Richards inserts.

¹ Philostratus ignores the fact that seven years elapsed between the departure of Aeschines from Athens in 330 and the death of Alexander in 323.

² This may be an echo of Longinus, *On the Sublime* xiii. 2.

³ This is not true.

⁴ An allusion to Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon* 119 foll.,

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suit against Demosthenes and Ctesiphon. It was his purpose, when he set out on his journey, to go to Alexander, since the latter was on the point of arriving at Babylon and Susa. But when he touched at Ephesus he learned that Alexander was dead,¹ and that therefore things were greatly disturbed in Asia, so he took up his abode at Rhodes, for the island is well adapted to literary pursuits, and having transformed Rhodes into a school for sophists, he continued to live there, sacrificing to peace and the Muses, and introducing Attic customs into the Dorian mode of life.

As an extempore speaker he was easy and fluent and employed the inspired manner, in fact he was the first to win applause by this means. For hitherto the inspired manner in oratory had not become a regular device of the sophists, but it dates from Aeschines, who extemporized as though he were carried away by a divine impulse, like one who exhales oracles.² He was a pupil of Plato,³ and Isocrates, but his success was due in great part to natural talent. For in his orations shines the light of perfect lucidity, he is at once sublime and seductive, energetic and delightful, and in a word his sort of eloquence defies the efforts of those who would imitate it.

There are three orations of Aeschines; but some ascribe to him a fourth besides, *On Delos*, though it does no credit to his eloquence. Nor is it at all likely that after having composed so plausibly and with such charm those speeches about Amphissa, the people by whom the plain of Cirrha was consecrated to the god,⁴ when his design was to injure Athens,

where he quotes his accusation against Amphissa, made in 340.

βουλευών Ἀθηναίους, ὥς φησι Δημοσθένης, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Δηλιακοὺς μύθους, ἐν οἷς θεολογία τε καὶ θεογονία καὶ ἀρχαιολογία, φαύλως οὕτως ὥρμησε καὶ τοῦτο προαγωνιζόμενος Ἀθηναίων οὐ μικρὸν ἀγώνισμα ἡγουμένων τὸ μὴ ἐκπεσεῖν τοῦ ἐν Δῆλῳ ἱεροῦ. τρισὶ δὴ λόγοις περιωρίσθω ἡ Αἰσχίνου γλῶττα· τῷ τε κατὰ Τιμάρχου καὶ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ τῆς πρεσβείας καὶ τῇ τοῦ Κτησιφῶντος κατηγορίᾳ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τέταρτον αὐτοῦ φρόντισμα, ἐπιστολαί, οὐ πολλαὶ μὲν, εὐπαιδευσίας δὲ μεσταὶ καὶ ἡθους. τοῦ δὲ ἡθικοῦ καὶ Ῥοδίοις ἐπιδείξιν ἐποίησατο· ἀναγνοὺς γάρ ποτε δημοσίᾳ τὸν κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος οἱ μὲν ἐθαύμαζον, ὅπως ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ ἡττήθη καὶ καθήπτοντο τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὡς παρανοούντων, ὁ δὲ “οὐκ ἂν” ἔφη “ἐθαυμάζετε, εἰ Δημοσθένους λέγοντος πρὸς ταῦτα ἠκούσατε,” οὐ μόνον ἐς ἔπαινον ἐχθροῦ καθιστάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀφιεῖς αἰτίας.

511 ιθ'. Ὑπερβάντες δ' Ἀριοβαρζάνην τὸν Κίλικα καὶ Ξενόφρονα τὸν Σικελιώτην καὶ Πειθαγόραν τὸν ἐκ Κυρήνης, οἱ μήτε γινῶναι ἱκανοὶ ἔδοξαν, μήθ' ἐρμηνεύσαι τὰ γνωσθέντα, ἀλλ' ἀπορία γενναίων σοφιστῶν ἐσπουδάσθησαν τοῖς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν Ἑλλήσιν, ὃν που τρόπον τοῖς σίτου ἀποροῦσιν οἱ ὄροβοι, ἐπὶ Νικήτην ἴωμεν τὸν Σμυρναῖον. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Νικήτης παραλαβὼν τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐς στενὸν ἀπειλημμένην ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ παρόδους πολλῷ λαμπροτέρας ὧν αὐτὸς τῇ Σμύρνῃ ἐδείματο, συνάψας τὴν

¹ These are not extant.

² Libanius, *Oration* i. 8, says that in his education he had to put up with inferior sophists, as *men eat bread made of barley for lack of a better sort*.

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as Demosthenes says, he would have handled so unskilfully the myths about Delos, which are concerned with the nature and descent of the gods and the story of bygone times, and that too when he was arguing the case of the Athenians, who considered it of the utmost importance not to fail to maintain the custody of the temple at Delos. Accordingly we must limit the eloquence of Aeschines to three orations, which are : *Against Timarchus*, *In Defence of the Embassy*, and the speech *Against Ctesiphon*. There is also extant a fourth work of his, the *Letters*,¹ which, though they are few, are full of learning and character. What that character was he clearly showed at Rhodes. For once after he had read in public his speech *Against Ctesiphon*, they were expressing their surprise that he had been defeated after so able a speech, and were criticizing the Athenians as out of their senses, but Aeschines said : " You would not marvel thus if you had heard Demosthenes in reply to these arguments." Thus he not only praised his enemy but also acquitted the jury from blame.

19. We will pass over Ariobarzanes of Cilicia, Xenophon of Sicily, and Peithagoras of Cyrene, who showed no skill either in invention or in the expression of their ideas, though in the scarcity of first-rate sophists they were sought after by the Greeks of their day, as men seek after pulse when they are short of corn ;² and we will proceed to NICETES of Smyrna. For this Nicetes found the science of oratory reduced to great straits, and he bestowed on it approaches far more splendid even than those which he himself built for Smyrna, when he connected the city with

πόλιν ταῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑφεσον πύλαις καὶ διὰ μέγεθος ἀντεξάρας λόγοις ἔργα. ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ οὗτος τοῖς μὲν δικανικοῖς ἀμείνων ἐδόκει τὰ δικανικά, τοῖς δὲ σοφιστικοῖς τὰ σοφιστικά ὑπὸ τοῦ περιδεξίως τε καὶ πρὸς ἄμιλλαν ἐς ἄμφω ἡρμόσθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δικανικὸν σοφιστικῇ περιβολῇ ἐκόσμησεν, τὸ δὲ σοφιστικὸν κέντρῳ δικανικῶ ἐπέρρωσεν. ἡ δὲ ἰδέα τῶν λόγων τοῦ μὲν ἀρχαίου καὶ πολιτικοῦ ἀποβέβηκεν, ὑπόβακχος δὲ καὶ διθυραμβώδης, τὰς δ' ἐννοίας ἰδίας τε καὶ παραδόξους ἐκδίδωσιν, ὥσπερ “οἱ βακχεῖοι θύρσοι” τὸ μέλι καὶ “τοὺς ἐσμούς τοῦ γάλακτος.”

Μεγάλων δ' ἀξιούμενος τῆς Σμύρνης τί οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτῷ βοώσης ὡς ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ θαυμασίῳ καὶ ῥήτορι, οὐκ ἐθάμιζεν ἐς τὸν δῆμον, ἀλλ' αἰτίαν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔχων φόβου “φοβοῦμαι” ἔφη “δῆμον ἐπαίροντα μᾶλλον ἢ λοιδορούμενον.” τελώνου δὲ θρασυναμένου ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ καὶ εἰπόντος “παῦσαι ὑλακτῶν με” μάλα ἀστείως ὁ Νικήτης “νῆ Δία,” εἶπεν “ἦν καὶ σὺ παύση δάκνων με.”

- 512 Ἡ δὲ ὑπὲρ Ἀλπεις τε καὶ Ῥῆνον ἀποδημία τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐγένετο μὲν ἐκ βασιλείου προστάγματος, αἰτία δὲ αὐτῆς ἦδε· ἀνὴρ ὑπατος, ᾧ ὄνομα Ῥούφος, τοὺς Σμυρναίους ἐλογίστευε πικρῶς καὶ δυστρόπως. τούτῳ τι προσκρούσας ὁ Νικήτης “ἔρρωσο,” εἶπεν, καὶ οὐκέτι προσήει δικάζοντι. τὸν μὲν δὴ χρόνον,

¹ For this word see Glossary.

² Both these phrases are echoes of Euripides, *Bacchae* 710-11.

³ i.e. like a noxious insect; this seems to have been a favourite retort. cf. p. 588.

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the gate that looks to Ephesus, and by this great structure raised his deeds to the same high level as his words. He was a man who, when he dealt with legal matters, seemed to be a better lawyer than anything else, and again when he dealt with sophistic themes he seemed to do better as a sophist, because of the peculiar skill and the keen spirit of competition with which he adapted himself to both styles. For he adorned the legal style with sophistic amplification,¹ while he reinforced the sophistic style with the sting of legal argument. His type of eloquence forsook the antique political convention and is almost bacchic and like a dithyramb, and he produces phrases that are peculiar and surprise by their daring, like "the thyrsi of Dionysus drip with honey," and "swarms of milk."²

Though he was deemed worthy of the highest honour in Smyrna, which left nothing unsaid in its loud praise of him as a marvellous man and a great orator, he seldom came forward to speak in the public assembly; and when the crowd accused him of being afraid: "I am more afraid," said he, "of the public when they praise than when they abuse me." And once when a tax-collector behaved insolently to him in the law court, and said: "Stop barking at me," Nicetes replied with ready wit: "I will, by Zeus, if you too will stop biting³ me."

His journey beyond the Alps and the Rhine was made at the command of the Emperor, and the reason for it was as follows. A consul named Rufus was governing Smyrna with great harshness and malevolence, and Nicetes having come into collision with him in a certain matter, said "Good day" to him and did not again appear before his court. Now so long

ὃν μιᾶς πόλεως ἤρξεν, οὐπω δεινὰ πεπονθέναι ᾤετο, ἐπιτραπείς δὲ τὰ Κελτικά στρατόπεδα ὀργῆς ἀνεμνήσθη — αἱ γὰρ εὐπράγαια τά τε ἄλλα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπαίρουσι καὶ τὸ μηκέτι καρτερεῖν, ἃ πρὶν εὖ πράττειν ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ ἐκαρτέρουν — καὶ γράφει πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Νερούαν πολλὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Νικήτην καὶ σχέτλια, καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ “αὐτὸς” εἶπεν “ἀκροάσει ἀπολογουμένου, κἂν ἀδικοῦντα εὖρης, ἐπίθες δίκην.” ταυτὶ δὲ ἔγραφεν οὐ τὸν Νικήτην ἐκδιδούς, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ῥοῦφον ἐς συγγνώμην ἐτοιμάζων, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε ἄνδρα τοιοῦτον ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ γεγονότα οὐτ’ ἂν ἀποκτείνειν ὁ Ῥοῦφος, οὐτ’ ἂν ἕτερον ζημιῶσαι οὐδέν, ὥς μὴ φανείη βαρὺς τῷ καθιστάντι αὐτὸν δικαστὴν ἐχθροῦ. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπὶ Ῥήνόν τε καὶ Κελτοὺς ἦλθεν, παρελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν οὕτω τι κατέπληξε τὸν Ῥοῦφον, ὥς πλείω μὲν ἀφείναι ἐπὶ τῷ Νικήτῃ δάκρυα οὐ διεμέτρησεν αὐτῷ ὕδατος, ἀποπέμψαι δὲ οὐκ ἄτρωτον μόνον, ἀλλὰ περίβλεπτον καὶ ἐν τοῖς ζηλωτοῖς Σμυρναίων. τὸν δὲ ἄνδρα τοῦτον χρόνοις ὕστερον Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Λύκιος σοφιστὴς διορθούμενος ἐπέγραψε Νικήτην τὸν κεκαθαρμένον, ἡγνόησε δὲ ἀκροθίνια Πυγμαῖα κολοσσῷ ἐφάρμόζων.

κ’. Ἰσαῖος δὲ ὁ σοφιστὴς ὁ Ἀσσύριος τὸν μὲν ἐν μειρακίῳ χρόνον ἡδοναῖς ἐδεδώκει, γαστρος τε
 513 γὰρ καὶ φιλοποσίας ἡττητο καὶ λεπτὰ ἡμπίσχετο

¹ i.e. in the clepsydra, the water-clock.

² Heracleides ventured to rewrite the speech delivered by Nicetes before Rufus; see pp. 612–613 for Heracleides.

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as Rufus was procurator of only one city, he did not take serious offence at this behaviour; but when he became prefect of the armies in Gaul his anger revived in his memory; for men are uplifted by success in various ways, but especially they refuse any longer to tolerate things that, before their success, when they used ordinary human standards, they used to tolerate. Accordingly he wrote to the Emperor Nerva, bringing many serious charges against Nicetes, to which the Emperor replied: "You shall yourself hear him in his own defence, and if you find him guilty do you fix the penalty." Now in writing thus he was not abandoning Nicetes, but rather preparing the mind of Rufus for forgiveness, since he thought that he would never put to death so worthy a man if the decision were in his hands, nor indeed inflict any other penalty on him, lest he should appear harsh and vindictive to him who had appointed him his enemy's judge. It was therefore on this account that Nicetes went to the Rhine and to Gaul, and when he came forward to make his defence he impressed Rufus so profoundly that the tears he shed over Nicetes amounted to more than the water that had been allotted¹ to him for his defence; and he sent him away not only unscathed, but singled out for honour even among the most illustrious of the citizens of Smyrna. In latter times Heracleides,² the Lycian sophist, attempted to correct the writings of this great man and called his work *Nicetes Revised*, but he failed to see that he was fitting the spoils of the Pygmies on to a colossus.

20. ISAEUS, the Assyrian sophist, had devoted the period of his early youth to pleasure, for he was the slave of eating and drinking, dressed himself in elegant

καὶ θαμὰ ἦρα καὶ ἀπαρακαλύπτως ἐκώμαζεν, ἐς δὲ ἄνδρας ἦκων οὕτω τι μετέβαλεν, ὥς ἕτερος ἐξ ἑτέρου νομισθῆναι, τὸ μὲν γὰρ φιλόγελων ἐπιπολάζειν αὐτῷ δοκοῦν ἀφείλε καὶ προσώπου καὶ γνώμης, λυρῶν τε καὶ αὐλῶν κτύποις οὐδ' ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἔτι παρετύγχανεν, ἀπέδνυ δὲ καὶ τὰ λήδια καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐφεστρίδων βαφὰς καὶ τράπεζαν ἐκόλασε καὶ τὸ ἐρᾶν μεθήκεν,¹ ὥσπερ τοὺς προτέρους ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀποβαλὼν. Ἄρδουος γοῦν τοῦ ῥήτορος ἐρομένου αὐτόν, εἰ ἡ δεῖνα αὐτῷ καλὴ φαίνοιτο, μάλα σωφρόνως ὁ Ἰσαῖος “πέπαυμαι” εἶπεν “ὀφθαλμιῶν.” ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτόν ἑτέρου, τίς ἄριστος τῶν ὀρνίθων καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων ἐς βρώσιν, “πέπαυμαι” ἔφη ὁ Ἰσαῖος “ταῦτα σπουδάζων, ξυνῆκα γὰρ τοὺς Ταντάλου κήπους τρυγῶν,” ἐνδεικνύμενος δήπου τῷ ἐρομένῳ ταῦτα, ὅτι σκιά καὶ ὀνείρατα αἱ ἡδοναὶ πᾶσαι.

Τῷ δὲ Μιλησίῳ Διονυσίῳ ἀκροατῇ ὄντι τὰς μελέτας ξὺν ᾧδῃ ποιουμένῳ ἐπιπλήττων ὁ Ἰσαῖος “μειράκιον” ἔφη “Ἰωνικόν, ἐγὼ δέ σε ᾄδειν οὐκ ἐπαίδευσα.” νεανίσκου δὲ Ἰωνικοῦ θαυμάζοντος πρὸς αὐτόν τὸ τοῦ Νικήτου μεγαλοφώνως ἐπὶ τοῦ Ξέρξου εἰρημένον “ἐκ τῆς βασιλείου νεὼς Αἴγιναν ἀναδησώμεθα” καταγελάσας πλατὺ ὁ Ἰσαῖος “ἀνόητε,” εἶπεν, “καὶ πῶς ἀναχθήσῃ;”

514 Τὰς δὲ μελέτας οὐκ αὐτοσχεδίους ἐποιεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐπεσκεμμένους² τὸν ἐξ ἔω ἐς μεσημβρίαν καιρόν.

¹ μετέθηκεν Kayser ; μεθήκεν Cobet.

² ἐπεσκεμμένους Kayser ; ἐπεσκεμμένους Cobet.

¹ A proverb of fleeting joys ; cf. p. 595 and *Life of Apollonius* iv. 25.

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stuffs, was often in love, and openly joined in drunken revels. But when he attained to manhood he so transformed himself as to be thought to have become another person, for he discarded both from his countenance and his mind the frivolity that had seemed to come to the surface in him; no longer did he, even in the theatre, hearken to the sounds of the lyre and the flute; he put off his transparent garments and his many-coloured cloaks, reduced his table, and left off his amours as though he had lost the eyes he had before. For instance, when Ardys the rhetorician asked him whether he considered some woman or other handsome, Isaeus replied with much discretion: "I have ceased to suffer from eye trouble." And when someone asked him what sort of bird and what sort of fish were the best eating: "I have ceased," replied Isaeus, "to take these matters seriously, for I now know that I used to feed on the gardens of Tantalus."¹ Thus he indicated to his questioner that all pleasures are a shadow and a dream.

When Dionysius of Miletus, who had been his pupil, delivered his declamations in a sing-song, Isaeus rebuked him, saying: "Young man from Ionia, I did not train you to sing."² And when a youth from Ionia admired in his presence the grandiloquent saying of Nicetes in his *Xerxes*, "Let us fasten Aegina to the king's ship," Isaeus burst into a loud laugh and said: "Madman, how will you put to sea?"

His declamations were not actually extempore, but he deliberated from daybreak till midday. The

¹ The Ionian rhetoricians were especially fond of such vocal effects.

PHILOSTRATUS

ιδέαν δ' ἐπήσκησε λόγων οὐτ' ἐπιβεβλημένην,¹ οὐτ' αὖτον, ἀλλ' ἀπέριττον καὶ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ ἀποχρῶσαν τοῖς πράγμασιν. καὶ τὸ βραχέως ἐρμηνεύειν, τοῦτό τε καὶ πᾶσαν ὑπόθεσιν συνελεῖν ἐς βραχὺ Ἰσαίου εὖρημα, ὥς ἐν πλείοσι μὲν ἑτέροις, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τοῖσδε ἐδηλώθη· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀγωνιζόμενος τοὺς βουλευομένους περὶ τοῦ τείχους ἀπὸ τῶν Ὀμήρου ἐβραχυλόγησε τοσοῦτον·

“ ἀσπίς ἄρ' ἀσπίδ' ἔρειδε, κόρυς κόρυν, ἀνέρα δ' ἀνῆρ·

οὕτω στήτέ μοι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τετειχίσμεθα.” κατηγορῶν δὲ τοῦ Βυζαντίου Πύθωνος, ὡς δεθέντος μὲν ἐκ χρησμῶν ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ, κεκριμένης δὲ τῆς προδοσίας, ὡς ἀνέζευξεν ὁ Φίλιππος, ξυνέλαβε τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον ἐς τρεῖς ἐννοίας, ἔστι γὰρ τὰ εἰρημένα ἐν τρισὶ τούτοις· “ ἐλέγχω Πύθωνα προδεδωκότα τῷ χρήσαντι θεῷ, τῷ δήσαντι δήμῳ, τῷ ἀναζεύξαντι Φιλίππῳ, ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἔχρησεν, εἰ μὴ τις ἦν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἔδησεν, εἰ μὴ τοιοῦτος ἦν, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἀνέζευξεν, εἰ μὴ δι' ὃν ἦλθεν, οὐχ εὗρεν.”

κα'. Ὑπὲρ Σκοπελιανοῦ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ διαλέξομαι καθαψάμενος πρότερον τῶν κακίζειν αὐτὸν

¹ Cobet would read περιβεβλημένην, but this is unnecessary.

¹ *Iliad* xvi. 215. On the later fortification of Sparta cf. Pausanias i. 13. This was a famous theme and was inspired by the saying *Non est Sparta lapidibus circumdata* (Seneca, *Suasoriae* ii. 3); cf. below, p. 584.

² For Python cf. p. 482 note. But here as elsewhere, Python is probably confused with Leon of Byzantium, of

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style of eloquence that he practised was neither exuberant nor meagre, but simple and natural and suited to the subject matter. Moreover, a concise form of expression and the summing up of every argument into a brief statement was peculiarly an invention of Isaeus, as was clearly shown in many instances, but especially in the following. He had to represent the Lacedaemonians debating whether they should fortify themselves by building a wall, and he condensed his argument into these few words from Homer :

“ And shield pressed on shield, helm on helm, man on man.”¹

Thus stand fast, Lacedaemonians, these are our fortifications !” When he took for his theme the indictment of Python² of Byzantium, imprisoned for treason at the command of an oracle and on his trial for treason after Philip’s departure, he confined his case to three points to be considered ; for what he said is summed up in these three statements : “ I find Python guilty of treason by the evidence of the god who gave the oracle, of the people who put him in prison, of Philip who has departed. For the first would not have given the oracle if there were no traitor ; the second would not have imprisoned him if he were not that sort of man ; the third would not have departed if he had not failed to find the man who had caused him to come.”³

21. I will now speak of the sophist SCOPELIAN, but first I will deal with those who try to calumniate whom Suidas relates this story. For this theme as used in declamations *cf.* the third-century rhetorician Apsines ix. 479 Walz.

³ This is an example of antithesis combined with *ισόκωλα*, clauses of equal length.

πειρωμένων, ἀπαξιούσι γὰρ δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ τῶν σοφιστῶν κύκλου διθυραμβώδη καλοῦντες καὶ ἀκό-
 515 λαστον καὶ πεπαχυσμένον. ταυτὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγου-
 σιν οἱ λεπτολόγοι καὶ νωθοὶ καὶ μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτο-
 σχεδίου γλώττης ἀναπνέοντες· φύσει μὲν γὰρ ἐπί-
 φθονον χρήμα ἄνθρωπος.¹ διαβάλλουσι γοῦν τοὺς
 μὲν εὐμήκεις οἱ μικροί, τοὺς δὲ εὐειδεῖς οἱ πονηροὶ
 τὸ εἶδος, τοὺς δὲ κούφους τε καὶ δρομικοὺς οἱ
 βραδεῖς καὶ ἑτερόποδες, τοὺς θαρσαλέους οἱ δειλοὶ
 καὶ οἱ ἄμουσοι τοὺς λυρικοὺς, τοὺς δ' ἄμφι παλαί-
 στραν οἱ ἀγύμναστοι, καὶ οὐ χρή θαυμάζειν, εἰ
 πεπηδημένοι τὴν γλώτταν τινες καὶ βοῦν ἀφωνίας
 ἐπ' αὐτὴν βεβλημένοι καὶ μήτ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τι ἐνθυ-
 μηθέντες μέγα, μήτ' ἂν ἐνθυμηθέντος ἑτέρου
 ξυμφήσαντες διαπτύοιέν τε καὶ κακίζοιεν τὸν
 ἐτοιμότατα δὴ καὶ θαρραλεώτατα καὶ μεγαλειότατα
 τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ Ἑλλήνων ἐρμηνεύσαντα. ὥς δὲ
 ἡγνοήκασιν τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, καὶ ὁποῖον
 αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τοῦ οἴκου σχῆμα.

Ἀρχιερεὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐγένετο τῆς Ἀσίας αὐτός τε
 καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ παῖς ἐκ πατρὸς πάντες, ὁ δὲ
 στέφανος οὗτος πολὺς καὶ ὑπὲρ πολλῶν χρημάτων.
 δίδυμός τε ἀποτεχθεὶς ἄμφω μὲν ἦσθην ἐν σπαρ-
 γάνοις, πεμπταίων δὲ ὄντων κεραυνῷ μὲν ἐβλήθη
 ὁ ἕτερος, ὁ δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἐπηρώθη τῶν αἰσθήσεων
 ξυγκατακείμενος τῷ βληθέντι. καίτοι τὸ τῶν σκη-
 πτῶν πῦρ οὕτω δριμὺ καὶ θειῶδες, ὥς τῶν ἀγχοῦ
 τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείνειν κατ' ἐκπληξιν, τῶν δὲ ἀκοάς

¹ ἄνθρωποι Kayser ; ἄνθρωπος Cobet.

¹ A proverb for silence first found in Theognis 651 ; cf. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 36 ; Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* vi. 11 ; its precise origin is not clear, but it may refer to the
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him. For they say that he is unworthy of the sophistic circle and call him dithyrambic, intemperate in his style, and thick-witted. Those who say this about him are quibblers and sluggish and are not inspired with extempore eloquence; for man is by nature a creature prone to envy. At any rate the short disparage the tall, the ill-favoured the good-looking, those who are slow and lame disparage the light-footed swift runner, cowards the brave, the unmusical the musical, those who are unathletic disparage athletes. Hence we must not be surprised if certain persons who are themselves tongue-tied, and have set on their tongues the "ox of silence,"¹ who could not of themselves conceive any great thought or sympathize with another who conceived it, should sneer at and revile one whose style of eloquence was the readiest, the boldest, and the most elevated of any Greek of his time. But since they have failed to understand the man, I will make known what he was and how illustrious was his family.

For he was himself high-priest of Asia and so were his ancestors before him, all of them, inheriting the office from father to son. And this is a great crown of glory and more than great wealth. He was one of twins, and as both were lying in one cradle, when they were five days old, one of them was struck by lightning, but the other, though he was lying with the stricken child, was not maimed in any one of his senses. And yet, so fierce and sulphurous was the fire of the thunderbolt that some of those who stood near were killed by the shock, others suffered

weight of the ox, or to coins engraved with an ox and laid on the tongue *e.g.* of a victim. The Latin proverb *bos in lingua*, "he is bribed," must refer to an engraved coin.

τε καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς σίνεσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐς τοὺς νοῦς ἀποσκήπτειν. ἀλλ' οὐδενὶ τούτων ὁ Σκοπελιανὸς ἤλω, διετελέσε γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐς γῆρας βαθὺ ἀκέραιός τε καὶ ἄρτιος. τουτὶ δὲ ὁπόθεν θαυμάζω, δηλώσαι σοι βούλομαι· ἐδείπνουν μὲν κατὰ τὴν Λῆμνον ὑπὸ δρυὶ μεγάλη θερισταὶ ὀκτῶ περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Κέρας τῆς νήσου, τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο λιμὴν ἐστίν
 516 ἐς κεραίας ἐπιστρέφων λεπτάς, νέφους δὲ τὴν δρυὶν περισχόντος καὶ σκηπτοῦ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκδοθέντος ἡ μὲν ἐβέβλητο, οἱ θερισταὶ δὲ ἐκπλήξεως αὐτοῖς ἐμπεσούσης, ἐφ' οὗπερ ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος πράττων, οὕτως ἀπέθανεν, ὁ μὲν γὰρ κύλικα ἀναιρούμενος, ὁ δὲ πίνων, ὁ δὲ μάττων, ὁ δὲ ἐσθίων, ὁ δὲ ἕτερόν τι¹ ποιῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀφήκαν ἐπιτεθυμμένοι καὶ μέλανε, ὥσπερ οἱ χαλκοὶ τῶν ἀνδριάντων περὶ τὰς ἐμπύρους τῶν πηγῶν κεκαπνισμένοι. ὁ δὲ οὕτω τι οὐκ ἄθεεὶ ἐτρέφετο, ὥς διαφυγεῖν μὲν τὸν ἐκ τοῦ σκηπτοῦ θάνατον, ὃν μηδὲ οἱ σκληρότατοι τῶν ἀγροίκων διέφυγον, ἄτρωτος δὲ μέιναι τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἔτοιμος καὶ ὕπνου κρείττων, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ νωθρὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπῆν.

Ἐφοίτησε δὲ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς τῶν λόγων παρὰ τὸν Σμυρναῖον Νικήτην μελετήσαντα μὲν ἐπιφανῶς, πολλῶ δὲ μεῖζον ἐν δικαστηρίοις πνεύσαντα. δεομένων δὲ τῶν Κλαζομενίων τὰς μελέτας αὐτὸν οἴκοι ποιεῖσθαι καὶ προβήσεσθαι τὰς Κλαζομενὰς ἐπὶ μέγα ἡγουμένων, εἰ τοιοῦτος δὴ ἀνὴρ ἐμπαιδεύσοι σφίσιν, τουτὶ μὲν οὐκ ἀμούσως παρηγήσατο τὴν

¹ δέ τι Kayser ; δὲ ἕτερόν τι Cobet.

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injury to their ears and eyes, while the minds of others were affected by the shock of the bolt. But Scopelian was afflicted by none of these misfortunes, for he remained healthy and sound far on into old age. I will explain the reason why I marvel at this. Once, in Lemnos, eight harvesters were eating their meal beneath a great oak, near that part of the island called the Horn—this place is a harbour curved in the shape of slender horns—when a cloud covered the oak and a bolt was hurled on to it, so that the tree itself was struck, and the harvesters, when the stroke fell on them, were killed every one of them in the act of doing whatever it might be, one as he lifted a cup, one drinking, one kneading bread, one while eating, in fact, whatever else it might be that they were engaged on, thus in the act they lost their lives; and they were covered with smoke and blackened like bronze statues that are near hot springs and so become darkened by fumes. But Scopelian was reared under the protection of the gods so carefully that he not only escaped death from the thunderbolt, though not even the most robust of those field-labourers escaped it, but remained with his senses unimpaired, keen-witted, and independent of sleep, and in fact he was never subject even to a feeling of torpor.

He frequented the rhetoricians' schools of oratory as a pupil of Nicetes of Smyrna, who had conspicuous success as a declaimer, though in the law courts he was an even more vigorous orator. When the city of Clazomenae begged Scopelian to declaim in his native place, because they thought it would greatly benefit Clazomenae if so talented a man should open a school there, he declined politely, saying that the

ἀηδόνα φήσας ἐν οἰκίσκῳ μὴ ᾄδειν, ὥσπερ δὲ ἄλσος τι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ εὐφωνίας τὴν Σμύρναν ἐσκέψατο καὶ τὴν ἡχὴν τὴν ἐκεῖ πλείστου ἀξίαν ᾤθη. πάσης γὰρ τῆς Ἰωνίας οἶον μουσείου πεπολισμένης ἀρτιωτάτην ἐπέχει τάξιν ἢ Σμύρνα, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ὀργάνοις ἢ μαγὰς.

Αἱ δὲ αἰτίαι, δι' ἧς ὁ πατήρ ἐξ ἡμέρου τε καὶ πρᾶου χαλεπὸς αὐτῷ ἐγένετο, λέγονται μὲν ἐπὶ πολλά, καὶ γὰρ ἡ δεῖνα καὶ ἡ δεῖνα καὶ πλείους, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τὴν ἀληθεστάτην δηλώσω· μετὰ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ Σκοπελιανοῦ μητέρα γυναῖκα ὁ πρεσβύτης ἤγετο ἡμίγαμόν τε καὶ οὐ κατὰ νόμους, ὁ δὲ ὁρῶν
 517 ταῦτα ἐνουθέτει καὶ ἀπήγεν, τουτὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐξώροις ἀηδές. ἡ δ' αὖ ξυνετίθει κατ' αὐτοῦ λόγον, ὡς ἐρῶντος μὲν αὐτῆς, τὴν διαμαρτίαν δὲ μὴ καρτεροῦντος. ξυνελάμβανε δὲ αὐτῇ τῶν διαβολῶν καὶ οἰκέτης τοῦ πρεσβύτου μάγειρος, ᾧ ἐπωνυμία Κύθηρος, ὑποθωπεύων, ὥσπερ ἐν δράματι, τὸν δεσπότην καὶ τοιαυτὴν λέγων· “ὦ δέσποτα, βούλεται σε ὁ υἱὸς τεθνάναι ἤδη, οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτόματον καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ θάνατον ἐνδιδούς τῷ σώῳ γήρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτουργῶν μὲν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, μισθοῦμενος δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐμὰς χεῖρας. ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῷ φάρμακα ἀνδροφόνα ἐπὶ σέ, ὧν τὸ καιριώτατον κελεύει με ἐμβαλεῖν ἐς ἓν τι τῶν ὄψων ἐλευθερίαν τε ὁμολογῶν καὶ ἀγροὺς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ χρήματα καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι βουλοίμην ἔχειν τοῦ σοῦ οἴκου, καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν πειθομένῳ εἶναι, ἀπειθοῦντι δὲ μαστίγῳσιν τε καὶ στρέβλωσιν καὶ παχείας πέδας καὶ κύφωνα

¹ For the same figure cf. p. 487.

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nightingale does not sing in a cage; and he regarded Smyrna as, so to speak, a grove in which he could practise his melodious voice, and thought it best worth his while to let it echo there. For while all Ionia is, as it were, an established seat of the Muses, Smyrna holds the most important position, like the bridge in musical instruments.¹

The reasons why his father, after being kind and indulgent to him, treated him harshly, are told in many different versions, for they allege now this reason, now that, then more than one, but I shall relate the truest version. After the death of Scopelian's mother, the old man was preparing to bring home a woman as a concubine and not in legal wedlock, and when the son perceived this he admonished him and tried to deter him, which is always an annoying thing to older men. The woman thereupon trumped up a tale against him to the effect that he was in love with her, and could not endure his lack of success. In this calumny she had also a slave as accomplice, the old man's cook whose name was Cytherus, and he used to flatter his master, like a slave in a play, and say things of this sort: "Master, your son wishes you to die now at once, nor will he allow to your old age a natural death, such as must needs be, not long hence; and he himself is preparing the plot, but he is trying to hire the help of my hands as well. For he has poisonous drugs destined for you, and he orders me to put the most deadly of them in one of my dishes, promising me my freedom, lands, houses, money, and whatever I may please to have from your house; and this, if I obey; but if I disobey he promises me the lash, torture, stout fetters, and the cruel pillory." And

βαρύν.” καὶ τοιοῖσδε θωπεύμασι περιελθὼν τὸν δεσπότην τελευτῶντος μετ’ οὐ πολὺ καὶ πρὸς διαθήκαις ὄντος γράφεται κληρονόμος, υἱὸς τε προσρηθεὶς καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ψυχὴ πᾶσα. καὶ οὐχὶ ταυτὶ χρὴ θαυμάζειν, ἐπεὶ πρεσβύτην ἐρῶντα ἔθελξεν ἴσως πού καὶ παραπαίοντα ὑπὸ ἡλικίας καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐράν — καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ νέοι ἐρῶντες οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις αὐτῶν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν ἔχει — ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ τῆς τοῦ Σκοπελιανοῦ δεινότητος τε καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀκμῆς κρείττων ἔδοξεν ἀγωνισάμενος μὲν περὶ τῶν διαθηκῶν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀντεκτείνας δὲ τῇ ἐκείνου δεινότητι τὸν ἐκείνου πλοῦτον· ἀπαντλῶν γὰρ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ μισθούμενος ὑπερβολαῖς χρημάτων γλώττας ὁμοῦ πάσας καὶ δικαστῶν ψήφους πανταχοῦ τὴν νικῶσαν ἀπηνέγκατο, ὅθεν ὁ Σκοπελιανὸς τὰ μὲν Ἀναξαγόρου μηλόβοτα εἶναι, τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ δουλόβοτα ἔλεγεν. ἐπιφανὴς δὲ καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ ὁ Κῦθης γένόμενος γηράσκων ἤδη καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ὀρῶν ὑποδιδούσαν καταφρονούμενός τε ἱκανῶς καὶ πού καὶ πληγὰς λαβὼν πρὸς ἀνδρός, ὃν χρήματα ἀπαιτῶν ἐτύγχανεν, ἰκέτης τοῦ

518 Σκοπελιανοῦ γίνεται μνησικακίαν τε αὐτῷ παρεῖναι καὶ ὀργὴν ἀπολαβεῖν τε τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς οἶκον ἀνέντα μὲν αὐτῷ μέρος τῆς οἰκίας πολλῆς οὐσης, ὥς μὴ ἀνελευθέρως ἐνδαιιτήσῃται, συγχωρήσαντα δὲ ἀγροὺς δύο τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. καὶ Κυθήρου οἶκος ἐπωνόμασται νῦν ἔτι τὸ μέρος τῆς οἰκίας, ἐν ᾧ κατεβίω. ταυτὶ μὲν, ὥς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν αὐτά,

¹ Anaxagoras when exiled from Athens lost his property, which was then neglected; the story is told by Diogenes Laertius ii. 9; cf. Plato, *Hippias maior* 283 A; Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* i. 13.

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by wheedling him in this way he got round his master, so that when the latter was dying not long after, and came to make a will, he was appointed heir and was therein styled his son, his eyes, and his whole soul. And this indeed need not surprise us, since he whom he beguiled was an amorous old man, who was perhaps feeble-minded besides, from old age and from that same passion—for even when young men are in love there is not one of them that keeps his wits—but the surprising thing is that he showed himself more than a match for the oratorical talent of Scopelian, and his high reputation, in the law courts; for he went to law with him over the will, and used Scopelian's own fortune to counteract the latter's talent. For by drawing deeply on the estate and bribing with extravagant sums the tongues of all men, and at the same time the votes of the jury, he won a complete victory on every point, and hence Scopelian used to say that, whereas the property of Anaxagoras had become a sheep pasture, his own was a slave pasture.¹ Cytherus became prominent in public life also, and when he was now an old man and saw that his estate was growing less and that he himself was greatly despised, nay had even received blows at the hands of a man from whom he tried to recover money, he implored Scopelian to lay aside the memory of his wrongs and his anger, and to take back his father's property, only giving up to himself a part of the house, which was spacious, so that he might live in it without too great squalor; and to yield to him also two fields out of those near the sea. And to this day, that part of the house in which he lived till his death is called the dwelling of Cytherus. All these facts I have related that they may not

συνιέναι δὲ καὶ τούτων, ὅτι οἱ ἄνθρωποι μὴ θεοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλήλων παίγνια.

Σκοπελιανοῦ δὲ σπουδάζοντος ἐν τῇ Σμύρνῃ ξυμφοιτᾶν μὲν ἐς αὐτὴν Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Λυδοῦς καὶ Κᾶρας καὶ Μαίονας Αἰολέας τε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Μυσῶν Ἑλλήνας καὶ Φρυγῶν οὐπω μέγα, ἀγχίθυρος γὰρ τοῖς ἔθνεσι τούτοις ἡ Σμύρνα καιρίως ἔχουσα τῶν γῆς καὶ θαλάττης πυλῶν, ὃ δὲ ἦγε μὲν Καππαδόκας τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους, ἦγε δὲ Αἰγυπτίους καὶ Φοίνικας Ἀχαιῶν τε τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτέρους καὶ νεότητά τὴν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἅπασαν. δόξαν μὲν οὖν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς παραδεδώκει ῥαστώνης τε καὶ ἀμελείας, ἐπειδὴ τὸν πρὸ τῆς μελέτης καιρὸν ξυνῆν ὥς ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῖς τῶν Σμυρναίων τέλεσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιτικῶν, ὃ δὲ ἀπεχρήτο μὲν καὶ τῇ φύσει λαμπρᾷ τε οὔσῃ καὶ μεγαλογνώμονι, καὶ τὸν μεθ' ἡμέραν καιρὸν ἦττον ἐσπούδαζεν, ἀυπνότατος δ' ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος “ὦ νύξ,” ἔλεγε “σὺ γὰρ δὴ πλεῖστον σοφίας μετέχεις μέρος θεῶν,” ξυνεργὸν δὲ αὐτὴν ἐποιεῖτο τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φροντισμάτων. λέγεται γοῦν καὶ ἐς ὄρθρον ἀποτεῖναι σπουδάζων ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας.

Προσέκειτο μὲν οὖν ἅπασι ποιήμασι, τραγῳδίας δὲ ἐνεφορεῖτο, ἀγωνιζόμενος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ διδασκάλου μεγαλοφωνίαν—ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ μέρους ὃ Νικήτης σφόδρα ἐθαυμάζετο—ὃ δὲ οὕτω τι μεγαλοφωνίας ἐπὶ μείζον ἤλασεν, ὥς καὶ Γιγαντίαν ξυνθεῖναι παραδοῦναι τε Ὀμηρί-

¹ Plato, *Laws* 644 D. The saying became a proverb, cf. *Life of Apollonius* iv, 36.

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remain unknown, and that from them we may learn that men are the playthings not only of God¹ but of one another.

It is no great wonder that, while Scopelian taught at Smyrna, Ionians, Lydians, Carians, Maeonians, Aeolians also and Hellenes from Mysia and Phrygia flocked thither to his school; for Smyrna is next door to these peoples and is a convenient gateway both by land and sea. But besides these he attracted Cappadocians and Assyrians, he attracted also Egyptians and Phoenicians, the more illustrious of the Achaeans, and all the youth of Athens. To the crowd he no doubt gave an impression of indolence and negligence, since during the period before a declamation he was generally in the society of the magistrates of Smyrna transacting public business, but he was able to rely on his own genius, which was brilliant and of a lofty kind; and in fact during the daytime he did not work much, but he was the most sleepless of men, and hence he used to say: "O Night, thy share of wisdom is greater than that of the other gods!"² and he made her the collaborator in his studies. Indeed it is said that he used to work continuously from evening until dawn.

He devoted himself to all kinds of poetry, but tragedies he devoured in his endeavour to rival the grand style of his teacher; for in this branch Nicetes was greatly admired. But Scopelian went so much further in magniloquence that he even composed an *Epic of the Giants*, and furnished the Homerids³ with

² Menander, *frag.* 199 Meineke; Scopelian adapted the line by substituting *wisdom* for *love*.

³ The allusion is to certain epic poets of the day who imitated Scopelian's epic and are hence sarcastically called "Sons of Homer."

δαις ἀφορμὰς ἐς τὸν λόγον. ὠμίλει δὲ σοφιστῶν
 μὲν μάλιστα Γοργία τῷ Λεοντίνῳ, ῥητόρων δὲ
 519 τοῖς λαμπρὸν ἤχοῦσιν. τὸ δὲ ἐπίχαρι φύσει
 μᾶλλον εἶχεν ἢ μελέτῃ, πρὸς φύσεως μὲν γὰρ
 τοῖς Ἰωνικοῖς τὸ ἀστείζεσθαι, τῷ δ' αὖ καὶ ἐπὶ
 τῶν λόγων τοῦ φιλόγελω περιῆν, τὸ γὰρ κατηφὲς
 δυσξύμβολόν τε καὶ ἀηδὲς ἡγεῖτο. παρῆει δὲ καὶ
 ἐς τοὺς δῆμους ἀνειμένῳ τε καὶ διακεχυμένῳ τῷ
 προσώπῳ, καὶ πολλῷ πλέον, ὅτε ξὺν ὀργῇ ἐκ-
 κλησιάζοιεν, ἀνιῖς αὐτοὺς καὶ διαπραύνων τῇ
 τοῦ εἵδους εὐθυμίᾳ. τὸ δὲ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις
 ἦθος οὔτε φιλοχρήματος οὔτε φιλολοῖδορος· προῖ-
 κα μὲν γὰρ ξυνέταπτεν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς
 κινδυνεύουσι, τοὺς δὲ λοιδορουμένους ἐν τοῖς
 λόγοις καὶ θυμοῦ τινα ἐπίδειξιν ἡγουμένους ποιεῖ-
 σθαι γραΐδια ἐκάλει μεθύοντα καὶ λυττῶντα. τὰς
 δὲ μελέτας μισθοῦ μὲν ἐποιεῖτο, ὃ δὲ μισθὸς ἦν
 ἄλλος ἄλλου καὶ ὡς ἕκαστος οἴκου εἶχεν, παρῆει
 τε ἐς αὐτοὺς οὔθ' ὑπερφρονῶν καὶ σεσοβημένος,
 οὔθ' ὥσπερ οἱ δεδιότες, ἀλλ' ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν
 ἀγωνιῶντα μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης, θαρροῦντα
 δὲ τῷ μὴ ἂν σφαλῆναι. διελέγετο δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν
 τοῦ θρόνου ξὺν ἀβρότῃ, ὅτε δὲ ὀρθὸς διαλέγοιτο,
 ἐπιστροφὴν τε εἶχεν ὁ λόγος καὶ ἔρρωτο. καὶ
 ἐπεσκοπεῖτο οὐκ ἔνδον, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ ὀμίλῳ, ἀλλ'
 ὑπεξιών ἐν βραχεῖ τοῦ καιροῦ διεώρα πάντα.
 περιῆν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ εὐφωνίας, καὶ τὸ φθέγμα

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material for their poetry. Of the sophists he studied most carefully Gorgias of Leontini, and of the orators those that have a splendid ring. But his charm was natural rather than studied, for with the Ionians urbanity and wit are a gift of nature. For example, even in his orations he abounded in jests, for he held that to be over-serious is unsociable and disagreeable. And even when he appeared in the public assembly it was with a cheerful and lively countenance, and all the more when the meeting was excited by anger, for then he relaxed the tension and calmed their minds by his own good-tempered demeanour. In the law courts he displayed a temper neither avaricious nor malevolent. For without a fee he would champion the cause of those who were in danger of their lives, and when men became abusive in their speeches, and thought fit to make a great display of indignation, he used to call them tipsy and frenzied old hags. Though he charged a fee for declaiming, it was not the same for every pupil, and depended on the amount of property possessed by each. And he used to appear before his audience with no arrogance or conceited airs, nor again with the bearing of a timid speaker, but as befitted one who was entering the lists to win glory for himself and was confident that he could not fail. He would argue with suavity, so long as he was seated, but when he stood up to speak his oration became more impressive and gained in vigour. He meditated his theme neither in private nor before his audience, but he would withdraw and in a very short time would review all his arguments. He had an extremely melodious voice and a charming pronunciation, and he would often

ἡδονὴν εἶχε τὸν τε μηρὸν θαμὰ ἔπληττεν ἑαυτὸν
 τε ὑπεγείρων καὶ τοὺς ἀκρωμένους. ἄριστος
 μὲν οὖν καὶ σχηματίζει λόγον καὶ ἐπαμφοτέρως
 εἰπεῖν, θαυμασιώτερος δὲ περὶ τὰς ἀκμαιοτέρας
 τῶν ὑποθέσεων καὶ πολλῷ πλέον περὶ τὰς Μηδι-
 κάς, ἐν αἷς οἱ Δαρεῖοί τέ εἰσι καὶ οἱ Ξέρξαι, ταύ-
 520 τας γὰρ αὐτὸς τέ μοι δοκεῖ ἄριστα σοφιστῶν
 ἐρμηνεύσαι παραδοῦναι τε τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις
 ἐρμηνεύειν, καὶ γὰρ φρόνημα ἐν αὐταῖς ὑπεκρί-
 νετο καὶ κουφότητα τὴν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἦθεσιν.
 ἐλέγετο καὶ σείεσθαι μᾶλλον ἐν ταύταις, ὥσπερ
 βακχεύων, καὶ τινος τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Πολέμωνα
 τυμπανίζειν αὐτὸν φήσαντος λαβόμενος ὁ Σκοπε-
 λιανὸς τοῦ σκώμματος “τυμπανίζω μὲν,” εἶπεν
 “ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ Αἴαντος ἀσπίδι.”

Βασίλειοι δὲ αὐτοῦ πρεσβεῖαι πολλαὶ μὲν, καὶ
 γὰρ τις καὶ ἀγαθὴ τύχη ξυνηκολούθει πρεσβεύ-
 οντι, ἀρίστη δὲ ἡ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμπέλων· οὐ γὰρ
 ὑπὲρ Σμυρναίων μόνων, ὥσπερ αἱ πλείους, ἀλλ’
 ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀσίας ὁμοῦ πάσης ἐπρεσβεύθη. τὸν
 δὲ νοῦν τῆς πρεσβείας ἐγὼ δηλώσω· ἐδόκει τῷ
 βασιλεῖ μὴ εἶναι τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἀμπέλους, ἐπειδὴ ἐν
 οἴνῳ στασιάζειν ἔδοξαν, ἀλλ’ ἐξηρῆσθαι μὲν τὰς
 ἤδη πεφυτευμένας, ἄλλας δὲ μὴ φυτεύειν ἔτι.
 ἔδει δὴ πρεσβείας ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ ἀνδρός, ὃς
 ἔμελλεν ὥσπερ Ὀρφεὺς τις ἢ Θάμυρις ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
 θέλξειν. αἰροῦνται τοίνυν Σκοπελιανὸν πάντες, ὁ

¹ For this type of rhetoric see Glossary.

² Domitian; cf. *Life of Apollonius* vi. 42; and Suetonius, *Domitian*, who gives another reason for this edict.

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smite his thigh in order to arouse both himself and his hearers. He excelled also in the use of "covert allusion"¹ and ambiguous language, but he was even more admirable in his treatment of the more vigorous and grandiloquent themes, and especially those relating to the Medes, in which occur passages about Darius and Xerxes; for in my opinion he surpassed all the other sophists, both in phrasing these allusions and in handing down that sort of eloquence for his successors to use; and in delivering them he used to represent dramatically the arrogance and levity that are characteristic of the barbarians. It is said that at these times he would sway to and fro more than usual, as though in a Bacchic frenzy, and when one of Polemo's pupils said of him that he beat a loud drum, Scopelian took to himself the sneering jest and retorted: "Yes, I do beat a drum, but it is the shield of Ajax."

He went on many embassies to the Emperor, and while a peculiar good luck ever accompanied his missions as ambassador, his most successful was that on behalf of the vines. For this embassy was sent, not as in most cases on behalf of Smyrna alone, but on behalf of all Asia in general. I will relate the aim of the embassy. The Emperor² resolved that there should be no vines in Asia, because it appeared that the people when under the influence of wine plotted revolution; those that had been already planted were to be pulled up, and they were to plant no more in future. There was clearly need of an embassy to represent the whole community, and of a man who in their defence, like another Orpheus or Thamyris, would charm his hearer. Accordingly they unanimously selected Scopelian, and on this

δ' οὕτω τι ἐκ περιουσίας ἐκράτει τὴν πρεσβείαν, ὥς μὴ μόνον τὸ ἐξεῖναι φυτεύειν ἐπανελθεῖν ἔχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιτίμια κατὰ τῶν μὴ φυτευόντων. ὥς δὲ ἡὐδοκίμησε τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμπελῶν, δημοῖ μὲν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα, ὁ γὰρ λόγος ἐν τοῖς θαυμασιωτάτοις, δημοῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ, δώρων τε γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔτυχεν, αἱ νομίζονται παρὰ βασιλεῖ, πολλῶν τε προσρήσεών τε καὶ ἐπαίνων, νεότης τε αὐτῷ λαμπρὰ ξυνηκολούθησεν ἐς Ἰωνίαν σοφίας ἐρῶντες.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἐγένετο, ποιεῖται αὐτὸν
 521 ξένον ὁ Ἡρώδου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ πατὴρ Ἀττικὸς θαυμάζων ἐπὶ ῥητορικῇ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν Γοργίαν ποτὲ Θετταλοί. ὅποσοι γοῦν τῶν πάλαι ῥητόρων ἐρμαῖ ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς τῆς οἰκίας δρόμοις, ἐκέλευε τούτους βάλλεσθαι λίθοις, ὥς διεφθορότας αὐτῷ τὸν υἱόν. μεираκίον μὲν δὴ ἐτύγχανεν ὦν ὁ Ἡρώδης τότε καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὶ ἔτι, τοῦ δὲ αὐτοσχεδιάζειν ἦρα μόνου, οὐ μὴν ἐθάρρει γε αὐτό, οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ Σκοπελιανῷ ξυγγεγονῶς ἦν ἐς ἐκεῖνό πω τοῦ χρόνου, οὐδ' ἦτις ἢ τῶν αὐτοσχεδίων ὄρμη γινώσκων, ὅθεν ἀσμένῳ οἱ ἐγένετο ἢ ἐπιδημία τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ λέγοντος ἤκουσε καὶ διατιθεμένου τὸν αὐτοσχέδιον, ἐπτερώθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡτοιμάσθη, καὶ τὸν πατέρα δὲ ἦσαι διανοηθεὶς ἀπαγγέλλει οἱ μελέτην ἐς τὴν ἰδέαν τοῦ ξένου. ὁ πατὴρ δὲ ἡγάσθη τε αὐτὸν τῆς μιμήσεως καὶ πεντήκοντα¹ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τάλαντα, ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Σκοπελιανῷ πεντεκαίδεκα, ὁ δέ, ὅσαπερ

¹ πεντακόσια Kayser; πεντήκοντα Valckenaer in order to reduce the improbably large sum.

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mission he succeeded so far beyond their hopes that he returned bringing not only the permission to plant, but actually the threat of penalties for those who should neglect to do so. How great a reputation he won in this contest on behalf of the vines is evident from what he said, for the oration is among the most celebrated; and it is evident too from what happened as a result of the oration. For by it he won such presents as are usually given at an imperial court, and also many compliments and expressions of praise, and moreover a brilliant band of youths fell in love with his genius and followed him to Ionia.

While he was at Athens he was entertained by Atticus, the father of Herodes the sophist, who admired him for his eloquence more than the Thessalians once admired Gorgias. Atticus accordingly gave orders that all the busts of the ancient orators that were in the porticoes of his house should be pelted with stones, because they had corrupted his son's talent. Herodes at the time was only a stripling and still under his father's control, but he cared only for extempore speaking, though he had not enough confidence for it, since he had not yet studied with Scopelian, nor learned the vigour that extempore eloquence requires. For this reason he rejoiced at Scopelian's visit. For when he heard him speak and handle an extempore discourse, by his example he became fledged and fully equipped, and with the idea of pleasing his father he invited him to hear him give a declamation in the same style as their guest. His father greatly admired his imitation and gave him fifty talents, while to Scopelian himself he gave fifteen; but Herodes besides gave him from

PHILOSTRATUS

ὁ πατήρ, τοσαῦτα ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δωρεᾶς προσ-
έδωκεν αὐτῷ, ἔτι καὶ διδάσκαλον ἑαυτοῦ προσ-
ειπών. τουτὶ δὲ συνιέντι Ἑρώδου καὶ τῶν τοῦ
Πακτωλοῦ πηγῶν ἦδιον.

Τὴν δὲ εὐτυχίαν, ἥ περὶ τὰς πρεσβείας ἐχρήτο,
ξυμβάλλειν ἐστὶ καὶ τοῖσδε· ἔδει μὲν γὰρ τοῖς
Σμυρναίοις τοῦ πρεσβεύσοντος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνδρός,
ἡ πρεσβεία δὲ ἦν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων· ὁ μὲν δὴ
ἐγγήρασκεν ἤδη καὶ τοῦ ἀποδημεῖν ἐξώρως εἶχεν,
ἐχειροτονεῖτο δὲ ὁ Πολέμων οὕτω πεπρεσβευκῶς
πρότερον. εὐξάμενος οὖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης
ἐδεῖτο γενέσθαι οἱ τὴν τοῦ Σκοπελιανοῦ πειθῶ,
καὶ περιβαλὼν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μάλα
ἀστείως ὁ Πολέμων τὰ ἐκ Πατροκλείας ἐπέειπεν
τῷ ἀνδρί.¹

δὸς δέ μοι ὦμοιιν τὰ σὰ τεύχεα θωρηχθῆναι,
αἶ κ' ἐμέ σοὶ ἴσχωσι,

καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ὁ Τυανεὺς ὑπερενεγκὼν σοφία
τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν τὸν Σκοπελιανὸν ἐν θαυ-
μασίῳις τάττει.

κβ'. Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος εἶθ', ὥς ἔνοι-
φασι, πατέρων ἐπιφανεστάτων ἐγένετο, εἶθ', ὥς
τινες, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐλευθέρων, ἀφείσθω τούτου
522 τοῦ μέρους, ἐπειδὴ οἰκεία ἀρετῇ ἐλαμπρύνετο, τὸ
γὰρ καταφεύγειν ἐς τοὺς ἄνω ἀποβεβληκότων
ἐστὶ τὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἔπαινον. Ἰσαίου δὲ ἀκροα-
τῆς γενόμενος ἀνδρός, ὥς ἔφην, κατὰ φύσιν ἐρμη-
νεύοντος τουτὶ μὲν ἱκανῶς ἀπεμάξατο καὶ πρὸς

¹ μάλα . . . ἀνδρὶ in mss. and Kayser precede the quotation;
Cobet transposes.

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his own present the same sum as had been bestowed by his father, and called him his teacher. And when he heard this title from Herodes it was sweeter to him than the springs of Pactolus.

The good fortune that attended his embassies we may gather also from the following. The citizens of Smyrna needed someone to go on an embassy for them, and the mission was on affairs of the greatest moment. But he was now growing old and was past the age for travelling, and therefore Polemo was elected, though he had never before acted as ambassador. So in offering up prayers for good luck, Polemo begged that he might be granted the persuasive charm of Scopelian, embraced him before the assembly, and applied very aptly to him the verses from the exploits of Patroclus :

Give me thy harness to buckle about my shoulders, if perchance they may take me for thee.¹

Apollonius of Tyana also, who in wisdom surpassed mere human achievement, ranks Scopelian among the men to be admired.²

22. With regard to DIONYSIUS OF MILETUS, whether, as some say, he was born of highly distinguished parentage, or, as others say, was merely of free birth, let him not be held responsible on this head, seeing that he achieved distinction by his own merits. For to have recourse to one's ancestors is the mark of those who despair of applause for themselves. He was a pupil of Isaeus, that is of one who, as I have said, employed a natural style, and of this style he successfully took the impress, and the orderly arrange-

¹ *Iliad* xvi. 40, Patroclus to Achilles.

² *Life of Apollonius* i. 23, 24.

τούτῳ τὴν εὐταξίαν τῶν νοημάτων, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο Ἰσαίου. μελιχρότατος δὲ περὶ τὰς ἐννοίας γενόμενος οὐκ ἐμέθυε περὶ τὰς ἡδονάς, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τῶν σοφιστῶν, ἀλλ' ἐταμιεύετο λέγων αἰεὶ πρὸς τοὺς γνωρίμους, ὅτι χρή τοῦ μέλιτος ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ, ἀλλὰ μὴ κοίλῃ χειρὶ γεύεσθαι, ὥς ἐν ἅπασιν μὲν τοῖς εἰρημένοις δεδήλωται τῷ Διονυσίῳ, λογικοῖς τε καὶ νομικοῖς καὶ ἠθικοῖς ἀγῶσι, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Χαιρωνείᾳ θρήνῳ. διεξιὼν γὰρ τὸν Δημοσθένην τὸν μετὰ Χαιρώνειαν προσαγγέλλοντα¹ τῇ βουλῇ ἑαυτὸν ἐς τήνδε τὴν μονωδίαν τοῦ λόγου ἐτελεύτησεν. “ὦ Χαιρώνεια πονηρὸν χωρίον.” καὶ πάλιν “ὦ αὐτομολήσασα πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους Βοιωτία. στενάξατε οἱ κατὰ γῆς ἥρωες, ἐγγὺς Πλαταιῶν νενικήμεθα.” καὶ πάλιν ἐν τοῖς κρινομένοις ἐπὶ τῷ μισθοφορεῖν Ἀρκάσιν “Ἀγορὰ πολέμου πρόκειται καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κακὰ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν τρέφει,” καὶ “ἐπέρχεται πόλεμος αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχων.”

Τοιαύδε μὲν ἡ ἐπίπαν ἰδέα τοῦ Διονυσίου, καθ' ἣν τὰ τῆς μελέτης αὐτῷ προὔβαιεν ἐπισκοποῦ-
 523 μένῳ καιρόν, ὅσονπερ ὁ Ἰσαῖος, ὁ δὲ λόγος ὁ περὶ τοῦ Διονυσίου λεγόμενος, ὥς Χαλδαῖοις τέχναις τοὺς ὁμιλητὰς τὸ μνημονικὸν ἀναπαιδεύοντος πόθεν εἴρηται, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. τέχνη μνήμης οὔτε εἰσὶν οὔτ' αὖ γένοιτο, μνήμη μὲν γὰρ δίδωσι τέχνας, αὐτὴ δὲ ἀδίδακτος καὶ οὐδε-

¹ προσάγοντα Kayser; προσαγγέλλοντα Cobet.

² A proverb; cf. Lucian, *How to write History* 4.

³ This imaginary situation was a favourite theme; cf. *Life of Polemo*, p. 542; Syrianus ii. 165; Apsines ix. 471.

⁴ This perhaps echoes Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon* 648.

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ment of his thoughts besides; for this too was characteristic of Isaeus. And though he presented his ideas with honeyed sweetness, he was not intemperate in the use of pleasing effects, like some of the sophists, but was economical with them, and would always say to his pupils that honey should be tasted with the finger-tip¹ and not by the handful. This indeed is clearly shown in all the speeches delivered by Dionysius, whether critical works or forensic or moral disputations, but above all in the *Dirge for Chaeronea*. For when representing Demosthenes as he denounced himself before the Senate after Chaeronea,² he ended his speech with this monody: "O Chaeronea, wicked city!" and again: "O Boeotia that hast deserted to the barbarians! Wail, ye heroes beneath the earth! We have been defeated near Plataea!"³ And again in the passage where the Arcadians are on trial for being mercenaries, he said: "War is bought and sold in the market-place, and the woes of the Greeks fatten Arcadia," and "A war for which there is no cause is upon us."⁴

Such was in general the style of Dionysius, thus his declamations proceeded, and he used to meditate his themes about as long as Isaeus. As for the story that is told about him that he used to train his pupils in mnemonics by the help of Chaldean arts,⁵ I will show the source of the tradition. There is no such thing as an art of memory, nor could there be, for though memory gives us the arts, it cannot itself be taught, nor can it be acquired by

¹ On the Asianic rhythms in these quotations see Norden, *Antike Kunst-Prosa* i. 413. The Arcadians were notorious mercenaries; cf. Xenophon, *Hellenica* vii. 1. 23.

² For Chaldean astrology cf. Julian, vol. i. *Oration* 4. 156 B; 5. 172 D, note; here it is regarded as a kind of magic.

μῆ τέχνη ἀλωτός, ἔστι γὰρ πλεονέκτημα φύσεως ἢ τῆς ἀθανάτου ψυχῆς μοῖρα. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε ἀθάνατα ¹ νομισθείη τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, οὐδὲ διδακτά, ἃ ἐμάθομεν, εἰ μὴ ² μνήμη συνεπολιτεύετο ἀνθρώποις, ἣν εἴτε μητέρα δεῖ χρόνου καλεῖν, εἴτε παῖδα, μὴ διαφερώμεθα πρὸς τοὺς ποιητάς, ἀλλ' ἔστω, ὃ τι βούλονται. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τίς οὕτως εὐήθης κατὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης ἐν σοφοῖς γραφόμενος, ὡς γοητεύων ἐν μειρακίοις διαβάλλειν καὶ ἃ ὀρθῶς ἐπαιδεύθη; πόθεν οὖν τὸ μνημονικὸν τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις; ἅπληστα τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐδόκει τὰ τοῦ Διονυσίου καὶ πολλάκις ἐπαναλαμβάνειν αὐτὰ ἡναγκάζετο, ἐπειδὴ ξυνίει σφῶν χαιρόντων τῇ ἀκροάσει. οἱ δὲ εὐμαθέστεροι τῶν νέων ἐνετυπουντο αὐτὰ ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ ἀπήγγελλον ἐτέροις μελέτῃ μᾶλλον ἢ μνήμῃ ξυνειληφότες, ὅθεν μνημονικοὶ τε ὠνομάζοντο καὶ τέχνην αὐτὸ 524 πεποιημένοι. ἔνθεν ὀρμώμενοί τινες τὰς τοῦ Διονυσίου μελέτας ἐσπερματολογῆσθαί φασιν, ὡς δὴ ἄλλο ἄλλου ξυνενεγκόντων ἐς αὐτάς, ἐν ᾧ ἐβραχυλόγησεν.

Μεγάλων μὲν οὖν ἡξιοῦτο καὶ τῶν πόλεων, ὅποσαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ ἐθαύμαζον, μεγίστων δὲ ἐκ βασιλείας. Ἀδριανὸς γὰρ σατράπην μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπέφηνεν οὐκ ἀφανῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐγκατέλεξε δὲ τοῖς δημοσίᾳ ἱππεύουσι καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ σιτουμένοις, τὸ δὲ Μουσεῖον τράπεζα Αἰγυπτία

¹ θνητὰ Kayser; ἀθάνατα Jahn.

² μὴ Cobet adds.

¹ An allusion to the Platonic doctrine of reminiscence, and especially to *Meno* 81 c d.

² Philostratus refers to the *Hymn to Memory* by Apollonius of Tyana; see his *Life* i. 14. The sophists certainly taught some sort of mnemonics; cf. Volkmann, *Rhetorik* 567 foll.

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any method or system, since it is a gift of nature or a part of the immortal soul. For never could human beings be regarded as endowed with immortality, nor could what we have learned be taught, did not Memory inhabit the minds of men.¹ And I will not dispute with the poets whether we ought to call her the mother of Time or the daughter, but let that be as they please.² Moreover, who that is enrolled among the wise would be so foolishly careless of his own reputation as to use magic arts with his pupils, and so bring into disrepute also what has been taught by correct methods? How was it then that his pupils had a peculiar gift of memory? It was because the declamations of Dionysius gave them a pleasure of which they could never have enough, and he was compelled to repeat them very often, since he knew that they were delighted to hear them. And so the more ready-witted of these youths used to engrave them on their minds, and when, by long practice rather than by sheer memory, they had thoroughly grasped them, they used to recite them to the rest; and hence they came to be called "the memory-artists," and men who made it into an art. It is on these grounds that some people say that the declamations of Dionysius are a collection of odds and ends, for they say one person added this, another that, where he had been concise.

Great honours were paid him by the cities that admired his talent, but the greatest was from the Emperor. For Hadrian appointed him satrap³ over peoples by no means obscure, and enrolled him in the order of the knights and among those who had free meals in the Museum. (By the Museum I mean

³ *i.e.* prefect.

ξυγκαλοῦσα τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ ἔλλογίμους. πλείστας δὲ ἐπελθὼν πόλεις καὶ πλείστοις ἐνομιλήσας ἔθνεσιν οὔτε ἐρωτικήν ποτε αἰτίαν ἔλαβεν οὔτε ἀλαζόνα ὑπὸ τοῦ σωφρονέστατός τε φαίνεσθαι καὶ ἐφεστηκώς. οἱ δὲ ἀνατιθέντες Διονυσίῳ τὸν Ἀράσπαν τὸν τῆς Πανθείας ἐρώντα ἀνήκοοι μὲν τῶν τοῦ Διονυσίου ῥυθμῶν, ἀνήκοοι δὲ τῆς ἄλλης ἐρμηνείας, ἄπειροι δὲ τῆς τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων τέχνης· οὐ γὰρ Διονυσίου τὸ φρόντισμα τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ Κέλερος τοῦ τεχνογράφου, ὁ δὲ Κέλερ βασιλικῶν μὲν ἐπιστολῶν ἀγαθὸς προστάτης, μελέτη δὲ οὐκ ἀποχρῶν, Διονυσίῳ δὲ τὸν ἐκ μεираκίου χρόνον διάφορος.

Μηδ' ἐκεῖνα παρείσθω μοι Ἀρισταίου γε ἡκροαμένῳ αὐτὰ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν κατ' ἐμὲ Ἑλλήνων καὶ πλείστα ὑπὲρ σοφιστῶν εἰδότης· ἐγήρασκε μὲν ὁ Διονύσιος ἐν δόξῃ λαμπρᾷ, παρήει δ' ἐς ἀκμὴν ὁ Πολέμων οὐπω γινωσκόμενος τῷ Διονυσίῳ καὶ ἐπεδήμει ταῖς Σάρδεσι ἀγορεύσων¹ δίκην ἐν τοῖς ἑκατὸν ἀνδράσιν, ὑφ' ὧν ἐδικαιοῦτο ἡ Λυδία. ἐσπέρας οὖν ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ἦκων ὁ Διονύσιος ἤρετο
 525 Δωρίωνα τὸν κριτικὸν ξένον ἑαυτοῦ· “εἰπέ μοι,” ἔφη “ὦ Δωρίων, τί Πολέμων ἐνταῦθα;” καὶ ὁ Δωρίων “ἀνὴρ” ἔφη “πλουσιώτατος τῶν ἐν Λυδίᾳ κινδυνεύων περὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἄγει συνήγορον τὸν Πολέμωνα ἀπὸ τῆς Σμύρνης πείσας διταλάντω

¹ ἀγορεύων Kayser; ἀγορεύσων Cobet.

¹ Founded by the first Ptolemy at Alexandria in connexion with the Library.

² Panthea, wife of the Persian king Abradatas, was taken captive by the Elder Cyrus and placed in charge of the

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a dining-table in Egypt¹ to which are invited the most distinguished men of all countries.) He visited very many cities and lived among many peoples, yet he never incurred the charge of licentious or insolent conduct, being most temperate and sedate in his behaviour. Those who ascribe to Dionysius the piece called *Araspes the Lover of Panthea*,² are ignorant not only of his rhythms but of his whole style of eloquence, and moreover they know nothing of the art of ratiocination. For this work is not by Dionysius, but by Celer³ the writer on rhetoric; and Celer, though he was a good Imperial Secretary, lacked skill in declamation and was on unfriendly terms with Dionysius from their earliest youth.

I must not omit the following facts which I heard direct from Aristaeus who was the oldest of all the educated Greeks in my time and knew most about the sophists. When Dionysius was beginning to grow old and enjoyed the most distinguished reputation, and Polemo, on the other hand, was attaining to the height of his career, though he was not yet personally known to Dionysius, Polemo paid a visit to Sardis to plead a case before the Centumviri who had jurisdiction over Lydia. And towards evening Dionysius came to Sardis and asked Dorion the critic, who was his host: "Tell me, Dorion, what is Polemo doing here?" And Dorion replied: "A very wealthy man, a Lydian, is in danger of losing his property, and hence he has brought Polemo from Smyrna to be his advocate by the inducement of a fee of two talents, and he will defend the suit

Mede Araspes who fell in love with her; cf. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* v. 1. 4; Philostratus, *Imagines* ii. 9.

³ Probably the teacher of Marcus Aurelius; cf. *To Himself* viii. 25.

μισθῷ, καὶ ἀγωνιέται τὴν δίκην αὔριον.” καὶ ὁ Διονύσιος “οἶον” ἔφη “ἔρμαιον εἴρηκας, εἰ καὶ ἀκοῦσαί μοι ἔσται Πολέμωνος οὐπω ἐς πείραν αὐτοῦ ἀφιγμένῳ.” “ἔοικεν” εἶπεν ὁ Δωρίων “στρέφειν σε ὁ νεανίας ἐς ὄνομα ἤδη προβαίνων μέγα.” “καὶ καθεύδεις γε οὐκ ἔα, μὰ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἢ δ’ ὁ Διονύσιος “ἀλλ’ ἐς πῆδησιν ἄγει τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τὴν γνώμην ἐνθυμουμένῳ, ὥς πολλοὶ οἱ ἐπαινέται αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῖς μὲν δωδεκάκρουνον¹ δοκεῖ τὸ στόμα, οἱ δὲ καὶ πῆχσει διαμετροῦσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν γλῶτταν, ὥσπερ τὰς τοῦ Νείλου ἀναβάσεις. σὺ δ’ ἂν² ταύτην ἰάσαιό μοι τὴν φροντίδα εἰπὼν, τί μὲν πλέον, τί δὲ ἦττον ἐν ἐμοί τε καὶ κείνῳ καθεώρακας.” καὶ ὁ Δωρίων μάλα σωφρόνως “αὐτός,” εἶπεν “ὦ Διονύσιε, σεαυτῷ τε καὶ κείνῳ δικάσεις ἄμεινον, σὺ γὰρ ὑπὸ σοφίας οἶος σαυτὸν τε γινώσκειν, ἕτερόν τε μὴ ἀγνοῆσαι.” ἤκουσεν ὁ Διονύσιος ἀγωνιζομένου τὴν δίκην καὶ ἀπὼν τοῦ δικαστηρίου “ἰσχὺν” ἔφη “ὁ ἀθλητὴς ἔχει, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκ παλαίστρας.” ταῦτα ὥς ἤκουσεν ὁ Πολέμων, ἦλθε μὲν ἐπὶ θύρας τοῦ Διονυσίου μελέτην αὐτῷ ἐπαγγέλλων, ἀφικομένου δὲ διαπρεπῶς ἀγωνιζόμενος προσῆλθε τῷ Διονυσίῳ καὶ ἀντερείσας τὸν ὦμον, ὥσπερ οἱ τῆς σταδιαίας πάλης ἐμβιβάζοντες, μάλα ἀστείως ἐπετώθασεν εἰπὼν

ἦσαν ποτ’, ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι.

¹ δωδεκάκρουνος Kayser; δωδεκάκρουνον Cobet; cf. Cratinus, *Putine frag.* 7 δωδεκάκρουνον τὸ στόμα.

² αὐ Kayser; ἂν Cobet.

¹ The epithet indicates the volume and variety of his oratory.

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to-morrow." "What a stroke of luck is this!" cried Dionysius, "that I shall actually be able to hear Polemo, for I have never yet had a chance to judge of him." Dorion remarked: "The young man seems to make you uneasy by his rapid advance to a great reputation." "Yes, by Athene," said Dionysius, "he does not even allow me to sleep. He makes my heart palpitate, and my mind too, when I think how many admirers he has. For some think that from his lips flow twelve springs,¹ others measure his tongue by cubits, like the risings of the Nile. But you might cure this anxiety for me by telling me what are the respective superiorities and defects that you have observed in us both." Dorion replied with great discretion: "You yourself, Dionysius, will be better able to judge between yourself and him, for you are well qualified by your wisdom not only to know yourself but also to observe another accurately." Dionysius heard Polemo defend the suit, and as he left the court he remarked: "This athlete possesses strength, but it does not come from the wrestling-ground." When Polemo heard this he came to Dionysius' door and announced that he would declaim before him. And when he had come and Polemo had sustained his part with conspicuous success, he went up to Dionysius, and leaning shoulder to shoulder with him, like those who begin a wrestling match standing, he wittily turned the laugh against him by quoting

Once O once they were strong, the men of Miletus.²

² For this iambic response of Apollo which became a proverb for the degenerate *cf.* Aristophanes, *Plutus* 1003. It occurs also as a fragment of Anacreon.

Ἀνδρῶν μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῇ τάφος, Διονυσίῳ δὲ σῆμα ἐν τῇ ἐπιφανεστάτῃ Ἐφέσῳ, τέθαιπται γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κατὰ τὸ κυριώτατον τῆς Ἐφέσου, ἐν ᾗ κατεβίω παιδεύσας τὸν πρῶτον βίον ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ.

κγ'. Λολλιανὸς δὲ ὁ Ἐφέσιος προὔστη μὲν τοῦ Ἀθήνησι θρόνου πρῶτος, προὔστη δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων δήμου στρατηγήσας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, ἣ δὲ ἀρχὴ αὕτη πάλαι μὲν κατέλεγέ τε καὶ ἐξῆγεν ἐς τὰ πολέμια, νυνὶ δὲ τροφῶν ἐπιμελεῖται καὶ σίτου ἀγορᾶς. θορύβου δὲ καθεστηκότος παρὰ τὰ ἀρτοπώλια καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βάλλειν αὐτὸν ὠρμηκώτων Παγκράτης ὁ κύων ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν Ἰσθμῷ φιλοσοφήσας παρελθὼν ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ εἰπὼν “ Λολλιανὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρτοπώλης, ἀλλὰ λογοπώλης ” διέχεεν οὕτω τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὥς μεθεῖναι τοὺς λίθους διὰ χειρὸς αὐτοῖς ὄντας. σίτου δὲ ἐκ Θετταλίας ἐσπεπλευκότος καὶ χρημάτων δημοσίᾳ οὐκ ὄντων ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ Λολλιανὸς ἔρανον τοῖς αὐτοῦ γνωρίμοις, καὶ χρήματα συχνὰ ἡθροίσθη. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀνδρὸς εὐμηχάνου δόξει καὶ σοφοῦ
527 τὰ πολιτικά, ἐκεῖνο δὲ δικαίου τε καὶ εὐγνώμονος· τὰ γὰρ χρήματα ταῦτα τοῖς ξυμβαλομένοις ἀπέδωκεν ἐπανεῖς τὸν μισθὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως.

Ἔδοξε δὲ ὁ σοφιστὴς οὗτος τεχνικώτατός τε καὶ φρονιμώτατος τὸ ἐπιχειρηματικὸν ἐν ἐπινοίᾳ τεχνικῇ κείμενον ἱκανῶς ἐκπονῆσαι, καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι

¹ From Thucydides ii. 43.

² i.e. the municipal, as distinct from the Imperial chair.

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Famous men have the whole earth for their sepulchre,¹ but the actual tomb of Dionysius is in the most conspicuous part of Ephesus, for he was buried in the market-place, on the most important spot in Ephesus, in which city he ended his life; though during the earlier period of his career he had taught in Lesbos.

23. LOLLIANUS OF EPHEBUS was the first to be appointed to the chair of rhetoric² at Athens, and he also governed the Athenian people, since he held the office of strategus in that city. The functions of this office were formerly to levy troops and lead them to war, but now it has charge of the food-supplies and the provision-market. Once when a riot arose in the bread-sellers' quarter, and the Athenians were on the point of stoning Lollianus, Pancrates the Cynic, who later professed philosophy at the Isthmus, came forward before the Athenians, and by simply remarking: "Lollianus does not sell bread but words," he so diverted the Athenians that they let fall the stones that were in their hands. Once when a cargo of grain came by sea from Thessaly and there was no money in the public treasury to pay for it, Lollianus bade his pupils contribute, and a large sum was collected. This device proves him to have been a very ingenious man and prudent in public affairs, but what followed proved that he was both just and magnanimous. For by remitting the fee for his lectures he repaid this money to those who had subscribed it.

This sophist was considered to be deeply versed in his art and very clever in working out successfully the train of reasoning that depends on skill in invention. His style was admirable, and in the invention

μὲν ἀποχρῶν, νοῆσαι δὲ καὶ τὰ νοηθέντα τάξαι ἀπέριτος. διαφαίνονται δὲ τοῦ λογου καὶ λαμπρό-
 τητες λήγουσαι ταχέως, ὥσπερ τὸ τῆς ἀστραπῆς
 σέλας. δηλοῦται δὲ τοῦτο ἐν πᾶσι μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ
 ἐν τοῖσδε· κατηγορῶν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Λεπτίνου διὰ
 τὸν νόμον, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐφοίτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ τοῦ
 Πόντου σίτος, ὥδε ἤκμασεν. “κέκλεισται τὸ
 στόμα τοῦ Πόντου νόμῳ καὶ τὰς Ἀθηναίων τροφὰς
 ὀλίγαι κωλύουσι συλλαβαί, καὶ ταῦτόν δύναται
 Λύσανδρος ναυμαχῶν καὶ Λεπτίνης νομομαχῶν”
 ἀντιλέγων δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀπορία χρημάτων
 βουλευομένοις πωλεῖν τὰς νήσους ὥδε ἐπνευσεν.
 “λῦσον, ὦ Πόσειδον, τὴν ἐπὶ Δήλῳ χάριν, συγ-
 χώρησον αὐτῇ πωλουμένην φυγεῖν.” ἐσχεδίαζε μὲν
 οὖν κατὰ τὸν Ἰσαῖον, οὗ δὴ καὶ ἠκροάσατο, μισθοὺς
 δὲ γενναίους ἐπράττετο τὰς συνουσίας οὐ μελε-
 τηρὰς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδασκαλικὰς παρέχων.
 εἰκόνες δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἀθήνησι μία μὲν ἐπ’ ἀγορᾶς,
 ἑτέρα δὲ ἐν τῷ ἄλσει τῷ μικρῷ, ὃ αὐτὸς λέγεται
 ἐκφυτεῦσαι.

κδ’. Οὐδὲ τὸν Βυζάντιον σοφιστὴν παραλείψω
 Μάρκον, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ ἐπιπλήξαιμι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, εἰ
 528 τοιόσδε γενόμενος, ὅποῖον δηλώσω, μήπω τυγχάνοι
 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης. Μάρκῳ τοῖνυν ἦν ἀναφορὰ τοῦ

¹ This fictitious theme is based on Demosthenes, *Leptines* 30, delivered in 355, and assumes that the law of Leptines to abolish exemptions from public services was in force, and that the evils foreboded by Demosthenes had come about; cf. Apsines 232 for the same theme.

² Norden, p. 410, quotes this passage for its “similar endings.”

³ We do not know whether this theme is based on historical fact or is purely fictitious.

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and arrangement of his ideas he was free from affectation and redundancy. In his oratory brilliant passages flare out and suddenly come to an end like a flash of lightning. This is evident in all that he wrote, but especially in the example that I now quote. His theme was to denounce Leptines on account of his law, because the supply of corn had failed to reach the Athenians from the Pontus;¹ and he wound up as follows: "The mouth of the Pontus has been locked up by a law, and a few syllables keep back the food supply of Athens; so that Lysander fighting with his ships and Leptines fighting with his law have the same power."² Again, when his theme was to oppose the Athenians, when in a scarcity of funds they were planning to sell the islands,³ he declaimed with energy the following: "Take back, Poseidon, the favour that you granted to Delos!⁴ Permit her, while we are selling her, to make her escape!" In his extempore speeches he imitated Isaeus, whose pupil he had been. He used to charge handsome fees, and in his classes he not only declaimed but also taught the rules of the art. There are two statues of him at Athens, one in the agora, the other in the small grove which he is said to have planted himself.

24. Nor must I omit to speak of MARCUS OF BYZANTIUM,⁵ on whose behalf I will bring this reproach against the Greeks, that though he was as talented as I shall show, he does not as yet receive the honour that he deserves. The genealogy of Marcus dated back as

¹ Delos was once a "floating" island and was made stationary by Poseidon; cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* vi. 191.

⁵ We know nothing more about Marcus, unless he is the Annii Marcus mentioned by Capitolinus, *Life of Marcus Aurelius*, as one of that Emperor's teachers.

γένους ἐς τὸν ἀρχαῖον Βύζαντα, πατὴρ δὲ ὁμώνυμος ἔχων θαλασσιουργοὺς οἰκέτας ἐν Ἱερῶ, τὸ δὲ Ἱερὸν παρὰ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Πόντου. διδάσκαλος δὲ αὐτοῦ Ἰσαῖος ἐγένετο, παρ' οὗ καὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἐρμηνεύειν μαθὼν ἐπεκόσμησεν αὐτὸ ὠραισμένη πραότητι. καὶ παράδειγμα ἱκανώτατον τῆς Μάρκου ιδέας ὁ Σπαρτιάτης ὁ ξυμβουλευὼν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις μὴ παραδέχεσθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ Σφακτηρίας γυμνοὺς ἦκοντας. τῆσδε γὰρ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἤρξατο ὧδε· “ἀνὴρ Λακεδαιμόνιος μέχρι γήρως φυλάξας τὴν ἀσπίδα ἠδέως μὲν ἂν τοὺς γυμνοὺς τούτους ἀπέκτεινα.” ὅστις δὲ καὶ τὰς διαλέξεις ὧδε ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, ξυμβαλεῖν ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶνδε διδάσκων γὰρ περὶ τῆς τῶν σοφιστῶν τέχνης, ὡς πολλὴ καὶ ποικίλη, παράδειγμα τοῦ λόγου τὴν Ἰριν ἐποίησατο καὶ ἤρξατο τῆς διαλέξεως ὧδε· “ὁ τὴν Ἰριν ἰδὼν, ὡς ἐν χρώμα, οὐκ εἶδεν ὡς θαυμάσαι, ὁ δέ, ὅσα χρώματα, μᾶλλον ἐθαύμασεν.” οἱ δὲ τὴν διάλεξιν ταύτην Ἀλκινόω τῷ Στωικῷ ἀνατιθέντες διαμαρτάνουσι μὲν ιδέας λόγου, διαμαρτάνουσι δὲ ἀληθείας, ἀδικώτατοι δ' ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶ προσαφαιρούμενοι τὸν σοφιστὴν καὶ τὰ οἰκεία.

Τὸ δὲ τῶν ὀφρύων ἦθος καὶ ἡ τοῦ προσώπου σύννοια σοφιστὴν ἐδήλου τὸν Μάρκον, καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν αἰεὶ τι ἐπισκοπῶν τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ ἀναπαιδεύων ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἐς τὸ σχεδιάζειν ἄγουσι. καὶ τοῦτο ἐδηλοῦτο μὲν τῇ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν στάσει

¹ The legendary founder of Byzantium, said to have been the son of Poseidon.

² The punishment of these men by Sparta is described by Thucydides v. 34.

³ Iris was the daughter of Thaumasp whose name means

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far as the original Byzas,¹ and his father, who had the same name, owned slaves who were fishermen at Hieron. (Hieron is near the entrance to the Pontus.) His teacher was Isaeus, and from him he learned the natural style of oratory, but he adorned it with a charming suavity. The most characteristic example of the style of Marcus is his speech of the Spartan advising the Lacedaemonians not to receive the men who had returned from Sphacteria without their weapons.² He began this argument as follows: "As a citizen of Lacedaemon who till old age has kept his shield, I would gladly have slain these men who have lost theirs." His style in his discourses may be gathered from the following. He was trying to show how rich and how many-sided is the art of the sophists, and taking the rainbow as the image of an oration, he began his discourse thus: "He who sees the rainbow only as a single colour does not see a sight to marvel at, but he who sees how many colours it has, marvels more."³ Those who ascribe this discourse to Alcinous the Stoic fail to observe the style of his speech, they fail to observe the truth, and are most dishonest men, in that they try to rob the sophist even of what he wrote about his own art.

The expression of his brows and the gravity of his countenance proclaimed Marcus a sophist, and indeed his mind was constantly brooding over some theme, and he was always training himself in the methods that prepare one for extempore speaking. This was evident from the steady gaze of his eyes

"Wonder." The play on the word θαυμάζειν, "to wonder," seems to echo Plato, *Theaetetus* 155 c d: "philosophy begins in wonder." Plato goes on to apply the image of the rainbow (Iris) to philosophy.

πεπηγότων τὰ πολλὰ ἐς ἀπορρήτους ἐννοίας, ὡμο-
 λογήθη δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἐρομένου γάρ τινος
 αὐτὸν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὅπως χθὲς ἐμελέτα “ἐπ’
 529 ἐμαυτοῦ μὲν” ἔφη “λόγου ἀξίως, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γνω-
 ρίμων ἦττον.” θαυμάσαντος δὲ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν
 “ἐγὼ” ἔφη ὁ Μάρκος “καὶ τῇ σιωπῇ ἐνεργῶ
 χρῶμαι καὶ γυμνάζουσί με δύο ὑποθέσεις καὶ τρεῖς
 ὑπὸ τὴν μίαν, ἣν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγωνίζομαι.”
 γενειάδος δὲ καὶ κόμης αὐχμηρῶς εἶχεν, ὅθεν
 ἀγροικότερος ἀνδρὸς πεπνυμένου ἐδόκει τοῖς πολ-
 λοῖς. τουτὶ δὲ καὶ Πολέμων ὁ σοφιστὴς πρὸς
 αὐτὸν ἔπαθεν· παρήλθε μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὴν τοῦ
 Πολέμωνος διατριβὴν ὀνομαστός ἤδη ὢν, ξυγ-
 καθημένων δὲ τῶν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἀπηντηκότων
 ἀναγνούς τις αὐτὸν τῶν ἐς τὸ Βυζάντιον πεπλευ-
 κότων διεμήνυσεν τῷ πέλας, ὁ δὲ τῷ πλησίον, καὶ
 διεδόθη ἐς πάντας, ὅτι ὁ Βυζάντιος εἶη σοφιστής,
 ὅθεν τοῦ Πολέμωνος αἰτοῦντος τὰς ὑποθέσεις
 ἐπεστρέφοντο πάντες ἐς τὸν Μάρκον, ἵνα προβάλοι.
 τοῦ δὲ Πολέμωνος εἰπόντος “τί ἐς τὸν ἀγροικὸν
 ὀρᾶτε; οὐ γὰρ δώσει γε οὗτος ὑπόθεσιν,” ὁ
 Μάρκος ἐπάρας τὴν φωνήν, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, καὶ
 ἀνακύψας “καὶ προβαλῶ¹” ἔφη “καὶ μελετα-
 σεῦμαι.” ἔνθεν ἔλων ὁ Πολέμων καὶ ξυνιείς
 δωριάζοντος διελέχθη ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα πολλά τε καὶ
 θαυμάσια ἐφίεις τῷ καιρῷ, μελετήσας δὲ καὶ
 μελετῶντος ἀκροασάμενος καὶ ἐθαυμάσθη καὶ
 ἐθαύμασεν.

Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἦκων ὁ Μάρκος ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα,
 οἰκιστὰι δὲ οὗτοι Βυζαντίων, ἐστασίαζον μὲν οἱ

¹ προβαλοῦμαι . . . μελετήσομαι Kayser; προβαλῶ . . .
 μελετασεῦμαι Cobet, to give the Doric dialect.

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which were usually intent on secret thoughts, and, moreover, it was admitted by the man himself. For when one of his friends asked him how he declaimed the day before, he replied : "To myself, well enough, but to my pupils not so well." And when the other expressed surprise at the answer, Marcus said : "I work even when I am silent, and I keep myself in practice with two or three arguments beside the one that I maintain in public." His beard and hair were always unkempt, and hence most people thought that he looked too boorish to be a learned man. And this was the impression of him that Polemo the sophist had. For, when he had already made his reputation, he once visited Polemo's school, and when the pupils who had come to attend the lecture had taken their seats, one of those who had made the voyage to Byzantium recognized him and pointed him out to the man next him, and he in turn to his neighbour, and so word was handed on to them all that he was the sophist from Byzantium. Accordingly, when Polemo asked for themes to be proposed, they all turned towards Marcus that he might propose one. And when Polemo asked : "Why do you look to the rustic? This fellow will not give you a theme," Marcus, speaking as he always did at the top of his voice, and throwing his head up, retorted : "I will propose a subject and will myself declaim." Thereupon Polemo, who recognized him partly by his Doric dialect, addressed himself to Marcus in a long and wonderful speech on the spur of the moment, and when he had declaimed and heard the other declaim he both admired and was admired.

When, later on, Marcus went to Megara (Byzantium was originally a Megarian colony), the Megarians

Μεγαρεῖς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀκμαζούσαις ταῖς γνώμαις, ὥσπερ ἄρτι τοῦ πινακίου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς γεγραμμένου, καὶ οὐκ ἐδέχοντο σφᾶς ἐς τὰ Πύθια τὰ μικρὰ ἦκοντας. παρελθὼν δὲ ἐς μέσους ὁ Μάρκος οὕτω τι μεθήρμωσε τοὺς Μεγαρέας, ὥς ἀνοῖξαι πείσαι τὰς οἰκίας καὶ δέξασθαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ γυναικᾶς τε καὶ παῖδας. ἡγάσθη αὐτὸν καὶ
 530 Ἀδριανὸς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ πρεσβεύοντα ὑπὲρ Βυζαντίων, ἐπιτηδειότατος τῶν πάλοι βασιλέων γενόμενος ἀρετὰς αὐξῆσαι.

κέ'. Πολέμων δὲ ὁ σοφιστὴς οὐθ', ὥς οἱ πολλοὶ δοκοῦσι, Σμυρναῖος, οὐθ', ὥς τινες, ἐκ Φρυγῶν, ἀλλὰ ἤνεγκεν αὐτὸν Ασαοδίκεια ἢ ἐν Καρία, ποταμῷ πρόσοικος Λύκῳ, μεσογεία μὲν, δυνατωτέρα δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. ἢ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Πολέμωνος οἰκία πολλοὶ ὕπατοι καὶ ἔτι, ἐρασταὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πολλοὶ μὲν πόλεις, διαφερόντως δὲ ἡ Σμύρνα· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐκ μειρακίου κατιδόντες τι ἐν αὐτῷ μέγα πάντας τοὺς οἰκοὶ στεφάνους ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Πολέμωνος κεφαλὴν συνήνεγκαν, αὐτῷ τε ψηφισάμενοι καὶ γένει τὰ οἰκοὶ ζηλωτά, προκαθῆσθαι γὰρ τῶν Ἀδριανῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἔδοσαν τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἐγγόνοις, καὶ τῆς
 531 ἱερᾶς τριήρους ἐπιβατεύειν. πέμπεται γάρ τις μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι μεταρσία τριήρης ἐς ἀγοράν, ἣν ὁ τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερεὺς, οἶον κυβερνήτης, εὐθύνει πείσματα ἐκ θαλάττης λύουσιν.

Ἐνσπουδάζων δὲ τῇ Σμύρνῃ τάδε αὐτὴν ὥνησεν· πρῶτα μὲν τὴν πόλιν πολυανθρωποτάτῃ αὐτῆς

¹ This was the decree by which the Megarians were proscribed by the Athenians in the fifth century B.C.

² These games were held at Smyrna.

³ February.

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were still keeping up their quarrel with the Athenians with the utmost energy of their minds, just as if the famous decree¹ against them had been lately drawn up; and they did not admit them when they came to the Lesser Pythian games. Marcus, however, came among them, and so changed the hearts of the Megarians that he persuaded them to throw open their houses and to admit the Athenians to the society of their wives and children. The Emperor Hadrian too admired him when he came on an embassy for Byzantium, for of all the Emperors in the past he was the most disposed to foster merit.

25. POLEMO the sophist was neither a native of Smyrna, as is commonly supposed, nor from Phrygia as some say, but he was born at Laodicea in Caria, a city which lies on the river Lycus and, though far inland, is more important than those on the sea-coast. Polemo's family has produced many men of consular rank, and still does, and many cities were in love with him, but especially Smyrna. For the people having from his boyhood observed in him a certain greatness, heaped on the head of Polemo all the wreaths of honour that were theirs to give, decreeing for himself and his family the distinctions most sought after in Smyrna; for they bestowed on him and his descendants the right to preside over the Olympic games founded by Hadrian,² and to go on board the sacred trireme. For in the month Anthesterion³ a trireme in full sail is brought in procession to the agora, and the priest of Dionysus, like a pilot, steers it as it comes from the sea, loosing its cables.

By opening his school at Smyrna he benefited the city in the following ways. In the first place he made her appear far more populous than before,

φαίνεσθαι, νεότητος αὐτῇ ἐπιρρεούσης ἐξ ἡπείρων
 τε καὶ νήσων οὐκ ἀκολάστου καὶ ξυγκλύδος, ἀλλ'
 ἐξειλεγμένης τε καὶ καθαρῶς ¹ Ἑλλάδος, ἔπειτα
 ὁμονοοῦσαν καὶ ἀστασίαστον πολιτεύειν, τὸν γὰρ
 πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον ἐστασίαζεν ἡ Σμύρνα καὶ διεστή-
 κεσαν οἱ ἄνω πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. πλείστου δὲ
 ἄξιος τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ πρεσβευτικὰ ἐγένετο φοιτῶν
 παρὰ τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας καὶ προαγωνιζόμενος τῶν
 ἡθῶν. Ἀδριανὸν γοῦν προσκείμενον τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις
 οὕτω τι μετεποίησε τοῖς Σμυρναίοις, ὥς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
 μιᾷ μυριάδας χιλίας ἐπαντλήσαι αὐτὸν τῇ Σμύρνῃ,
 ἀφ' ὧν τά τε τοῦ σίτου ἐμπόρια ἐξεποιήθη καὶ
 γυμνάσιον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μεγαλοπρεπέστατον
 καὶ νεῶς τηλεφανῆς ὃ ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας ἀντικεῖσθαι
 δοκῶν τῷ Μίμαντι. καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτα-
 γομένοις δημοσίᾳ ἐπιπλήττων καὶ κατὰ σοφίαν
 πλείστα νουθετῶν ὠφέλει, ὕβριν τε ὁμοίως ἐξήρει
 καὶ ἀγερωχίαν πᾶσαν, τοσοῦτῳ πλέον, ὅσω μὴδὲ
 532 τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ ἀπεθίζειν ἦν.² ὠφέλει δὲ κακεῖνα
 δήπου· τὰς δίκας τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐκ ἄλλοσέ
 ποι ἐκφοιτᾶν εἶα, ἀλλ' οἴκοι ἔπαυεν· λέγω δὲ τὰς
 ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, τὰς γὰρ ἐπὶ μοιχοῦς καὶ ἱεροσύλους
 καὶ σφαγέας, ὧν ἀμελουμένων ἄγῃ φύεται, οὐκ
 ἐξάγειν παρεκελεύετο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξῶθεῖν τῆς
 Σμύρνης, δικαστοῦ γὰρ δεῖσθαι αὐτὰς ξίφος ἔχοντος.
 Καὶ ἡ αἰτία δέ, ἦν ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν εἶχεν, ὥς

¹ καθαρῶς Kayser; καθαρῶς Cobet.

² Lacuna in mss.; ἦν Kayser suggests.

¹ "Windy Mimas" (*Odyssey* iii. 172) is a headland opposite Chios. This temple was destroyed by an earthquake and rebuilt by Marcus Aurelius.

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since the youth flowed into her from both continents and the islands; nor were they a dissolute and promiscuous rabble, but select and genuinely Hellenic. Secondly, he brought about a harmonious government free from faction. For, before that, Smyrna was rent by factions, and the inhabitants of the higher district were at variance with those on the sea-shore. Also he proved to be of great value to the city by going on embassies to the Emperors and defending the community. Hadrian, at any rate, had hitherto favoured Ephesus, but Polemo so entirely converted him to the cause of Smyrna that in one day he lavished a million drachmae on the city, and with this the corn-market was built, a gymnasium which was the most magnificent of all those in Asia, and a temple that can be seen from afar, the one on the promontory that seems to challenge Mimas.¹ Moreover, when they made mistakes in their public policy, Polemo would rebuke them, and often gave them wise advice; thus he was of great use to them, and at the same time he cured them of arrogance and every kind of insolence, an achievement that was all the greater because it was not like the Ionian to reform his ancient customs. He helped them also in the following manner. The suits which they brought against one another he did not allow to be carried anywhere abroad, but he would settle them at home. I mean the suits about money, for those against adulterers, sacrilegious persons and murderers, the neglect of which breeds pollution, he not only urged them to carry them out of Smyrna but even to drive them out. For he said that they needed a judge with a sword in his hand.

Though he excited the disapproval of many,

ὁδοιποροῦντι αὐτῷ πολλὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα ἔποιτο, πολλοὶ δὲ ἵπποι, πολλοὶ δὲ οἰκέται, πολλὰ δὲ ἔθνη κυνῶν ἄλλα ἐς ἄλλην θήραν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ ζεύγους ἀργυροχαλίνου Φρυγίου τινὸς ἢ Κελτικοῦ πορεύοιτο, εὐκλειαν τῇ Σμύρνῃ ἔπραττεν· πόλιν γὰρ δὴ λαμπρύνει μὲν ἀγορὰ καὶ κατασκευὴ μεγαλοπρεπῆς οἰκοδομημάτων, λαμπρύνει δὲ οἰκία εὖ πράττουσα, οὐ γὰρ μόνον δίδωσι πόλις ἀνδρὶ ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ ἄρνυται ἐξ ἀνδρός. ἐπεσκοπεῖτο δὲ καὶ τὴν Λαοδίκειαν ὃ Πολέμων θαμίζων ἐς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον καὶ δημοσίᾳ ὠφελῶν ὃ τι ἡδύνατο.

Τὰ δὲ ἐκ βασιλέων αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα· Τραιανὸς μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ ἀτελῇ πορεύεσθαι διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης, Ἀδριανὸς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πᾶσιν, ἐγκατέλεξε δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τῷ τοῦ Μουσείου κύκλῳ 533 ἐς τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν σίτησιν, ἐπὶ τε τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπαιτουμένου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ὑπερ-ἀπέδωκε ταῦτα τὰ χρήματα οὔτε εἰπόντος, ὥς δέοιτο, οὔτε προειπών, ὥς δώσοι. αἰτιωμένης δὲ αὐτὸν τῆς Σμύρνης, ὥς πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιδοθέντων σφίσιν ἐκ βασιλέως χρημάτων ἐς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἡδὺ καταθέμενον ἔπεμψεν ὃ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπιστολὴν ὦδε ξυγκειμένην· “Πολέμων τῶν ἐπιδοθέντων ὑμῖν χρημάτων ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἐμοὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἔδωκεν.” ταῦτα δὲ εἰ καὶ συγγνώμην ἐρεῖ τις, οὐκ ἦν δήπου συγγνώμην αὐτὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασι μὴ οὐκ ἐς τὸ προὔχον τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς εὐρέσθαι. τὸ δὲ Ἀθήνησιν Ὀλυμπίειον¹ δι’ ἐξή-

¹ Ὀλύμπιον Kayser ; Ὀλυμπίειον Cobet.

¹ A favourite saying with Pindar ; cf. Thucydides vi. 16.

² See above, p. 524.

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because when he travelled he was followed by a long train of baggage-animals and many horses, many slaves and many different breeds of dogs for various kinds of hunting, while he himself would ride in a chariot from Phrygia or Gaul, with silver-mounted bridles, by all this he acquired glory for Smyrna. For just as its market-place and a splendid array of buildings reflect lustre on a city, so does an opulent establishment; for not only does a city give a man renown, but itself acquires it from a man.¹ Polemo administered the affairs of Laodicea as well, for he often visited his relatives there, and gave what assistance he could in public affairs.

The following privileges were bestowed on him by the Emperors. By the Emperor Trajan the right to travel free of expense by land and sea, and Hadrian extended this to all his descendants, and also enrolled him in the circle of the Museum, with the Egyptian right of free meals.² And when he was in Rome and demanded 250,000 drachmae,³ he gave him that sum and more, though Polemo had not said that he needed it, nor had the Emperor said beforehand that he would give it. When the people of Smyrna accused him of having expended on his own pleasures a great part of the money that had been given by the Emperor for them, the Emperor sent a letter to the following effect: "Polemo has rendered me an account of the money given to you by me." And though one may say that this was an act of clemency, nevertheless it would not have been possible for him to win clemency in the affair of the money, had he not won pre-eminence for virtue of another kind. The temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens had been

³ The drachma was worth about ninepence.

PHILOSTRATUS

κοντα καὶ πεντακοσίων ἐτῶν ἀποτελεσθὲν καθιε-
ρώσας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ὡς χρόνου μέγα ἀγώνισμα,
ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὸν Πολέμωνα ἐφυσμῆσαι τῇ θυσίᾳ.
ὁ δέ, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, στήσας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπὶ
τὰς ἤδη παρισταμένας ἐννοίας ἐπαφῆκεν ἑαυτὸν
τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς κρηπίδος τοῦ νεῶ διελέχθη
πολλὰ καὶ θαυμάσια, προοίμιον ποιούμενος τοῦ
λόγου τὸ μὴ ἄθεεϊ τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁρμὴν γενέσθαι
οἷ.

Διήλλαξε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα Ἄν-
534 τωνῖνον ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν τῇ τοῦ σκήπτρου παρα-
δόσει θεὸς ἐκ θνητοῦ γιγνόμενος. τουτὶ δὲ ὅποιον,
ἀνάγκη δηλῶσαι· ἤρξε μὲν γὰρ δὴ πάσης ὁμοῦ
Ἀσίας ὁ Ἄντωνῖνος, καὶ κατέλυσεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ
Πολέμωνος οἰκίᾳ ὡς ἀρίστη τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σμύρ-
ναν καὶ ἀρίστου ἀνδρός, νύκτωρ δὲ ἐξ ἀποδημίας
ἦκων ὁ Πολέμων ἐβόα ἐπὶ θύραις, ὡς δεινὰ πάσχοι
τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εἰργόμενος, εἶτα συνηνάγκασε τὸν
Ἄντωνῖνον εἰς ἑτέραν οἰκίαν μετασκευάσασθαι.
ταῦτα ἐγίγνωσκε μὲν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἡρώτα δὲ
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οὐδέν, ὡς μὴ ἀναδέροιτο, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμη-
θεῖς τὰ μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ ὅτι πολλάκις καὶ τὰς ἡμέ-
ρους ἐκκαλοῦνται φύσεις οἱ προσκείμενοί τε καὶ
παροξύνοντες, ἔδεισε περὶ τῷ Πολέμῳ, ὅθεν ἐν
ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας διαθήκαις “ καὶ Πολέμων
ὁ σοφιστὴς ” ἔφη “ ξύμβουλος τῆς διανοίας ἐμοὶ
ταύτης ἐγένετο, ” τῷ καὶ χάριν ὡς εὐεργέτῃ πράτ-
τειν τὴν συγγνώμην ἐκ περιουσίας ἐτοιμάζων.

¹ The original Olympieion, begun about 530 B.C. by Peisistratus, was never completed. The existing temple was begun about 174 B.C. by Antiochus Epiphanes, was completed by Hadrian and dedicated A.D. 130.

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completed at last after an interval of five hundred and sixty years,¹ and when the Emperor consecrated it as a marvellous triumph of time, he invited Polemo also to make an oration at the sacrifice. He fixed his gaze, as was his custom, on the thoughts that were already taking their place in his mind, and then flung himself into his speech, and delivered a long and admirable discourse from the base of the temple. As the prooemium of his speech he declared that not without a divine impulse was he inspired to speak on that theme.

Moreover, the Emperor reconciled his own son Antoninus with Polemo, at the time when he handed over his sceptre and became a god instead of a mortal. I must relate how this happened. Antoninus was proconsul of the whole of Asia without exception, and once he took up his lodging in Polemo's house because it was the best in Smyrna and belonged to the most notable citizen. However, Polemo arrived home at night from a journey and raised an outcry at the door that he was outrageously treated in being shut out of his own house, and next he compelled Antoninus to move to another house. The Emperor was informed of this, but he held no inquiry into the affair, lest he should reopen the wound. But in considering what would happen after his death, and that even mild natures are often provoked by persons who are too aggressive and irritating, he became anxious about Polemo. Accordingly in his last testament on the affairs of the Empire, he wrote: "And Polemo, the sophist, advised me to make this arrangement." By this means he opened the way for him to win favour as a benefactor, and forgiveness enough and to spare. And in fact Antoninus used

καὶ ὁ Ἀντωνῖνος ἡστείζετο μὲν πρὸς τὸν Πολέ-
 μωνα περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν ἐνδεικνύμενός
 πού τὸ μὴ ἐκκληῆσθαι, ταῖς δὲ ἐκάστοτε τιμαῖς
 ἐπὶ μέγα ἦρεν ἐγγνώμενός που τὸ μὴ μεμνήσθαι.
 ἡστείζετο δὲ τάδε· ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἦκοντος τοῦ
 Πολέμωνος περιβαλὼν αὐτὸν Ἀντωνῖνος “δότε”
 ἔφη “Πολέμωνι καταγωγὴν, καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτὸν
 ἐκβάλλη.” ὑποκριτοῦ δὲ τραγωδίας ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ
 τὴν Ἀσίαν Ὀλυμπίων, οἷς ἐπεστάται ὁ Πολέμων,
 535 ἐφίεναι φήσαντος, ἐξελαθῆναι γὰρ παρ’ αὐτοῦ κατ’
 ἀρχὰς τοῦ δράματος, ἤρετο ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τὸν
 ὑποκριτὴν, πηνίκα εἶη, ὅτε τῆς σκηνῆς ἡλάβη,
 τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, ὡς μεσημβρία τυγχάνοι οὔσα,
 μάλα ἀστείως ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ “ἐμὲ δὲ” εἶπεν
 “ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐξήλασε τῆς οἰκίας, καὶ
 οὐκ ἐφῆκα.”

Ἐχέτω μοι καὶ ταῦτα δήλωσιν βασιλέως τε
 πράου καὶ ἀνδρὸς ὑπέρφρονος. ὑπέρφρων γὰρ δὴ
 οὕτω τι ὁ Πολέμων, ὡς πόλεσι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ προὔ-
 χοντος, δυνασταῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ ὑφειμένου, θεοῖς
 δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου διαλέγεσθαι. Ἀθηναίοις μὲν
 γὰρ ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτοσχεδίους λόγους, ὅτε καὶ
 πρῶτον Ἀθήναζε ἀφίκετο, οὐκ ἐς ἐγκώμια κατέ-
 στησεν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ ἄστεος, τοσοῦτων ὄντων, ἃ
 τις ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων ἂν εἶποι, οὐδ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυ-
 τοῦ δόξης ἐμακρηγόρησε, καίτοι καὶ τῆς τοιαύσδε
 ιδέας ὠφελούσης τοὺς σοφιστὰς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιδεί-
 ξεσιν, ἀλλ’ εὖ γινώσκων, ὅτι τὰς Ἀθηναίων
 φύσεις ἐπικόπτειν χρή μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπαίρειν διελέ-
 χθη ὧδε· “φασὶν ὑμᾶς, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, σοφοὺς

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to jest with Polemo about what had happened in Smyrna, thus showing that he had by no means forgotten it, though by the honours with which he exalted him on every occasion he seemed to pledge himself not to bear it in mind. This is the sort of jest he would make. When Polemo came to Rome, Antoninus embraced him, and then said: "Give Polemo a lodging and do not let anyone turn him out of it." And once when a tragic actor who had performed at the Olympic games in Asia, over which Polemo presided, declared that he would prosecute him, because Polemo had expelled him at the beginning of the play, the Emperor asked the actor what time it was when he was expelled from the theatre, and when he replied that it happened to be at noon, the Emperor made this witty comment: "But it was midnight when he expelled *me* from his house, and I did not prosecute him."

Let this suffice to show how mild an Emperor could be, and how arrogant a mere man. For in truth Polemo was so arrogant that he conversed with cities as his inferiors, Emperors as not his superiors, and the gods as his equals. For instance, when he gave a display to the Athenians of extempore speeches on first coming to Athens, he did not condescend to utter an encomium on the city, though there were so many things that one might say in honour of the Athenians; nor did he make a long oration about his own renown, although this style of speech is likely to win favour for sophists in their public declamations. But since he well knew that the natural disposition of the Athenians needs to be held in check rather than encouraged to greater pride, this was his introductory speech: "Men say, Athenians,

εἶναι ἀκροατὰς λόγων· εἶσομαι.” ἀνδρὸς δέ, ὃς ἦρχε μὲν Βοσπόρου, πᾶσαν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν παιδευσιν ἤρμοστο, καθ’ ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἰωνίας ἐς τὴν Σμύρναν ἦκοντος οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἔταξεν ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς θεραπεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεομένου ξυνεῖναί οἱ θαμὰ ἀνεβάλλετο, ἕως ἠνάγκασε τὸν βασιλέα ἐπὶ θύρας ἀφικέσθαι ἀπάγοντα μισθοῦ δέκα τάλαντα. ἦκων δὲ ἐς τὸ Πέργαμον, ὅτε δὴ τὰ ἄρθρα ἐνόσει, κατέδαρθε μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐπιστάντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ προειπόντος ἀπέχεσθαι ψυχροῦ ποτοῦ ὁ Πολέμων “ βέλτιστε,” εἶπεν “ εἰ δὲ βούῃν ἐθεράπευες; ”

Τὸ δὲ μεγαλόγνημον τοῦτο καὶ φρονηματῶδες ἐκ Τιμοκράτους ἔσπασε τοῦ φιλοσόφου, συγγενόμενος αὐτῷ ἦκοντι ἐς Ἰωνίαν ἐτῶν τεττάρων. οὐ χεῖρον δὲ καὶ τὸν Τιμοκράτην δηλῶσαι· ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ πατὴρ Ἡράκλεια τὰ Ἑλλήνων ἐπαινοῦντες; ἐφιλοσόφει δὲ κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν τοὺς ἱατρικοὺς τῶν λόγων, εἰδὼς εὖ τὰς Ἱπποκράτους τε καὶ Δημοκρίτου δόξας, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσεν Εὐφράτου τοῦ Τυρίου, πλήρεσιν ἰστίοις ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου φιλοσοφίαν ἀφῆκεν. ἐπιχολώτερος δὲ οὕτω τι ἦν τοῦ ξυμμέτρου, ὥς ὑπανίστασθαι αὐτῷ διαλεγομένῳ τὴν τε γενειάδα καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ χაίτας, ὥσπερ τῶν λεόντων ἐν ταῖς ὀρμαῖς. τῆς δὲ γλώττης εὐφόρως εἶχε καὶ σφοδρῶς καὶ ἐτοιμῶς, διὸ καὶ τῷ Πολέμωνι πλείστου ἦν ἄξιος ἀσπαζομένῳ τὴν τοιάνδε ἐπιφορὰν τοῦ λόγου. διαφορὰς γούν τῷ

¹ At this date there were kings of the Bosphorus under the protectorate of Rome.

² Lucian, *Demonax* 3, praises Timocrates.

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that as an audience you are accomplished judges of oratory. I shall soon find out." And once when the ruler of the Bosporus, a man who had been trained in all the culture of Greece, came to Smyrna in order to learn about Ionia, Polemo not only did not take his place among those who went to salute him, but even when the other begged him to visit him he postponed it again and again, until he compelled the king¹ to come to his door with a fee of ten talents. Again, when he came to Pergamon suffering from a disease of the joints, he slept in the temple, and when Asclepius appeared to him and told him to abstain from drinking anything cold, "My good sir," said Polemo, "but what if you were doctoring a cow?"

This proud and haughty temper he contracted from Timocrates² the philosopher, with whom he associated for four years when he came to Ionia. It would do no harm to describe Timocrates also. This man came from the Pontus and his birthplace was Heraclea whose citizens admire Greek culture. At first he devoted himself to the study of writings on medicine and was well versed in the theories of Hippocrates and Democritus. But when he had once heard Euphrates³ of Tyre, he set full sail for his kind of philosophy. He was irascible beyond measure, so much so that while he was arguing his beard and the hair on his head stood up like a lion's when it springs to the attack. His language was fluent, vigorous and ready, and it was on this account that Polemo, who loved this headlong style of oratory, valued him so highly. At any rate, when a quarrel arose between Timocrates

³ cf. p. 488 and *Life of Apollonius*, *passim*. Euphrates had much influence with Vespasian.

Τιμοκράτει πρὸς τὸν Σκοπελιανὸν γενομένης ὡς ἐκδεδωκότα ἑαυτὸν πίττη καὶ παρατιλτρίαις διέστη μὲν ἡ ἐνομιλοῦσα νεότης τῇ Σμύρνῃ, ὁ δὲ Πολέμων ἀμφοῖν ἀκροώμενος τῶν τοῦ Τιμοκράτους στασιωτῶν ἐγένετο πατέρα καλῶν αὐτὸν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γλώττης. ἀπολογούμενος δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πρὸς Φαβωρίνον λόγων εὐλαβῶς ὑπέστειλε καὶ ὑφειμένως, ὥσπερ τῶν παίδων οἱ τὰς ἐκ τῶν διδασκάλων πληγὰς, εἴ τι ἀτακτῆσειαν, δεδιότες.

Τῷ δὲ ὑφειμένῳ τούτῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σκοπελιανὸν ἐχρήσατο χρόνῳ ὕστερον, πρεσβεύειν μὲν χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῶν Σμυρναίων, ὡς ὄπλα δὲ Ἀχίλλεια τὴν ἐκείνου πειθῶ αἰτήσας. Ἡρώδῃ δὲ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ πῇ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑφειμένου, πῇ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπεραίροντος ξυνεγένετο. ὅπως δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔσχε, δηλῶσαι βούλομαι, καλὰ γὰρ καὶ μεμνήσθαι ἄξια. ἦρα μὲν γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοσχεδιάζειν ὁ Ἡρώδης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ὑπατός τε καὶ ἐξ ὑπάτων δοκεῖν, τὸν Πολέμονα δὲ οὐπω γιγνώ-
 537 σκων ἀφίκτο μὲν ἐς τὴν Σμύρναν ἐπὶ ξυνουσίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κατὰ χρόνους, οὓς τὰς ἐλευθέραις τῶν πόλεων αὐτὸς διωρθεῖτο, περιβαλὼν δὲ καὶ ὑπερασπασάμενος ὁμοῦ τῷ τὸ στόμα ἀφελεῖν τοῦ στόματος “πότε,” εἶπεν “ὦ πάτερ, ἀκροασόμεθά σου;” καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ ᾤετο ἀναβαλεῖσθαι αὐτὸν τὴν ἀκρόασιν ὀκνεῖν φήσαντα ἐπ’ ἀνδρὸς τοιούτου ἀποκινδυνεύειν, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν πλασάμενος “τῆμερον” ἔφη “ἀκροῶ, καὶ ἴωμεν.” τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐκπλαγῆναί φησι τὸν ἄνδρα,

¹ This was a mark of effeminacy and foppishness.

² This incident is described above, p. 521.

³ See p. 548.

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and Scopelian, because the latter had become addicted to the use of pitch-plasters and professional "hair-removers,"¹ the youths who were then residing in Smyrna took different sides, but Polemo, who was the pupil of both men, became one of the faction of Timocrates and called him "the father of my eloquence." And when he was defending himself before Timocrates for his speeches against Favorinus, he cowered before him in awe and submission, like boys who fear blows from their teachers when they have been disobedient.

This same humility Polemo showed also towards Scopelian somewhat later, when he was elected to go on an embassy on behalf of Smyrna, and begged for Scopelian's power of persuasion as though it were the arms of Achilles.² His behaviour to Herodes the Athenian was in one way submissive and in another arrogant. I wish to relate how this came about, for it is a good story and worth remembering. Herodes, you must know, felt a keener desire to succeed in extempore speaking than to be called a consul and the descendant of consuls, and so, before he was acquainted with Polemo, he came to Smyrna in order to study with him. It was at the time when Herodes alone³ was regulating the status of the free cities. When he had embraced Polemo and saluted him very affectionately by kissing him on the mouth, he asked: "Father, when shall I hear you declaim?" Now Herodes thought that he would put off the declamation and would say that he hesitated to run any risks in the presence of so great a man, but Polemo, without any such pretext, replied: "Hear me declaim to-day, and let us be going." Herodes says that when he heard this, he was struck with admiration

ὥς καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτοσχέδιον καὶ τὴν γνώμην. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν φρόνημα ἐνδείκνυται τοῦ ἀνδρός καί, νῆ Δία, σοφίαν, ἥ ἐς τὴν ἑκπληξιν ἐχρήσατο, ἐκεῖνα δὲ σωφροσύνην τε καὶ κόσμον· ἀφικόμενον γὰρ ἐς τὴν ἐπίδειξιν ἐδέξατο ἐπαίνῳ μακρῶ καὶ ἐπαξίῳ τῶν Ἡρώδου λόγων τε καὶ ἔργων.

Τὴν δὲ σκηνὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἥ ἐς τὰς μελέτας ἐχρήσατο, ἔστι μὲν καὶ Ἡρώδου μαθεῖν ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Βάρον ἐπιστολῶν εἰρημένον,¹ δηλώσω δὲ καὶ ἐκείθεν· παρῆει μὲν ἐς τὰς ἐπιδείξεις διακεχυμένῳ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ τεθαρρηκότη, φοράδην δὲ ἐσεφοίτα διεφθορότων αὐτῷ ἡδὴ τῶν ἄρθρων. καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις οὐκ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐπεσκοπεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐξίων τοῦ ὁμίλου βραχὺν καιρόν. φθέγμα δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ λαμπρὸν καὶ ἐπίτονον καὶ κρότος θαυμάσιος οἷος ἀπεκτύπει τῆς γλώττης. φησὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡρώδης καὶ ἀναπηδᾶν τοῦ θρόνου περὶ τὰς ἀκμὰς τῶν ὑποθέσεων, τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ περιεῖναι ὀρμῆς, καὶ ὅτε ἀποτορνεύοι περίοδον, τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αὐτῆς κῶλον σὺν μειδιάματι φέρειν, ἐνδεικνύμενον πολὺ τὸ ἀλύπως φράζειν, καὶ κροαίνειν ἐν τοῖς τῶν ὑποθέσεων χωρίοις
 538 οὐδὲν μείον τοῦ Ὀμηρικοῦ ἵππου. ἀκροᾶσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν πρώτην, ὥς οἱ δικάζοντες, τὴν δὲ ἐφεξῆς, ὥς οἱ ἐρῶντες, τὴν δὲ τρίτην, ὥς οἱ θαυμάζοντες, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ξυγγενέσθαι οἱ. ἀναγράφει καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις ὁ Ἡρώδης, ἐφ' αἷς ξυνεγένετο· ἦν τοίνυν ἡ μὲν πρώτη Δημο-

¹ ἐπιστολῇ εἰρημένων Kayser; ἐπιστολῶν εἰρημένον Cobet.

¹ See Glossary s.v. σκηνή.

² *Iliad* vi. 507.

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of the man and the ready facility both of his tongue and brain. This incident illustrates Polemo's pride and, by Zeus, the cleverness with which he was wont to dazzle his hearers, but the following shows equally his modesty and sense of propriety. For when the other arrived to hear him declaim, he received him with a long and appropriate panegyric on the words and deeds of Herodes.

The scenic effects¹ which he employed in his declamations we may learn from Herodes, since they are described in one of the letters that he wrote to Varus, and I will relate them from that source. He would come forward to declaim with a countenance serene and full of confidence, and he always arrived in a litter, because his joints were already diseased. When a theme had been proposed, he did not meditate on it in public but would withdraw from the crowd for a short time. His utterance was clear and incisive, and there was a fine ringing sound in the tones of his voice. Herodes says also that he used to rise to such a pitch of excitement that he would jump up from his chair when he came to the most striking conclusions in his argument, and whenever he rounded off a period he would utter the final clause with a smile, as though to show clearly that he could deliver it without effort, and at certain places in the argument he would stamp the ground just like the horse in Homer.² Herodes adds that he listened to his first declamation like an impartial judge, to the second like one who longs for more, to the third as one who can but admire; and that he attended his lectures for three days. Moreover, Herodes has recorded the themes of the declamations at which he was present. The first was :

σθένης ἑξομνύμενος ταλάντων πεντήκοντα δωροδοκίαν, ἣν ἤγεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν Δημάδης, ὡς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦτο Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ τῶν Δαρείου λογισμῶν ἐπεσταλκότης, ἣ δὲ ἐφεξῆς τὰ τρόπαια κατέλυε τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ τοῦ Πελοποννησίου πολέμου ἐς διαλλαγὰς ἤκοντος, ἣ δὲ τρίτῃ τῶν ὑποθέσεων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μετὰ Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς ἐς τοὺς δήμους ἀνεσκεύαζεν· ὑπὲρ οὗ φησιν ὁ Ἡρώδης πέμψαι οἱ πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας προσειπὼν αὐτὰς μισθὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως, μὴ προσεμένου δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπερῶφθαι οἴεσθαι, ξυμπίνοντα δὲ αὐτῷ Μουνάτιον τὸν κριτικόν, ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἐκ Τραλλέων, “ὦ Ἡρώδη,” φάναι “δοκεῖ μοι Πολέμων ὄνειροπολήσας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας παρὰ τοῦτ' ἔλαττον ἔχειν ἡγεῖσθαι, παρ' ὃ μὴ τοσαύτας ἔπεμψας.” προσθεῖναί φησιν ὁ Ἡρώδης τὰς δέκα καὶ τὸν Πολέμωνα προθύμως λαβεῖν, ὥσπερ ἀπολαμβάνοντα. ἔδωκε τῷ Πολέμωνι ὁ Ἡρώδης καὶ τὸ μὴ παρελθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐς λόγων ἐπιδειξιν, μηδ' ἐπαγωνίσασθαι οἱ, νύκτωρ δὲ ἐξελάσαι τῆς Σμύρνης, ὡς μὴ βιασθεῖν, θρασὺ γὰρ καὶ τὸ βιασθῆναι ᾤετο. διετέλει δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐπαινῶν τὸν Πολέμωνα καὶ ὑπερθαυμάζων.¹ Ἀθήνησι μὲν γὰρ διαπρεπῶς ἀγωνισάμενος τὸν περὶ τῶν τροπαίων ἀγῶνα καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ἐπὶ

¹ ὑπὲρ θαῦμα ἀγων Kayser; ὑπερθαυμάζων Cobet.

¹ Apsines 219 mentions this theme, and it was also declaimed by Herodes, cf. p. 539. The argument was that there must not be permanent monuments of Greek victories over Greeks.

² This theme is similar to that of Isocrates mentioned

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"Demosthenes swears that he did not take the bribe of fifty talents," the charge which Demades brought against him, on the ground that Alexander had communicated this fact to the Athenians, having learned it from the account-books of Darius. In the second, on the conclusion of peace after the Peloponnesian war, he urged: "That the trophies erected by the Greeks should be taken down."¹ The third argument was to persuade the Athenians to return to their demes after the battle of Aegospotami.² Herodes says that in payment for this he sent him 150,000 drachmae, and called this the fee for his lectures. But since he did not accept it, Herodes thought that he had been treated with contempt, but Munatius the critic, when drinking with him (this man came from Tralles), remarked: "Herodes, I think that Polemo dreamed of 250,000 drachmae, and so thinks that he is being stinted because you did not send so large a sum." Herodes says that he added the 100,000 drachmae, and that Polemo took the money without the least hesitation, as though he were receiving only what was his due. Herodes gave Polemo leave not to appear after him to give an exhibition of his oratory, and not to have to maintain a theme after him, and allowed him to depart from Smyrna by night, lest he should be compelled to do this, since Polemo thought it outrageous to be compelled to do anything. And from that time forward he never failed to commend Polemo, and to think him beyond praise. For instance, in Athens, when Herodes had brilliantly maintained the argument about the war trophies, and was being complimented on the fluency and

above, p. 505; it was designed to induce the Athenians to renounce their empire of the sea.

PHILOSTRATUS

τῇ φορᾷ τοῦ λόγου “ τὴν Πολέμωνος ” ἔφη “ μελέ-
την ἀνάγνωτε καὶ εἴσεσθε ἄνδρα.” Ὀλυμπίασι δὲ
βοησάσης ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος “ εἰς ὡς Δημο-
σθένης,” “ εἶθε γάρ ” ἔφη “ ὡς ὁ Φρύξ,” τὸν
Πολέμωνα ὧδε ἐπονομάζων, ἐπειδὴ τότε ἡ Λαο-
δίκεια τῇ Φρυγίᾳ συνετάττετο. Μάρκου δὲ τοῦ
αὐτοκράτορος πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος “ τί σοι δοκεῖ
ὁ Πολέμων; ” στήσας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ Ἡρώδης
ἱππων μ’

ἔφη

ὠκυπόδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος οὐατα βάλλει,

ἐνδεικνύμενος δὴ τὸ ἐπίκροτον καὶ τὸ ὑψηλὸς τῶν
λόγων. ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Βάρου τοῦ ὑπάτου,
τίσι καὶ διδασκάλοις ἐχρήσατο, “ τῷ δεῖνι μὲν
καὶ τῷ δεῖνι ” ἔφη “ παιδευόμενος, Πολέμωνι δὲ
ἤδη παιδεύων.”

Φησὶν ὁ Πολέμων ἠκροᾶσθαι καὶ Δίωνα¹ ἀπο-
δημίαν ὑπὲρ τούτου στείλας ἐς τὸ τῶν Βιθυνῶν
ἔθνος. ἔλεγε δὲ ὁ Πολέμων τὰ μὲν τῶν κατα-
λογάδην ὥμοις² δεῖν ἐκφέρειν, τὰ δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν
ἀμάξαις. κακεῖνα τῶν Πολέμωνι τιμὴν ἐχόντων
ἤριζεν ἡ Σμύρνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ναῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπ’
αὐτοῖς δικαίων, ξύνδικον πεποιημένη τὸν Πολέ-
μωνα ἐς τέρμα ἤδη τοῦ βίου ἦκοντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν
ὁρμῇ τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων ἀποδημίας ἐτελεύτησεν,
ἐγένετο μὲν ἐπ’ ἄλλοις ξυνδίκοις ἡ πόλις, πονηρῶς
540 δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ δικαστηρίῳ διατιθεμένων
τὸν λόγον βλέψας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐς τοὺς τῶν

¹ Δίωνος Kayser; Δίωνα Schmid.

² ὄνοις, “on the backs of asses,” Prof. Margoliouth suggests.

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vigour of his speech, he said: "Read Polemo's declamation, and then you will know a great man." And at the Olympic games when all Greece acclaimed him, crying: "You are the equal of Demosthenes!" he replied: "I wish I were the equal of the Phrygian," applying this name to Polemo because in those days Laodicea counted as part of Phrygia. When the Emperor Marcus asked him: "What is your opinion of Polemo?" Herodes gazed fixedly before him and said:

The sound of swift-footed horses strikes upon mine ears;¹ thus indicating how resonant and far-echoing was his eloquence. And when Varus the consul asked him what teachers he had had, he replied: "This man and that, while I was being taught, but Polemo, when I was teaching others."

Polemo says that he studied also with Dio, and that in order to do so he paid a visit to the people of Bithynia. He used to say that the works of prose writers needed to be brought out² by armfuls, but the works of poets by the wagon-load. Among the honours that he received were also the following. Smyrna was contending on behalf of her temples and their rights, and when he had already reached the last stage of his life, appointed Polemo as one of her advocates. But since he died at the very outset of the journey to defend those rights, the city was entrusted to other advocates. Before the imperial tribunal they presented their case very badly, whereupon the Emperor looked towards the counsel from

¹ *Iliad* x. 535.

² The meaning of the verb is obscure, but as "bury" and "publish" are improbable, Polemo seems to mean that the student, for his training as a sophist, must take out from his store of books more poets than prose writers.

Σμυρναίων ξυνηγόρους “ οὐ Πολέμων ” εἶπεν
 “ τουτουὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ξύνδικος ὑμῖν ἀπεδέδεικτο; ”
 “ ναί, ” ἔφασαν “ εἴ γε τὸν σοφιστὴν λέγεις. ” καὶ
 ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ “ ἴσως οὖν ” ἔφη “ καὶ λόγον τινὰ
 ξυνέγραψεν ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων, οἷα δὴ ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ τε
 ἀγωνιούμενος καὶ ὑπὲρ τηλικούτων. ” “ ἴσως, ”
 ἔφασαν, “ ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐ μὴν ἡμῖν γε εἰδέναι. ” καὶ
 ἔδωκεν ἀναβολὰς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τῇ δίκῃ, ἔστ’ ἂν
 διακομισθῇ ὁ λόγος, ἀναγνωσθέντος δὲ ἐν τῷ
 δικαστηρίῳ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ
 ἀπῆλθεν ἡ Σμύρνα τὰ πρωτεῖα νικῶσα καὶ τὸν
 Πολέμωνα αὐτοῖς ἀναβεβιωκέναι φάσκοντες.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐλλογίμων ἀξιομνημόνευτα οὐ
 μόνον τὰ μετὰ σπουδῆς λεχθέντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν
 ταῖς παιδιαῖς, ἀναγράψω καὶ τοὺς ἀστεισμοὺς τοῦ
 Πολέμωνος, ὥς μηδὲ οὗτοι παραλελειμμένοι φαί-
 νοιντο. μειράκιον Ἰωνικὸν ἐτρύφα κατὰ τὴν Σμύρ-
 ναν ὑπὲρ τὰ Ἰώνων ἦθη, καὶ ἀπώλλυ αὐτὸ πλοῦτος
 βαθύς, ὅσπερ ἐστὶ πονηρὸς διδάσκαλος τῶν ἀκολά-
 στων φύσεων. ὄνομα μὲν δὴ τῷ μειρακίῳ Οὐᾶρος,
 διεφθορὸς δὲ ὑπὸ κολάκων ἐπεπεῖκει αὐτὸ ἑαυτὸ
 ὥς καλῶν τε εἶη ὁ κάλλιστος καὶ μέγας ὑπὲρ τοὺς
 εὐμήκεις καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ παλαίστραν γενναιότατός τε
 καὶ τεχνικώτατος καὶ μηδ’ ἂν τὰς Μούσας ἀναβάλ-
 λεσθαι αὐτοῦ ἥδιον, ὁπότε πρὸς τὸ ἄδειν τράποιτο.
 παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν
 ᾤετο, παριππεῦσαι γὰρ ἂν καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων γλώττας,
 ὁπότε μελετῶη, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμελέτα, καὶ οἱ

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Smyrna and said : " Had not Polemo been appointed as your public advocate in this suit ? " " Yes," they replied, " if you mean the sophist. " " Then, perhaps," said the Emperor, " he wrote down some speech in defence of your rights, inasmuch as he was to speak for the defence in my presence and on behalf of such great issues. " " Perhaps, O Emperor," they replied, " but not as far as we know. " Whereupon the Emperor adjourned the case until the speech could be brought, and when it had been read aloud in court the Emperor gave his decision in accordance with it ; and so Smyrna carried off the victory, and the citizens departed declaring that Polemo had come to life to help them.

Now inasmuch as, when men have become illustrious, not only what they said in earnest but also what they said in jest is worthy of record, I will write down Polemo's witticisms also, so that I may not seem to have neglected even them. There was an Ionian youth who was indulging in a life of dissipation at Smyrna to a degree not customary with the Ionians, and was being ruined by his great wealth, which is a vicious teacher of ill-regulated natures. Now the youth's name was Varus, and he had been so spoiled by parasites that he had convinced himself that he was the fairest of the fair, the tallest of the tall, and the noblest and most expert of the youths at the wrestling-ground, and that not even the Muses could strike up a prelude more sweetly than he, whenever he had a mind to sing. He had the same notions about the sophists ; that is to say, that he could outstrip even their tongues whenever he declaimed—and he actually used to declaim—and those who borrowed money

δανειζόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ χρήματα τὸ καὶ μελε-
 τῶντος ἀκροάσασθαι προσέγραφον τῷ τόκῳ. ὑπή-
 γετο δὲ καὶ ὁ Πολέμων τῷ δασμῷ τούτῳ νέος ὢν
 541 ἔτι καὶ οὕτω νοσῶν, δεδάνειστο γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῦ
 χρήματα, καὶ ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐθεράπευε, μηδὲ ἐς τὰς
 ἀκροάσεις ἐφοίτα, χαλεπὸν ἦν τὸ μειράκιον καὶ
 ἡπείλει τύπους. οἱ δὲ τύποι γράμμα εἰσὶν ἀγορᾶς,
 ἐρήμην ἐπαγγέλλον τῷ οὐκ ἀποδιδόντι. αἰτιω-
 μένων οὖν τὸν Πολέμονα τῶν οἰκείων, ὥς ἀηδῆ καὶ
 δύστροπον, εἰ παρὸν αὐτῷ μὴ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ
 μειράκιον ἐκκαρποῦσθαι παρέχοντα αὐτῷ νεῦμα
 εὖνουν μὴ ποιεῖ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἐκκαλεῖται αὐτὸ καὶ
 παροξύνει, τοιαῦτα ἀκούων ἀπήντησε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν
 ἀκρόασιν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς δειλὴν ἤδη ὀψίαν τὰ τῆς
 μελέτης αὐτῷ προὔβαινε καὶ οὐδεὶς ὄρμος ἐφαίνετο
 τοῦ λόγου, σολοικισμῶν τε καὶ βαρβαρισμῶν καὶ
 ἐναντιώσεων πλέα ἦν πάντα, ἀναπηδήσας ὁ Πολέ-
 μων καὶ ὑποσχὼν τῷ χεῖρι "Οὔαρε," εἶπεν
 "φέρε τοὺς τύπους." ληστὴν δὲ πολλὰς αἰτίαις
 ἐαλωκότα στρεβλοῦντος ἀνθυπάτου καὶ ἀπορεῖν
 φάσκοντος, τίς γένοιτ' ἂν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τιμωρία τῶν
 εἰργασμένων ἀξία, παρατυχὼν ὁ Πολέμων "κέλευ-
 σον" ἔφη "αὐτὸν ἀρχαῖα ἐκμανθάνειν." καίτοι
 γὰρ πλεῖστα ἐκμαθὼν ὁ σοφιστὴς οὗτος ὅμως ἐπι-
 πονώτατον ἡγεῖτο τῶν ἐν ἀσκήσει τὸ ἐκμανθάνειν.
 ἰδὼν δὲ μονόμαχον ἰδρῶτι ῥέομενον καὶ δεδιότα
 τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα "οὕτως" εἶπεν "ἀγω-
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from him used to reckon their attendance at his declamations as part of the interest. Even Polemo, when he was still a young man and not yet an invalid, was induced to pay this tribute, for he had borrowed money from him, and when he did not pay court to him or attend his lectures, the youth resented it and threatened him with a summons to recover the debt. This summons is a writ issued by the law court proclaiming judgement by default against the debtor who fails to pay. Thereupon his friends reproached Polemo with being morose and discourteous, seeing that when he could avoid being sued and could profit by the young man's money by merely giving him an amiable nod of approval, he would not do this, but provoked and irritated him. Hearing this sort of thing said, he did indeed come to the lecture, but when, late in the evening, the youth's declamation was still going on, and no place of anchorage for his speech was in sight, and everything he said was full of solecisms, barbarisms, and inconsistencies, Polemo jumped up, and stretching out his hands, cried: "Varus, bring your summons." On another occasion, when the consul was putting to the torture a bandit who had been convicted on several charges, and declared that he could not think of any penalty for him that would match his crimes, Polemo who was present said: "Order him to learn by heart some antiquated stuff." For though this sophist had learned by heart a great number of passages, he nevertheless considered that this is the most wearisome of all exercises. Again, on seeing a gladiator dripping with sweat out of sheer terror of the life-and-death struggle before him, he remarked: "You are in as great an agony

νιάς, ὡς μελετᾶν μέλλων.” σοφιστῇ δὲ ἐντυχὼν ἀλλᾶντας ὠνούμενῳ καὶ μαινίδας καὶ τὰ εὐτελῆ ὄψα “ ὦ λῶστε,” εἶπεν “ οὐκ ἔστι τὸ Δαρείου καὶ Ξέρξου φρόνημα καλῶς ὑποκρίνασθαι ταῦτα σιτουμένῳ.” Τιμοκράτους δὲ τοῦ φιλοσόφου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, ὡς λάλον χρῆμα ὁ Φαβωρίνος γένοιτο, ἀστειότατα ὁ Πολέμων “ καὶ πᾶσα ” ἔφη “ γραῦς ” τὸ εὐνουχῶδες αὐτοῦ διασκώπτων. ἀγωνιστοῦ δὲ τραγωδίας ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν Ὀλυμπίοις τὸ “ ὦ Ζεῦ ” ἐς τὴν γῆν δείξαντος, τὸ δὲ “ καὶ γὰρ ” ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχόντος, προκαθήμενος τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ὁ Πολέμων ἐξέωσεν αὐτὸν 542 τῶν ἄθλων εἰπὼν “ οὗτος τῇ χειρὶ ἐσολοίκισεν.” μὴ πλείω ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἀπόχρη γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα τὸ ἐπίχαρι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δηλῶσαι.

Ἡ δὲ ἰδέα τῶν Πολέμωνος λόγων θερμὴ καὶ ἐναγώνιος καὶ τορὸν ἡχοῦσα, ὥσπερ ἡ Ὀλυμπιακὴ σάλπιγξ, ἐπιπρέπει δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ Δημοσθενικὸν τῆς γνώμης, καὶ ἡ σεμνολογία οὐχ ὑπτία, λαμπρὰ δὲ καὶ ἔμπνους, ὥσπερ ἐκ τρίποδος. διαμαρτάνουσι μέντοι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φάσκοντες αὐτὸν τὰς μὲν ἐπιφορὰς ἄριστα σοφιστῶν μεταχειρίσασθαι, τὰς δὲ ἀπολογίας ἥττον, ἐλέγχει γὰρ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ καὶ ἡ δεῖνα μὲν καὶ ἡ δεῖνα τῶν ὑποθέσεων, ἐν αἷς ἀπολογεῖται, μάλιστα δὲ ὁ Δημοσθένης ὁ τὰ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἐξομνύμενος. ἀπολογίαν γὰρ οὕτω χαλεπὴν διαθέμενος ἤρκεσε τῷ λόγῳ ξὺν περιβολῇ καὶ τέχνῃ. τὴν αὐτὴν ὁρῶ διαμαρτίαν καὶ

¹ From Euripides, *Orestes* 1496.

² i.e. by an oracle.

³ For this theme cf. Apsines ix. 535.

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as though you were going to declaim." Again, when he met a sophist who was buying sausages, sprats, and other cheap dainties of that sort, he said: "My good sir, it is impossible for one who lives on this diet to act convincingly the arrogance of Darius and Xerxes." When Timocrates the philosopher remarked to him that Favorinus had become a chatter-box, Polemo said wittily: "And so is every old woman," thus making fun of him for being like a eunuch. Again, when a tragic actor at the Olympic games in Smyrna pointed to the ground as he uttered the words, "O Zeus!"¹ then raised his hands to heaven at the words, "and Earth!" Polemo, who was presiding at the Olympic games, expelled him from the contest, saying: "The fellow has committed a solecism with his hand." I will say no more on this subject, for this is enough to illustrate the charming wit of the man.

Polemo's style of eloquence is passionate, combative, and ringing to the echo, like the trumpet at the Olympic games. The Demosthenic cast of his thought lends it distinction and a gravity which is not dull or inert but brilliant and inspired, as though delivered from the tripod.² But they fail to understand the man who say that he handles invective more skilfully than any other sophist, but is less skilful in making a defence. Such a criticism is proved to be untrue by this and that declamation in which he speaks for the defence, but especially by the speech in which Demosthenes swears that he did not accept the fifty talents.³ For in establishing a defence so difficult to make, his ornate rhetoric and technical skill were fully equal to the argument. I observe the same error in the case of those who

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περὶ τοὺς ἡγουμένους αὐτὸν ἐκφέρεισθαι τῶν ἐσχηματισμένων ὑποθέσεων εἰργόμενον τοῦ δρόμου, καθάπερ ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ ἵππον, παραιτούμενόν τε αὐτὰς τὰς Ὀμηρείους γνώμας εἰπεῖν

ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Ἀίδαο πύλησιν,
ὅς χ' ἑτέρον μὲν κεύθη ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἵπη,

ταῦτα γὰρ ἴσως ἔλεγεν αἰνιττόμενος καὶ παραδηλῶν τὸ δύστροπον τῶν τοιούτων ὑποθέσεων, ἄριστα δὲ κάκεῖνα ἡγωνίσαστο, ὡς δηλοῦσιν ὃ τε μοιχὸς ὁ ἔκκεκαλυμμένος¹ καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὁ ἀξίων ἀποθνήσκειν ἐπὶ Σωκράτει καὶ ὁ Σόλων ὁ αἰτῶν ἀπαλείφειν τοὺς νόμους λαβόντος τὴν φρουρὰν τοῦ Πεισιστράτου καὶ οἱ Δημοσθένεις τρεῖς, ὁ μετὰ Χαιρώνειαν προσαγγέλλων² ἑαυτὸν καὶ ὁ δοκῶν
543 θανάτου ἑαυτῷ τιμᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀρπαλείοις καὶ ὁ ξυμβουλευὼν ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων φεύγειν ἐπιόντος μὲν Φιλίππου, νόμον δὲ Αἰσχίνου κεκυρωκότος ἀποθνήσκειν τὸν πολέμου μνημονεύσαντα. ἐν γὰρ ταύταις μάλιστα τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ σχῆμα προηγμένων ἡνία τε ἐμβέβληται τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὸ ἐπαμφοτέρον αἰ διάνοιαι σώζουσιν.

Ἰατροῖς δὲ θαμὰ ὑποκείμενος λιθιῶντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἄρθρων παρεκελεύετο αὐτοῖς ὀρύττειν καὶ τέμνειν τὰς Πολέμωνος λιθοτομίας. Ἡρώδης δὲ ἐπι-

¹ Cobet suggests *ἐγκεκαλυμμένος*, "veiled," as more suitable for an "ambiguous" speech.

² *προσάγων* Kayser; *προσαγγέλλων* Wright, cf. p. 522.

¹ See Glossary.

² *Iliad* ix. 312.

³ Solon's efforts to check the tyranny of Peisistratus are described by Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* xiv. 2, Plutarch, *Solon*, and elsewhere; but this precise incident is not recorded. For the bodyguard see Herodotus i. 59.

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hold that he was not qualified to sustain simulated arguments,¹ but was forced off the course like a horse for whom the ground is too rough, and that he deprecated the use of these themes when he quoted the maxim of Homer :

For hateful to me even as the gates of hell is he that hideth one thing in his heart and uttereth another.²

Perhaps he used to say this with a double meaning, and to illustrate by this allusion how intractable are such themes; nevertheless, these too he sustained with great skill, as is evident from his *Adulterer Unmasked* or his *Xenophon refuses to survive Socrates*; or his *Solon demands that his laws be rescinded after Peisistratus has obtained a bodyguard*.³ Then there are the three on Demosthenes, the first where he denounced himself after Chaeronea,⁴ the second in which he pretends that he ought to be punished with death for the affair of Harpalus, lastly that in which he advises the Athenians to flee on their triremes at the approach of Philip,⁵ though Aeschines had carried a law that anyone who mentioned the war should be put to death. For in these more than any other of the simulated themes that he produced, he has given free reins to the argument, and yet the ideas preserve the effect of presenting both sides.

When the doctors were regularly attending him for hardening of the joints, he exhorted them to "dig and carve in the stone-quarries of Polemo." And in writing to Herodes about this disease he

¹ For this theme, a "simulated argument" like the one that follows, see p. 522.

² This was perhaps modelled on the famous rhetorical theme in which Themistocles gives similar advice in the Persian war.

στέλλων ὑπὲρ τῆς νόσου ταύτης ὥδε ἐπέστειλεν·
 “δεῖ ἐσθίειν, χεῖρας οὐκ ἔχω· δεῖ βαδίζειν, πόδες
 οὐκ εἰσὶ μοι· δεῖ ἀλγεῖν, τότε καὶ πόδες εἰσὶ μοι
 καὶ χεῖρες.”

Ἐτελεύτα μὲν περὶ τὰ ἑξ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτη,
 τὸ δὲ μέτρον τῆς ἡλικίας τοῦτο ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις
 ἐπιστήμασι γήρως ἀρχή, σοφιστῇ δὲ νεότης ἔτι,
 γηράσκουσα γὰρ ἦδε ἡ ἐπιστήμη σοφίαν ἀρτύνει.

Τάφος δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν οὐδεὶς, εἰ καὶ
 πλείους λέγονται· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ τοῦ τῆς
 Ἀρετῆς ἱεροῦ ταφῆναι αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ οὐ πόρρω τού-
 του ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, νεὼς δέ τις ἐστὶ βραχὺς καὶ
 ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ Πολέμωνος ἐσταλμένον, ὡς ἐπὶ
 τῆς τριήρους ὠργίαζεν, ὑφ’ ᾧ κεῖσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, οἱ
 δὲ ἐν τῇ τῆς οἰκίας αὐλῇ ὑπὸ τοῖς χαλκοῖς ἀν-
 δριᾶσιν. ἔστι δὲ οὐδέν τούτων ἀληθές, εἰ γὰρ
 ἐτελεύτα κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν, οὐδενὸς ἂν τῶν
 θαυμασίων παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἱερῶν ἀπηξιώθη τὸ μὴ οὐκ
 ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖσθαι. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνα ἀληθέστερα, κεῖσθαι
 μὲν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Λαοδικείᾳ παρὰ τὰς Συρίας πύλας,
 οὐ δὴ καὶ τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ θῆκαι, ταφῆναι δὲ
 αὐτὸν ζῶντα ἔτι, τουτὶ γὰρ τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἐπι-
 544 σκῆψαι, κείμενόν τε ἐν τῷ σήματι παρακελεύεσθαι
 τοῖς συγκλείουσι τὸν τάφον “ἔπειγε, ἔπειγε,¹ μὴ
 γὰρ ἴδοι με σιωπῶντα ἥλιος.” πρὸς δὲ τοὺς
 οἰκείους ὀλοφυρομένους αὐτὸν ἀνεβόησε· “δότε
 μοι σῶμα καὶ μελετήσομαι.”

Μέχρι Πολέμωνος τὰ Πολέμωνος, οἱ γὰρ ἐπ’

¹ ἔπαγε, ἔπαγε Kayser; ἔπειγε, ἔπειγε Cobet.

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sent this bulletin: "I must eat, but I have no hands; I must walk, but I have no feet; I must endure pain, and then I find I have both feet and hands."

When he died he was about fifty-six years old, but this age-limit, though for the other learned professions it is the beginning of senility, for a sophist still counts as youthfulness, since in this profession a man's knowledge grows more adaptable with advancing age.

He has no tomb in Smyrna, though several there are said to be his. For some say that he was buried in the garden of the temple of Virtue; others, not far from that place near the sea, and there is a small temple thereabouts with a statue of Polemo in it, arrayed as he was when he performed the sacred rites on the trireme, and beneath his statue they say that the man himself lies; while others say that he was buried in the courtyard of his house under the bronze statues. But none of these accounts is true, for if he had died in Smyrna there is not one of the marvellous temples in that city in which he would have been deemed unworthy to lie. But yet another version is nearer the truth, namely that he lies at Laodicea near the Syrian gate, where, in fact, are the sepulchres of his ancestors; that he was buried while still alive, for so he had enjoined on his nearest and dearest; and that, as he lay in the tomb, he thus exhorted those who were shutting up the sepulchre: "Make haste, make haste! Never shall the sun behold me reduced to silence!" And when his friends wailed over him, he cried with a loud voice: "Give me a body and I will declaim!"

With Polemo ended the house of Polemo, for his

αὐτῷ γενόμενοι ξυγγενεῖς μὲν, οὐ μὴν οἱοι πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρετὴν ἐξετάζεσθαι, πλὴν ἐνὸς ἀνδρός, περὶ οὗ μικρὸν ὕστερον λέξω.

κς'. Μηδὲ Σεκούνδου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ἀμνημονῶμεν, ὃν ἐκάλουν ἐπίουρόν τινες ὡς τέκτονος παῖδα. Σεκούνδος τοίνυν ὁ σοφιστὴς γνῶναι μὲν περιττός, ἐρμηνεύσαι δὲ ἀπέρिटτος, Ἡρώδην δὲ ἐκπαιδεύσας ἐς διαφορὰν αὐτῷ ἀφίκετο παιδεύοντι ἤδη, ὅθεν ὁ Ἡρώδης διετώθαιζεν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνο ἐπιλέγων·

καὶ κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ ῥήτορι τέκτων,

ἀλλ' ἀποθανόντι καὶ λόγον ἐπεφθέγγετο καὶ δάκρυα ἐπέδωκε καίτοι γηραιῷ τελευτήσαντι.

545 Μνήμης δὲ ἄξια τοῦ ἀνδρός τούτου καὶ πλείω μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ ἦδε ἡ ὑπόθεσις· “ ὁ ἄρξας στάσεως ἀποθνησκέτω καὶ ὁ παύσας στάσιν ἐχέτω δωρεάν· ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἄρξας καὶ παύσας αἰτεῖ τὴν δωρεάν.” τήνδε τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ὥδε ἐβραχυλόγησεν· “ οὐκοῦν ” ἔφη “ τί πρότερον; τὸ κινῆσαι στάσιν. τί δεύτερον; τὸ παῦσαι. δούς οὖν τὴν ἐφ' οἷς ἡδίκηις τιμωρίαν, τὴν ἐφ' οἷς εὖ πεποίηκας δωρεάν, εἰ δύνασαι, λάβε.” τοιόσδε μὲν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος, τέθαιπται δὲ πρὸς τῇ Ἐλευσίνι ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς Μέγα-
ράδε ὁδοῦ.

¹ This is Polemo's great-grandson Hermocrates, whose *Life* Philostratus gives below, p. 608.

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descendants, though they were his kindred, were not the sort of men who could be compared with his surpassing merit, with the exception of one, of whom I shall speak a little later.¹

26. I must not fail to mention SECUNDUS THE ATHENIAN whom some called "Wooden Peg," because he was the son of a carpenter. Secundus the sophist was varied and abundant in invention, but plain and simple in his style. Though he taught Herodes, he quarrelled with him while he was still his pupil, and therefore Herodes ridiculed him, and quoted at his expense the verse :

And the potter envies the potter and the carpenter
the orator.²

Nevertheless, when he died Herodes not only spoke his funeral oration, but shed a tribute of tears over him, though he died an old man.

Several of this man's compositions are worthy of mention, but above all the following theme for a disputation: "Suppose that he who instigates a revolt is to die, and he who suppresses it is to receive a reward. Now the same man both instigated a revolt and suppressed it, and he demands the reward." Secundus summed up this argument as follows. "Which of the two," he asked, "came first? The instigation to revolt. Which second? The suppression thereof. Therefore first pay the penalty for trying to do wrong, then, if you can, receive the reward for your good deed." Such was Secundus. He is buried near Eleusis, on the right of the road that leads to Megara.

² Hesiod, *Works and Days* 25. Herodes changed the word τέκτονι to ῥήτορι, the orator being himself.

Β'.

α'. Περὶ δὲ Ἡρώδου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου τάδε χρῆ
 εἰδέναι· ὁ σοφιστὴς Ἡρώδης ἐτέλει μὲν ἐκ πατέ-
 ρων ἐς τοὺς δισυνπάτους, ἀνέφερε δὲ ἐς τὸν τῶν Αἰακι-
 546 δῶν, οὓς ξυμμάχους ποτὲ ἢ Ἑλλάς ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσην
 ἐποιεῖτο, ἀπηξίου δὲ οὐδὲ τὸν Μιλτιάδην, οὐδὲ τὸν
 Κίμωνα, ὡς ἄνδρε ἀρίστῳ καὶ πολλοῦ ἀξίῳ Ἀθη-
 547 ναίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι περὶ τὰ Μηδικά,
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἤρξε τροπαίων Μηδικῶν, ὁ δὲ ἀπήτησε
 δίκας τοὺς βαρβάρους ὧν μετὰ ταῦτα ὕβρισαν.

Ἄριστα δὲ ἀνθρώπων πλούτῳ ἐχρήσατο. τουτὶ
 δὲ μὴ τῶν εὐμεταχειρίστων ἡγώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῶν
 παγχαλέπων τε καὶ δυσκόλων, οἱ γὰρ πλούτῳ
 μεθύοντες ὕβριν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπαντλοῦσιν. προσ-
 διαβάλλουσι δὲ ὡς καὶ τυφλὸν τὸν Πλούτον, ὃς εἰ
 καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐδόκει τυφλός, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
 Ἡρώδου ἀνέβλεψεν, ἔβλεψε μὲν γὰρ ἐς φίλους,
 ἔβλεψε δὲ ἐς πόλεις, ἔβλεψε δὲ ἐς ἔθνη, πάντων
 περιωπὴν ἔχοντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ θησαυρίζοντος

¹ Herodotus viii. 64 describes the invocation by the Athenians of the Aeacids Ajax and Telamon; cf. Philostratus, *Heroicus* 143.

² They were descended from Aeacus. Philostratus seems to reprove Plato, who disparaged them in the *Gorgias* 515.

BOOK II

1. Concerning HERODES THE ATHENIAN the following facts ought to be known. Herodes the sophist on his father's side belonged to a family which twice held consulships and also dated back to the house of the Aeacids,¹ whom Greece once enlisted as allies against the Persian. Nor did he fail to be proud of Miltiades and Cimon,² seeing that they were two very illustrious men and did great service to the Athenians and the rest of Greece in the wars with the Medes. For the former was the first to triumph over the Medes and the latter inflicted punishment on the barbarians for their insolent acts afterwards.³

No man employed his wealth to better purpose. And this we must not reckon a thing easy to achieve, but very difficult and arduous. For men who are intoxicated with wealth are wont to let loose a flood of insults on their fellow-men. And moreover they bring this reproach on Plutus⁴ that he is blind; but even if at all other times he appeared to be blind, yet in the case of Herodes he recovered his sight. For he had eyes for his friends, he had eyes for cities, he had eyes for whole nations, since the man watched over them all, and laid up the treasures

³ In 466 Cimon defeated the Persians by sea and land, and, later, expelled them from the Thracian Chersonese.

⁴ Plutus was the god of wealth.

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τὸν πλούτον ἐν ταῖς τῶν μετεχόντων αὐτοῦ γνώμας. ἔλεγε γὰρ δὴ, ὥς προσήκοι τὸν ὀρθῶς πλούτῳ χρώμενον τοῖς μὲν δεομένοις ἐπαρκεῖν, ἵνα μὴ δέωνται, τοῖς δὲ μὴ δεομένοις, ἵνα μὴ δεηθῶσιν, ἐκάλει τε τὸν μὲν ἀσύμβολον πλούτον καὶ φειδοῖ κεκολασμένον νεκρὸν πλούτον, τοὺς δὲ θησαυρούς, ἐς οὓς ἀποτίθενται τὰ χρήματα ἔνιοι, πλούτου δεσμωτήρια, τοὺς δὲ καὶ θύειν ἀξιοῦντας ἀποθέτοις χρήμασιν Ἀλωάδας ἐπωνόμαζε θύοντας Ἄρει μετὰ τὸ δῆσαι αὐτόν.

Πηγαὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ πλούτου πολλαὶ μὲν καὶ πολλῶν οἰκῶν, μέγισται δὲ ἢ τε πατρῴα καὶ ἡ μητρόθεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πάππος αὐτοῦ Ἱππαρχος ἐδημεύθη τὴν οὐσίαν ἐπὶ τυραννικαῖς αἰτίαις, ἃς Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὐκ ἐπῆγον, ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ οὐκ ἠγνόησεν, Ἀττικὸν δὲ τὸν μὲν ἐκείνου. παῖδα, Ἡρώδου δὲ πατέρα οὐ περιείδεν ἡ Τύχη πένητα ἐκ πλουσίου γενόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀνέδειξεν αὐτῷ θησαυροῦ χρήμα ἀμύθητον ἐν μιᾷ τῶν οἰκιῶν, ἃς πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐκέκτητο, οὗ διὰ μέγεθος εὐ-
 548 λαβῆς μᾶλλον ἢ περιχαρῆς γενόμενος ἔγραψε πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐπιστολὴν ὧδε συγκειμένην·
 “θησαυρόν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ οἰκίας εὗρηκα· τί οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ κελεύεις;” καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, Νερούας δὲ ἦρχε τότε, “χρῶ” ἔφη “οἷς εὗρηκας.” τοῦ δὲ Ἀττικοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς εὐλαβείας μείναντος καὶ γράψαντος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτὸν εἶναι τὰ τοῦ θησαυροῦ μέτρα “καὶ παραχρῶ”

¹ cf. Matthew vi. 20.

² *Iliad* v. 385; Otus and Ephialtes, the Aloadae, imprisoned Ares for thirteen months; he was released by Hermes.

³ Suetonius, *Vespasian* 13, refers to the trial of Hipparchus.

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of his riches¹ in the hearts of those who shared them with him. For indeed he used to say that he who would use his wealth aright ought to give to the needy that they might cease to be in need, and to those that needed it not, lest they should fall into need; and he used to call riches that did not circulate and were tied up by parsimony "dead riches," and the treasure-chambers in which some men hoard their money "prison-houses of wealth"; and those who thought they must actually sacrifice to their hoarded money he nicknamed "Aloadae,"² for they sacrificed to Ares after they had imprisoned him.

The sources of his wealth were many and derived from several families, but the greatest were the fortunes that came from his father and mother. For his grandfather Hipparchus suffered the confiscation of his estate on the charge of aspiring to a tyranny, of which the Emperor was not ignorant, though the Athenians did not bring it forward.³ His son Atticus, however, the father of Herodes, was not overlooked by Fortune after he had lost his wealth and become poor, but she revealed to him a prodigious treasure in one of the houses which he had acquired near the theatre. And since, on account of its vastness, it made him cautious rather than overjoyed, he wrote the following letter to the Emperor: "O Emperor, I have found a treasure in my own house. What commands do you give about it?" To which the Emperor (Nerva at that time was on the throne) replied: "Use what you have found." But Atticus did not abandon his caution and wrote that the extent of the treasure was beyond his station. "Then misuse your windfall," replied the

ἔφη “ τῷ ἐρμαίῳ, σὸν γάρ ἐστιν.” ἐντεῦθεν μέγας μὲν ὁ Ἀττικός, μείζων δὲ ὁ Ἡρώδης, πρὸς γὰρ τῷ πατρώῳ πλούτῳ καὶ ὁ μητρῶος αὐτῷ πλοῦτος οὐ παρὰ πολὺ τούτου ἐπερρήνῃ.

Μεγαλοψυχία δὲ λαμπρὰ καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἀττικὸν τοῦτον· ἦρχε μὲν γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλευθέρων πόλεων ὁ Ἡρώδης, ἰδὼν δὲ τὴν Τρωάδα βαλανείων τε πονήρως ἔχουσαν καὶ γεῶδες ὕδωρ ἐκ φρεάτων ἀνιμῶντας ὀμβρίων τε ὑδάτων θήκας ὀρύττοντας ἐπέστειλεν Ἀδριανῷ αὐτοκράτορι μὴ περιδεῖν πόλιν ἀρχαίαν καὶ εὐθάλαττον αὐχμῷ φθαρεῖσαν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιδουναί σφισι τριακοσίας μυριάδας ἐς ὕδωρ, ὧν πολλαπλασίους ἤδη καὶ κώμαις ἐπιδεδώκοι. ἐπήνεσεν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα ὡς πρὸς τρόπου ἑαυτῷ ὄντα καὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην αὐτὸν ἐπέταξε τῷ ὕδατι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς ἑπτακοσίας μυριάδας ἢ δαπάνη προὔβαινεν ἐπέστελλον τε τῷ αὐτοκράτορι οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπιτροπεύοντες, ὡς δεινὸν πεντακοσίων πόλεων φόρον ἐς μιᾶς πόλεως δαπανᾶσθαι κρήνην, ἐμέμψατο πρὸς τὸν Ἀττικὸν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ταῦτα, καὶ ὁ Ἀττικὸς μεγαλοφρονέστατα ἀνθρώπων “ ὦ βασιλεῦ,” εἶπεν “ ὑπὲρ μικρῶν μὴ παροξύνου, τὸ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὰς τριακοσίας μυριάδας ἀναλωθὲν ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ υἱῷ ἐπιδίδωμι, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τῇ πόλει ἐπιδώσει.¹”

549 καὶ αἱ διαθῆκαι δέ, ἐν αἷς τῷ Ἀθηναίων δήμῳ κατέλειπε καθ’ ἕκαστον ἔτος μνᾶν καθ’ ἓνα, μεγαλοφροσύνην κατηγοροῦσι τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἥ καὶ ἐς τὰ

¹ ἐπιδίδωσι Kayser ; ἐπιδώσει Cobet.

¹ Suidas tells the story of Herodes himself.

² This is the later city known as Alexandria Troas.

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Emperor, "for yours it is."¹ Hence Atticus became powerful, but Herodes still more so, for besides his father's fortune his mother's also, which was not much less, helped to make him affluent.

This same Atticus was also distinguished for his lordly spirit. As an instance, at a time when Herodes was governor of the free cities in Asia, he observed that Troy² was ill-supplied with baths, and that the inhabitants drew muddy water from their wells, and had to dig cisterns to catch rain water. Accordingly he wrote to the Emperor Hadrian to ask him not to allow an ancient city, conveniently near the sea, to perish from drought, but to give them three million drachmae to procure a water-supply, since he had already bestowed on mere villages many times that sum. The Emperor approved of the advice in the letter as in accordance with his own disposition, and appointed Herodes himself to take charge of the water-supply. But when the outlay had reached the sum of seven million drachmae,³ and the officials who governed Asia kept writing to the Emperor that it was a scandal that the tribute received from five hundred cities should be spent on the fountain of one city, the Emperor expressed his disapproval of this to Atticus; whereupon Atticus replied in the most lordly fashion in the world: "Do not, O Emperor, allow yourself to be irritated on account of so trifling a sum. For the amount spent in excess of the three millions I hereby present to my son, and my son will present it to the town." His will, moreover, in which he bequeathed to the people of Athens a mina⁴ annually for every citizen, proclaims the magnificence of the man; and he practised it in

³ About £280,000.

⁴ A little over £4.

ἄλλα ἐχρήτο, ἑκατὸν μὲν βοῦς τῇ θεῷ θύων ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πολλάκις, ἐστιῶν δὲ τῇ θυσίᾳ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον κατὰ φυλὰς καὶ γένη, ὅποτε δὲ ἦκοι Διονύσια καὶ κατίοι ἐς Ἀκαδημίαν τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου ἔδος, ἐν Κεραμεικῷ ποτίζων ἀστοὺς ὁμοίως καὶ ξένους κατακειμένους ἐπὶ στιβάδων κιττοῦ.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ διαθηκῶν ἐπεμνήσθην, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἀναγράψαι, δι' ἧς προσέκρουσεν Ἡρώδης Ἀθηναίους· εἶχον μὲν γὰρ αἱ διαθῆκαι, ὥς εἶπον, ἔγραψε δὲ αὐτὰς ξυμβουλία τῶν ἀμφ' ἑαυτὸν ἀπελευθέρων, οἱ χαλεπὴν ὀρώντες τὴν Ἡρώδου φύσιν ἀπελευθέρους τε καὶ δούλοις ἀποστροφὴν ἐποιοῦντο τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον,¹ ὥς τῆς δωρεᾶς αὐτοὶ αἴτιοι. καὶ ὅποια μὲν τῶν ἀπελευθέρων τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην, δηλούτω ἡ κατηγορία, ἣν πεποιῆται σφῶν πᾶν κέντρον ἡρμένος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γλώττης. ἀναγνωσθεῖσιν δὲ τῶν διαθηκῶν ξυνέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην πέντε μνᾶς αὐτὸν ἐσάπαξ ἐκάστῳ καταβαλόντα² πρίασθαι παρ' αὐτῶν τὸ μὴ ἀεὶ διδόναι· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ προσήεσαν μὲν ταῖς τραπέζαις ὑπὲρ τῶν ὠμολογημένων, ἐπανεγινώσκετο δὲ αὐτοῖς ξυμβόλαια πατέρων τε καὶ πάππων ὥς ὀφειλόντων τοῖς Ἡρώδου γονεῦσιν ἀντιλογισμοῖς τε ὑπῆγοντο καὶ οἱ μὲν μικρὰ ἡριθμοῦντο, οἱ δὲ οὐδέν, οἱ δὲ συνείχοντο ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ὥς καὶ

¹ τοῦ . . . δῆμον Kayser; τὸν . . . δῆμον Valckenaer and others.

² καταβάλλοντα Kayser; καταβαλόντα Cobet.

¹ cf. Pausanias i. 29. 2. The image of Dionysus of Eleu-
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other ways also. He would often sacrifice a hundred oxen to the goddess in a single day, and entertain at the sacrificial feast the whole population of Athens by tribes and families. And whenever the festival of Dionysus came round and the image of Dionysus descended to the Academy,¹ he would furnish wine to drink for citizens and strangers alike, as they lay in the Cerameicus on couches of ivy leaves.

Since I have mentioned the will of Atticus, I must also record the reasons why Herodes offended the Athenians. The terms of the will were as I have stated, and Atticus drew it up by the advice of his freedmen, who since they saw that Herodes was by nature prone to deal harshly with his freedmen and slaves, tried in this way to prepare a haven for themselves among the people of Athens, by appearing responsible for the legacy. What sort of relation existed between the freedmen and Herodes may be plainly seen in the invective which he composed against them. For in it he shot forth at them every weapon that his tongue could command. When the will had been read, the Athenians made a compact with Herodes that by paying them each five minae down he should redeem his obligation to keep up continued payments. But when they came to the banks to get the sum that had been agreed upon, then and there they had to listen to the recital of contracts made by their fathers and grandfathers, showing that they were in debt to the parents of Herodes, and they were held liable for counter-payments, with the result that some received payment of only a small sum, others nothing at all, while some were detained in theaeræ was taken in procession once a year to the god's small temple near the Academy.

ἀποδώσοντες, παρώξυνε ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὡς ἡρπασμένους τὴν δωρεὰν καὶ οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο μισοῦντες, οὐδὲ ὁπότε τὰ μέγιστα εὐεργετεῖν ᾤετο. τὸ οὖν στάδιον ἔφασαν εὖ ἐπωνομάσθαι Παναθηναϊκόν, κατεσκευάσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐξ ὧν ἀπεστέρουντο Ἀθηναῖοι πάντες.

Καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐλειτούργησεν Ἀθηναίοις τὴν τε ἐπώνυμον καὶ τὴν τῶν Πανελληνίων, στεφανωθείς δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων “καὶ ὑμᾶς,”
 550 εἶπεν “ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς ἥξοντας καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν τοὺς ἀγωνιουμένους ὑποδέξομαι σταδίῳ λίθου λευκοῦ.” καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα τὸ στάδιον τὸ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἴλισσόν ἔσω τετάρτων ἐτῶν ἀπετέλεσεν ἔργον ξυνθεῖς ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ θαύματα, οὐδὲν γὰρ θέατρον αὐτῷ ἀμιλλᾶται. κακὲν περὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων τούτων ἤκουον· πέπλον μὲν ἀνῆφθαι τῆς νεῶς ἡδὶ γγραφῆς ξὺν οὐρίῳ τῷ κόλπῳ, δραμεῖν δὲ τὴν ναῦν οὐχ ὑποζυγίων ἀγόντων, ἀλλ’ ὑπογείοις μηχαναῖς ἐπολισθάνουσαν, ἐκ Κεραμεικοῦ δὲ ἄρασαν χιλία κώπη ἀφεῖναι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον καὶ περιβαλοῦσαν αὐτὸ παραμεῖναι τὸ Πελασγικὸν κομιζομένην τε παρὰ τὸ Πύθιον ἐλθεῖν, οἱ νῦν ὥρμισται. τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ σταδίου νεῶς ἐπέχει Τύχης καὶ

¹ The chief archon at Athens gave his name to the current year.

² A marble stadium has been built recently on the site of the stadium of Herodes.

³ The Athenians dedicated a robe, “peplos,” to Athene annually and displayed it on a ship constructed for this purpose and dragged in a procession.

⁴ This is probably not the Pythium near the Olympieion

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the market-place as debtors who must pay. This treatment exasperated the Athenians, who felt they had been robbed of their legacy, and they never ceased to hate Herodes, not even at the time when he thought he was conferring on them the greatest benefits. Hence they declared the Panathenaic stadium was well named, since he had built it with money of which all the Athenians were being deprived.

Furthermore he held the office of archon eponymus¹ at Athens, and the curatorship of the pan-Hellenic festival; and when he was offered the crowning honour of the charge of the Panathenaic festival he made this announcement: "I shall welcome you, O Athenians, and those Hellenes that shall attend, and the athletes who are to compete, in a stadium of pure white marble." In accordance with this promise he completed within four years the stadium² on the other side of the Ilissus, and thus constructed a monument that is beyond all other marvels, for there is no theatre that can rival it. Moreover, I have been told the following facts concerning this Panathenaic festival. The robe of Athene that was hung on the ship³ was more charming than any painting, with folds that swelled before the breeze, and the ship, as it took its course, was not hauled by animals, but slid forward by means of underground machinery. Setting sail at the Cera-meicus with a thousand rowers, it arrived at the Eleusinium, and after circling it, passed by the Pelasgicum: and thus escorted came by the Pythium,⁴ to where it is now moored. The other end of the stadium is occupied by a temple of Fortune with

but, according to Dörpfeld, is the old shrine of Apollo near Pan's Cave.

PHILOSTRATUS

ἄγαλμα ἐλεφάντινον ὡς κυβερνώσης πάντα. μετεκόσμησε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἐφήβους ἐς τὸ νῦν σχῆμα χλαμύδας πρῶτος ἀμφιέσας λευκάς, τέως γὰρ δὴ μελαίνας ἐνημμένοι τὰς ἐκκλησίας περιεκάθηντο καὶ τὰς πομπὰς ἔπεμπον πενθούντων δημοσίᾳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν κήρυκα τὸν Κοπρέα, ὃν αὐτοὶ ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας τοῦ βωμοῦ ἀποσπῶντα.

- 551 Ἀνέθηκε δὲ Ἡρώδης Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ Ῥηγίλλῃ θέατρον κέδρου ξυνθεὶς τὸν ὄροφον, ἣ δὲ ὕλη καὶ ἐν ἀγαλματοποιαῖς σπουδαία· δύο μὲν δὴ ταῦτα Ἀθήνησιν, ἃ οὐχ ἐτέρωθι τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις, ἀξιούσθω δὲ λόγου καὶ τὸ ὑπωρόφιον θέατρον, ὃ ἐδείματο Κορινθίοις, παρὰ πολὺ μὲν τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν, ἐν ὀλίγοις δὲ τῶν παρ' ἄλλοις ἐπαινουμένων, καὶ τὰ Ἰσθμοῖ ἀγάλματα ὃ τε τοῦ Ἰσθμίου κολοσσὸς καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀμφιτρίτης καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὧν τὸ ἱερόν ἐνέπλησεν, οὐδὲ τὸν τοῦ Μελικέρτου παρελθὼν δελφῖνα. ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ τῷ Πυθίῳ τὸ Πυθοῖ στάδιον καὶ τῷ Διὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ ὕδωρ, Θετταλοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς περὶ Μηλιακὸν κόλπον Ἑλλήσι τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλαις κολυμβήθρας τοῖς νοσοῦσι παιωνίους. ᾤκισε δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἡπείρῳ Ὠρικὸν ὑποδεδωκὸς ἤδη καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ Κανύσιον ἡμερώσας ὕδατι

¹ *Iliad* xv. 639 ; for this custom *cf.* Plutarch, *Aratus* 53 ; Pausanias ii. 3. 6 ; Philostratus, *Heroicus* 740. Copreus was the herald of Eurystheus, the task-master of Heracles.

² The Odeum or Theatre of Music, of which considerable remains exist ; Pausanias vii. 20. 6. Regilla was the wife of Herodes.

³ Pausanias i. 44. 11. The corpse of Melicertes or Palaemon, who was drowned by his mother Ino Leucothea,

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her statue in ivory to show that she directs all contests. Herodes also changed the dress of the Athenian youths to its present form, and was the first to dress them in white cloaks, for before that time they had worn black cloaks whenever they sat in a group at public meetings, or marched in festal processions, in token of the public mourning of the Athenians for the herald Copreus,¹ whom they themselves had slain when he was trying to drag the sons of Heracles from the altar.

Herodes also dedicated to the Athenians the theatre in memory of Regilla,² and he made its roof of cedar wood, though this wood is considered costly even for making statues. These two monuments, then, are at Athens, and they are such as exist nowhere else in the Roman Empire; but I must not neglect to mention also the roofed theatre which he built for the Corinthians, which is far inferior indeed to the one at Athens but there are not many famous things elsewhere which equal it; and there are also the statues at the Isthmus and the colossal statue of the Isthmian god, and that of Amphitrite, and the other offerings with which he filled the temple; nor must I pass over the dolphin sacred to Melicertes.³ He also dedicated the stadium at Pytho to the Pythian god, and the aqueduct at Olympia to Zeus, and for the Thessalians and the Greeks who dwell around the Maliac gulf, the bathing pools at Thermopylae that heal the sick. Further he colonized Oricum in Epirus, which by this time had fallen into decay, and Canusium in Italy, and made it habitable by giving it a water-supply, since it was was carried by dolphins to the shore near Corinth, and games were celebrated in his honour at the Isthmus.

μάλα τούτου δεόμενον, ὤνησε δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ Βοιωτίᾳ πόλεις ἄλλο ἄλλην. καὶ τοσοῦτος ὢν ἐν μεγαλουργίᾳ μέγα οὐδὲν εἰργάσθαι ᾤετο, ἐπεὶ μὴ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἔτεμεν, λαμπρὸν ἡγούμενος ἡπειρον ἀποτεμεῖν καὶ πελάγη ξυνάψαι διττὰ καὶ ἐς περίπλουν σταδίων ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι θαλάττης ξυνελεῖν μήκη. καὶ τούτου ἦρα μὲν, οὐκ ἐθάρρει δὲ αὐτὸ αἰτεῖν ἐκ βασιλέως, ὡς μὴ διαβληθείη διανοίας δοκῶν ἄπτεσθαι, ἢ μηδὲ Νέρων ἤρκεσεν. ἐξελάλησε δὲ αὐτὸ ὧδε· ὡς γὰρ
 552 ἐγὼ Κτησιδήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ἤκουον, ἤλαυνε μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ Κορίνθου ὁ Ἡρώδης ξυγκαθημένου τοῦ Κτησιδήμου, γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν “Πόσειδον,” εἶπεν “βούλομαι μὲν, ξυγχωρήσει δὲ οὐδεὶς.” θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Κτησιδήμος τὸ εἰρημένον ἤρετο αὐτὸν τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ λόγου. καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης “ἐγὼ” ἔφη “πολὺν χρόνον ἀγωνίζομαι σημεῖον ὑπολείπεσθαι τοῖς μετ’ ἐμὲ ἀνθρώποις διανοίας δηλούσης ἄνδρα καὶ οὐπω δοκῶ μοι τῆς δόξης ταύτης τυγχάνειν.” ὁ μὲν δὴ Κτησιδήμος ἐπαίνους διῆει τῶν τε λόγων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔργων ὡς οὐκ ἐχόντων ὑπερβολὴν ἐτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης “φθαρτὰ” ἔφη “λέγεις ταῦτα, καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ χρόνῳ ἁλωτά, καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἡμῶν τοιχωρυχοῦσιν ἕτεροι ὁ μὲν τὸ μεμφόμενος, ὁ δὲ τό, ἢ δὲ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ τομὴ ἔργον ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀπιστούμενον τῇ φύσει, δοκεῖ γάρ μοι τὸ ῥῆξαι τὸν Ἴσθμὸν Ποσειδῶνος δεῖσθαι ἢ ἀνδρός.”

¹ Of Corinth.

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greatly in need of this. And he endowed the cities of Euboea and the Peloponnese and Boeotia with various gifts. And yet, though he had achieved such great works, he held that he had done nothing important because he had not cut through the Isthmus.¹ For he regarded it as a really brilliant achievement to cut away the mainland to join two seas, and to contract lengths of sea into a voyage of twenty-six stades. This then he longed to do, but he never had the courage to ask the Emperor to grant him permission, lest he should be accused of grasping at an ambitious plan to which not even Nero had proved himself equal. But in conversation he did let out that ambition in the following way. For as I have been told by Ctesidemus the Athenian, Herodes was driving to Corinth with Ctesidemus sitting by his side, and when he arrived at the Isthmus Herodes cried: "Poseidon, I aspire to do it, but no one will let me!" Ctesidemus was surprised at what he had said and asked him why he had made the remark. Whereupon Herodes replied: "For a long time I have been striving to bequeath to men that come after me some proof of an ambition that reveals me for the man I am, and I consider that I have not yet attained to this reputation." Then Ctesidemus recited praises of his speeches and his deeds which no other man could surpass. But Herodes replied: "All this that you speak of must decay and yield to the hand of time, and others will plunder my speeches and criticize now this, now that. But the cutting of the Isthmus is a deathless achievement and more than one would credit to human powers, for in my opinion to cleave through the Isthmus calls for Poseidon rather than a mere man."

Ὅν δ' ἐκάλουν οἱ πολλοὶ Ἡρώδου Ἡρακλέα,
 νεανίας οὗτος ἦν ἐν ὑπῆνυ πρώτῃ Κελτῷ μεγάλῳ
 ἴσος καὶ ἐς ὀκτὼ πόδας τὸ μέγεθος. διαγράφει
 δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἰου-
 λιανὸν ἐπιστολῶν, κομᾶν τε ξυμμέτρως καὶ τῶν
 ὀφρύων λασίως ἔχειν, ὥς καὶ ξυμβάλλειν ἀλλήλαις
 οἷον μίαν, χαροπὴν τε ἀκτῖνα ἐκ τῶν ὀμμάτων
 ἐκδίδοσθαι παρεχομένην τι ὀρμῆς ἥθος καὶ γρυ-
 πὸν εἶναι καὶ εὐτραφῶς ἔχοντα τοῦ αὐχένος,
 τουτὶ δὲ ἐκ πόνων ἦκειν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ σίτου.
 εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ στέρνα εὐπαγῇ καὶ ξὺν ὥρᾳ
 κατεσκληρότα, καὶ κνήμην μικρὸν ἐς τὰ ἔξω
 κυρτουμένην καὶ παρέχουσαν τῇ βάσει τὸ εὖ
 553 βεβηκέναι. ἐνῆφθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ δορὰς λύκων,
 ῥαπτὸν ἔσθημα, ἄθλους τε ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀγρίους
 τῶν συῶν καὶ τοὺς θῶας καὶ τοὺς λύκους καὶ τῶν
 ταύρων τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας, καὶ ὠτειλὰς δὲ δεικνύναι
 τούτων τῶν ἀγώνων. γενέσθαι δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλέα
 τούτον οἱ μὲν γηγενῇ φασιν ἐν τῷ Βοιωτίῳ δήμῳ,
 Ἡρώδης δὲ ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντός φησιν, ὥς μήτηρ
 μὲν αὐτῷ γένοιτο γυνὴ οὕτω τι ἐρρωμένη,¹ ὥς
 βουκολεῖν, πατὴρ δὲ Μαραθῶν, οὗ τὸ ἐν Μαρα-
 θῶνι ἄγαλμα, ἔστι δὲ ἥρως γεωργός. ἥρετό τε
 τὸν Ἡρακλέα τούτον ὁ Ἡρώδης, εἰ καὶ ἀθάνατος
 εἴη, ὁ δὲ “ θνητοῦ ” ἔφη “ μακροημερώτερος.”
 ἥρετο αὐτὸν καὶ ὅ τι σιτοῖτο, ὁ δὲ “ γαλακτοφαγῷ ”
 ἔφη “ τὸν πλείω τοῦ χρόνου καὶ με βόσκουσιν
 αἰγές τε καὶ ποιῖναι² τῶν τε βοῶν καὶ τῶν ἵπ-
 πων αἱ τοκάδες, ἐκδίδονται δέ τι καὶ θηλῆς ὄνων
 γάλα εὐποτόν τε καὶ κοῦφον, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀλφίτοις

¹ ἐπερρωμένη Kayser ; ἐρρωμένη Cobet.

² ποιμένες Kayser ; ποιῖναι Cobet.

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As to the being whom most men used to call the Heracles of Herodes, this was a youth in early manhood,¹ as tall as a tall Celt, and in fact about eight feet high. Herodes describes him in one of his letters to Julian.² He says that his hair grew evenly on his head, his eyebrows were bushy and they met as though they were but one, and his eyes gave out a brilliant gleam which betrayed his impulsive temperament; he was hook-nosed, and had a solidly built neck, which was due rather to work than to diet. His chest, too, was well formed and beautifully slim, and his legs were slightly bowed outwards, which made it easy for him to stand firmly planted. He was draped in wolf-skins sewed together to make a garment, and he used to contend against wild boars, jackals, wolves, and mad bulls, and would exhibit the scars from these combats. Some say that this Heracles was "earth-born" and sprang from the folk in Boeotia, but Herodes says that he heard him say that his mother was a woman so strong that she herded cattle, and his father was Marathon whose statue is at Marathon, and he is a rustic hero. Herodes asked this Heracles whether he also was immortal. To which he replied: "I am only longer lived than a mortal." Then he asked him what he lived on, and he said: "I live chiefly on milk, and am fed by goats and herds of cows and brood mares, and the she-ass also provides a sweet sort of milk and light to digest. But when I meet with barley meal, I eat ten quarts,"³

¹ *Odyssey* x. 279 *πρῶτον ὑπηγήτη, τοῦ περ χαριστάτη ἦβη*; Lucian, *Demonax* 1, calls him Sostratus.

² Antoninus Julianus is mentioned by Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights*, xix. 9.

³ One quart was regarded as a day's ration for an ordinary man.

προσβάλλω, δέκα σιτοῦμαι χοίνικας, καὶ ξυμφέ-
 ρουσί μοι τὸν ἔρανον τοῦτον γεωργοὶ Μαραθῶνιοί
 τε καὶ Βοιωτῖοι, οἳ με καὶ Ἀγαθίωνα ἐπονομά-
 ζουσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ εὐξύμβολος αὐτοῖς φαίνομαι.”
 “τὴν δὲ δὴ γλῶτταν” ἔφη ὁ Ἡρώδης “πῶς
 ἐπαιδεύθης καὶ ὑπὸ τίνων; οὐ γάρ μοι τῶν ἀπαι-
 δεύτων φαίνει.” καὶ ὁ Ἀγαθίων “ἡ μεσογεία”
 ἔφη “τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀγαθὸν διδασκαλεῖον ἀνδρὶ
 βουλομένῳ διαλέγεσθαι, οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει
 Ἀθηναῖοι μισθοῦ δεχόμενοι Θράκια καὶ Ποντικά
 μειράκια καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν βαρβάρων ξυνε-
 ρηκότα παραφθείρονται παρ’ αὐτῶν τὴν φωνὴν
 μᾶλλον ἢ ξυμβάλλονται τι αὐτοῖς ἐς εὐγλωττίαν,
 ἡ μεσογεία δὲ ἄμικτος βαρβάρους οὔσα ὑγιαίνει
 αὐτοῖς ἡ φωνὴ καὶ ἡ γλῶττα τὴν ἄκραν Ἀτθίδα
 ἀποψάλλει.” “πανηγύρει δὲ” ἡ δ’ ὁ Ἡρώδης
 “παρέτυχες;” καὶ ὁ Ἀγαθίων “τῇ γε Πυθοῖ”
 ἔφη “οὐκ ἐπιμινύς τῷ ὁμίλῳ, ἀλλ’ ἐκ περιωπῆς
 τοῦ Παρνασοῦ ἀκούων τῶν τῆς μουσικῆς ἀγωνι-
 στῶν, ὅτε Παμμένης ἐπὶ τραγωδίᾳ ἐθαυμάσθη, καί
 554 μοι ἔδοξαν οἱ σοφοὶ Ἕλληνες οὐ χρηστὸν πρᾶγμα
 ἐργάζεσθαι τὰ τῶν Πελοπιδῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Λαβ-
 δακιδῶν κακὰ ξὺν ἡδονῇ ἀκούοντες, ξύμβουλοι
 γὰρ σχετλίων ἔργων μῦθοι μὴ ἀπιστούμενοι.”
 φιλοσοφούντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ὁ Ἡρώδης ἤρετο
 καὶ περὶ τῆς γυμνικῆς ἀγωνίας ὅπως γιγνώσκoi,
 καὶ ὅς “ἐκείνων” ἔφη “καταγελῶ μᾶλλον ὁρῶν
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διαγωνιζομένους ἀλλήλοις παγ-
 κράτιον καὶ πυγμὴν καὶ δρόμον καὶ πάλην καὶ
 στεφανομένους ὑπὲρ τούτου· στεφανούσθω δὲ ὁ
 μὲν δρομικὸς ἀθλητῆς ἔλαφον παρελθὼν ἢ ἵππον,

¹ “Goodfellow.”

² cf. *Life of Aelian*, below, p. 624.

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and the farmers of Marathon and Boeotia supply me with this feast; they also nickname me Agathion,¹ because they think that I bring them luck." "And what about your speech?" asked Herodes. "How were you educated, and by whom? For you do not seem to be an uneducated man." "The interior of Attica educated me," Agathion replied, "a good school for a man who wishes to be able to converse. For the Athenians in the city admit as hirelings youths who come in like a flood from Thrace and the Pontus and from other barbarian peoples, and their own speech deteriorates from the influence of these barbarians to a greater extent than they can contribute to the improvement of the speech of the newcomers. But the central district is untainted by barbarians, and hence its language remains uncorrupted and its dialect sounds the purest strain of Attic."² "Were you ever at a public festival?" inquired Herodes. "Yes, at Pytho," replied Agathion, "but I did not mingle with the crowd, but from the summit of Parnassus I listened to the musical competitions when Pammenes won applause in tragedy, and it seemed to me that the wise Greeks were doing an immoral thing when they listened with delight to the criminal deeds of the houses of Pelops and Labdacus; for when myths are not discredited they may be the counsellors of evil deeds." When Herodes saw that he had a philosophic bent, he asked him also what was his opinion about the gymnastic contests, and he replied: "Even more do I laugh at them when I see men struggling with one another in the pancratium, and boxing, running, wrestling, and winning crowns for all this. Let the athlete who is a runner receive a crown for running

ὁ δὲ τὰ βαρύτερα ἀσκῶν ταύρῳ συμπλακεῖς ἢ ἄρκτῳ, ὃ ἐγὼ ὁσημέραι πράττω μέγαν ἀθλον ἀφηρημένης μοι τῆς τύχης, ἐπεὶ μηκέτι βόσκει λέοντας Ἀκαρνανία.”

Ἀγασθεῖς οὖν ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐδεῖτο αὐτοῦ ξυσσιτῆσαι οἱ. καὶ ὁ Ἀγαθίων “αὔριον” ἔφη “ἀφίξομαί σοι κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Κανώβου ἱερόν, ἔστω δὲ σοι κρατῆρ ὁ μέγιστος τῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γάλακτος πλέως, ὃ μὴ γυνὴ ἤμελξεν.” καὶ ἀφίκετο μὲν ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν καθ’ ὃν ὡμολόγησε καιρόν, τὴν δὲ ῥίνα ἐρείσας ἐς τὸν κρατῆρα “οὐ καθαρὸν” ἔφη “τὸ γάλα, προσβάλλει γάρ με χεῖρ γυναικός.” καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἀπῆλθε μὴ ἐπισπασάμενος τοῦ γάλακτος. ἐπιστήσας οὖν ὁ Ἡρώδης τῷ περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς λόγῳ ἐπεμψεν ἐς τὰ ἐπαύλια τοὺς ἐπισκεψομένους τάλληθές, καὶ μαθὼν αὐτὸ οὕτως ἔχον, ξυνῆκεν ὡς δαιμονία φύσις εἶη περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα.

Οἱ δὲ ποιούμενοι κατηγορίαν τῶν Ἡρώδου χειρῶν ὡς ἐπενεχθεισῶν Ἀντωνίνῳ ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ τῷ ὄρει κατὰ χρόνους, οὓς ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐλευθέρων πόλεων, ὃ δὲ πασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἤρχον, ἡγνοηκένοι
555 μοι δοκοῦσι τὸν Δημοστράτου πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ πλεῖστα διαβάλλων αὐτὸν οὐδαμοῦ τῆς παροινίας ταύτης ἐπεμνήσθη, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ἐγένετο. ὠθισμὸς μὲν γάρ τις αὐτοῖς ξυνέπεσεν, ὡς ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ καὶ στενοῖς, αἱ δὲ χεῖρες οὐδὲν παρηνόμησαν,

¹ Canobus or Canopus was the helmsman of Menelaus, who died in Egypt, and a city was named after him at the mouth of the Nile. His cult was often confused with that of Serapis, who had long been worshipped at Athens, and it is possible that the latter's temple is meant here (Pausanias i. 34).

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faster than a deer or a horse, and let him who trains for a weightier contest be crowned for wrestling with a bull or bear, a thing which I do every day; for fortune has robbed me of a really great encounter, now that Acarnania no longer breeds lions."

On this Herodes admired him greatly and begged him to dine with him. "To-morrow," replied Agathion, "I will come to you at noon at the temple of Canobus,¹ and do you have there the largest bowl that is in the temple full of milk that has not been milked by a woman." Accordingly he came next day at the time agreed upon, but when he had raised the bowl to his nose, he said: "The milk is not pure, for the odour of a woman's hand assails my senses." When he had said this he went away without tasting the milk. Then Herodes gave heed to what he had said about the woman, and sent to the cow-sheds to find out the truth; and on hearing that thus the matter actually stood, he recognized that there was a superhuman character about the man.

Those who accused Herodes of having lifted his hand against Antoninus² on Mount Ida, at the time when the former was the governor of the free cities, and the latter of all the cities in Asia, were, in my opinion, unaware of the action brought by Demostrius against Herodes, in which he made many charges against him, but nowhere mentioned this insolent act, for the reason that it never took place. For though they did in a manner shove one another aside, as happens in a rough place and a narrow road, still they did not break the law by coming to blows,

² Later the Emperor Antoninus Pius; for his quarrel with Polemo about the same time see p. 534.

καίτοι¹ οὐκ ἂν παρήκεν ὁ Δημόστρατος διελθεῖν αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην δίκη πικρῶς οὕτω καθαψάμενος τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς διαβάλλειν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἐπαινούμενα.

Ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην καὶ φόνου δίκη ὧδε ξυντεθεῖσα· κύειν μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα Ῥήγιλλαν ὄγδοόν που μῆνα, τὸν δὲ Ἡρώδην οὐχ ὑπὲρ μεγάλων Ἀλκιμέδοντι ἀπελευθέρῳ προστάξαι τυπτῆσαι αὐτήν, πληγείσαν δὲ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα τὴν γυναῖκα ἀποθανεῖν ἐν ὧμῳ τῷ τόκῳ. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὡς ἀληθέσι γράφεται αὐτὸν φόνου Βραδούας ὁ τῆς Ῥηγίλλης ἀδελφὸς εὐδοκιμώτατος ὢν ἐν ὑπάτοις καὶ τὸ ξύμβολον τῆς εὐγενείας περιηρτημένος τῷ ὑποδήματι, τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπισφύριον ἐλεφάντινον μνηνοειδές, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων βουλευτήριον πιθανὸν μὲν οὐδὲν διῆει περὶ τῆς αἰτίας, ἣν ἐπῆγεν, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ ἔπαινον ἐμακρηγόρει περὶ τοῦ γένους, ὅθεν ἐπισκώπτων αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡρώδης “ σὺ ” ἔφη “ τὴν εὐγένειαν ἐν τοῖς ἀστραγάλοις ἔχεις.” μεγαλαυχουμένου δὲ τοῦ κατηγοροῦ καὶ ἐπ’ εὐεργεσία μιᾶς τῶν ἐν Ἰταλία πόλεων μάλα γενναίως 556 ὁ Ἡρώδης “ καγὼ ” ἔφη “ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ διῆειν ἂν, εἰ ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ γῇ ἐκρινόμην.” ξυνήρατο δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἀπολογίας πρῶτον μὲν τὸ μηδὲν προστάξαι τοιοῦτον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥηγίλλαν, ἔπειτα τὸ ὑπερπενθῆσαι ἀποθανοῦσαν· διεβάλλετο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ὡς πλάσμα, ἀλλ’ ὁμως τάληθές

¹ ὥστε Kayser; καίτοι he suggests.

¹ Roman patricians and senators wore a half moon as a badge on their shoes; cf. Juvenal vii. 191. In the inscription to Regilla, “starry sandals” are mentioned as her family’s hereditary insignia.

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and indeed Demostratus would not have neglected to describe the incident in his suit against Herodes, when he attacked the man so bitterly that he actually censured those acts of his which are regularly applauded.

A charge of murder was also brought against Herodes, and it was made up in this way. His wife Regilla, it was said, was in the eighth month of her pregnancy, and Herodes ordered his freedman Alcimedon to beat her for some slight fault, and the woman died in premature childbirth from a blow in the belly. On these grounds, as though true, Regilla's brother Braduas brought a suit against him for murder. He was a very illustrious man of consular rank, and the outward sign of his high birth, a crescent-shaped ivory buckle, was attached to his sandal.¹ And when Braduas appeared before the Roman tribunal he brought no convincing proof of the charge that he was making, but delivered a long panegyric on himself dealing with his own family. Whereupon Herodes jested at his expense and said: "You have your pedigree on your toe-joints."² And when his accuser boasted too of his benefactions to one of the cities of Italy, Herodes said with great dignity: "I too could have recited many such actions of my own in whatever part of the earth I were now being tried." Two things helped him in his defence. First that he had given orders for no such severe measures against Regilla; secondly, his extraordinary grief at her death. Even this was regarded as a pretence and made a charge against him, but nevertheless the

² i.e. there was no need to talk about it.

ἴσχυεν, οὐ γάρ ποτε οὕτ' ἂν θέατρον αὐτῇ ἀναθεῖναι τοιοῦτον, οὕτ' ἂν δευτέραν κλήρῳσιν τῆς ὑπάτου ἀρχῆς ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἀναβαλέσθαι μὴ καθαρῶς ἔχοντα τῆς αἰτίας, οὕτ' ἂν τὸν κόσμον αὐτῆς ἐς τὸ ἐν Ἑλευσίνι ἱερὸν ἀναθεῖναι φέροντα φόνῳ μεμισμένον, τουτὶ γὰρ τιμωροὺς τοῦ φόνου ποιούντος ἦν τὰς θεὰς μᾶλλον ἢ ξυγγνώμονας. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς οἰκίας ἐπ' αὐτῇ ὑπήλλαξε μελαίνων τὰ τῶν οἰκῶν ἄνθη παραπετάσμασι καὶ χρώμασι καὶ λίθῳ Λεσβίῳ — κατηφῆς δὲ ὁ λίθος καὶ μέλας — ὑπὲρ ὧν λέγεται καὶ Λούκιος ἀνὴρ σοφὸς ἐς ξυμβουλίαν τῷ Ἡρώδῃ καθιστάμενος, ὡς οὐκ ἔπειθε μεταβαλεῖν αὐτὸν διασκῶψαι. ἄξιον δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο παρελθεῖν λόγου παρὰ τοῖς σπουδαίοις ἀξιούμενον· ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς φανεροῖς σπουδαῖος ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος, Μουσωνίῳ δὲ τῷ Τυρίῳ προσφιλοσοφήσας εὐσκόπως εἶχε τῶν ἀποκρίσεων καὶ τὸ ἐπίχαρι σὺν καιρῷ ἐπετήδευεν, ἐπιτηδειότατος δὲ ὧν τῷ

557 Ἡρώδῃ παρῆν αὐτῷ πονήρως διατιθεμένῳ τὸ πένθος καὶ ἐνουθέτει τοιαῦτα λέγων· “ὦ Ἡρώδη, πᾶν τὸ ἀποχρῶν μεσότητι ὥριται, καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου πολλὰ μὲν ἤκουσα Μουσωνίου διαλεγομένου, πολλὰ δὲ αὐτὸς διείλεγμαί, καὶ σοῦ δὲ ἡκροώμην ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἐπαικούντος αὐτὸ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἐκέλευες μέσους τῆς ὄχθης ῥεῖν. ἀλλὰ μὴν νῦν ποῦ ταῦτα; σεαυτοῦ

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truth prevailed. For he never would have dedicated to her memory so fine a theatre nor would he have postponed for her sake the casting of lots for his second consulship, if he had not been innocent of the charge; nor again would he have made an offering of her apparel at the temple of Eleusis, if he had been polluted by a murder when he brought it, for this was more likely to turn the goddesses into avengers of the murder than to win their pardon. He also altered the appearance of his house in her honour by making the paintings and decorations of the rooms black by means of hangings, dyes, and Lesbian marble, which is a gloomy and dark marble. And they say that Lucius, a wise man, tried to give Herodes advice about this, and since he could not persuade him to alter it, he turned him into ridicule. And this incident must not be omitted from my narrative, since it is held worthy of mention by learned writers. For this Lucius ranked among men renowned for learning, and since he had been trained in philosophy by Musonius of Tyre, his repartees were apt to hit the mark, and he practised a wit well suited to the occasion. Now, as he was very intimate with Herodes, he was with him when he was most deeply afflicted by his grief, and used to give him good advice to the following effect: "Herodes, in every matter that which is enough is limited by the golden mean, and I have often heard Musonius argue on this theme, and have often discoursed on it myself; and, moreover, I used to hear you also, at Olympia, commending the golden mean to the Greeks, and at that time you would even exhort rivers to keep their course in mid channel between their banks. But what has now become of all this advice? For you

γὰρ ἐκπεσὼν ἄξια τοῦ πενθεῖσθαι πράττεις περὶ τῇ δόξῃ κινδυνεύων" καὶ πλείω ἕτερα. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἐπειθεν, ἀπῆει δυσχεράνας. ἰδὼν δὲ παῖδας ἐν κρήνῃ τινὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ῥαφανίδας πλύνοντας ἤρετο αὐτούς, ὅτου εἴη τὸ δεῖπνον, οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν Ἡρώδῃ εὐτρεπίζειν αὐτό. καὶ ὁ Λούκιος "ἀδικεῖ" ἔφη "Ῥηγίλλαν Ἡρώδης λευκὰς ῥαφανίδας σιτούμενος ἐν μελαίνῃ οἰκίᾳ." ταῦτα ὥς ἤκουσεν ἐσαγγελθέντα ὁ Ἡρώδης ἀφείλε τὴν ἀχλὺν τῆς οἰκίας, ὥς μὴ ἄθυρμα γένοιτο ἀνδρῶν σπουδαίων.

Λουκίου τούτου κακέينو θαυμάσιον· ἐσπούδαζε μὲν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Μάρκος περὶ Σέξτον τὸν ἐκ Βοιωτίας φιλόσοφον, θαμίζων αὐτῷ καὶ φοιτῶν ἐπὶ θύρας, ἄρτι δὲ ἦκων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Λούκιος ἤρετο τὸν αὐτοκράτορα προϊόντα, ποῖ βαδίζοι καὶ ἐφ' ὅ τι, καὶ ὁ Μάρκος "καλὸν" ἔφη "καὶ γηράσκοντι τὸ μαθάνειν· εἰμι δὲ πρὸς Σέξτον τὸν φιλόσοφον μαθησόμενος, ἃ οὐπω οἶδα." καὶ ὁ Λούκιος ἐξάρας τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν "ὦ Ζεῦ," ἔφη "ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς γηράσκων ἤδη δέλτον ἐξαψάμενος ἐς διδασκάλου φοιτᾷ, ὁ δὲ ἐμὸς βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ὧν¹ ἀπέθανεν." ἀπόχρη καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα δεῖξαι τὴν ἰδέαν, ἣν ἐφιλοσόφει Λούκιος, ἱκανὰ γάρ που ταῦτα δηλῶσαι τὸν ἄνδρα, καθάπερ τὸν ἀνθοσμίαν τὸ γεῦμα.

Τὸ μὲν δὲ ἐπὶ Ῥηγίλλῃ πένθος ὦδε ἐσβέσθη,

¹ ἐτῶν Kayser ; ὧν Cobet.

¹ For a curious modern parallel see *Punch* 1916: "In Paris they are serving a half-mourning salad consisting mainly of potatoes, artichokes, and pickled walnuts . . . he 162

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have lost your self-control, and are acting in a way that we must needs deplore, since you risk your great reputation." He said more to the same effect. But since he could not convince him, he went away in anger. And he saw some slaves at a well that was in the house, washing radishes, and asked them for whose dinner they were intended. They replied that they were preparing them for Herodes. At this Lucius remarked: "Herodes insults Regilla by eating white radishes¹ in a black house." This speech was reported indoors to Herodes, and when he heard it he removed the signs of mourning from his house, for fear he should become the laughing-stock of wise men.

Here is another admirable saying of this Lucius. The Emperor Marcus was greatly interested in Sextus the Boeotian philosopher, attending his classes and going to his very door. Lucius had just arrived in Rome, and asked the Emperor, whom he met going out, where he was going and for what purpose. Marcus answered: "It is a good thing even for one who is growing old to acquire knowledge. I am going to Sextus the philosopher to learn what I do not yet know." At this Lucius raised his hand to heaven, and exclaimed: "O Zeus! The Emperor of the Romans is already growing old, but he hangs a tablet round his neck and goes to school, while my Emperor Alexander died at thirty-two!" What I have quoted is enough to show the kind of philosophy cultivated by Lucius, for these speeches suffice to reveal the man as a sip reveals the bouquet of wine.

Thus, then, his grief for Regilla was quenched, expressed surprise at their failure to add a few radishes to the dish."

558 τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ Παναθηναίδι τῇ θυγατρὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπράν-
 ναν ἐν ἄστει τε αὐτὴν θάψαντες καὶ ψηφισάμενοι
 τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐφ' ἧς ἀπέθανεν, ἐξαιρεῖν τοῦ ἔτους.
 ἀποθανούσης δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης θυγατρὸς, ἣν
 Ἑλπινίκην ὠνόμαζεν, ἔκειτο μὲν ἐν τῷ δαπέδῳ τὴν
 γῆν παίων καὶ βοῶν "τί σοι, θύγατερ, καθαγίσω;
 τί σοι ξυνθάψω;" παρατυχῶν δὲ αὐτῷ Σέξτος ὁ
 φιλόσοφος "μεγάλα" ἔφη "τῇ θυγατρὶ δώσεις
 ἐγκρατῶς αὐτὴν πενθήσας." ἐπένθει δὲ ταῖς
 ὑπερβολαῖς ταύταις τὰς θυγατέρας, ἐπειδὴ Ἀττικὸν
 τὸν υἱὸν ἐν ὀργῇ εἶχεν. διεβέβλητο δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν
 ὡς ἡλιθιώδης καὶ δυσγράμματον καὶ παχὺν τὴν
 μνήμην· τὰ γοῦν πρῶτα γράμματα παραλαβεῖν
 μὴ δυνηθέντος ἦλθεν ἐς ἐπίνοϊαν τῷ Ἡρώδῃ ξυν-
 τρέφειν αὐτῷ τέτταρας παῖδας καὶ εἴκοσιν ἰσηλικας
 ὠνομασμένους ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων, ἵνα ἐν τοῖς τῶν
 παίδων ὀνόμασι τὰ γράμματα ἐξ ἀνάγκης αὐτῷ
 μελετῶτο. ἑώρα δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ μεθυστικὸν καὶ
 ἀνοήτως ἐρῶντα, ὅθεν ζῶν μὲν ἐπεχρησμῶδει τῇ
 ἑαυτοῦ οἰκίᾳ¹ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔπος·

εἰς δ' ἔτι που μωρὸς καταλείπεται εὐρέι οἴκῳ,

τελευτῶν δὲ τὰ μὲν μητρῶα αὐτῷ ἀπέδωκεν, ἐς
 ἑτέροισι δὲ κληρονόμοις τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον μετέστη-
 σεν. ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίοις ἀπάνθρωπα ἐδόκει ταῦτα οὐκ
 ἐνθυμουμένοις τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καὶ τὸν Πολυδεύκην
 καὶ τὸν Μέμνονα, οὓς ἴσα γνησίοις ἐπένθησε τροφί-
 μοις ὄντας, ἐπειδὴ καλοὶ μάλιστα καὶ ἀγαθοὶ ἦσαν

¹ οὐσίᾳ Kayser; οἰκίᾳ Cobet.

¹ The original of this verse, often parodied by the sophists, and several times by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, is *Odyssey* iv. 498:

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while his grief for his daughter Panathenais was mitigated by the Athenians, who buried her in the city, and decreed that the day on which she died should be taken out of the year. But when his other daughter, whom he called Elpinice, died also, he lay on the floor, beating the earth and crying aloud: "O my daughter, what offerings shall I consecrate to thee? What shall I bury with thee?" Then Sextus the philosopher who chanced to be present said: "No small gift will you give your daughter if you control your grief for her." He mourned his daughters with this excessive grief because he was offended with his son Atticus. He had been misrepresented to him as foolish, bad at his letters, and of a dull memory. At any rate, when he could not master his alphabet, the idea occurred to Herodes to bring up with him twenty-four boys of the same age named after the letters of the alphabet, so that he would be obliged to learn his letters at the same time as the names of the boys. He saw too that he was a drunkard and given to senseless amours, and hence in his lifetime he used to utter a prophecy over his own house, adapting a famous verse as follows:

One fool methinks is still left in the wide house,¹

and when he died he handed over to him his mother's estate, but transferred his own patrimony to other heirs. The Athenians, however, thought this inhuman, and they did not take into consideration his foster-sons Achilles, Polydeuces, and Memnon, and that he mourned them as though they had been his own children, since they were highly honourable youths,

εἰς δ' ἔτι πού τις ζωὴς κατερύκεται εὐρέι πόντῳ.

Herodes substitutes "house" for "deep."

γενναῖοί τε καὶ φιλομαθεῖς καὶ τῇ παρ' αὐτῷ
 τροφῇ πρέποντες. εἰκόνας γοῦν ἀνετίθει σφῶν
 559 θηρώντων καὶ τεθηρακότων καὶ θηρασόντων τὰς
 μὲν ἐν δρυμοῖς, τὰς δὲ ἐπ' ἀγροῖς, τὰς δὲ πρὸς
 πηγαῖς, τὰς δὲ ὑπὸ σκιαῖς πλατάνων, οὐκ ἀφανῶς,
 ἀλλὰ ξὺν ἀραῖς τοῦ περικόψοντος ἢ κινήσοντος, οὓς
 οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἦρεν, εἰ μὴ ἐπαίνων ἀξίους
 ἐγίγνωσκεν. Κυντιλίων δέ, ὁπότε ἦρχον τῆς Ἑλ-
 λάδος, αἰτιωμένων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν μεираκίων
 τούτων εἰκόσιν ὡς περιτταῖς "τί δὲ ὑμῖν" ἔφη
 "διενήνοχεν, εἰ ἐγὼ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐμπαίζω λιθαρίοις;"

*Ἦρξε δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Κυντιλίου δια-
 φορᾶς, ὡς μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ φασι, Πυθικὴ πανήγυρις,
 ἐπειδὴ ἑτεροδόξως τῆς μουσικῆς ἠκροῶντο, ὡς δὲ
 ἔνιοι, τὰ παισθέντα περὶ αὐτῶν Ἡρώδῃ πρὸς
 Μάρκον· ὁρῶν γὰρ αὐτοὺς Τρῶας μὲν, μεγάλων δὲ
 ἀξιουμένους παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως "ἐγὼ" ἔφη "καὶ
 τὸν Δία μέμφομαι τὸν Ὀμηρικόν, ὅτι τοὺς Τρῶας
 φιλεῖ." ἡ δὲ ἀληθεστέρα αἰτία ἦδε· τὼ ἄνδρε
 τούτω, ὁπότε ἄμφω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἠρχέτην, καλέ-
 σαντες ἐς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Ἀθηναῖοι φωνὰς ἀφῆκαν
 τυραννευομένων πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀποσημαίνον-
 τες καὶ δεόμενοι ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐς τὰ βασίλεια ὧτα
 παραπεμφθῆναι τὰ εἰρημένα. τῶν δὲ Κυντιλίων
 παθόντων τι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον καὶ ξὺν ὀρμῇ ἀναπεμ-
 ψάντων ἃ ἤκουσαν, ἐπιβουλευέσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν ὁ
 Ἡρώδης ἔφασκεν ὡς ἀναθολούντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοὺς
 Ἀθηναίους. μετ' ἐκείνην γὰρ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Δημό-

¹ These brothers are mentioned by Cassius Dio lxxi. 33.

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noble-minded and fond of study, a credit to their upbringing in his house. Accordingly he put up statues of them hunting, having hunted, and about to hunt, some in his shrubberies, others in the fields, others by springs or in the shade of plane-trees, not hidden away, but inscribed with execrations on any one who should pull down or move them. Nor would he have exalted them thus, had he not known them to be worthy of his praises. And when the Quintilii during their proconsulship of Greece censured him for putting up the statues of these youths on the ground that they were an extravagance, he retorted: "What business is it of yours if I amuse myself with my poor marbles?"

His quarrel with the Quintilii¹ began, as most people assert, over the Pythian festival, when they held different views about the musical competition; but some say that it began with the jests that Herodes made to Marcus at their expense. For when he saw that, though they were Trojans, the Emperor thought them worthy of the highest honours, he said: "I blame Homer's Zeus also, for loving the Trojans." But the following reason is nearer the truth. When these two men were both governing Greece, the Athenians invited them to a meeting of the assembly, and made speeches to the effect that they were oppressed by a tyrant, meaning Herodes; and finally begged that what they had said might be forwarded to the Emperor's ears. And when the Quintilii felt pity for the people and without delay reported what they had heard, Herodes asserted that they were plotting against him, for they were inciting the Athenians to attack him. Certainly, after that meeting of the assembly there sprang into

στρατοὶ ἀνέφυσαν καὶ Πραξαγόραι καὶ Μαμερ-
 τῖνοι καὶ ἕτεροι πλείους ἐς τὸ ἀντίξοον τῷ Ἑρώδῃ
 560 πολιτεύοντες. γραψάμενος δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἑρώδης ὡς
 ἐπισυνιστάντας αὐτῷ τὸν δῆμον ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγε-
 μονίαν, οἱ δὲ ὑπεξήλθον ἀφανῶς παρὰ τὸν αὐτο-
 κράτορα Μάρκον, θαρροῦντες τῇ τε φύσει τοῦ
 βασιλέως δημοτικωτέρα οὔσῃ καὶ τῷ καιρῷ. ὧν
 γὰρ ὑπώπτευσε Λούκιον κοινωγόν αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς
 γενόμενον, οὐδὲ τὸν Ἑρώδην ἠφίει τοῦ μὴ οὐ
 ξυμμετέχειν αὐτῷ. ὁ μὲν δὴ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐκάθητο
 ἐς τὰ Παιόνια ἔθνη ὀρμητηρίῳ τῷ Σιρμίῳ χρώμενος,
 κατέλυνον δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Δημόστρατον περὶ τὰ
 βασιλεία, παρέχοντος αὐτοῖς ἀγορὰν τοῦ Μάρκου
 καὶ θαμὰ ἐρωτῶντος, εἴ του δέοιντο. φιλανθρώπως
 δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχειν αὐτός τε ἑαυτὸν ἐπεπείκει καὶ
 τῇ γυναικὶ ἐπέπειστο καὶ τῷ θυγατρὶ ψελλιζομένῳ
 ἔτι, τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα ξὺν πολλοῖς θωπεύμασι
 περιπίπτον τοῖς γόνασι τοῦ πατρὸς ἐδεῖτο σῶσαί οἱ
 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὁ δὲ Ἑρώδης ἐν προαστείῳ
 ἐσκήνου, ἐν ᾧ πύργοι ἐξωκοδόμηντο καὶ ἡμιπύργια,
 καὶ δὴ ξυναπεδήμουν αὐτῷ καὶ δίδυμοι κόραι πρὸς
 ἀκμῇ γάμων θαυμαζόμεναι ἐπὶ τῷ εἶδει, ἃς ἐκνη-
 πιώσας ὁ Ἑρώδης οἰνοχόους ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὀψοποιούς
 ἐπεποίητο θυγάτρια ἐπονομάζων καὶ ᾧδε ἀσπαζό-
 μενος — Ἀλκιμέδοντος μὲν δὴ αὗται θυγατέρες, ὁ
 δὲ Ἀλκιμέδων ἀπελεύθερος τοῦ Ἑρώδου — καθευ-

¹ Lucius Verus, the Emperor's son-in-law and colleague ;
 cf. Cassius Dio lxxi. 1-2.

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activity men like Demostratus, Praxagoras and Mamertinus, and many others whose public policy was opposed to Herodes. Thereupon Herodes indicted them on the charge of a conspiracy to set the people against him, and tried to bring them before the proconsular court. But they escaped secretly and went to the Emperor Marcus, relying both on the Emperor's disposition, which was somewhat democratic, and also on the favourable moment. For the Emperor did not acquit Herodes of being an accomplice in the treasonable plots of which he had suspected Lucius,¹ after the latter had become his consort in the Empire. Now the Emperor had his head-quarters among the tribes of Pannonia, with Sirmium for his base, and Demostratus and his friends lodged near the Emperor's head-quarters, where Marcus furnished them with supplies, and often asked them whether they needed anything. Not only was he himself convinced that he ought to treat them with this benevolence, but also he was induced to do so by his wife and by his little daughter who could not yet speak plainly; for she above all used to fall at her father's knees with many blandishments and implore him to save the Athenians for her. But Herodes lodged in a suburb in which towers had been erected, some of full height and others half-towers; and there had travelled with him from home two girls, twins just of marriageable age, who were greatly admired for their beauty. Herodes had brought them up from childhood, and appointed them to be his cupbearers and cooks, and used to call them his little daughters and loved them as though they were. They were the daughters of Alcimedon, and he was a freedman of Herodes.

δούσας δὲ αὐτὰς ἐν ἐνὶ τῶν πύργων, ὃς ἦν
 ἐχυρώτατος, σκηπτὸς ἐνεχθεὶς νύκτωρ ἀπέκτεινεν.
 ὑπὸ τούτου δὴ τοῦ πάθους ἑκφρων ὁ Ἡρώδης
 ἐγένετο καὶ παρήλθεν εἰς τὸ βασιλεῖον δικαστήριον
 561 οὔτε ἔννοους καὶ θανάτου ἐρών. παρελθὼν γὰρ
 καθίστατο εἰς διαβολὰς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος οὐδὲ
 σχηματίσας τὸν λόγον, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν ἄνδρα γεγυμνα-
 σμένον τῆς τοιαύτης ιδέας μεταχειρίσασθαι τὴν
 ἑαυτοῦ χολήν, ἀλλ' ἀπηγκωνισμένη τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ
 γυμνῇ διετείνετο λέγων "ταῦτά μοι ἡ Λουκίου
 ξενία, ὃν σύ μοι ἔπεμψας· ὅθεν δικάζεις, γυναικί με
 καὶ τριετεί παιδίῳ καταχαριζόμενος." Βασσαίου
 δὲ τοῦ πεπιστευμένου τὸ ξίφος θανατῶν αὐτὸν¹
 φήσαντος ὁ Ἡρώδης "ὦ λῶστε," ἔφη "γέρων
 ὀλίγα φοβεῖται." ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἡρώδης ἀπῆλθε τοῦ
 δικαστηρίου εἰπὼν ταῦτα καὶ μετέωρον καταλείψας
 πολὺ τοῦ ὕδατος, ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἐπιδήλως τῷ Μάρκῳ
 φιλοσοφηθέντων καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν δίκην ταύτην
 ἠγώμεθα· οὐ γὰρ ξυνήγαγε τὰς ὀφρῦς, οὐδὲ
 ἔτρεψε τὸ ὄμμα, ὃ κἂν διαιτητῆς τις ἔπαθεν, ἀλλ'
 ἐπιστρέψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους "ἀπολο-
 γεῖσθε," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ καὶ μὴ ξυγχωρεῖ
 Ἡρώδης." καὶ ἀκούων ἀπολογουμένων ἐπὶ πολ-
 λοῖς μὲν ἀφανῶς ἤλγησεν, ἀναγιγνωσκομένης δὲ
 αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐκκλησίας, ἐν ᾗ ἐφαίνοντο
 καθαπτόμενοι τοῦ Ἡρώδου, ὡς τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῆς

¹ θάνατον αὐτῷ Kayser; θανατῶν αὐτὸν Cobet.

¹ i.e. it was a lost opportunity for a speech of "covert allusion"; see Glossary.

² This is the only place where ἐκκλησία, "assembly," is used as the equivalent of ψήφισμα, "decree voted."

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Now while they were asleep in one of the towers which was very strongly built, a thunderbolt struck them in the night and killed them. Herodes was driven frantic by this misfortune, and when he came before the Emperor's tribunal he was not in his right mind but longed for death. For when he came forward to speak he launched into invectives against the Emperor, and did not even use figures of speech¹ in his oration, though it might have been expected that a man who had been trained in this type of oratory would have had his own anger under control. But with an aggressive and unguarded tongue he persisted in his attack, and cried: "This is what I get for showing hospitality to Lucius, though it was you who sent him to me! These are the grounds on which you judge men, and you sacrifice me to the whim of a woman and a three-year-old child!" And when Bassaeus, the pretorian prefect, said that he evidently wished to die, Herodes replied: "My good fellow, an old man fears few things!" With these words Herodes left the court, leaving much of his allowance of water in the clock still to run. But among the eminently philosophic actions of Marcus we must include his behaviour in this trial. For he never frowned or changed his expression, as might have happened even to an umpire, but he turned to the Athenians and said: "Make your defence, Athenians, even though Herodes does not give you leave." And as he listened to the speeches in defence he was greatly pained, though without showing it, by many things that he heard. But when the decree² of the Athenian assembly was recited to him, in which they openly attacked Herodes for trying to corrupt the magis-

Ἑλλάδος ὑποποιουμένου πολλῷ τῷ μέλιτι καὶ που καὶ βεβοηκότες “ὦ πικροῦ μέλιτος” καὶ πάλιν “μακάριοι οἱ ἐν τῷ λοιμῷ ἀποθνήσκοντες” οὕτως ἐσείσθη τὴν καρδίαν ὑφ’ ᾧν ἤκουσεν, ὥς ἐς δάκρυα φανερά ὑπαχθῆναι. τῆς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπολογίας ἐχούσης κατηγορίαν τοῦ τε Ἡρώδου καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων τὴν ὀργὴν ὁ Μάρκος ἐς τοὺς ἀπελευθέρους ἔτρεψε κολάσει χρησάμενος ὥς οἶόν τε ἐπιεικεῖ, οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸς χαρακτηρίζει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κρίσιν, μόνῳ δὲ Ἀλκιμέδοντι τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπανήκεν ἀποχρῶσαν εἶναί οἱ φήσας τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς τέκνοις συμφοράν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδε ἐφιλοσοφεῖτο τῷ Μάρκῳ.

- 562 Ἐπιγράφουσι δὲ ἔνιοι καὶ φύγην οὐ φυγόντι καὶ φασιν αὐτὸν οἰκῆσαι τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἡπείρῳ Ὠρικόν, ὃ καὶ πολίσαι αὐτόν, ὥς εἴη δίαιτα ἐπιτηδεῖα τῷ σώματι. ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ὥκησε μὲν τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο νοσήσας ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ θύσας ἐκβατήρια τῆς νόσου, φυγεῖν δὲ οὔτε προσετάχθη οὔτε ἔτλη. καὶ μάρτυρα τοῦ λόγου τούτου ποιήσομαι τὸν θεσπέσιον Μάρκον· μετὰ γὰρ τὰ ἐν τῇ Παιονίᾳ διητᾶτο μὲν ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ περὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους ἑαυτῷ δῆμους Μαραθῶνα καὶ Κηφισίαν ἐξηρτημένης αὐτοῦ τῆς πανταχόθεν νεότητος, οἱ κατ’ ἔρωτα τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων ἐφοίτων Ἀθήναζε, πείραν δὲ ποιούμενος, μὴ χαλεπὸς αὐτῷ εἴη διὰ τὰ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ πέμπει πρὸς αὐτόν ἐπιστολὴν οὐκ ἀπολογίαν ἔχουσαν, ἀλλ’ ἔγκλημα, θαυμάζειν γὰρ ἔφη, τοῦ χάριν οὐκέτι

¹ See p. 551.

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trates of Greece with the honeyed strains of his eloquence, and when they exclaimed: "Alas, what bitter honey!" and again, "Happy they who perished in the plague!" his feelings were so profoundly affected by what he heard that he burst into tears without concealment. But since the Athenian defence contained an indictment not of Herodes only but also of his freedmen, Marcus turned his anger against the freedmen, employing a punishment which was "as mild as possible"; for by this phrase he himself describes his judgement. Only in the case of Alcimedon he remitted the penalty, saying that the loss of his children was enough. Thus did Marcus conduct this affair in a manner worthy of a philosopher.

Some place on record the exile of Herodes, though exiled he was not, and they say that he lived at Oricum in Epirus and that he in fact founded the city¹ in order that it might be a residence suited to his constitution. But though Herodes did actually live in this place and fell ill there, and offered sacrifices in return for his recovery from sickness, still he was never condemned to exile nor did he suffer this penalty. And as a witness to the truth of this statement I will employ the divine Marcus. For after the affair in Pannonia, Herodes lived in Attica in the demes that he loved best, Marathon and Cephisia. And youths from all parts of the world hung on his lips, and they flocked to Athens in their desire to hear his eloquence. But he put it to the test whether the Emperor was offended with him on account of what had happened in the court, by sending him a letter which so far from being an apology was a complaint. For he said that he

αὐτῷ ἐπιστέλλοι καίτοι τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον θαμὰ οὕτω γράφων, ὡς καὶ τρεῖς γραμματοφόρους ἀφικέσθαι ποτὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ κατὰ πόδας ἀλλήλων. καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ διὰ πλειόνων μὲν καὶ ὑπὲρ πλειόνων, θαυμάσιον δὲ ἦθος ἐγκαταμίξας τοῖς γράμμασιν ἐπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην, ὦν ἐγὼ τὰ ξυντείνοντα ἐς τὸν παρόντα μοι λόγον ἐξελὼν τῆς ἐπιστολῆς δηλώσω· τὸ μὲν δὴ προοίμιον τῶν ἐπεσταλμένων “χαῖρέ μοι, φίλε Ἡρώδη.” διαλεχθεῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῦ πολέμου χειμαδίων, ἐν οἷς ἦν τότε, καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ὀλοφυράμενος ἄρτι αὐτῷ τεθνεῶσαν εἰπὼν τέ τι καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενείας ἐφεξῆς γράφει “σοὶ δὲ ὑγιαίνειν τε εὐχομαι καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ ὡς εὖνου σοι διανοεῖσθαι, μηδὲ ἡγεῖσθαι ἀδικεῖσθαι, εἰ καταφωράσας τινὰς τῶν σῶν πλημμελοῦντας κολάσει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐχρησάμην ὡς οἶόν τε ἐπιεικεῖ. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα μή μοι ὀργίζου, εἰ δέ τι λελύ-
 563 πηκά σε ἢ λυπῶ, ἀπαίτησον παρ' ἐμοῦ δίκας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς ἐν ἅστει Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν μυστηρίοις. ἡϋξάμην γάρ, ὅποτε ὁ πόλεμος μάλιστα ἐφλέγμαινε, καὶ μνηθῆναι, εἴη δὲ καὶ σοῦ μυσταγωγούντος.” τοιάδε ἡ ἀπολογία τοῦ Μάρκου καὶ οὕτω φιλάνθρωπος καὶ ἐρρωμένη. τίς ἂν οὖν ποτε ἢ ὃν φυγῇ περιέβαλεν οὕτω προσεῖπεν ἢ τὸν ἄξιον οὕτω προσειρῆσθαι φεύγειν προσέταξεν;
 Ἔστι δὲ τις λόγος, ὡς νεώτερα μὲν ὁ τὴν ἐῶαν ἐπιτροπεύων Κάσσιος ἐπὶ τὸν Μάρκον βουλευοί,

¹ The Empress Faustina died suddenly at the foot of Mount Taurus, about A.D. 175.

² For the conspiracy and death of Cassius in Syria see Cassius Dio lxxi. 22.

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wondered why the Emperor no longer wrote to him, though in former times he had written to him so often that three letter-carriers had once arrived at his house in a single day, treading in one another's footsteps. Thereupon the Emperor wrote to Herodes at some length and on several subjects, tempering what he wrote with an admirable urbanity, and from this letter I will extract all that bears on my present narrative, and publish it. The letter began with these words: "I greet you, friend Herodes!" Then after discussing the military winter quarters where he was at the time, and lamenting his wife of whom he had recently been bereaved by death,¹ and after some remarks on his own bad health, he continued the letter as follows: "For yourself I wish you good health, and that you should think of me as well disposed to you. And do not regard yourself as unjustly treated, if after I detected the crimes of some of your household I chastised them with a punishment as mild as possible. Do not, I say, feel resentment against me on this account, but if I have annoyed you in aught, or am still annoying you, demand reparation from me in the temple of Athene in your city at the time of the Mysteries. For I made a vow, when the war began to blaze highest, that I too would be initiated, and I could wish that you yourself should initiate me into those rites." Such was the apology of Marcus, so benignant and so firm. Who would ever have addressed in these terms one whom he had cast into exile, or who would have imposed exile on one whom he held worthy to be so addressed?

Moreover, the story is told that when Cassius² the governor of the Eastern provinces was plotting treason

ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ἐπιπλήξειεν αὐτῷ δι' ἐπιστολῆς ὧδε. ξυγκειμένης “Ἡρώδης Κασσίω· ἐμάνης.” τήνδε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν μὴ μόνον ἐπίπληξιν ἡγώμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥώμην ἀνδρὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως τιθεμένου τὰ τῆς γνώμης ὄπλα.

Ὁ δὲ λόγος, ὃν διῆλθε πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην ὁ Δημόστρατος, ἐν θαυμασίοις δοκεῖ. ἰδέα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἢ μὲν τοῦ ἡθους μία, τὸ γὰρ ἐμβριθὲς ἐκ προοιμίων ἐς τέλος διήκει τοῦ λόγου, αἱ δὲ τῆς ἐρμηνείας ἰδέαι πολλαὶ καὶ ἀνόμοιαι μὲν ἀλλήλαις, λόγου δὲ ἄξιαί. ἔστω που καὶ τὸ δι' Ἡρώδην παρὰ τοῖς βασκάνοις εὐδοκιμεῖν τὸν λόγον, ἐπειδὴ ἀνὴρ τοιοῦτος ἐν αὐτῷ κακῶς ἤκουσεν. ἀλλ' ὅπως γε καὶ πρὸς τὰς λοιδορίας ἔρρωτο, δηλώσει καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν κύνα Πρωτέα λεχθέντα ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Ἀθήνησιν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ τῶν οὕτω θαρραλέως φιλοσοφούντων ὁ Πρωτεὺς οὗτος, ὡς καὶ ἐς πῦρ ἑαυτὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ῥῖψαι, ἐπηκολούθει δὲ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ κακῶς ἀγορεύων αὐτὸν ἡμιβαρβάρῳ γλώττῃ· ἐπιστραφεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἡρώδης “ἔστω,” ἔφη “κακῶς με ἀγορεύεις, πρὸς τί καὶ οὕτως;” ἐπικειμένου δὲ τοῦ Πρωτέως ταῖς λοιδορίαις “γεγηράκαμεν” ἔφη “σύ μὲν κακῶς
564 με ἀγορεύων, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀκούων” ἐνδεικνύμενος δῆπου τὸ ἀκούειν μὲν, καταγελᾶν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πεπεῖσθαι τὰς ψευδεῖς λοιδορίας μὴ περαιτέρω ἀκοῆς ἤκειν.

Ἐρμηνεύσω καὶ τὴν γλώτταν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐς χαρακτήρα ἰὼν τοῦ λόγου· ὡς μὲν δὴ Πολέμωνα

¹ Lucian in his *Peregrinus* gives a full account of the self-immolation, of which he was an eyewitness, of Peregrinus Proteus the Cynic philosopher. This took place in A.D. 165.

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against Marcus, Herodes rebuked him in a letter that ran thus : " Herodes to Cassius. You have gone mad." We must regard this letter as not merely a rebuke but also as a strong demonstration by one who, to defend the Emperor, took up the weapons of the intelligence.

The speech which Demostratus delivered against Herodes is, I think, admirable. In regard to its style, its characterization is even throughout, for the impressive manner is sustained from the opening sentences to the end of the speech. But the formal modes of expression are manifold and never alike, but are worthy of all praise. I grant that the speech has become famous among the malicious partly on account of Herodes, because it attacked one so distinguished. But how stoutly Herodes bore himself in the face of abuse will appear also from what he once said to the Cynic Proteus¹ at Athens. For this Proteus was one of those who have the courage of their philosophy, so much so that he threw himself into a bonfire at Olympia ; and he used to dog the steps of Herodes and insult him in a semi-barbarous dialect. So once Herodes turned round and said : " You speak ill of me, so be it, but why in such bad Greek ? " And when Proteus became still more persistent with his accusations, he said : " We two have grown old, you in speaking ill of me and I in hearing you." By which he implied that, though he heard him, he laughed him to scorn, because he was convinced that false accusations reach the ears but wound no deeper.²

I will describe also the eloquence of Herodes and proceed to the main characteristics of his oratory. I

² An echo of Aeschines, *On the False Embassy*, 149.

καὶ Φαβωρίνον καὶ Σκοπελιανὸν ἐν διδασκάλοις
 ἑαυτοῦ ἤγε καὶ ὡς Σεκούνδῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ ἐφοί-
 τησεν, εἰρημένον μοι ἦδη, τοὺς δὲ κριτικούς τῶν
 λόγων Θεαγένει τε τῷ Κνιδίῳ καὶ Μουνατίῳ τῷ
 ἐκ Τραλλέων συνεγένετο καὶ Ταύρῳ τῷ Τυρίῳ
 ἐπὶ ταῖς Πλάτωνος δόξαις. ἡ δὲ ἀρμονία τοῦ
 λόγου ἱκανῶς κεκολασμένη καὶ ἡ δεινότης ὑφέρ-
 πουσα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐγκειμένη κρότος τε σὺν ἀφελείᾳ
 καὶ κριτιάζουσα ἤχῳ καὶ ἔννοιαι οἶαι μὴ ἑτέρῳ
 ἐνθυμηθῆναι κωμική τε εὐγλωττία οὐκ ἐπέσακτος,
 ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ ἡδὺς ὁ λόγος καὶ
 πολυσχήματος καὶ εὐσχήμων καὶ σοφῶς ἐξαλ-
 λάττων τὸ πνεῦμά τε οὐ σφοδρόν, ἀλλὰ λείον καὶ
 καθεστηκὸς καὶ ἡ ἐπίπαν ἰδέα τοῦ λόγου χρυσοῦ
 ψῆγμα ποταμῷ ἀργυροδίνῃ ὑπαύγαζον. προσέ-
 κειτο μὲν γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς παλαιοῖς, τῷ δὲ Κριτία
 καὶ προσετέτῃ καὶ παρήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐς ἥθη
 Ἑλλήνων τέως ἀμελούμενον καὶ περιορώμενον.
 βοώσης δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ καλούσης
 αὐτὸν ἓνα τῶν δέκα οὐχ ἡττήθη τοῦ ἐπαίνου μεγά-
 λου δοκοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἀστεειότατα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπαινέ-
 565 σαντας “ Ἀνδοκίδου μὲν ” ἔφη “ βελτίων εἰμί.”
 εὐμαθέστατος δὲ ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος οὐδὲ τοῦ
 μοχθεῖν ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πότον ἐσπού-
 दाζε καὶ νύκτωρ ἐν τοῖς διαλείμμασι τῶν ὕπνων,
 ὅθεν ἐκάλουν αὐτὸν σιτευτὸν ῥήτορα οἱ ὀλίγωροι

¹ From Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1003 :

ἦνικ' ἂν τὸ πνεῦμα λείον καὶ καθεστηκὸς λάβης.

² The same figure is used by Lucian, *Dialogues of the Sea-Gods* 3.

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have already said that he counted Polemo, Favorinus, and Scopelian among his teachers, that he attended the lectures of Secundus the Athenian, but for the critical branch of oratory he studied with Theagenes of Cnidos and Munatius of Tralles; and for the doctrines of Plato, with Taurus of Tyre. The structure of his work was suitably restrained, and its strength lay in subtlety rather than in vigour of attack. He was impressive in the plain style, sonorous after the manner of Critias; his ideas were such as would not occur to the mind of another; he had an easy and urbane wit which was not dragged in, but inspired by the subjects themselves; his diction was pleasing and abounded in figures and had grace and beauty; he was skilful in varying his constructions; his tone was not vehement but smooth and steady,¹ and, speaking generally, his type of eloquence is like gold dust shining beneath the waters of a silvery eddying river.² For while he devoted himself to the study of all the older writers, from Critias he was inseparable, and he made the Greeks better acquainted with him, since he had hitherto been neglected and overlooked. And when all Greece was loud in applause of Herodes and called him one of the Ten,³ he was not abashed by such a compliment, though it seems magnificent enough, but replied to his admirers with great urbanity: "Well at any rate I am better than Andocides." Though no man ever learned more easily than he, he did not neglect hard work, but used to study even while he drank his wine, and at night in his wakeful intervals. Hence the lazy and light-minded used to call him the "Stuffed Orator."

³ The Ten Attic Orators of the canon.

τε καὶ λεπτοί. ἄλλος μὲν οὖν ἄλλο ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἄλλος ἐν ἄλλῳ βελτίων ἐτέρου, ὁ μὲν γὰρ σχεδιάσαι θαυμάσιος, ὁ δὲ ἐκπονῆσαι λόγον, ὁ δὲ τὰ ξύμπαντα ἄριστα τῶν σοφιστῶν διέθετο καὶ τὸ παθητικὸν οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τραγωδίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων συνελέξατο.

Ἐπιστολαὶ δὲ πλείσται Ἡρώδου καὶ διαλέξεις καὶ ἐφημερίδες ἐγχειρίδιά τε καὶ καίρια τὴν ἀρχαίαν πολυμάθειαν ἐν βραχεὶ ἀπηνθισμένα. οἱ δὲ προφέροντες αὐτῷ νέῳ ἔτι τὸ λόγου τινὸς ἐν Παιονίᾳ ἐκπεσεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἡγνοηκέναι μοι δοκοῦσιν, ὅτι καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐπὶ Φιλίππου λέγων ταῦτόν ἔπαθεν· κακῆϊνος μὲν ἦκων Ἀθήναζε τιμὰς προσήτει καὶ στεφάνους ἀπολωλείας Ἀθηναίοις Ἀμφιπόλεως, Ἡρώδης δέ, ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἔπαθεν, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ἦλθεν ὡς ρίψων ἑαυτόν, τοσοῦτον γὰρ αὐτῷ περιῆν τοῦ ἐν λόγοις βούλεσθαι ὀνομαστῶ εἶναι, ὡς θανάτου τιμᾶσθαι τὸ σφαλῆναι.

Ἐτελεύτα μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὰ ἕξ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ξυντακῆς γενόμενος. ἀποθανόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι καὶ ἐπισκῆψαντος τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις ἐκεῖ θάπτειν, Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς τῶν ἐφήβων χερσὶν ἀρπάσαντες ἐς ἄστὺ ἤνεγκαν προαπαντῶντες τῷ λέχει πᾶσα ἡλικία δακρύοις ἅμα καὶ ἀνευφημοῦν-
 568 τες, ὅσα παῖδες χρηστοῦ πατρὸς χηρεύσαντες, καὶ ἔθαιψαν ἐν τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ ἐπιγράψαντες αὐτῷ βραχὺ καὶ πολὺ ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·

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Different men excel in different ways and this or that man is superior to another in this or that, since one is admirable as an extempore speaker, another at elaborating a speech, but our friend surpassed every other sophist in his grasp of all these methods; and when he wished to move his hearers he drew not only on tragedy but also on the life of every day.

There are extant by Herodes very many letters, discourses and diaries, handbooks and collections of suitable passages in which the flowers of antique erudition have been collected in a small volume. And those who cast in his teeth the fact that while he was yet a youth he broke down in a speech before the Emperor in Pannonia, are, I think, not aware that the same thing happened to Demosthenes also, when he spoke before Philip. And Demosthenes returned to Athens and demanded honours and crowns, though the Athenians never recovered Amphipolis¹; but Herodes after that humiliation rushed to the river Danube as though he would throw himself in; for so overwhelming was his desire to become famous as an orator, that he assessed the penalty of failure at death.

He died at the age of about seventy-six, of a wasting sickness. And though he expired at Marathon and had left directions to his freedmen to bury him there, the Athenians carried him off by the hands of the youths and bore him into the city, and every age went out to meet the bier with tears and pious ejaculations, as would sons who were bereft of a good father. They buried him in the Panathenaic stadium, and inscribed over him this brief and noble

¹ Philip had taken Amphipolis in 357, eleven years before this embassy, and the failure of Demosthenes had nothing to do with its retention by him.

Ἀττικοῦ Ἡρώδης Μαραθώνιος, οὐδ' ἄγε πάντα
κεῖται τῷδε τάφῳ, πάντοθεν εὐδόκιμος.

τοσαῦτα περὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, τὰ μὲν εἰρη-
μένα, τὰ δὲ ἡγνοημένα ἑτέροις.

β'. Ἐπὶ τὸν σοφιστὴν Θεόδοτον καλεῖ με ὁ
λόγος. Θεόδοτος μὲν προὔστη καὶ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων
δήμου κατὰ χρόνους, οὓς προσέκρουον Ἡρώδη
Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐς ἀπέχθειαν φανεράν οὐδεμίαν τῷ
ἀνδρὶ ἀφίκετο, ἀλλ' ἀφανῶς αὐτὸν ὑπεκάθητο
δεινὸς ὢν χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν, καὶ γὰρ δὴ
καὶ τῶν ἀγοραίων εἰς οὗτος· τοῖς γοῦν ἀμφὶ τὸν
Δημόστρατον οὕτω ξυνεκέκρατο, ὥς καὶ ξυνά-
ρασθαί σφισι τῶν λόγων, οὓς ἐξεπόνουν πρὸς τὸν
Ἡρώδη. προὔστη δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων νεό-
τητος πρῶτος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκ βασιλέως μυρίαις. καὶ
οὐ τοῦτό πω λόγου ἄξιον, οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντες οἱ
ἐπιβατεύοντες τοῦ θρόνου τούτου λόγου ἄξιοι,
ἀλλ' ὅτι τοὺς μὲν Πλατωνείους καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς
Στοᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Περιπάτου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ
Ἐπικούρου προσέταξεν ὁ Μάρκος τῷ Ἡρώδη
κρίναι, τὸν δὲ ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν
587 δόξης αὐτὸς ἐπέκρινε τοῖς νέοις ἀγωνιστὴν τῶν
πολιτικῶν προσειπὼν λόγων καὶ ῥητορικῆς ὄφελος.
ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος Λολλιανοῦ μὲν ἀκροατῆς, Ἡρώδου
δὲ οὐκ ἀνήκοος. ἐβίω μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ τὰ πεντή-
κοντα δυοῖν ἔτοιν κατασχὼν τὸν θρόνον, τὴν δὲ
ιδέαν τῶν λόγων ἀποχρῶν καὶ τοῖς δικανικοῖς
καὶ τοῖς ὑπερσοφιστεύουσιν.

γ'. Ὀνομαστός ἐν σοφισταῖς καὶ Ἀριστοκλῆς

¹ Nothing more of any importance is known about this sophist.

² He was "king archon" at Athens.

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epitaph : " Here lies all that remains of Herodes, son of Atticus, of Marathon, but his glory is world-wide." That is all I have to say concerning Herodes the Athenian ; part of it has been told already by others, but part was hitherto unknown.

2. My narrative calls me to consider the sophist THEODOTUS.¹ Theodotus was a chief magistrate² of the Athenian people at the time when the Athenians had their quarrel with Herodes, and though he never reached the stage of open hostility towards him, he plotted against him in secret, since he had a talent for profiting by any turn of affairs ; and indeed he was one of the baser sort. At any rate he became so thoroughly mixed up with Demostratus and his friends that he collaborated with them in the speeches that they were carefully preparing against Herodes. Also he was appointed to the chair of rhetoric to educate the youth of Athens, and was the first to receive a salary of ten thousand drachmae from the Emperor. Yet this fact alone would not be worth mentioning ; for not all who ascend this chair are worthy of mention, but I do so because Marcus assigned to Herodes the task of choosing the Platonic philosophers and the Stoics, Peripatetics, and Epicureans, but this man he himself chose from the opinion that he had formed of him to direct the education of the youth and called him a past master of political oratory and an ornament to rhetoric. This man was a pupil of Lollianus, but he had also attended the lectures of Herodes. He lived to be over fifty, held the chair for two years, and both in the forensic and purely sophistic branches of oratory the style of his speeches was sufficiently good.

3. ARISTOCLES of Pergamon also won renown among

ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Περγάμου, ὑπὲρ οὗ δηλώσω, ὅποσα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἤκουον· ἐτέλει μὲν γὰρ ἐς ὑπάτους ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος, τὸν δὲ ἐκ παίδων ἐς ἡβην χρόνον τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Περιπάτου φιλοσοφῆσας λόγους ἐς τοὺς σοφιστὰς μετερρύνῃ θαμίζων ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ διατιθεμένῳ σχεδίου λόγους. ὃν δὲ ἐφιλοσόφει χρόνον αὐχμηρὸς δοκῶν καὶ τραχὺς τὸ εἶδος καὶ δυσπινὴς τὴν ἐσθῆτα, ἡβρυνε καὶ τὸν αὐχμὸν ἀπετρίψατο, ἡδονὰς τε, ὅποσαι λυρῶν τε καὶ αὐλῶν καὶ εὐφωνίας εἰσί, πάσας ἐσηγάγετο ἐπὶ τὴν δίαιταν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ θύρας αὐτῷ ἠκούσας, τὸν γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον οὕτω κεκολασμένος ἀτάκτως ἐς τὰ θέατρα ἐφοίτα καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τούτων ἡχώ. εὐδοκιμοῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ Πέργαμον κάζηρ-
 568 τήμένῳ πᾶν τὸ ἐκείνῃ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐξελαύνων ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐς Πέργαμον ἔπεμψε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ὁμιλη-
 τὰς πάντας καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοκλέα ἦρεν, ὥσπερ τις Ἀθηναῖς ψῆφος. ἡ δὲ ἰδέα τοῦ λόγου διαυγῆς μὲν καὶ ἀττικίζουσα, διαλέγεσθαι δὲ ἐπιτηδεῖα μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγωνίζεσθαι, χολή τε γὰρ ἄπεστι τοῦ λόγου καὶ ὀρμαὶ πρὸς βραχύ, αὐτὴ τε ἡ ἀττικίσις, εἰ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἡρώδου γλῶτταν βασανίζοιτο, λεπτολογεῖσθαι δόξει μᾶλλον ἢ κρότου τε καὶ ἡχοῦς ξυγκεῖσθαι. ἐτελεύτα δὲ ὁ Ἀριστοκλῆς μεσαιπόλιος, ἄρτι προσβαίνων τῷ γηράσκειν.
 δ'. Ἀντίοχον δὲ τὸν σοφιστὴν αἱ Κιλικῶν Αἰγαὶ ἠνεγκαν οὕτω τι εὐπατρίδην, ὥς νῦν ἔτι τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένος ὑπάτους εἶναι. αἰτίαν δὲ ἔχων

¹ An echo of Plato, *Republic* 489 B ; *Phaedrus* 233 E.

² The vote of Athene given in the trial of Orestes in Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, became a proverb.

³ The Greek epithet is from *Iliad* xiii. 361.

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the sophists, and I will relate all that I have heard about him from men older than myself. This man belonged to a family of consular rank, and though from boyhood to early manhood he had devoted himself to the teachings of the Peripatetic school, he went over entirely to the sophists, and at Rome regularly attended the lectures of Herodes on extempore oratory. Now, so long as he was a student of philosophy he was slovenly in appearance, unkempt and squalid in his dress, but now he began to be fastidious, discarded his slovenly ways, and admitted into his house all the pleasures that are afforded by the lyre, the flute, and the singing voice, as though they had come begging to his doors.¹ For though hitherto he had lived with such austerity he now began to be immoderate in his attendance at theatres and their loud racket. When he was beginning to be famous at Pergamon, and all the Hellenes in that region hung on his oratory, Herodes travelled to Pergamon and sent all his own pupils to hear him, thereby exalting the reputation of Aristocles as though Athene² herself had cast her vote. His style of eloquence was lucid and Attic, but it was more suited to formal discourse than to forensic argument, for his language is without acrimony or impulsive outbreaks on the spur of the moment. And even his Atticism, tested by comparison with the language of Herodes, will seem over-subtle and deficient in the qualities of magnificence and sonorousness. Aristocles died when his hair was streaked with grey,³ on the very threshold of old age.

4. ANTIOCHUS the sophist was born at Aegae in Cilicia of so distinguished a family that even now his descendants are made consuls. When he was

δειλίας, ἐπεὶ μὴ παρῇει ἐς τὸν δῆμον, μηδὲ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐπολίτευεν, “οὐχ ὑμᾶς,” εἶπεν “ἀλλ’ ἐμαυτὸν δέδοικα,” εἰδὼς πού τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χολὴν ἄκρατόν τε καὶ οὐ καθεκτὴν οὔσαν. ἀλλ’ ὅμως ὠφέλει τοὺς ἀστοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας, ὃ τι εἴη δυνατός, σιτόν τε ἐπιδιδούς, ὅποτε τούτου δεομένους αἰσθοίτο, καὶ χρήματα ἐς τὰ πεπονηκότα τῶν ἔργων. τὰς δὲ πλείους τῶν νυκτῶν ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερὸν ἀπεκάθειυεν ὑπὲρ τε ὄνειράτων ὑπὲρ τε ξυνουσίας, ὅποση ἐγρηγορότων τε καὶ διαλεγομένων ἀλλήλοις, διελέγετο γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐγρηγορότι ὁ θεὸς καλὸν ἀγώνισμα ποιούμενος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τέχνης τὸ τὰς νόσους ἐρύκειν τοῦ Ἀντίοχου.

Ἀκροατὴς ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἐν παισὶ μὲν Δαρδάνου τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου, προῖων δὲ ἐς τὰ μεράκια Διονυσίου ἐγένετο τοῦ Μιλησίου κατέχοντος ἤδη τὴν Ἐφεσίῳ. διελέγετο μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως — φρονιμώτατος δ’ ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος διέβαλλεν 569 αὐτὸ ὡς μεираκιῶδες, ἵνα ὑπερεωρακῶς αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπολειπόμενος φαίνοιτο — τὰ δὲ ἀμφὶ μελέτην ἐλλογιμώτατος· ἀσφαλὴς μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς κατὰ σχῆμα προηγμέναις τῶν ὑποθέσεων, σφοδρὸς δὲ ἐν ταῖς κατηγορίαις καὶ ἐπιφοραῖς, εὐπρεπὴς δὲ τὰς ἀπολογίας καὶ τῷ ἠθικῷ ἰσχύων, καὶ καθάπαξ τὴν ἰδέαν τοῦ λόγου δικανικῆς μὲν σοφιστικώτερος, σοφιστικῆς δὲ δικανικώτερος. καὶ τὰ πάθη ἄριστα σοφιστῶν μετεχειρίσατο, οὐ γὰρ

¹ In the sophistic literature of this period there is much evidence of the decay of the Greek towns, especially in Aristeides, *Oration* 43, and of the generosity of sophists in restoring them.

² For an interview of Apollonius and Asclepius in the temple at Aegae see Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* i. 8. 9.

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accused of cowardice in not appearing to speak before the assembly and taking no part in public business, he said: "It is not you but myself that I fear." No doubt that was because he knew that he had a bitter and violent temper, and that he could not control it. But nevertheless he used to aid the citizens from his private means as far as he was able, and furnished them not only with corn whenever he saw they were in need, but also with money to restore their dilapidated buildings.¹ He used to spend very many nights in the temple of Asclepius,² both on account of the dreams that he had there, and also on account of all the intercourse there is between those who are awake and converse with one another, for in his case the god used to converse with him while awake, and held it to be a triumph of his healing art to ward off disease from Antiochus.

As a boy, Antiochus was a pupil of Dardanus the Assyrian, and as he grew to early manhood he studied with Dionysius of Miletus, who was already living in Ephesus. He had no talent for formal discourse, and since he was the shrewdest of men he used to run down this branch of the art as childish, so that he might appear to despise it rather than to be unequal to it. But in declamation he won great fame, for he had a sure touch in simulated arguments, was energetic in accusation and invective, brilliant in defence, strong in characterization, and, in a word, his style of eloquence was somewhat too sophistic for the forensic branch and more forensic than sophistic usually is.³ He handled the emotions more skilfully than any other sophist, for he did not

³ The same is said of Nicetes, p. 511, of Damianus, p. 606; cf. Cicero, *Brutus* 31.

μονωδίας ἀπεμήκυνεν, οὐδὲ θρήνους ὑποκειμένους, ἀλλ' ἐβραχυλόγει· αὐτὰ ξὺν διανοίαις λόγου κρείττωσιν, ὡς ἔκ τε τῶν ἄλλων ὑποθέσεων δηλοῦται καὶ μάλιστα ἐκ τῶνδε· κόρη βιασθεῖσα θάνατον ἤρηται τοῦ βιασαμένου· μετὰ ταῦτα γέγονε παιδίον ἐκ τῆς βίας καὶ διαμιλλῶνται οἱ πάπποι, παρ' ὁποτέρῳ τρέφοιτο τὸ παιδίον. ἀγωνιζόμενος οὖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρὸς πατρός πάππου "ἀπόδος" ἔφη "τὸ παιδίον, ἀπόδος ἤδη, πρὶν γεύσῃται μητρῶον γάλακτος." ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα ὑπόθεσις τοιαύτη· τύραννον καταθέμενον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκκλεῦσθαι ἀπέκτεινέ τις εὐνοῦχος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγωνῶς καὶ ἀπολογεῖται ὑπὲρ τοῦ φόνου. ἐνταῦθα τὸ μάλιστα ἔρρωμένον τῆς κατηγορίας τὸν περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν λόγον ἀπεώσατο περινοίαν ἐγκαταμίξας τῷ πάθει· "τίσι γὰρ" ἔφη "ταῦτα ὠμολόγησε; παισὶ γυναίοις μεираκίοις πρεσβύταις ἀνδράσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ ὄνομα ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις οὐκ ἔχω." ἄριστα δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν Κρητῶν ἀπολελόγηται τῶν κρινομένων ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς σήματι φυσιολογία τε καὶ θεολογία πάσῃ ἐναγωνισάμενος λαμπρῶς. τὰς μὲν οὖν μελέτας αὐτο-

570 σχεδίους ἐποιεῖτο, ἔμελε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ φροντισμάτων, ὡς ἑτερά τε δηλοῖ τῶν ἐκείνου καὶ μάλιστα ἡ ἱστορία, ἐπίδειξιν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ πεποιήται λέξεώς τε καὶ θεωρίας,¹ ἐσποιῶν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τῷ φιλο-

¹ *ρητορίας* Kayser, but suggests *θεωρίας* or *ἱστορίας*.

¹ i.e. she had the alternative of marrying him; for a dilemma arising out of a similar case cf. Hermogenes, *Περὶ στάσεων* iii. 15.

² The theme presented the arguments for the Cretan claim that the tomb of Zeus was in Crete.

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spin out long monodies or abject lamentations, but expressed them in a few words and adorned them with ideas better than I can describe, as is evident in other cases that he pleaded, but especially in the following. A girl has been ravished, and has chosen that her ravisher shall be put to death¹; later a child is born of this rape, and the grandfathers dispute as to which one of them shall bring up the child. Antiochus was pleading on behalf of its paternal grandfather, and exclaimed: "Give up the child! Give it up this instant before it can taste its mother's milk!" The other theme is as follows. A tyrant abdicates on condition of immunity for himself. He is slain by one whom he has caused to be made a eunuch, and the latter is on his defence for the murder. In this case Antiochus refuted the strongest point made by the prosecution when they quoted the compact between the people and the tyrant; and threw in an ingenious argument while he set forth the eunuch's personal grievance: "With whom, pray," cried he, "did he make this agreement? With children, weak women, boys, old men, and men. But there is no description of me in that contract." Most skilful, too, was his defence of the Cretans, standing their trial in the matter of the tomb of Zeus²; when he made brilliant use of arguments drawn from natural philosophy and all that is taught concerning the gods. He delivered extempore declamations, but he also took pains with written compositions, as others of his works make evident, but above all, his *History*. For in this he has displayed to the full both his powers of language and of thought, and, moreover, he devotes himself to

καλεῖν. περὶ δὲ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἱ μὲν ἑβδομηκοντούτῃν τεθνάναι αὐτόν, οἱ δὲ οὐπω, καὶ οἱ μὲν οἴκοι, οἱ δὲ ἐτέρωθι.

ε'. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δέ, ὃν Πηλοπλάτωνα οἱ πολλοὶ ἐπωνόμαζον, πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Σελεύκεια πόλις οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, πατὴρ δὲ ὁμώνυμος καὶ τοὺς ἀγοραίους λόγους ἱκανώτατος, μήτηρ δὲ περιττὴ τὸ εἶδος, ὡς αἱ γραφαὶ ἐρμηνεύουσι, καὶ προσφερῆς τῇ τοῦ Εὐμήλου Ἑλένῃ· Εὐμήλῳ γάρ τις Ἑλένη γέγραπται οἷα ἀνάθεμα εἶναι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀγορᾶς. ἐρασθῆναι τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης καὶ ἐτέρους μὲν, ἐπιδήλως δὲ Ἀπολλωνίων φασι τὸν Τυανέα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπαξιῶσαι, τῷ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ξυγγενέσθαι δι' ἔρωτα εὐπαιδίας, ἐπειδὴ θειώτερος ἀνθρώπων. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ὁπόσοις τρόποις ἀπίθανον, εἴρηται σαφῶς ἐν τοῖς ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον. θεοειδὴς δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ περίβλεπτος ξὺν ᾧρα, γενειάς τε γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ βοστρυχώδης καὶ καθειμένη τὸ μέτριον ὄμμα τε ἄβρὸν καὶ μέγα καὶ ῥῖς ξύμμετρος καὶ ὀδόντες λευκότατοι δάκτυλοί τε εὐμήκεις καὶ τῇ τοῦ λόγου ἡνία ἐπιπρέποντες. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πλοῦτος δαπανώμενος ἐς ἡδονὰς οὐ μεμπτάς.

Ἐς δὲ ἄνδρας ἡκων ἐπρέσβευε μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς Σελευκείας παρὰ τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον, διαβολαὶ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτόν ἐφοίτησαν, ὡς νεότητα ἐπιποιουῦντα τῷ εἶδει. ἦττον δὲ αὐτῷ προσέχειν δοκοῦντος τοῦ βασιλέως
571 ἐπάρας τὴν φωνὴν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος “πρόσεχέ μοι,”

¹ *Life of Apollonius* i. 13, vi. 42.

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the love of the beautiful. Concerning the end of Antiochus, some say that he died at the age of seventy, others that he was not so old ; again, some say that he died at home, others abroad.

5. ALEXANDER, who was generally nicknamed "Clay-Plato," was born at Seleucia, a famous city in Cilicia. His father had the same name as himself and was very talented in forensic oratory, while his mother, as her portraits show, was extraordinarily beautiful, and in fact resembled the Helen of Eumelus. (Now Eumelus painted a picture of Helen that was thought worthy to be dedicated in the Roman Forum.) They say that among others who fell in love with her was Apollonius of Tyana, and that he made no secret of it ; that she rejected the others, but gave herself to Apollonius because of her desire for noble offspring, since he more than ordinary men had in him something divine. In my work on Apollonius¹ I have stated clearly on how many grounds this story is incredible. But it is true that Alexander had a godlike appearance, and was conspicuous for his beauty and charm. For his beard was curly and of moderate length, his eyes large and melting, his nose well shaped, his teeth very white, his fingers long and slender, and well fitted to hold the reins of eloquence. He had, moreover, a large fortune, which he used to spend on pleasures that were above reproach.

After he had reached manhood he went on an embassy to Antoninus on behalf of Seleucia, and malicious gossip became current about him, that to make himself look younger he used artificial means. Now the Emperor seemed to be paying too little attention to him, whereupon Alexander raised his voice and said : "Pay attention to me, Caesar."

ἔφη “ Καῖσαρ.” καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ παροξυνθεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς θρασυτέρᾳ τῇ ἐπιστροφῇ χρησάμενον “ προσέχω ” ἔφη “ καὶ ξυνήμῃ σου· σὺ γάρ ” ἔφη “ ὁ τὴν κόμην ἀσκῶν καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας λαμπρύνων καὶ τοὺς ὄνυχας ξέων καὶ τοῦ μύρου ἀεὶ πνέων.”

Τὸν μὲν δὴ πλείστον τοῦ βίου τῇ τε Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐνεσπούδαζε καὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τοῖς Ταρσοῖς καὶ νῇ Δία Αἰγύπτῳ πάσῃ, ἀφίκετο γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὰ τῶν Γυμνῶν ἤθη. αἱ δὲ Ἀθήνησι διατριβαὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὀλίγαι μὲν, οὐκ ἄξια δὲ ἀγνοεῖσθαι. ἐβάδιζε μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὰ Παιονικὰ ἔθνη μετακληθεὶς ὑπὸ Μάρκου βασιλέως ἐκεῖ στρατεύοντος καὶ δεδωκότος αὐτῷ τὸ ἐπιστέλλειν Ἑλλήσιν, ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὁδοῦ δὲ μῆκος τοῦτο οὐ μέτριον τῷ ἐκ τῆς ἐώας ἐλαύνοντι, “ ἐνταῦθα ” ἔφη “ γόνυ κάμψωμεν.” καὶ εἰπὼν τοῦτο ἐπήγγειλε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις αὐτοσχεδίους λόγους ἐρῶσιν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀκροάσεως. ἀκούων δὲ τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐν Μαραθῶνι διαιτώμενον καὶ τὴν νεότητα ἐπακολουθοῦσαν αὐτῷ πᾶσαν γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν αἰτῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης “ ἀφίξομαι ” ἔφη “ μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ αὐτός.” ξυνελέγοντο μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸ ἐν τῷ Κέραμεικῷ θέατρον, ὃ δὴ ἐπωνόμασται Ἀγριππεῖον, προϋούσης δὲ ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τοῦ Ἡρώδου βραδύνοντος ἡσχαλλον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐκλυομένης τῆς ἀκροάσεως καὶ τέχνην αὐτὸ ᾤοντο,

¹ For the Gymnosophists see *Life of Apollonius* vi. 6. This sect of naked ascetics and miracle-workers had migrated from India to Egypt and Ethiopia.

² For this phrase cf. Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vinculus* 32; in tragedy, as here, it means “sit,” or “rest,” but not “kneel.”

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The Emperor, who was much irritated with him for using so unceremonious a form of address, retorted: "I am paying attention, and I know you well. You are the fellow who is always arranging his hair, cleaning his teeth, and polishing his nails, and always smells of myrrh."

For the greater part of his life he carried on his profession at Antioch, Rome, Tarsus, and, by Zeus, in the whole of Egypt, for he travelled even to the place where is the sect of the Naked Philosophers.¹ His visits to Athens were few, but it would not be proper to ignore them. He journeyed to the tribes of Pannonia at the summons of the Emperor Marcus, who was conducting the war there and bestowed on him the title of Imperial Secretary for the Greeks. When he reached Athens—and it is a journey of no ordinary length for one travelling from the East—"Here," said he, "let us bend the knee in repose."² After saying this he announced to the Athenians that he would deliver extempore speeches, since they were very eager to hear him. But when he was told that Herodes was living at Marathon, and that all the Athenian youth had followed him there, he wrote him a letter asking him for his Hellenes; to which Herodes replied: "I will come myself too with my Hellenes." They were accordingly assembled in the Cerameicus, in the theatre which has been called the Theatre of Agrippa,³ and as the day was already far advanced and Herodes still tarried, the Athenians complained that the lecture was being given up, and they thought that it was a trick;

³ For this theatre see below, p. 580. Dörpfeld conjectures that it was identical with the old Odeum of the market-place, and that Pausanias i. 8. 6 refers to it as "the theatre called the Odeum."

572 ὅθεν ἀνάγκη τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγένετο παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν διάλεξιν καὶ πρὶν ἤκειν τὸν Ἡρώδην. ἡ μὲν δὴ διάλεξις ἔπαινοι ἦσαν τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ ἀπολογία πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μήπω πρότερον παρ' αὐτοὺς ἀφίχθαι, εἶχε δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀποχρῶν μῆκος, Παναθηναικοῦ γὰρ λόγου ἐπιτομὴ εἵκαστο. εὐσταλὴς δὲ οὕτω τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔδοξεν, ὥς καὶ βόμβον διελθεῖν αὐτῶν ἔτι σιωπῶντος ἔπαινεσάντων αὐτοῦ τὸ εὐσχημον. ἡ μὲν δὴ νενικηκυῖα ὑπόθεσις ὁ τοὺς Σκύθας ἐπανάγων ἐς τὴν προτέραν πλάνην, ἐπειδὴ πόλιν οἰκοῦντες νοσοῦσι, καιρὸν δ' ἐπισχὼν βραχὺν ἀνεπήδησε τοῦ θρόνου φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ, καθάπερ εὐαγγέλια ἐπάγων τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις ὧν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι. προϊόντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου ἐπέστη ὁ Ἡρώδης Ἀρκάδι πῖλῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν σκιάζων, ὥς ἐν ὥρᾳ θέρους εἰώθει Ἀθήνησιν, ἴσως δέ που καὶ ἐνδεικνύμενος αὐτῷ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἤκειν. καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔνθεν ἐλὼν διελέχθη μὲν ἐς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑποσέμνω τῇ λέξει καὶ ἡχούσῃ, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ ἔθετο, εἴτε βούλοιο τῆς ἡδὴ σπουδαζομένης ὑποθέσεως ἀκροᾶσθαι, εἴτε ἐτέραν αὐτὸς δοῦναι. τοῦ δὲ Ἡρώδου ἀναβλέψαντος ἐς τοὺς ἀκροωμένους καὶ εἰπόντος, ὥς ποιήσοι, ὅπερ ἂν ἐκείνοις δόξῃ, πάντες ξυνεπένευσαν ἐς τὴν τῶν Σκυθῶν ἀκρόασιν, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ λαμπρῶς διήκει τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὥς δηλοῖ τὰ εἰρημένα. θαυμασίαν δὲ ἰσχὺν ἐνεδείξατο καὶ ἐν τοῖσδε· τὰς γὰρ διανοίας

¹ A favourite theme was the comparison of nomadic with city life, with the Scythians to point the moral; cf. below, pp. 575, 620; Apsines 228, 247.

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so that it became necessary for Alexander to come forward and make the introductory speech before the arrival of Herodes. Now his introductory speech was a panegyric of the city and an apology to the Athenians for not having visited them before, and it was of the appropriate length, for it was like an epitome of a Panathenaic oration. The Athenians thought his appearance and costume so exquisite that before he spoke a word a low buzz of approval went round as a tribute to his perfect elegance. Now the theme that they chose was this: "The speaker endeavours to recall the Scythians to their earlier nomadic life, since they are losing their health by dwelling in cities."¹ After pausing for a brief space he sprang from his seat with a look of gladness on his face, like one who brings good news to those who shall listen to what he has to tell them. While his speech was proceeding, Herodes made his appearance, wearing a shady Arcadian hat as was the fashion in the summer season at Athens, but perhaps also to show Alexander that he had just arrived from a journey. Thereupon Alexander adapted his speech so as to take note of the famous man's presence in impressive and sonorous language; and he put it to him whether he would prefer to listen to the argument that was already being discussed or to propose another himself. Herodes glanced towards the audience, saying that he would do whatever they decided, and they unanimously agreed that they would hear *The Scythians*; for indeed Alexander was making out his case with brilliant success, as the anecdote shows. But he made a further wonderful display of his marvellous powers in what now took place. For the sentiments that he had so brilliantly

τὰς πρὶν ἤκειν τὸν Ἡρώδην λαμπρῶς αὐτῷ εἰρη-
 μένας μετεχειρίσατο ἐπιστάντος οὕτω τι ἑτέρα λέξει
 καὶ ἑτέροις ῥυθμοῖς, ὡς τοῖς δεύτερον ἀκρωμένοις
 μὴ διλογεῖν δόξαι. τὸ γοῦν εὐδοκιμώτατα τῶν
 πρὶν ἐπιστῆναι τὸν Ἡρώδην εἰρημένων “ ἐστὸς καὶ
 τὸ ὕδωρ νοσεῖ ” μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιστάντος ἑτέρα
 573 δυνάμει μεταλαβὼν “ καὶ ὑδάτων ” εἶπεν “ ἡδὶω τὰ
 πλανώμενα.” κἀκεῖνα τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου Σκυθῶν.
 “ καὶ πηγνυμένου μὲν Ἰστρου πρὸς μεσημβρίαν
 ἡλαυνον, λυομένου δὲ ἐχώρουν πρὸς ἄρκτον ἀκέραιος
 τὸ σῶμα καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ νυνὶ κείμενος. τί γὰρ ἂν
 πάθοι δεινὸν ἄνθρωπος ταῖς ὥραις ἐπόμενος; ” ἐπὶ
 τελευτῇ δὲ τοῦ λόγου διαβάλλων τὴν πόλιν ὡς
 πνιγερὸν οἰκητήριον τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὦδε ἀνεφθέγγατο.
 “ ἄλλ’ ἀναπέτασον τὰς πύλας, ἀναπνεῦσαι θέλω.”
 προσδραμὼν δὲ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ καὶ περισχὼν αὐτὸν
 “ ἀντεφεστίασόν με ” ἔφη, καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης “ τί δὲ
 οὐ μέλλω ” εἶπεν “ λαμπρῶς οὕτως ἐστίασαντα; ”
 διαλυθείσης δὲ τῆς ἀκροάσεως καλέσας ὁ Ἡρώδης
 τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γνωρίμων τοὺς ἐν ἐπιδόσει ἡρώτα,
 ποῖός τις αὐτοῖς ὁ σοφιστὴς φαίνοιτο, Σκέπτου δὲ
 τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Κορίνθου τὸν μὲν πῆλὸν εὐρηκέναι
 φήσαντος, τὸν δὲ Πλάτωνα ζητεῖν, ἐπικόπτων
 αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡρώδης “ τουτὶ ” ἔφη “ πρὸς μηδένα
 εἵπης ἕτερον, σεαυτὸν γὰρ ” ἔφη “ διαβαλεῖς ὡς
 ἀμαθῶς κρίνοντα, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἔπου μᾶλλον ἡγουμένῳ
 αὐτὸν Σκοπελιανὸν νήφοντα.” ταυτὶ δὲ ὁ Ἡρώδης
 ἐχαρακτήριζε καθεωρακῶς τὸν ἄνδρα κεκραμένην

¹ See p. 619, where Hippodromus recasts his declamation, and, for Plato's scorn of this device, *Phaedrus* 235 v.

² Euripides, *Phoenician Women* 297; the phrase from tragedy, the iambic metre and ἀνα- repeated are marks of Asianism.

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expressed before Herodes came he now recast in his presence, but with such different words and different rhythms, that those who were hearing them for the second time could not feel that he was repeating himself.¹ For example, before Herodes appeared, the epigram that won the greatest applause was this: "When it is stagnant, even water goes bad." But after his arrival he gave it a different force, by saying: "Even those waters are sweeter that keep on the move." Here are some more quotations from *The Scythians* of Alexander. "When the Danube froze I would travel South, but when it thawed I would go North, always in perfect health, not as I am now, an invalid. For what harm can come to a man who follows the seasons in their course?" In the last part of his speech he denounced the city as a cramped and suffocating dwelling, and for the closing sentence he cried out very loud: "Come fling open the gates,² I must breathe the air!" Then he hastened up to Herodes, embraced him and said: "Pray regale me in return." "Why not indeed," said Herodes, "when you have regaled me so splendidly?" When the declamation was over, Herodes called together the more advanced of his own pupils and asked them what was their opinion of the sophist; and when Sceptus of Corinth said that he had found the clay but had still to find the Plato, Herodes cut him short, and said: "Do not talk like that to anyone else, for," said he, "you will incriminate yourself as an illiterate critic. Nay rather follow me in thinking him a more sober Scopelian."³ Herodes thus characterized him because he had observed that the sophist knew how to

³ For Scopelian's style see above, pp. 518, 519.

ἐρμηνείαν ἐφαρμόζοντα τῇ περὶ τὰς σοφιστικὰς ἐννοίας τόλμῃ. ἐπιδεικνύμενος δὲ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν τε ἡχὴν τῆς διαλέξεως προσήρεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίγνωσκε τοῦτῳ καὶ μάλιστα χαίροντα αὐτὸν τῷ τόνῳ, ῥυθμούς τε ποικιλωτέρους αὐλοῦ καὶ λύρας ἐσηγάγετο ἐς τὸν λόγον, ἐπειδὴ πολὺς αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τὰς
 574 ἐξαλλαγὰς ἔδοξεν. ἡ δὲ σπουδασθεῖσα ὑπόθεσις οἱ ἐν Σικελίᾳ τρωθέντες ἦσαν αἰτοῦντες τοὺς ἀπανισταμένους ἐκείθεν Ἀθηναίους τὸ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποθνήσκειν. ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθέσεως τὸ θρυλούμενον ἐκείνο ἰκέτευσεν ἐπιτέγξας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δακρύοις “ναὶ Νικία, ναὶ πάτερ, οὕτως Ἀθήνας ἴδοις,” ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρόν φασιν ἀναβοῆσαι. “ὦ Ἡρώδη, τεμάχιά σου ἐσμέν οἱ σοφισταὶ πάντες,” καὶ τὸν Ἡρώδην ὑπερησθέντα τῷ ἐπαίνῳ καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως γενόμενον δοῦναί οἱ δέκα μὲν σκευοφόρα, δέκα δὲ ἵππους, δέκα δὲ οἰνοχόους, δέκα δὲ σημείων γραφέας, τάλαντα δὲ εἴκοσι χρυσοῦ, πλείστον δὲ ἄργυρον, δύο δὲ ἐκ Κολλυτοῦ παιδία ψελλιζόμενα, ἐπειδὴ ἤκουεν αὐτὸν χαίροντα νέαις φωναῖς. τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ τὰ Ἀθήνησιν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐτέρων σοφιστῶν ἀπομνημονεύματα παρεθέμην, δηλούσθω καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐκ πλειόνων, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐς πλήρὲς πω τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης ἀφίκται παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. ὥς μὲν δὴ σεμνῶς τε καὶ ξὺν ἡδονῇ διελέγετο, δηλοῦσι τῶν διαλέξεων

¹ This is the technical term to describe the theme voted for by the audience when several had been proposed.

² This theme is based on the narrative of Thucydides vii. 75.

³ An echo of the famous saying of Aeschylus that his plays were “slices,” τεμάχη, from Homer's splendid feasts.

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combine a sober and tempered eloquence with a bold use of sophistic modes of thought; and when he himself declaimed before Alexander he raised his eloquence to a higher pitch, because he knew that Alexander took the keenest pleasure in intensity and force; and he introduced into his speech rhythms more varied than those of the flute and the lyre, because he considered that Alexander was especially skilful in elaborate variations. The theme elected¹ by his audience was, "The wounded in Sicily implore the Athenians who are retreating thence to put them to death with their own hands."² In the course of this argument, with tears in his eyes, he uttered that famous and often quoted supplication: "Ah, Nicias! Ah, my father! As you hope to see Athens once more!" Whereupon they say that Alexander exclaimed: "O Hefodes, we sophists are all of us merely small slices of yourself!"³ And that Herodes was delighted beyond measure by this eulogy, and yielding to his innate generosity presented him with ten pack-animals, ten horses, ten cup-bearers, ten shorthand writers, twenty talents of gold, a great quantity of silver, and two lisping children from the deme Collytus, since he was told that Alexander liked to hear childish voices. This, then, is what happened to Alexander at Athens.

Now since I have set before my readers certain memorable sayings of the other sophists, I must make Alexander also known to them by quoting several sayings of his. For among the Greeks he has never yet attained to the full measure of the renown that is his due. The following quotations from his discourses show how sublime and at the same time

αἶδε· “Μαρσύας ἦρα Ὀλύμπου καὶ Ὀλυμπος
 τοῦ αὐλεῖν” καὶ πάλιν “Ἀραβία γῆ δένδρα πολλά,
 πεδία κατάσκια, γυμνὸν οὐδέν, φυτὰ ἢ γῆ, τὰ ἄνθη.
 οὐδὲ φύλλον Ἀράβιον ἐκβαλεῖς, οὐδὲ κάρφος ἀπορ-
 ρίψεις οὐδὲν ἐκεῖ φύν, τοσοῦτον ἢ γῆ περὶ τοὺς
 ἰδρῶτας εὐτυχεῖ.” καὶ πάλιν “ἄνῃρ πένης ἀπ’
 Ἰωνίας, ἢ δὲ Ἰωνία Ἕλληνες εἰσιν οἰκήσαντες ἐν
 τῇ βαρβάρων.” τὴν δὲ ἰδέαν ταύτην διατωθάζων
 ὁ Ἀντίοχος καὶ διαπτύων αὐτὸν ὡς τρυφῶντα ἐς
 τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ὥραν, παρελθὼν ἐς τὴν Ἀντιό-
 χειαν διελέχθη ὧδε· “Ἰωνίαί Λυδίαί Μαρσύαι
 μωρίαί, δότε προβλήματα.” τὰ δὲ ἐν τῇ μελέτῃ
 575 πλεονεκτῆματα δεδήλωται μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων,
 δηλοῦσθω δὲ καὶ ἐπ’ ἄλλων ὑποθέσεων· διεξιὼν
 μὲν γὰρ τὸν Περικλέα τὸν κελεύοντα ἔχεσθαι τοῦ
 πολέμου καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρησμόν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ καλού-
 μενος καὶ ἄκλητος ὁ Πύθιος ἔφη τοῖς Λακεδαιμο-
 νίοις συμμαχήσειν, ὧδε ἀπήντησε τῷ χρησμῷ·
 “ἀλλ’ ὑπισχνεῖται, φησι, τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
 βοηθήσειν ὁ Πύθιος· ψεύδεται· οὕτως αὐτοῖς καὶ
 Τεγέαν ἐπηγγείλατο.” διεξιὼν δὲ τὸν ξυμβου-
 λεύοντα τῷ Δαρείῳ ζεύξαι τὸν Ἰστρον· “ὑπορ-
 ρεῖτω σοι ὁ Σκυθῶν Ἰστρος, κἂν εὖρους τὴν

¹ Quoted by Norden, p. 411, to illustrate the excessive use of rhythm in prose.

² The point lies in the magniloquent use of the plural and the hackneyed allusions.

³ Thucydides i. 118 speaks of this oracle, but not in connexion with Pericles.

⁴ Herodotus i. 66 describes the misleading oracle which refused the Spartans the conquest of Arcadia, but promised that they should take Tegea; they were defeated and captured by the Tegeans.

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how delightful was his style of eloquence. "Marsyas was in love with Olympus, and Olympus with flute-playing." And again: "Arabia is a land of abundant woods, well-shaded plains, there is no barren spot, her soil is all plants and flowers. Not a leaf that Arabia grows would one ever throw aside, no stem or stalk that grew there would one ever cast away; so happy is her soil in all that exudes therefrom."¹ And again: "I am a poor man from Ionia, yet Ionia consists of pure Hellenes who colonized the land of the barbarians." Antiochus made fun of this style, and despised Alexander for indulging too much in the luxury of fine-sounding words; and so when he came before the public at Antioch he began his speech with the words: "Ionias, Lydias, Marsyases, foolishness, propose me themes."²

In these quotations I have shown Alexander's peculiar talent for declamation, but I must go on to show it in themes of another kind. For instance, when his theme was this: "Pericles urges that they should keep up the war, even after the oracle in which the Pythian god declared that, whether summoned to their aid or not summoned, he would be the ally of the Lacedaemonians,"³ he withstood the oracle with these words: "But the Pythian god, you say, promises to aid the Lacedaemonians. He is deceiving them. Even so did he promise them Tegea."⁴ And again, when representing the man who advised Darius to throw a bridge over the Danube,⁵ he said: "Let the Danube of the Scythians flow beneath your feet, and if he gives your army a

⁵ In Herodotus iv. 89 is a passage which may have inspired this theme.

στρατιὰν διαγάγῃ, τίμησον αὐτὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ πιών.”
 τὸν δὲ Ἀρτάβαζον ἀγωνιζόμενος τὸν ἀπαγορεύοντα
 τῷ Ξέρξῃ μὴ τὸ δεύτερον στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα ὧδε ἐβραχυλόγησεν. “τὰ μὲν δὴ Περσῶν
 τε καὶ Μήδων τοιαῦτά σοι, βασιλεῦ, κατὰ χώραν
 μένοντι, τὰ δὲ Ἑλλήνων γῇ λεπτὴ θάλαττα στενὴ
 καὶ ἄνδρες ἀπονενοημένοι καὶ θεοὶ βάσκανοι.”
 τοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις νοσοῦντας ἐς τὰ ὄρη ἀνοικί-
 ζεσθαι πείθων ὧδε ἐφυσιολόγησεν. “δοκεῖ δέ μοι
 καὶ ὁ τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργὸς τὰ μὲν πεδία, ὥσπερ
 ἀτιμοτέρας¹ ὕλης, ρῦσαι κάτω, ἐπαίρειν δὲ τὰ ὄρη,
 576 ὥσπερ ἀξιώματα. ταῦτα πρῶτα μὲν ἥλιος ἀσπά-
 ζεται, τελευταῖα δὲ ἀπολείπει. τίς οὐκ ἀγαπήσει
 τόπον μακροτέρας ἔχοντα τὰς ἡμέρας ;”

Διδάσκαλοι τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐγένοντο Φαβωρίνός
 τε καὶ Διονύσιος· ἀλλὰ Διονυσίου μὲν ἡμιμαθὴς
 ἀπῆλθε μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς νοσοῦντος,
 ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐτελεύτα, Φαβωρίνου δὲ γνησιώτατα
 ἠκροάσατο, παρ’ οὗ μάλιστα καὶ τὴν ὥραν τοῦ
 λόγου ἔσπασεν. τελευτῆσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οἱ μὲν
 ἐν Κελτοῖς φασιν ἔτι ἐπιστέλλοντα, οἱ δ’ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ
 πεπαυμένον τοῦ ἐπιστέλλειν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξηκοντού-
 την, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὔπω, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ νύκτι, οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ
 θυγατρὶ, ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδὲν εὖρον λόγου ἄξιον.

ς’. Ἀξιούσθω λόγου καὶ Οὐάρου ὁ ἐκ τῆς
 Πέργης. Οὐάρῳ πατὴρ μὲν Καλλικλῆς ἐγένετο
 ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις τῶν Περγαίων, διδά-

¹ ἀτιμότερα Kayser ; ἀτιμοτέρας Cobet.

¹ cf. Herodotus vii. 10. In Philostratus, as in Hermogenes, *On the Types of Style* 396, the name should be Artabanus, not Artabazus.

² This is a variant of *The Scythians* ; see p. 572.

³ Nothing more is known of this sophist.

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smooth crossing, do him the honour of drinking of his waters." Again, when he sustained the part of Artabazus trying to dissuade Xerxes from making a second expedition against Greece,¹ he summed up the argument as follows: "Now the condition of the Persians and Medes is as I have said, O King, if you stay where you are. But the soil of the Greeks is poor, their sea is narrow, their men are foolhardy, their gods are jealous gods." When he was trying to persuade those who had bad health in the plains to migrate to the mountains,² he thus discoursed on nature: "I believe the Creator of the universe hurled down the plains as being of less precious material, and raised up the mountains as worthy of regard. These the sun greets first and abandons last. Who would not love a place where the days are longer than elsewhere?"

Alexander's teachers were Favorinus and Dionysius. But he left Dionysius when his education was only half completed, because he had been summoned by his father who was ill. Then, when his father was dead, Alexander became the genuine disciple of Favorinus, and it was from him above all that he caught the charm and beauty of his eloquence. Some say that Alexander died in Gaul while he was still an Imperial Secretary, others that he died in Italy after he had ceased to be Secretary. Again some say that he was sixty, others that he had not reached that age. Some say that he left a son, others a daughter, but on these points I could discover nothing worth mentioning.

6. I must not omit to mention VARUS³ who came from Perge. The father of Varus was Callicles, one of Perge's most important citizens. His teacher

σκαλος δὲ Κοδρατίων ὁ ὕπατος ἀποσχεδιάζων τὰς
 θετικὰς ὑποθέσεις καὶ τὸν Φαβωρίνου τρόπον
 σοφιστεύων. πελαργὸν δὲ τὸν Οὐαρὸν οἱ πολλοὶ
 ἐπωνόμαζον διὰ τὸ πυρσὸν τῆς ρίνος καὶ ῥαμφῶδες,
 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὥς οὐκ ἀπὸ δόξης ἡστέιζοντο, ἔξεστι
 συμβαλεῖν ταῖς εἰκόσιν, αἱ ἀνάκεινται ἐν τῷ τῆς
 Περγαίας ἱερῷ. ὁ δὲ χαρακτήρ τοῦ λόγου τοιοῦτος·
 “ ἐφ’ Ἑλλήσποντον ἐλθὼν ἵππον αἰτεῖς; ἐπ’ Ἀθῶ
 δὲ ἐλθὼν πλεῦσαι θέλεις; οὐκ οἶδας, ἄνθρωπε, τὰς
 ὁδοὺς; ἀλλ’ Ἑλλησπόντῳ γῆν ὀλίγην ἐπιβαλὼν
 577 ταύτην οἶε σοι μενεῖν,¹ τῶν ὁρῶν μὴ μενόντων; ”
 ἐλέγετο δὲ ἀπαγγέλλειν ταῦτα λαμπρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ
 καὶ ἡσκημένῃ. ἐτελεύτα μὲν οὖν οἴκοι οὐπω
 γηράσκων καὶ ἐπὶ παισί, τὸ δὲ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ γένος
 εὐδόκιμοι πάντες ἐν τῇ Πέργῃ.

ζ’. Ἑρμογένης δέ, ὃν Ταρσοὶ ἤνεγκαν, πεντε-
 καίδεκα ἔτη γέγονὼς ἐφ’ οὕτω μέγα προὔβη τῆς
 τῶν σοφιστῶν δόξης, ὥς καὶ Μάρκῳ βασιλεῖ παρα-
 σχεῖν ἔρωτα ἀκροάσεως· ἐβάδιζε γοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν
 ἀκρόασιν αὐτοῦ ὁ Μάρκος καὶ ἡσθη μὲν διαλεγο-
 μένου, ἐθαύμαζε δὲ σχεδιάζοντος, δωρεὰς δὲ
 λαμπρὰς ἔδωκεν. ἐς δὲ ἄνδρας ἡκὼν ἀφηρέθη τὴν
 ἑξὶν ὑπ’ οὐδεμιᾶς φανεράς νόσου, ὅθεν ἀστεισμού
 λόγον παρέδωκε τοῖς βασκάνοις, ἔφασαν γὰρ τοὺς
 λόγους ἀτεχνῶς καθ’ Ὀμηρον πτερόεντας εἶναι,
 ἀποβεβληκέναι γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὸν Ἑρμογένην καθάπερ

¹ μενεῖν Kayser; μενεῖν Cobet.

¹ Quadratus was proconsul of Asia A.D. 165; Aristeides calls him a sophist.

² Artemis.

³ This hackneyed antithesis was ridiculed by Luci

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was Quadratus¹ the consul, who used to argue extempore on abstract philosophical themes, and as a sophist followed the fashion set by Favorinus. Varus was commonly nicknamed "the stork," because of the fiery hue and beaked shape of his nose, and that this witticism was not far-fetched we may gather from the likenesses of him which are dedicated in the temple of the goddess² of Perge. The following is characteristic of his eloquence: "When you arrive at the Hellespont do you call for a horse? When you arrive at Athos do you wish to navigate it?³ Man, do you not know the regular routes? You throw this handful of earth on the Hellespont, and think you that it will remain, when mountains do not remain?" It is said that he used to declaim these words in a magnificent and well-trained voice. For the rest, he died at home while still a young man, leaving children, and his descendants are all highly esteemed in Perge.

7. HERMOGENES, who was born at Tarsus, by the time he was fifteen had attained such a reputation as a sophist that even the Emperor Marcus became eager to hear him. At any rate Marcus made the journey to hear him declaim, and was delighted with his formal discourse, but marvelled at him when he declaimed extempore, and gave him splendid presents. But when Hermogenes arrived at manhood his powers suddenly deserted him, though this was not due to any apparent disease, and this provided the envious with an occasion for their wit. For they declared that his words were in very truth "winged," as Homer says, and that Hermogenes had moulted

The Rhetorician's Guide 18; cf. Cicero, *De finibus* ii. 34; Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* iii. 31 Arnim.

πτερά. καὶ Ἀντίοχος δὲ ὁ σοφιστῆς ἀποσκώπτων
 ποτὲ ἐς αὐτὸν “οὗτος” ἔφη “Ἑρμογένης, ὁ ἐν
 578 παισὶ μὲν γέρων, ἐν δὲ γηράσκουσι παῖς.” ἡ δὲ
 ἰδέα τοῦ λόγου, ἣν ἐπετήδευε, τοιαύδε τις ἦν· ἐπὶ
 γὰρ τοῦ Μάρκου διαλεγόμενος “ἰδὸν ἦκω σοι,”
 ἔφη “βασιλεῦ, ῥήτωρ παιδαγωγοῦ δεόμενος, ῥήτωρ
 ἡλικίαν περιμένων” καὶ πλείω ἕτερα διελέχθη καὶ
 ᾧδε βωμόλοχα. ἔτελεύτα μὲν οὖν ἐν βαθεί γήρᾳ,
 εἰς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν νομιζόμενος, κατεφρονήθη γὰρ
 ἀπολιπούσης αὐτὸν τῆς τέχνης.

ἡ'. Φίλαγρος δὲ ὁ Κίλιξ Λολλιανοῦ μὲν ἀκροα-
 τῆς ἐγένετο, σοφιστῶν δὲ θερμότατος καὶ ἐπιχο-
 λώτατος, λέγεται γὰρ δὴ νυστάζοντά ποτε ἀκροατὴν
 καὶ ἐπὶ κόρρῃς πληῆσαι, καὶ ὀρμῇ δὲ λαμπρᾷ ἐκ μει-
 ρακίου χρησάμενος οὐκ ἀπελείφθη αὐτῆς οὐδ' ὅποτε
 ἐγήρασκεν, ἀλλ' οὕτω τι ἐπέδωκεν, ὥς καὶ σχῆμα
 τοῦ διδασκάλου νομισθῆναι. πλείστοις δὲ ἐπιμίξας
 ἔθνεσι καὶ δοκῶν ἄριστα μεταχειρίζεσθαι τὰς ὑπο-
 θέσεις οὐ μετεχειρίσατο Ἀθήνησιν εὖ τὴν αὐτοῦ
 χολήν, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀπέχθειαν Ἡρώδῃ κατέστησεν
 ἑαυτόν, καθάπερ τούτου ἀφιγμένος ἔνεκα. ἐβάδιζε
 μὲν γὰρ δαίλης ἐν Κεραμεικῷ μετὰ τεττάρων, οἷοι
 Ἀθήνησιν οἱ τοὺς σοφιστὰς θηρεύοντες, ἰδὼν δὲ
 νεανίαν ἐκ δεξιᾶς ἀναστρέφοντα μετὰ πλειόνων
 σκώπτεσθαι τι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δόξας “ἀλλ' ἦ σὺ” ἔφη
 “τίς;” “Ἀμφικλῆς ἐγώ,” ἔφη “εἰ δὴ τὸν Χαλ-

¹ A parody of Pindar, *Nem.* iii. 72.

² Nothing more is known of this sophist.

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them, like wing-feathers. And once Antiochus the sophist, jesting at his expense, said: "Lo, here is that fellow Hermogenes, who among boys was an old man, but among the old is a boy."¹ The following will show the kind of eloquence that he affected. In a speech that he was delivering before Marcus, he said, "You see before you, Emperor, an orator who still needs an attendant to take him to school, an orator who still looks to come of age." He said much more of this sort and in the same facetious vein. He died at a ripe old age, but accounted as one of the rank and file, for he became despised when his skill in his art deserted him.

8. PHILAGRUS OF CILICIA² was a pupil of Lollianus, and was the most excitable and hot-tempered of the sophists. For instance it is said that when someone in his audience began to go to sleep, he gave him a blow in the face with his open hand. After making a brilliant start in his career while still a mere boy, he did not fall short of it even when he began to grow old, but made such progress that he was regarded as the model of what a teacher should be. But though he lived among many peoples and won a great reputation among them for his dexterity in handling arguments, at Athens he showed no skill in handling his own hot temper, but picked a quarrel with Herodes just as though he had come there for that very purpose. For he was walking towards evening in the Cerameicus with four men of the sort that at Athens chase after the sophists, and saw a young man on his right, with several others, keep turning round, and imagining that he was making some jest at his expense he called out: "Well, and who may you be?" "I am Amphicles,"

κιδέα ἀκούεις.” “ἀπέχου τοίνυν” ἔφη “τῶν ἐμῶν ἀκροάσεων, οὐ γάρ μοι δοκεῖς ὑγιαίνειν.” τοῦ δὲ ἐρομένου “τίς δὲ ὦν ταῦτα κηρύττεις;” δεινὰ πάσχειν ἢ δ’ ὁ Φίλαγρος, εἰ ἀγνοεῖται ποι. ἐκφύλου δὲ αὐτὸν ῥήματος ὡς ἐν ὀργῇ διαφυγόντος λαβόμενος ὁ Ἀμφικλῆς, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐτύγχανε τῶν Ἡρώδου γνωρίμων τὴν πρώτην φερόμενος, “παρὰ τίνι τῶν ἐλλογίμων” ἔφη “τοῦτο εἴρηται;”
 579 καὶ ὃς “παρὰ Φιλάγρῳ” ἔφη. αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ παροιμία ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα προὔβη, τῆς δὲ ὑστεραίας μαθὼν τὸν Ἡρώδην ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ διαιτώμενον γράφει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν καθαπτόμενος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὡς ἀμελοῦντος τοῦ τῶν ἀκροατῶν κόσμου. καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης “δοκεῖς μοι” ἔφη “οὐ καλῶς προοιμιάζεσθαι” ἐπιπλήττων αὐτῷ ὡς μὴ κτωμένῳ ἀκροατῶν εὐνοίαν, ἣν προοίμιον ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ τῶν ἐπιδείξεων. ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ οὐ ξυνιείς τοῦ αἰνίγματος, ἢ ξυνιείς μὲν, ἐν γέλῳτι δὲ τὴν τοῦ Ἡρώδου γνώμην βελτίστην οὔσαν τιθέμενος ἐψεύσθη τῆς ἐπιδείξεως παρελθὼν ἐς ἀκροατὰς οὐκ εὖνους. ὡς γὰρ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἤκουον, προσέκρουσε μὲν ἢ διάλεξις νεαροῦς δόξασα καὶ διεσπασμένη¹ τὰς ἐννοίας, ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ μειρακιώδης, γυναικὸς γὰρ θρῆνος ἐγκατεμέμικτο τοῖς Ἀθηναίων ἐγκωμίοις τεθνώσης αὐτῷ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ, τὴν δὲ μελέτην οὕτως ἐπεβουλεύθη· ἡγώνιστό τις αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν

¹ ἐσπασμένη Kayser; διεσπασμένη Cobet.

¹ The second-century sophists, when purists, carefully avoided “barbarisms” and Latinisms. The most striking instance of this is *Life of Apollonius* iv. 5. Aristides in his panegyric of Rome used no Roman name. Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* xxi. 11, defends his allusions to the Emperor Nero and others who are “modern and despised.”

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he replied, "if indeed you have heard of that citizen of Chalcis." "Then keep away from my lectures," said Philagrus, "for you do not appear to me to have any sense." "And who are you?" inquired the other, "to issue that edict?" Whereupon Philagrus said that it was an insult to him not to be recognized wherever he might be. An outlandish word¹ escaped him in the heat of his anger, and Amphicles pounced on it, for he was in fact the most distinguished of the pupils of Herodes, and asked: "In what classic is that word to be found?" "In Philagrus," was the answer. Now this foolish brawl went no further at the time; but on the next day he learned that Herodes was living in his suburban villa, and wrote him a letter accusing him of neglecting to teach his pupils decent manners. To this Herodes replied: "It seems to me that you are not very successful with your prooemium." This was to censure him for not trying to win the goodwill of his hearers, which one must regard as the true prooemium of a declamation. But Philagrus, as though he did not understand the conundrum, or understood, but regarded the advice of Herodes as absurd, though it was in fact excellent, was disappointed in his declamation because he came before an audience that was ill-disposed towards him. For as I have heard from men older than myself, his introductory speech gave offence, because they thought it had a new-fangled ring and was disconnected in its ideas; nay they even thought it childish. For into his encomium of the Athenians he inserted a lament for his wife who had died in Ionia. So when he came to deliver his declamation a plot was formed against him, as follows. In Asia he had already

PHILOSTRATUS

ὑπόθεσις οἱ παραιτούμενοι τὴν τῶν ἀκλήτων συμ-
μαχίαν· ταύτης ἐκδεδομένης ἤδη τῆς ὑποθέσεως
μνήμην ξυνελέξατο, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ εὐδοκιμηκῶς
ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἐτύγχανε, λόγου δὲ ἥκοντος ἐς τοὺς ἀμφὶ
τὸν Ἡρώδην, ὡς ὁ Φίλαγρος τὰς μὲν πρῶτον ὀριζο-
μένας ὑποθέσεις αὐτοσχεδιάζοι, τὰς δὲ καὶ δεύτερον
οὐκέτι ἀλλ' ἔωλα μελετῶν καὶ ἑαυτῷ προειρημένα
προὔβαλον μὲν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀκλήτους τούτους, δο-
κοῦντι δὲ ἀποσχεδιάζειν ἀντανεγιγνώσκετο ἡ μελέτη.
θορύβου δὲ πολλοῦ καὶ γέλωτος τὴν ἀκρόασιν κατα-
σχόντος βοῶν ὁ Φίλαγρος καὶ κεκραγώς, ὡς δεινὰ
πάσχοι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εἰργόμενος οὐ διέφυγε τὴν ἤδη
πεπιστευμένην αἰτίαν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ Ἀγριπ-
πείῳ ἐπράχθη, διαλιπὼν δὲ ἡμέρας ὡς τέτταρας
580 παρήλθεν ἐς τὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν βουλευτήριον, ὃ δὴ
ὠκοδόμηται παρὰ τὰς τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ πύλας οὐ
πόρρω τῶν ἱππέων. εὐδοκιμώτατα δὲ ἀγωνιζό-
μενος τὸν Ἀριστογείτονα τὸν ἀξιοῦντα κατηγορεῖν
τοῦ μὲν Δημοσθένους Μηδισμόν,¹ τοῦ δὲ Αἰσχίνου
Φιλιππισμόν, ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ γεγραμμένοι ἀλλήλους
ἐτύγχανον, ἐσβέσθη τὸ φθέγμα ὑπὸ τῆς χολῆς
ἐπισκοτοῦντος φύσει τοῖς ἐπιχόλοις τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ
φωνητικοῦ πνεύματος. χρόνῳ μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐπ-

¹ Μηδισμοῦ . . . Φιλιππισμοῦ Kayser; Μηδισμόν . . . Φιλιπ-
πισμόν Cobet.

¹ This theme is probably derived from Thucydides viii. 86, where Alcibiades declines the aid of the Argives.

² There was a similar guild of *artifices scaenici* at Rome; see below, p. 596. This guild, one of the earliest instances of organized labour, had extraordinary power and even political influence.

³ Diogenes Laertius vii. 182 mentions equestrian statues in the Cerameicus, but nothing more is known about them.

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argued a certain theme entitled : "They reject as allies those whom they have not invited to their aid."¹ This argument had already been published, and had attracted notice, in fact it had greatly enhanced his reputation. Now a rumour reached the pupils of Herodes that Philagrus, when a theme was proposed to him, used to improvise the first time, but did not do so on a second occasion, but would declaim stale arguments that he had used before. Accordingly they proposed to him this same theme "The Uninvited," and when he pretended to be improvising they retaliated by reading the declamation aloud. Then the lecture became the scene of uproar and laughter, with Philagrus shouting and vociferating that it was an outrage on him not to be allowed to use what was his own ; but he failed to win acquittal of a charge that was so fully proven. Now all this took place in the theatre of Agrippa, and after an interval of about four days he came forward to declaim in the council-chamber of the theatrical artisans,² the building which stands near the gates of the Cerameicus not far from the equestrian statues.³ But when he was winning universal approval in the character of Aristogeiton demanding the right to denounce Demosthenes for conspiring with Persia and Aeschines for conspiring with Philip—accusations which they had in fact brought against one another⁴—his very utterance was stifled by his wrath. For with choleric persons the breath on which the voice depends is apt to obscure and check the power of speech. It is true that, somewhat later, he was promoted to the chair

⁴ For this obviously fictitious theme see Marcellinus iv. 472 Walz.

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εβάτευσε τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην θρόνου, Ἀθήνησι δὲ ἀπηνέχθη τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης δι' ἃς εἶρηκα αἰτίας.

Χαρακτήρ τῶν τοῦ Φιλάγρου λόγων ὁ μὲν ἐν ταῖς διαλέξεσι τοιοῦτος· “εἶτα οἷοι ἥλιον ἐσπέρω φθονεῖν ἢ μέλειν αὐτῷ, εἴ τίς ἐστιν ἀστήρ ἄλλος ἐν οὐρανῷ; οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου τούτου πυρός. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ καὶ ποιητικῶς ἐκάστω διανέμειν, σοὶ μὲν ἄρκτον δίδωμι, λέγοντα, σοὶ δὲ μεσημβρίαν,¹ σοὶ δὲ ἐσπέραν, πάντες δὲ ἐν νυκτί, πάντες, ὅταν ἐγὼ μὴ βλέπωμαι.

Ἡέλιος δ' ἀνόρουσε λιπὼν περικαλλέα λίμνην καὶ ἀστέρες οὐδαμοῦ.” τίνες δὲ καὶ οἱ τῆς μελέτης αὐτῷ ῥυθμοὶ ἦσαν, δηλώσει τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀκλήτους εἰρημένα, καὶ γὰρ καὶ χαίρειν αὐτοῖς ἐλέγετο· “φίλε, τήμερόν σε τεθέαμαι καὶ τήμερον ἐν ὅπλοις καὶ μετὰ ξίφους μοι λαλεῖς” καὶ “τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μόνην οἶδα φιλίαν. ἅπιτε οὖν, ἄνδρες φίλοι, τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν τηροῦμεν τοῦνομα, καὶ δεηθῶμέν ποτε συμμαχων, ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πέμψομεν, εἴ ποτε δήπου.”

Μέγεθος μὲν οὖν ὁ Φίλαγρος μετρίου μείων, τὴν δὲ ὄφρυν πικρὸς καὶ τὸ ὄμμα ἔτοιμος καὶ ἐς
581 ὀργὴν ἐκκληθῆναι πρόθυμος, καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ δύστροπον οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἠγνόει· ἐρομένου γοῦν αὐτὸν ἐνὸς τῶν ἐταίρων, τί παθὼν² παιδοτροφία οὐ χαίροι, “ὅτι” ἔφη “οὐδ' ἐμαυτῷ χαίρω.” ἀπο-

¹ Cobet would insert σοὶ δὲ ἑῶαν “to thee the East” for symmetry.

² μαθὼν Kayser; παθὼν Cobet.

¹ An allusion to *Iliad* xv. 190 foll., where Poseidon describes the partition of the universe among Zeus, Hades
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of rhetoric at Rome, nevertheless at Athens, for the reasons I have stated, he was deprived of the credit that was his due.

The following quotation shows the characteristic style of Philagrus' oratory in his introductory speeches: "And so you think that the sun is jealous of the evening-star, or that it matters to him what star beside is in the sky? Not thus is it with this mighty fire. For it seems to me that, like the poet,¹ he assigns his portion to each, saying: To thee I give the North and to thee the South, to thee the evening, but in the darkness of night are ye all, yea all, when I am invisible;

Then the sun rises leaving the fair waters of the sea,² and the stars are nowhere." The rhythms that he used in his declamations may be seen in his speech "The Uninvited"; and indeed he is said to have delighted in such rhythms: "Friend, to-day I have seen thee as thou art, to-day thou speakest to me in arms and sword in hand." And again: "The only friendship that I recognize springs from the assembly of the people. Therefore depart, friends, since for you we preserve this title, and if ever we need allies, we will send for you; if ever, that is to say!"

In height Philagrus was below the average, his brow was stern, his eye alert and easily roused to anger, and he was himself conscious of his morose temper. Hence when one of his friends asked him why he did not enjoy bringing up a family, he replied: "Because I do not even enjoy myself."

and himself; but possibly the meaning is "like a poet assigning their parts to the actors."

² *Odyssey* iii. 1. This speech is quoted by Norden, p. 413, as an example of the metrical rhythms of Sophistic.

θανεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ περὶ πρῶτον γῆρας.

θ'. Ἀριστείδην δὲ τὸν εἴτε Εὐδαίμονος εἴτε Εὐδαίμονα Ἀδριανοὶ μὲν ἤνεγκαν, οἱ δὲ Ἀδριανοὶ πόλις οὐ μεγάλη ἐν Μυσοῖς, Ἀθῆναι δὲ ἤσκησαν κατὰ τὴν Ἡρώδου ἀκμὴν καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Πέργαμον κατὰ τὴν Ἀριστοκλέους γλῶτταν. νοσώδης δὲ ἐκ μεираκίου γενόμενος οὐκ ἡμέλησε τοῦ πονεῖν. τὴν μὲν οὖν ιδέαν τῆς νόσου καὶ ὅτι τὰ νεῦρα αὐτῷ ἐπεφρίκει, ἐν Ἱεροῖς βιβλίοις αὐτὸς φράζει, τὰ δὲ βιβλία ταῦτα ἐφημερίδων ἐπέχει τινὰ αὐτῷ λογόν, αἱ δὲ ἐφημερίδες ἀγαθαὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῦ περὶ παντὸς εὖ διαλέγεσθαι. ἐπὶ δὲ 582 τὸ σχεδιάζειν μὴ ἐπομένης αὐτῷ τῆς φύσεως ἀκριβείας ἐπεμελήθη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παλαιούς ἔβλεψεν ἱκανῶς τε τῷ γονίμῳ ἴσχυσε κουφολογίαν ἐξελὼν τοῦ λόγου. ἀποδημῖαι δὲ Ἀριστείδου οὐ πολλάι, οὔτε γὰρ ἐς χάριν τῶν πολλῶν διελέγετο οὔτε ἐκράτει χολῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ ἀκροωμένους, ἃ δέ γε ἐπῆλθεν ἔθνη, Ἱταλοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ Ἑλλὰς καὶ ἡ πρὸς τῷ Δέλτα κατωκημένη Αἴγυπτος, οἱ χαλκοῦν ἔστησαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν ἀγορᾶς.

Οἰκιστὴν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀριστείδην τῆς Σμύρνης εἶπεῖν οὐκ ἀλαζῶν ἔπαινος, ἀλλὰ δικαιοτάτος τε καὶ ἀληθέστατος· τὴν γὰρ πόλιν ταύτην ἀφανισθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σεισμῶν τε καὶ χασμάτων οὕτω τι ὠλοφύρατο πρὸς τὸν Μάρκον, ὥς τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ

¹ This is perhaps merely a foolish play on the word *εὐδαίμων*, "happy."

² *Aristeides* i. 514.

³ Quoted by Synesius, *On Dreams* 155 B.

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Some say that he died at sea, others in Italy when he was on the eve of old age.

9. **ARISTEIDES**, whether he was the son of Eudaemon, or is himself to be so called,¹ was born at Hadriani, a town of no great size in Mysia. But he was educated at Athens when Herodes was at the height of his fame, and at Pergamon in Asia when Aristocles was teaching oratory there. Though he had poor health from his boyhood, he did not fail to work hard. The nature of his disease and the fact that he suffered from a palsy of the muscles he tells us himself in his *Sacred Discourses*.² These discourses served him in some sort as a diary, and such diaries are excellent teachers of the art of speaking well on any subject.³ And since his natural talent was not in the line of extempore eloquence, he strove after extreme accuracy, and turned his attention to the ancient writers; he was well endowed with native ability and purified his style of any empty verbosity. Aristeides made few journeys, for he did not discourse with the aim of pleasing the crowd, and he could not control his anger against those who did not applaud his lectures. But the countries that he actually visited were Italy, Greece, and that part of Egypt which is situated near the Delta; and the people of this region set up a bronze statue⁴ of him in the market-place of Smyrna.

To say that Aristeides founded Smyrna is no mere boastful eulogy but most just and true. For when this city had been blotted out by earthquakes and chasms that opened in the ground, he lamented its fate to Marcus in such moving words that the

⁴ The inscription for this statue is preserved in the Museum at Verona.

μονωδία θαμὰ ἐπιστενάξαι τὸν βασιλέα, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ “ζέφυροι δὲ ἐρήμην καταπνέουσι.” καὶ δάκρυα τῷ βιβλίῳ ἐπιστάξαι τὸν βασιλέα ξυνοικίαν τε τῇ πόλει ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Ἀριστείδου ἐνδοσίμων νεύσαι. ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ συγγεγονῶς ἤδη τῷ Μάρκῳ ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἐν Ἰωνία, ὡς γὰρ τοῦ Ἐφεσίου Δαμιανοῦ ἤκουον, ἐπεδήμει μὲν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἤδη τῇ Σμύρνῃ τρίτην ἡμέραν, τὸν δὲ Ἀριστείδην οὐπω γιγνώσκων ἤρετο τοὺς Κυντιλίους, μὴ ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀσπαζομένων ὁμίλῳ παρεωραμένος αὐτῷ ὁ ἀνὴρ εἴη, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἔφασαν ἑωρακέναι αὐτόν, οὐ γὰρ ἂν παρεῖναι τὸ μὴ οὐ ξυστῆσαι, καὶ ἀφίκοντο τῆς ὑστεραίας τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἄμφω δορυφοροῦντες. προσειπὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ “διὰ τί σε” ἔφη “βραδέως εἶδομεν;” καὶ ὁ Ἀριστείδης “θεώρημα,” ἔφη “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἡσχόλει, γνώμη δὲ θεωροῦσά τι μὴ ἀποκρεμαννύσθω οὐ ζητεῖ.” ὑπερησθεὶς δὲ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τῷ ἦθει τάνδρὸς ὡς ἀπλοικωτάτῳ τε καὶ σχολικωτάτῳ “πότε” ἔφη “ἀκροάσομαί σου;” καὶ ὁ Ἀριστείδης “τήμερον” εἶπεν “πρόβαλε καὶ αὔριον ἀκροῶ· οὐ γὰρ ἐσμὲν τῶν ἐμούντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀκριβούντων. ἐξέστω δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τοὺς γνωρίμους παρεῖναι τῇ ἀκροάσει.” “ἐξέστω” ἢ δ’ ὁ Μάρκος, “δημοτικὸν γάρ.” εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστείδου “δεδοσθῶ δὲ

¹ This monody or lament is extant.

² Either the Emperor was easily moved, or the rhythmical effect of this sentence is lost on us.

³ Literally “keynote.”

⁴ See above p. 559 and Athenaeus xiv. 649 D.

⁵ This saying was later echoed by other sophists; cf. Eunapius, *Life of Prohaeresius* p. 488; Synesius, *Dio* 56 c; 216

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Emperor frequently groaned at other passages in the monody,¹ but when he came to the words: "She is a desert through which the west winds blow"² the Emperor actually shed tears over the pages, and in accordance with the impulse³ inspired by Aristeides, he consented to rebuild the city. Now Aristeides had, as it happened, met Marcus once at an earlier time in Ionia. For as I was told by Damianus of Ephesus, the Emperor was visiting Smyrna and when three days had gone by without his having as yet made the acquaintance of Aristeides, he asked the brothers Quintilii⁴ whether he had by chance overlooked the man in the throng of those who came to welcome him. But they said that they too had not seen him, for otherwise they would not have failed to present him; and next day they both arrived to escort Aristeides in state. The Emperor addressed him, and inquired: "Why did we have to wait so long to see you?" To which Aristeides replied: "A subject on which I was meditating kept me busy, and when the mind is absorbed in meditation it must not be distracted from the object of its search." The Emperor was greatly pleased with the man's personality, so unaffected was it and so devoted to study, and he asked: "When shall I hear you declaim?" "Propose the theme to-day," he replied, "and to-morrow come and hear me, for I am one of those who do not vomit their speeches but try to make them perfect."⁵ Permit my students also, O Emperor, to be in the audience."

"They have my permission," said Marcus, "for that is democratic." And when Aristeides added:

Aristeides perhaps echoed Cicero, *Epist. ad Div.* xii. 2 "omnibus est visus vomere suo more, non dicere."

αὐτοῖς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ βοᾶν καὶ κροτεῖν, ὅποσον δύνανται,” μειδιάσας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ “ τοῦτο ” ἔφη “ ἐπὶ σοὶ κεῖται.” οὐκ ἔγραψα τὴν μελετηθεῖσαν ὑπόθεσιν, ἐπειδὴ ἄλλοι ἄλλην φασίν, ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν πρὸς πάντων ὁμολογεῖται, τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἀρίστην φορᾶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Μάρκου χρήσασθαι πόρρωθεν τῇ Σμύρνῃ ἐτοιμαζούσης τῆς τύχης τὸ δι’ ἀνδρὸς τοιούτου δὴ ἀνοικισθῆναι. καὶ οὐ φημὶ ταῦτα, ὡς οὐχὶ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνοικισαντος ἂν ἀπολωλυῖαν πόλιν, ἣν οὖσαν ἐθαύμασεν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι αἱ βασιλείοί τε καὶ θεσπέσιοι φύσεις, ἦν προσεγείρη αὐτὰς ξυμβουλία καὶ λόγος, ἀναλάμπουσι μᾶλλον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ ξὺν ὀρμῇ φέρονται.

Δαμιανοῦ κἀκεῖνα ἤκουον, τὸν σοφιστὴν τοῦτον διαβάλλειν μὲν τοὺς αὐτοσχεδίους ἐν ταῖς διαλέξεσι, θαυμάζειν δὲ οὕτω τὸ σχεδιάζειν, ὡς καὶ ἰδία ἐκπονεῖν αὐτὸ ἐν δωματίῳ ἑαυτὸν καθειργνύντα, ἐξεπώνει δὲ κῶλον ἐκ κώλου καὶ νόημα ἐκ νοήματος ἐπανακυκλῶν. τουτὶ δὲ ἡγώμεθα μασωμένου μᾶλλον ἢ ἐσθίοντος, αὐτοσχεδῖος γὰρ γλώττης εὐροούσης ἀγώνισμα. κατηγοροῦσι δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστείδου τινὲς ὡς εὐτελὲς εἰπόντος προοίμιον ἐπὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων τῶν ἀπαιτουμένων τὴν γῆν, ἄρξασθαι γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸν τῆς ὑποθέσεως ταύτης ὧδε· “ οὐ παύσονται οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι παρέχοντες ἡμῖν πράγματα.” ἐπιλαμβάνονται δὲ τινες καὶ ἀκμῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ παραιτου-

¹ A scholiast on Hermogenes explains that lands had been assigned instead of pay to certain mercenaries; after they had founded a city they were ordered to take their pay and give up the land.

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“Grant them leave, O Emperor, to shout and applaud as loud as they can,” the Emperor smiled and retorted: “That rests with you.” I have not given the theme of this declamation, because the accounts of its title vary, but in this at least all agree, that Aristeides in speaking before Marcus employed an admirable impetuosity of speech, and that far ahead fate was preparing for Smyrna to be rebuilt through the efforts of this gifted man. And when I say this I do not imply that the Emperor would not of his own accord have restored the ruined city which he had admired when it was still flourishing, but I say it because even dispositions that are truly royal and above the ordinary, when incited by good advice and by eloquence, shine out more brightly and press on with ardour to noble deeds.

This too I have heard from Damianus, that though in his discourses this sophist used to disparage extempore speakers, nevertheless he so greatly admired extempore eloquence that he used to shut himself up in a room and practise it in private. And he used to work it out by evolving it clause by clause and thought by thought. But this process we must regard as chewing rather than eating, for extempore eloquence is the crowning achievement of a fluent and facile tongue. There are some who accuse Aristeides of having made a weak and ineffective prooemium when his theme was: “The mercenaries are ordered to give back their lands.”¹ They say that he began the argument with these words: “These persons will never cease to make trouble for us.” And some criticize the man’s vigorous language² when he spoke in the rôle of the Spartan

² For this technical term see Glossary.

584 μένου τὸν τειχισμόν τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, εἴρηται
 δὲ ὧδε· “μὴ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τείχει ἐπιπτήξαιμεν
 ὀρτύγων ἐναψάμενοι¹ φύσιν.” ἐπιλαμβάνονται καὶ
 παροιμίας ὡς ταπεινῶς προσερριμμένης, ἐπιδια-
 βάλλον γὰρ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς πατρώζοντα τὴν
 ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι δεινότητα, τοῦ πατρὸς ἔφη τὸ
 παιδίον εἶναι. οἱ αὐτοὶ κατηγοροῦσι καὶ σκώμ-
 ματος, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς Ἀριμασποὺς τοὺς μονομμά-
 τους ἔφη ξυγγενεῖς εἶναι τοῦ Φιλίππου, καίτοι
 καὶ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀπολελογημένου τοῖς Ἑλ-
 λησιν πρὸς τὸν τραγικὸν πίθηκον καὶ τὸν ἀρου-
 ραῖον Οἰνόμαον. ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐκ τούτων τὸν Ἀρι-
 στείδην, δηλούτω δὲ αὐτὸν ὃ τε Ἰσοκράτης ὁ τοὺς
 Ἀθηναίους ἐξάγων τῆς θαλάττης καὶ ὁ ἐπιτιμῶν
 τῷ Καλλιξείνῳ ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ θάπτειν τοὺς δέκα καὶ
 οἱ βουλευόμενοι περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ ὁ μὴ
 λαβὼν Αἰσχίνης παρὰ τοῦ Κερσοβλέπτου τὸν
 585 σῖτον, καὶ οἱ παραιτούμενοι τὰς σπονδὰς μετὰ τὸ
 κτείνειν τὰ γένη, ἐν ᾗ μάλιστα ὑποθέσεων ἀνα-
 διδάσκει ἡμᾶς, πῶς ἂν τις ἀσφαλῶς κεκινδυνευ-
 μένας τε καὶ τραγικὰς ἐννοίας μεταχειρίσαιτο.
 καὶ πλείους ἐτέρας ὑποθέσεις οἶδα εὐπαιδευσίαν
 ἐνδεικνυμένας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ

¹ ἀναψάμενοι Kayser; ἐναψάμενοι Cobet.

¹ For this theme see above, p. 514.

² Philip had lost an eye at the siege of Methone 352 B.C. The fabulous Arismaspi are described by Herodotus iv. 27.

³ *On the Crown* 242. “Tragic ape” was a proverbial phrase for an arrogant person. Oenomaus was the hero of a lost play of Sophocles, and these were sneering references to the career of Aeschines as a travelling actor.

⁴ This theme is based on Isocrates, *On the Peace* 64.

⁵ This favourite theme is based on a fictitious situation in

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who deprecated the fortifying of Lacedaemon.¹ What he said was this: "May we never take on the nature of quails and cower within walls." They also criticize a proverbial phrase of his, on the ground that he had thrown it in casually with an effect of vulgarity. I mean that, when attacking Alexander for merely imitating his father's energy in affairs, he said: "He is a chip of the old block." These same critics also condemn a jest of his when he said that the one-eyed Arimaspi were Philip's kinsmen.² And yet even Demosthenes defended his policy to the Greeks against one whom he called "the tragic ape," and "the rustic Oenomaus."³ But do not judge of Aristides from these extracts, but rather estimate his powers in such speeches as "Isocrates tries to wean the Athenians from their empire of the sea"⁴; or "The speaker upbraids Callixenus for not having granted burial to the Ten"⁵; or "The deliberations on the state of affairs in Sicily"⁶; or "Aeschines, when he had not received the corn from Cersobleptes"⁷; or "They reject the treaty of alliance after their children have been murdered."⁸ It is in this last argument above all that he teaches us how, without making any slip, one may handle daring and tragic conceptions. And I know several other arguments of his that demonstrate the man's erudition, force and power of characterization, and it is by these that he ought

which Callixenus advises the Athenians not to bury the generals who were executed after the battle of Arginusae. It is quoted by Hermogenes and Syrianus.

⁶ This theme is quoted by Hermogenes.

⁷ Apsines states this theme rather differently; it is apparently based on Polyaenus vii. 32.

⁸ This theme is described more fully below, p. 593.

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ἦθος, ἀφ' ὧν μᾶλλον αὐτὸν θεωρητέον, ἢ εἴ που καὶ παρέπτυσέ τι ἐς φιλοτιμίαν ἐκπεσών. καὶ τεχνικώτατος δὲ σοφιστῶν ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἐγένετο καὶ πολὺς ἐν θεωρήμασι, ὅθεν καὶ τοῦ σχεδιάζειν ἀπηνέχθη, τὸ γὰρ κατὰ θεωρίαν βούλεσθαι προάγειν πάντα ἀσχολεῖ τὴν γνώμην καὶ ἀπαλλάττει τοῦ ἐτοιμοῦ.

Ἀποθανεῖν δὲ τὸν Ἀριστείδην οἱ μὲν οἴκοι γράφουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ ἔτη βιώσαντα οἱ μὲν ἐξήκοντά φασιν, οἱ δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα.

ι'. Ἀδριανὸν δὲ τὸν Φοίνικα Τύρος μὲν ἤνεγκεν, Ἀθῆναι δὲ ἤσκησαν. ὥς γὰρ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ διδασκάλων ἤκουον, ἀφίκετο μὲν ἐς αὐτὰς κατὰ Ἡρώδην, φύσεως δὲ ἰσχὺν σοφιστικωτάτην ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ οὐκ ἄδηλος ὧν ὥς ἐπὶ μέγα ἤξι· ἐφοίτησε μὲν γὰρ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ ὀκτῶ καὶ δέκα ἴσως γεγωνῶς ἔτη καὶ ταχέως ἀξιωθείς, ὧν Σκέπτος τε καὶ Ἀμφικλῆς ἤξιούντο, ἐνεγράφη καὶ τῇ τοῦ Κλεψυδρίου ἀκροάσει. τὸ δὲ Κλεψύδριον ὧδε εἶχεν· τῶν τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἀκροατῶν δέκα οἱ ἀρετῆς ἀξιούμενοι ἐπεσιτίζοντο τῇ ἐς πάντας ἀκροάσει κλεψύδραν ξυμμεμετρημένην¹ ἐς ἑκατὸν ἔπη, ἃ διήκει ἀποτάδην ὁ Ἡρώδης παρητημένος τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀκροατῶν ἔπαινον καὶ μόνου γεγωνῶς τοῦ λέγειν. παραδεδωκότος δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῖς γνω-

¹ Schmid, *Atticismus* 194, suggests ξυμμεμετρημένοι δσον.

¹ Two brief declamations ascribed to Adrian are extant.

² "A lecture timed by the clock," cp. p. 594. Rohde thinks that the meal is figurative, and that it was a feast of reason.

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to be estimated rather than by passages in which he has drivelled somewhat and has fallen into affectation. Moreover, Aristeides was of all the sophists most deeply versed in his art, and his strength lay in the elaborate cogitation of a theme; for which reason he refrained from extempore speaking. For the desire not to produce anything except after long cogitation keeps the mind too busy and robs it of alertness.

Some writers record that Aristeides died at home, others say that it was in Ionia; again some say that he reached the age of sixty, others that he was nearly seventy.

10. ADRIAN¹ the Phoenician was born at Tyre, but he was trained in rhetoric at Athens. For, as I used to hear from my own teachers, he came to Athens in the time of Herodes and there displayed a great natural talent for sophistic, and it was generally held that he would rise to greatness in his profession. For he began to attend the school of Herodes when he was perhaps eighteen years old, was very soon admitted to the same privileges as Sceptus and Amphicles, and was enrolled among the pupils belonging to the Clepsydrion. Now the Clepsydrion was conducted in the following manner. After the general lecture which was open to all, ten of the pupils of Herodes, that is to say those who were proved worthy of a reward for excellence, used to dine for a period limited by a water-clock² timed to last through a hundred verses; and these verses Herodes used to expound with copious comments, nor would he allow any applause from his hearers, but was wholly intent on what he was saying. And since he had enjoined on his pupils not to be idle

586 ρίμοις τὸ μηδὲ τὸν τοῦ πότου καιρὸν ἀνιέναι, ἀλλὰ κακεῖ τι ἐπισπουδάζειν τῷ οἴνῳ ξυνέπινε μὲν ὁ Ἀδριανὸς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς κλεψύδρας ὡς κοινωνὸς μεγάλου ἀπορρήτου, λόγου δὲ αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς ἐκάστου τῶν σοφιστῶν ιδέας προβαίνοντος παρελθὼν ἐς μέσους ὁ Ἀδριανὸς “ἐγὼ” ἔφη “ὑπογράψω τοὺς χαρακτῆρας οὐ κομματίων ἀπομνημονεύων ἢ νοιδίων ἢ κώλων ἢ ῥυθμῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐς μίμησιν ἐμαυτὸν καθιστὰς καὶ τὰς ἀπάντων ιδέας ἀποσχεδιάζων σὺν εὐροία καὶ ἐφίεις τῇ γλώττῃ.” παραλιπόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἡρώδην ὁ μὲν Ἀμφικλῆς ἤρετο τοῦ χάριν τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτῶν παρέλθοι αὐτός τε ἐρῶν τῆς ιδέας ἐκείνους τε ἰδὼν ἐρῶντας “ὅτι” ἔφη “οὔτοι μὲν οἶοι καὶ μεθύοντι παραδοῦναι μίμησιν, Ἡρώδην δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν λόγων ἀγαπητὸν ἦν αἰνός τε καὶ νήφων ὑποκρίνωμαι.” ταῦτα ἀπαγγελθέντα τῷ Ἡρώδῃ διέχεεν αὐτὸν ὄντα καὶ ἄλλως ἥττω εὐδοξίας. ἐπήγγειλε δὲ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ καὶ ἀκρόασιν σχεδίου λόγου νεάζων ἔτι, καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης οὐχ, ὡς διαβάλλουσί τινες, βασκαίνων τε καὶ τωθάζων, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ διακειμένου τε καὶ ἴλεω ἀκροασάμενος ἐπέρρωσε τὸν νεανίαν εἰπὼν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν “κολοσσοῦ ταῦτα μεγάλα σπαράγματα” ἂν εἴη,” ἅμα μὲν διορθούμενος αὐτὸν ὡς ὑφ’ ἡλικίας διεσπασμένον τε καὶ μὴ ξυγκείμενον, ἅμα δὲ ἐπαινῶν ὡς μεγαλόφωνόν τε καὶ μεγαλογνώμονα.

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even when it was the hour for drinking, but at that time also to pursue some sort of study over their wine, Adrian used to drink with the pupils of the clepsydra as their partner in a great and mysterious rite. Now a discussion was once going on about the style of all the sophists, when Adrian came forward in their midst, and said: "I will now give a sketch of their types of style, not by quoting from memory brief phrases of theirs or smart sayings, or clauses or rhythmical effects. But I will undertake to imitate them, and will reproduce extempore the style of every one of them, with an easy flow of words and giving the rein to my tongue." But in doing this he left out Herodes, and Amphicles asked him to explain why he had omitted their own teacher, seeing that he himself was enamoured of his style of eloquence, and saw that they were likewise enamoured. "Because," said he, "these fellows are the sort that lend themselves to imitation, even when one is drunk. But as for Herodes, the prince of eloquence, I should be thankful if I could mimic him when I have had no wine and am sober." When this was reported to Herodes it gave him the keenest pleasure, naturally, since he never could resist his longing for approbation. When he was still a mere youth Adrian invited Herodes to hear him make a speech extempore. Herodes listened to him, not as some people unjustly accuse him, in an envious or scoffing spirit, but with his usual calm and kindly bearing, and afterwards he encouraged the youth, and ended by saying: "These might well be great fragments of a colossus." Thus while he tried to correct his disjointed and ill-constructed style as a fault of youth, he applauded the grandeur both of his words and

καὶ λόγον τῷ Ἡρώδῃ ἀποθανόντι ἐπεφθέγγατο ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς ἐς δάκρυα ἐκκληθῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐν τῇ τοῦ λόγου ἀκροάσει.

Μεστὸς δὲ οὕτω παρρησίας ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον παρήλθε τὸν Ἀθήνησιν, ὡς προοίμιόν οἱ γενέσθαι τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαλέξεως μὴ τὴν ἐκείνων σοφίαν, 587 ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ἤρξατο γὰρ δὴ ὧδε· “ πάλιν ἐκ Φοινίκης γράμματα.” τὸ μὲν δὴ προοίμιον τοῦτο ὑπερπνέοντος ἦν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ διδόντος τι αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὸν μᾶλλον ἢ λαμβάνοντος, μεγαλοπρεπέστατα δὲ τοῦ Ἀθήνησι θρόνου ἐπεμελήθη ἐσθῆτα μὲν πλείστου ἀξίαν ἀμπεχόμενος, ἐξηρηγμένος δὲ τὰς θαυμασιωτέρας τῶν λίθων καὶ κατιῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς σπουδὰς ἐπ' ἀργυροχαλίνου ὀχήματος, ἐπεὶ δὲ σπουδάσειε, ζηλωτὸς αὖ ἐπανιών ξὺν πομπῇ τοῦ πανταχόθεν Ἑλληνικοῦ. ἤδη¹ γὰρ ἐθεράπευον αὐτόν, ὥσπερ τὰ γένη τῆς Ἑλευσίνος ἱεροφάντην λαμπρῶς ἱεουργοῦντα. ὑπεποιεῖτο δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ παιδιαῖς καὶ πότοις καὶ θήραις καὶ κοινωνίᾳ πανηγύρεων Ἑλληνικῶν, ἀλλὰ ἄλλω ξυννεάζων, ὅθεν διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτόν ὡς πρὸς πατέρα παῖδες ἡδύν τε καὶ πρᾶον καὶ ξυνδιαφέροντα αὐτοῖς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σκίρτημα. ἐγὼ τοι καὶ δακρύνοντας αὐτῶν ἐνίους οἶδα, ὅποτε ἐς μνήμην τοῦ ἀνδρός τούτου καθίσταντο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τὸ φθέγμα ὑποκοριζομένους, τοὺς δὲ τὸ βάδισμα, τοὺς δὲ τὸ εὐσχημον τῆς στολῆς.

¹ οἶδε Kayser ; ἤδη Jahn.

¹ “ Letters ” in a double sense ; the Greek alphabet was supposed to have come from Phoenicia.

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his ideas. When Herodes died Adrian delivered a funeral oration which did full justice to the man, so that the Athenians were moved to tears while they listened to his speech.

So full of self-confidence was Adrian when he ascended the chair of rhetoric at Athens, that in the propemium of his address to the Athenians he dilated not on their wisdom but on his own, for he began by announcing: "Once again letters have come from Phoenicia."¹ In fact his prooemium was in the tone of one who breathed on a higher plane than the Athenians and bestowed a benefit on them rather than received it. He performed the duties of the chair at Athens with the greatest ostentation, wore very expensive clothes, bedecked himself with precious gems, and used to go down to his lectures in a carriage with silver-mounted bridles; and always after the lecture he would go home envied of all, escorted by those who loved Hellenic culture, from all parts of the world. They went so far as to reverence him just as the tribes of Eleusis reverence the initiating priest when he is ceremoniously performing the rites. Then, too, he won them over by giving games and wine-parties and hunts, and by sharing with them the Hellenic festivals; thus adapting himself to their youthfulness and all its varied interests, so that they felt towards him as sons feel towards a father who is amiable and indulgent, and with them keeps up the most boisterous Greek dance. Indeed I myself know that some of them used actually to shed tears when they remembered this sophist, and that some would try to imitate his accent, others his walk, or the elegance of his attire.

Ἐπαχθείσαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ φονικὴν αἰτίαν ᾧδε ἀπέφυγεν· ἦν Ἀθήνησιν ἀνθρώπιον οὐκ ἀγύμναστον τοῦ περὶ τοὺς σοφιστὰς δρόμου· τούτῳ ἀμφορέα μὲν τις οἶνου προσάγων ἢ ὄψα ἢ ἐσθῆτα ἢ ἀργύριον εὐμεταχειρίστῳ ἐχρήτο, καθάπερ οἱ τὰ πεινῶντα τῶν θρεμμάτων τῷ θαλλῷ ἄγοντες, εἰ δὲ ἀμελοῖτο, φιλολοιδόρως εἶχε καὶ ὑλάκτει.

588 τῷ μὲν οὖν Ἀδριανῷ προσκεκρούκει διὰ τὴν εὐχέρειαν τοῦ ἡθους, Χρῆστον δὲ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου σοφιστὴν ἐθεράπευεν, καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀδριανὸς ἐκαρτέρει τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντα, δῆγματα κόρεων τὰς ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων λαιδορίας καλῶν, οἱ γνώριμοι δὲ οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες παρεκελεύσαντο τοῖς ἐαυτῶν οἰκέταις παίειν αὐτόν, καὶ ἀνοιδησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν σπλάγχχνων ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τριακοστῇ ἀπέθανε παρασχών τινα καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ θανάτῳ λόγον, ἐπειδὴ ἀκράτου νοσῶν ἔσπασεν. οἱ δὲ προσήκοντες τῷ τεθνεῶτι γράφονται τὸν σοφιστὴν φόνου παρὰ τῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχοντι ὡς ἓνα Ἀθηναίων, ἐπειδὴ φυλὴ τε ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ δῆμος Ἀθήνησιν, ὁ δὲ ἀπέγνω τὴν αἰτίαν ὥς μήτε ταῖς ἐαυτοῦ χερσὶ μήτε ταῖς τῶν ἐαυτοῦ δούλων τετυπτηκότος τὸν τεθνάναι λεγόμενον. ξυνήρατο δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἀπολογίας πρῶτον μὲν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν τίνας οὐχὶ ἀφίεντες ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φωνὰς δακρύοις ἅμα, ἔπειτα ἢ τοῦ ἱατροῦ μαρτυρία ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ οἴνῳ.

Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Μάρ-

¹ An echo of Plato, *Phaedrus* 230 D. Socrates says that Phaedrus has enticed him into the country by the promise of hearing a discourse read, as men wave branches to entice hungry animals to follow them.

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A charge of murder was brought against him, but he escaped it in the following way. There was in Athens a fellow of no account who had had some training in the curriculum of the sophists. One could easily keep him in a good humour by bestowing on him a jar of wine or a dainty dish, or clothes, or silver, just as men entice hungry animals by waving a branch¹ before them; but if he was ignored he would indulge in abuse and bark like a dog. He had fallen foul of Adrian who disliked him for the levity of his manners, but he was the devoted disciple of Chrestus the sophist, of Byzantium. Adrian used to put up with all his insults, and would call the slanders of such men "flea-bites"; but his pupils could not tolerate the behaviour of the man and gave orders to their own slaves to thrash him. This brought on a swelling of the intestines, and thirty days later he died, but not without having himself contributed to cause his own death, since during his illness he drank greedily of undiluted wine. But the relatives of the dead man charged the sophist with murder in the court of the proconsul of Greece, as being an Athenian citizen, since both his tribe and his deme were at Athens. He however denied the charge, alleging that neither with his own hands or the hands of any of his slaves had he struck the man who was said to have died. He was assisted in his defence, first by the whole crowd of Hellenes who made every possible plea² in his behalf, weeping the while, and secondly by the evidence of the doctor about the wine.

Now at the time when the Emperor Marcus

² An echo of Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 195.

κος Ἀθήναζε ὑπὲρ μυστηρίων ἐστάλη, ἐκράτει
 μὲν ἤδη τοῦ τῶν σοφιστῶν θρόνου ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος,
 ἐν μέρει δὲ ὁ Μάρκος τῆς τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἱστορίας
 ἔθετο μηδὲ τὴν ἐκείνου σοφίαν ἀγνοῆσαι· καὶ
 γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐπέταξεν αὐτὸν τοῖς νέοις οὐκ ἀκροά-
 σει βασανίσας, ἀλλὰ ξυνθέμενος τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ
 φήμῃ. Σεβήρου δὲ ἀνδρὸς ὑπάτου διαβάλλοντος
 αὐτὸν ὡς τὰς σοφιστικὰς ὑποθέσεις ἐκβακχεύοντα
 διὰ τὸ ἐρρῶσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἔλεγχον τού-
 του ποιούμενος ὁ Μάρκος προὔβαλε μὲν αὐτῷ
 589 τὸν Ὑπερεῖδην τὸν ἐς μόνας ἐπιστρέφοντα τὰς
 Δημοσθένους γνώμας, ὅτε δὴ ἐν Ἑλατείᾳ Φίλ-
 ιππος ἦν, ὁ δὲ οὕτως τὸν ἀγῶνα εὐηνίως διέθετο,
 ὡς μηδὲ τοῦ Πολέμωνος ροίζου λειπεσθαι δόξαι.
 ἀγασθεῖς δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ μέγα ἤρε
 δωρεαῖς τε καὶ δώροις. καλῶ δὲ δωρεὰς μὲν
 τὰς τε σιτήσεις καὶ τὰς προεδρίας καὶ τὰς ἀτε-
 λείας καὶ τὸ ἱεῖσθαι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα λαμπρύνει
 ἄνδρας, δῶρα δὲ χρυσὸν ἄργυρον ἵππους ἀνδρά-
 ποδα καὶ ὅσα ἐρμηνεύει πλοῦτον, ὧν αὐτόν τε
 ἐνέπλησε καὶ γένος τὸ ἐκείνου πάντας.

Κατασχὼν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄνω θρόνον οὕτως τὴν
 Ῥώμην ἐς ἑαυτὸν ἐπέστρεψεν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἀξυνέτοις
 γλώττης Ἑλλάδος ἔρωτα παρασχεῖν ἀκροάσεως.
 ἡκροῶντο δὲ ὥσπερ εὐστομούσης ἀηδόνας, τὴν

¹ See above, p. 563.

² This was probably Claudius Severus the teacher of Marcus Aurelius, consul in 163.

³ A similar theme is mentioned by Apsines 219; it has no historical basis; cf. Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 169-179, for this political crisis.

⁴ This phrase always means the chair at Rome.

⁵ An echo of Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 18.

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travelled to Athens to be initiated into the Mysteries,¹ this sophist was already in possession of the chair of rhetoric at Athens, and among the things that Marcus wished to investigate at Athens he counted this, that he would inform himself as to the professional skill of Adrian. For he had indeed appointed him to lecture to the Athenian youth without testing him by hearing him lecture, but in acquiescence with the general rumour about him. Now the consul Severus² was attacking Adrian for putting too much passion and frenzy into his purely sophistic arguments, because his real strength lay in forensic pleading. Therefore Marcus, who wished to put this to the proof, proposed as the theme for declamation "Hypereides, when Philip is at Elatea, pays heed only to the counsels of Demosthenes."³ Whereupon Adrian guided the reins of the argument so skilfully that he proved himself fully equal to Polemo in force and vigour. The Emperor admired him greatly, and exalted him to the skies by grants and gifts. By grants, I mean the right to dine at the expense of the state, a seat of honour at the public games, immunity from taxes, priestly offices, and all else that sheds a lustre on men; and by gifts I mean gold and silver, horses, slaves, and all the outward signs of wealth with which he lavishly endowed not only Adrian but his family also, one and all.

When he was promoted to the higher chair⁴ of rhetoric he so successfully drew the attention of all Rome to himself that he inspired even those who did not know the Greek language with an ardent desire to hear him declaim. And they listened to him as to a sweet-voiced nightingale,⁵ struck with

PHILOSTRATUS

εὐγλωττίαν ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὸ εὐστροφον τοῦ φθέγματος καὶ τοὺς πεζῇ τε καὶ ξὺν ᾠδῇ ρυθμούς. ὁπότε οὖν σπουδάζοιεν περὶ τὰς ἐγκυκλίους θεάς, ὀρχηστῶν δὲ αὐταὶ τὸ ἐπίπαν, φανέντος ἂν περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ τῆς ἀκροάσεως ἀγγέλου ἐξανίσταντο μὲν οἱ¹ ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς, ἐξανίσταντο δὲ τῶν δημοσίου ἱππευόντων οὐχ οἱ τὰ Ἑλλήνων σπουδάζοντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅποσοι τὴν ἐτέραν γλῶτταν ἐπαιδεύοντο ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ δρόμῳ ἐχώρουν ἐς τὸ Ἀθήναιον ὁρμῆς μεστοὶ καὶ τοὺς βάδην πορευομένους κακίζοντες.

Νοσοῦντι δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην, ὅτε δὴ καὶ
 590 ἐτελεύτα, ἐψηφίσατο μὲν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ὁ Κόμ-
 μodos ξὺν ἀπολογία τοῦ μὴ καὶ θάττον, ὁ δὲ
 ἐπιθειάσας μὲν ταῖς Μούσαις, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, προσ-
 κινήσας δὲ τὰς βασιλείους δέλτους τὴν ψυχὴν
 πρὸς αὐταῖς ἀφήκεν ἐνταφίῳ τῇ τιμῇ χρησάμενος·
 ἐτελεύτα δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη, οὕτω τι
 εὐδόκιμος, ὥς καὶ πολλοῖς γόης δόξαι· ὅτι μὲν οὖν
 ἀνὴρ πεπαιδευμένος οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐς γοήτων ὑπαχ-
 θεῖν τέχνας, ἱκανῶς ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Διονυσίου λόγοις
 εἶρηκα, ὁ δέ, οἶμαι, τερατευόμενος ἐν ταῖς ὑποθέ-
 σεσι περὶ τὰ τῶν μάγων ἦθη τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην
 παρ' αὐτῶν ἔσπασεν. διαβάλλουσι δὲ αὐτὸν ὥς καὶ
 ἀναιδὴ τὸ ἦθος; πέμψαι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ τινα τῶν
 γνωρίμων ἰχθύς διακειμένους ἐπὶ δίσκου ἀργυροῦ

¹ oi Cobet adds.

¹ For this *canticum* at the close of a speech see Glossary, s.v. ᾠδή.

² Latin; the Athenaeum at Rome was a school founded by the Emperor Hadrian.

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admiration of his facile tongue, his well-modulated and flexible voice, and his rhythms, whether in prose or when he sang in recitative.¹ So much so, that, when they were attending shows in which the vulgar delight—these were, generally speaking, performances of dancers—a messenger had only to appear in the theatre to announce that Adrian was going to declaim, when even the members of the Senate would rise from their sitting, and the members of the equestrian order would rise, not only those who were devoted to Hellenic culture, but also those who were studying the other language² at Rome; and they would set out on the run to the Athenaeum, overflowing with enthusiasm, and upbraiding those who were going there at a walking pace.

When he lay ill at Rome and was in fact dying, Commodus appointed him Imperial Secretary, and made excuses for not having done so sooner, whereupon Adrian invoked the Muses, as was his wont, saluted reverently the Emperor's rescript, and breathed out his soul over it, thus making of that honour his funeral shroud. He was about eighty when he died, and had attained to such high honour that many actually believed him to be a magician. But in my account of Dionysius I have said enough to show that a well-educated man would never be led astray into the practice of magic arts. But I suppose it was because he used to tell marvellous tales in his declamations about the customs of the magicians that he drew down on himself from his hearers this sort of appellation. They slander him too in saying that he had shameless manners because, when one of his pupils sent him a present of fish lying on a silver plate embossed with gold, he was

πεποικιλμένου χρυσῷ, τὸν δὲ ὑπερησθέντα τῷ δίσκῳ μήτε ἀποδοῦναι καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι τῷ πέμψαντι “εὖγε, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἰχθῦς.” τουτὶ δὲ διατριβῆς μὲν ἔνεκα παῖξαι λέγεται πρὸς τινὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γνωρίμων, ὃν ἤκουε μικροπρεπῶς τῷ πλούτῳ χρώμενον, τὸν δὲ ἄργυρον ἀποδοῦναι σωφρονίσας τὸν ἀκροατὴν τῷ ἀστεισμῷ.

Ὁ δὲ σοφιστὴς οὗτος πολὺς μὲν περὶ τὰς ἐννοίας καὶ λαμπρὸς καὶ τὰς διασκευὰς τῶν ὑποθέσεων ποικιλώτατος ἐκ τῆς τραγωδίας τοῦτο ἡρηκώς, οὐ μὴν τεταγμένος γε, οὐδὲ τῇ τέχνῃ ἐπόμενος, τὴν δὲ παρασκευὴν τῆς λέξεως ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων σοφιστῶν περιεβάλλετο ἡχῶ προσάγων μᾶλλον ἢ κρότῳ. πολυλαχοῦ δὲ τῆς μεγαλοφωνίας ἐξέπεσεν ἀταμιεύτως τῇ τραγωδίᾳ χρησάμενος.

ια'. Τὸν δὲ Βυζάντιον σοφιστὴν Χρῆστον ἀδικεῖ ἢ Ἑλλὰς ἀμελοῦντες ἀνδρός, ὃς ἄριστα μὲν
 591 Ἑλλήνων ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου ἐπαιδεύθη, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐπαίδευσεν καὶ θαυμασίους ἀνδρας, ὧν ἐγένετο Ἰππόδρομός τε ὁ σοφιστὴς καὶ Φιλίσκος καὶ Ἰσαγόρας ὁ τῆς τραγωδίας ποιητὴς ῥήτορές τε εὐδόκιμοι Νικομήδης ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Περγάμου καὶ Ἀκύλας ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἐξου Γαλατίας καὶ Ἀρισταίνετος ὁ Βυζάντιος καὶ τῶν ἐλλογίμως φιλοσοφησάντων Κάλλαισχρός τε ὁ Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ βωμῷ Σῶσις καὶ πλείους ἕτεροι λόγου ἄξιοι. παιδεύοντι δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ καιροὺς ἑκατὸν ἑμμισθοὶ ἀκροαταὶ ἦσαν καὶ ἄριστοι τούτων, οὓς εἶπον., Ἀδριανοῦ δὲ καθιδρυθέντος

¹ Nothing more is known of this sophist.

² He was priest at the sacrifices, perhaps at the public games.

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enchanted with the plate and so did not return it, and in acknowledging the present to the sender, he said: "It was indeed kind of you to send the fish as well." But it is said that he made this jest as a sarcasm against one of his pupils who had been reported to him as using his wealth in a miserly fashion, and that he gave back the piece of silver after he had castigated the student in this witty manner.

This sophist had a copious flow of ideas and handled them brilliantly, and also in the disposition of his themes he showed the utmost variety, which he had acquired from his study of tragedy. He did not observe the conventional arrangement or follow the rules of the art, but he furnished himself with the diction of the ancient sophists and clothed his style therewith as with a garment, with sonorousness rather than striking effects. But in the grand style he often failed, because he employed tragedy with too prodigal a hand.

11. To CHRESTUS¹ OF BYZANTIUM, the sophist, Greece does less than justice, since it neglects a man who received from Herodes the best education of any Hellene, and himself educated many remarkable men. Among these were Hippodromus the sophist, Philiscus, Isagoras the tragic poet, famous rhetoricians, namely Nicomedes of Pergamon, Acylas from Eastern Galatia, and Aristaenetus of Byzantium; and among well-known philosophers, Callaeschrus the Athenian, Sospis the curator of the altar,² and several others worthy of mention. He taught in the days of the sophist Adrian and had then a hundred pupils who paid fees, the best of them those whom I have mentioned. After Adrian had been installed in the

ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐψηφίζοντο μὲν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρεσβεύεσθαι ὑπὲρ Χρήστου τὸν Ἀθήνησιν αὐτῷ θρόνον ἐκ βασιλέως αἰτοῦντες, ὁ δὲ παρελθὼν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐκκλησιάζοντας διέλυσε τὴν πρέσβεισιν ἄλλα τε διαλεχθεὶς ἀξιόλογα καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν εἰπὼν
 “οὐχ αἱ μύριαι τὸν ἄνδρα.”

Οἶνον δὲ ἡττώμενος παροινίας ἐκράτει καὶ εὐχερείας καὶ ἀγερωχίας, ἣν ὁ οἶνος ἐπὶ τὰς γνώμας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐσάγει, τοσοῦτον δὲ αὐτῷ περιῆν τοῦ νήφειν, ὥς καὶ ἐς ἀλεκτρυνόνων ὠδὰς προβάντος τοῦ πότου σπουδῆς αὐτὸν ἄπτεσθαι, πρὶν ὕπνου σπάσαι. διεβέβλητο δὲ μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς ἀλαζόνας τῶν νέων καίτοι χρησιμωτέρους τῶν ἄλλων ὄντας ἐς τὰς ξυμβολὰς τοῦ μισθοῦ. Διογένη γοῦν
 592 τὸν Ἀμαστριανὸν ὁρῶν τετυφωμένον ἐκ μεираκίου καὶ περινοοῦντα μὲν σατραπείας, περινοοῦντα δὲ αὐλὰς καὶ τὸ ἀγχοῦ βασιλέων ἐστήξειν, λέγοντα δέ, ὥς ὁ δεῖνα Αἰγύπτιος προειρήκοι αὐτῷ ταῦτα, ὁ Χρῆστος ἐνουθέτει¹ μηδὲ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ σιωπῶν.

Τὴν δὲ ἰδέαν τῶν λόγων πεποίκιλται μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἡρώδου πλεονεκτημάτων, λείπεται δὲ αὐτῶν τοῦ ἐτοίμου, καθάπερ ἐν ζωγραφίᾳ ἢ ἄνευ χρωμάτων ἐσκιαγραφημένη μίμησις, προὔβη δὲ ἂν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἴσον τῆς ἀρετῆς, εἰ μὴ πεντηκοντούτης ἀπέθανεν.

ιβ'. Πολυδεύκη δὲ τὸν Ναυκρατίτην οὐκ οἶδα, εἴτε ἀπαίδευτον δεῖ καλεῖν εἴτε πεπαιδευμένον, εἴθ', ὅπερ εὐθες δόξει, καὶ ἀπαίδευτον καὶ πεπαιδευμένον· ἐνθυμουμένῳ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀνόματα

¹ For the lacuna after ὁ Kayser suggests Χρῆστος ἐνουθέτει.

¹ This was the salary of the chair.

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chair at Rome, the Athenians voted to send an embassy on behalf of Chrestus to ask for him from the Emperor the chair at Athens. But he came before them in the assembly and broke up the embassy, saying many memorable things in his discourse, and he ended with these words: "The ten thousand drachmae¹ do not make a man."

He had a weakness for wine, but he kept in check the drunken insolence, levity, and arrogance which wine induces in the minds of men; and his ability to keep sober was so extraordinary that, though his potations went on till cockcrow, he would then attack his studies before he had snatched any sleep. He made himself especially obnoxious to youths of the foolish boasting sort, in spite of the fact that they are more profitable than the rest for the payment of fees. At any rate, when he perceived that Diogenes of Amastris was from his earliest youth puffed up with pride, dreaming ever of satrapies and courts and of being one day the right hand of emperors, and moreover that he asserted that a certain Egyptian had foretold all this to him, Chrestus admonished him and told his own story.

He varied and enriched the style of his oratory with the peculiar excellences of Herodes, but he falls short of these in alertness of mind, just as in the painter's art a likeness falls short that is done in outline without colours.² But he would have progressed even to an equal level of merit, had he not died at the age of fifty.

12. I am not sure whether one ought to call POLLUX of Naucratis unlearned or learned, or, absurd as it will seem, both learned and unlearned. For when one

² An echo of Plato, *Politicus* 277 c.

ικανῶς ἐγεγύμναστο τὴν γλῶτταν τῆς ἀττικίζουσης λέξεως, διορῶντι δὲ τὸ ἐν ταῖς μελέταις εἶδος οὐδὲν βέλτιον ἐτέρου ἡττίκισεν. τάδε οὖν χρή περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰδέναι. Πολυδεύκης τὰ μὲν κριτικὰ ικανῶς ἥσκητο, πατρὶ ξυγγενόμενος τοὺς κριτικούς λόγους εἰδóτι, τοὺς δὲ σοφιστικούς τῶν λόγων τόλμη μᾶλλον ἢ τέχνη ξυνέβαλλε θαρρήσας τῇ φύσει, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄριστα ἐπεφύκει. Ἀδριανοῦ δὲ ἀκροατῆς γενόμενος ἴσον ἀφέστηκεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν πλεονεκτημάτων καὶ τῶν ἐλαττωμάτων, ἥκιστα μὲν γὰρ πίπτει, ἥκιστα δὲ αἴρεται, πλὴν ἄλλ' εἰσὶ τινες ἡδονῶν λιβάδες διακεκραμέναι τοῦ λόγου. ιδέα δὲ αὐτοῦ διαλεγομένου μὲν ἦδε. “ὁ Πρωτεύς ὁ 593 Φάριος τὸ θαῦμα τὸ Ὀμηρικὸν πολλὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ πολυειδεῖς αἱ μορφαί, καὶ γὰρ ἐς ὕδωρ αἴρεται καὶ ἐς πῦρ ἄπτεται καὶ ἐς λέοντα θυμοῦται καὶ ἐς σὺν ὄρμῃ καὶ ἐς δράκοντα χωρεῖ καὶ ἐς πάρδαλιν πηδᾷ καὶ δένδρον ἦν γένηται, κομᾷ.” μελετῶντος δὲ αὐτοῦ χαρακτῆρα ποιῶμεθα τοὺς νησιώτας τοὺς τὰ γένη πιπράσκοντας ἐς τὴν ἀπαγωγὴν τῶν φόρων, ἐπειδὴ βούλονται καὶ ἄριστα εἰρῆσθαι τήνδε τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ἧς τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὦδε εἴρηται. “παῖς ἡπειρώτης ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος πατρὶ νησιώτῃ γράφει· δουλεύω βασιλεῖ δῶρον ἐκ σατράπου δοθείς, οὔτε δὲ ἵππον ἀναβαίνω Μηδικὸν οὔτε τόξον λαμβάνω Περσικόν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἢ θήραν, ὥς ἀνὴρ, ἐξέρχομαι, ἐν γυναικωνίτιδι δὲ κάθημαι καὶ τὰς βασιλέως θεραπεύω παλλακάς, καὶ βασιλεὺς

¹ *Odyssey* iv. 456 foll. Pollux seems to have been declaiming on the versatility of the sophists. Note the short balanced clauses and the similar endings in the Greek. Himerius, *Oration* xxi. 9, imitates this passage of Philostratus and calls Proteus a sophist.

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considers his studies in words it seems that his tongue had been well trained in the Attic dialect, yet, when one observes closely the type of his style in his declamations, he was as an Atticist no more skilful than the average. In his case, then, we must take into account the following facts. Pollux had been sufficiently well trained in the science of criticism, because he was the pupil of his father, who was an expert in the art of criticism; but he composed his purely sophistic speeches with the aid of audacity rather than art, relying on his natural talents, for he was indeed very highly endowed by nature. He was a pupil of Adrian, and represents the mean between that sophist's excellences and defects. For while he never sinks too low, he never soars, except that rivulets, so to speak, of sweetness permeate his oratory. Here is an example of his style in a discourse: "Proteus of Pharos, that marvel in Homer¹ puts on many and manifold shapes, for he rises up into water, blazes into fire, rages into a lion, makes a rush into a boar, crawls into a serpent, springs into a panther, and when he turns into a tree, grows leaves for hair." To show the characteristics of his style in declamation, let me quote the theme "The islanders who sell their children in order to pay their taxes"; for they claim that this is his most successful argument. The words of the epilogue are as follows: "A boy on the mainland writes from Babylon to his father on an island: 'I am a king's slave; I was given to him as a present from a satrap; yet I never mount a horse of the Medes or handle a Persian bow, nay I never even go forth to war or the chase like a man, but I sit in the women's quarters and wait on the king's concubines. Nor does the king

οὐκ ὀργίζεται, εὐνοῦχος γάρ εἰμι. εὐδοκιμῶ δὲ παρ' αὐταῖς θάλατταν Ἑλληνικὴν διηγούμενος καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μυθολογῶν καλὰ, πῶς Ἡλείοι πανηγυρίζουσι, πῶς Δελφοὶ θεσπίζουσι, τίς ὁ παρ' Ἀθηναίους Ἑλέου βωμός. ἀλλὰ καὶ σύ, πάτερ, μοι γράφε, πότε παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις Ὑακίνθια καὶ παρὰ Κορινθίοις Ἰσθμια καὶ παρὰ Δελφοῖς Πύθια καὶ εἰ νικῶσιν Ἀθηναῖοι ναυμαχοῦντες. ἔρρωσο καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν μοι προσαγόρευσον, εἰ μήπω πέπραται." ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὅποια τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου σκοπεῖν ἔξεστι τοῖς ἀδεκάστως ἀκροωμένοις. ἀδεκάστους δὲ ἀκροατὰς καλῶ τοὺς μήτε εὐνοὺς μήτε δύσνους. ἐλέγετο δὲ ταῦτα καὶ μελιχρᾶ τῇ φωνῇ ἀπαγγέλλειν, ἣ καὶ βασιλέα Κόμμοδον θέλξας τὸν Ἀθήνησι θρόνον παρ' αὐτοῦ εὔρετο. ἐβίω μὲν οὖν ἐς ὀκτὼ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτη, ἐτελεύτα δὲ ἐπὶ παιδὶ γνησίῳ μὲν, ἀπαιδευτῷ δέ.

594 ἰγ'. Καισάρεια δὲ ἡ Καππαδοκῶν ὄρει Ἀργαίῳ πρόσοικος Πausanίου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ οἶκος. ὁ δὲ Πausanίας ἐπαιδεύθη μὲν ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου καὶ τῶν τοῦ Κλεψυδρίου μετεχόντων εἰς ἐγένετο, οὓς ἐκάλουν οἱ πολλοὶ διψῶντας, ἐς πολλὰ δὲ ἀναφέρων τῶν Ἡρώδου πλεονεκτημάτων καὶ μάλιστα τὸ αὐτοσχεδιάζειν ἀπήγγελλε δὲ αὐτὰ παχεῖα τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ ὥς Καππαδόκαις ξύνηθες, ξυγκρούων μὲν τὰ σύμφωνα τῶν στοιχείων, συστέλλων δὲ τὰ μηχυνόμενα καὶ μηχύνων τὰ βραχέα, ὅθεν ἐκάλουν αὐτὸν οἱ πολλοὶ μάγειρον πολυτελῆ ὅσα πονήρως

¹ i.e. thirsty for knowledge; cf. *Life of Apollonius* iv. 24, for the same metaphor.

² Lucian, *Epigram* 43, says that it would be easier to find white crows and flying tortoises than a Cappadocian who

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resent this, for I am a eunuch. And I win their favour by describing to them the seas of Greece, and telling them tales of all the fine things that the Greeks do; how they hold the festivals at Elis, how oracles are given at Delphi, and which is the altar of Pity at Athens. But pray, father, write back to me and say when the Lacedaemonians celebrate the Hyacinthia and the Corinthians the Isthmian games; when are the Pythian games held at Delphi, and whether the Athenians are winning their naval battles. Farewell, and greet my brother for me, if he has not yet been sold.'” Impartial hearers may estimate the quality of this man's speeches as here quoted. And by impartial I mean hearers who are prejudiced neither for nor against. It is said that he used to deliver these declamations in a mellifluous voice, with which he so charmed the Emperor Commodus that he won from him the chair at Athens. He lived to the age of fifty-eight, and died leaving a son who was legitimate but uneducated.

13. Caesarea in Cappadocia, near neighbour to Mount Argaeus, was the birthplace of PAUSANIAS the sophist. He was educated by Herodes, and was one of the members of the Clepsydrion, who were vulgarly called “the thirsty ones.”¹ But though he inherited many of the peculiar excellences of Herodes, and especially his skill in extempore oratory, yet he used to deliver his declamations with a coarse and heavy accent, as is the way with the Cappadocians.² He would make his consonants collide, would shorten the long syllables and lengthen the short. Hence he was commonly spoken of as a cook who spoiled expensive was a reputable orator. For the bad accent of the Cappadocians *cf. Life of Apollonius* i. 7.

ἀρτύνοντα. ἡ δὲ ἰδέα τῆς μελέτης ὑπτιωτέρα, ἔρρωται δὲ ὁμως καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτάνει τοῦ ἀρχαίου, ὡς ὑπάρχει ταῖς μελέταις ξυμβαλεῖν, πολλαὶ γὰρ τοῦ Πausaniou κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην, οἱ δὲ καὶ καταβίους ἀπέθανε γηράσκων ἤδη, τοῦ θρόνου μετέχων, μετεῖχε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἀθήνησιν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἀπὼν ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, οἷς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διεξῆλθε, καιριώτατα τὸ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ἐπεφθέγγατο

Θησεῦ, πάλιν με στρέψον, ὡς ἴδω πόλιν.

ιδ'. Ἀθηνόδωρος δὲ ὁ σοφιστὴς τὸ μὲν ἐς πατέρας¹ ἦκον ἐπιφανέστατος ἦν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴνον, τὸ δὲ ἐς διδασκάλους καὶ παιδεύειν φανερώτατος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ. Ἀριστοκλέους μὲν γὰρ ἤκουσε παῖς ἔτι, Χρήστου δὲ ἤδη ξυνιείς, ὅθεν ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν ἐκράθη τὴν γλῶτταν ἀττικίζων τε καὶ περιβολῆς ἐρμηνεύων. παιδεύων δὲ Ἀθήνησι κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς καὶ Πολυδεύκης ἐπαίδευσεν, ἐπέσκωπτεν αὐτὸν ταῖς διαλέξεσιν ὡς μειρακιώδη
 595 λέγων “ οἱ Ταντάλου κῆποι ” δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ τὸ κούφον τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἐπιπόλαιον φαντασίᾳ προσεικάζων οὔση τε καὶ οὐκ οὔση. ἐμβριθὴς δὲ καὶ τὸ ἥθος γενόμενος ἐτελεύτα ἡβῶν ἔτι ἀφαιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης τὸ καὶ πρόσω ἐλάσαι δόξης.

¹ πατέρα Kayser ; πατέρας Cobet.

¹ Plato, *Phaedrus*, 265 E.

² *Mad Heracles*, 1406 ; Pausanias substituted “ city ” for the “ children ” of the original.

³ Nothing more is known of this sophist.

⁴ A town in Thrace ; cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, iii. 18.

⁵ He reached a compromise between the Attic and Asianic types of rhetorical prose.

⁶ This proverb for the unsubstantial is based on the

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delicacies in the preparation.¹ His style in declamation was somewhat sluggish, nevertheless it has force, and succeeds in giving a flavour of antiquity, as we may gather from the declamations that are extant. For there are many of these by Pausanias, delivered at Rome where he spent the latter part of his life; and there he died when he was already growing old and was still holding the chair of rhetoric. He also held the chair at Athens, and on the occasion of his leaving it he concluded his address to the Athenians by quoting very appropriately the verse of Euripides :

Theseus, turn me round that I may behold the city.²

14. ATHENODORUS³ the sophist was, by virtue of his ancestors, the most illustrious of the citizens of Aenus,⁴ and by virtue of his teachers and his education the most notable of all the educated Greeks in that city. For he was educated by Aristocles while still a mere boy, and by Chrestus when his intelligence began to mature; and from these two he derived his well-tempered dialect, for he both Atticized and employed an ornate style of eloquence.⁵ He taught at Athens at the time when Pollux also was teaching there, and in his discourses he used to ridicule him as puerile and would quote "The gardens of Tantalus,"⁶ by which I think he meant to compare his light and superficial style of eloquence with some visionary image which both is and is not. He was a man of great weight and seriousness of character, but he died in the flower of early manhood, robbed by fate of the chance to push on to still greater fame.

description of the vanishing fruits which mocked Tantalus in *Odyssey*, xi. 588.

ιε'. Λαμπρόν ἐν σοφισταῖς καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ναυκρατίτης ἤχῃσεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ τῶν μετεχόντων τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ περὶ Ναύκρατιν ὀλίγοις Ναυκρατιτῶν ὑπάρχον, Ἡρώδου δὲ ἀκροατῆς μὲν, οὐ μὴν ζηλωτῆς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν Πολέμωνα μᾶλλον ὑπηνέχθη, τὸν γὰρ ῥοῖζον τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ἐκ περιβολῆς φράζειν ἐκ τῆς Πολέμωνος σκηνῆς ἐσηγάγετο, λέγεται δὲ καὶ αὐτοσχεδιάσαι σὺν εὐροία ἀμηχάνῳ. δικῶν τε καὶ δικαστηρίων παρέτραγε μὲν, οὐ μὴν, ὡς ὄνομα ἐντεῦθεν ἄρασθαι. Μαραθῶνα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπωνόμαζον, ὡς μὲν τινες, ἐπειδὴ τῷ Μαραθῶνι δῆμῳ ἐνεγράφη Ἀθήνησιν, ὡς δὲ ἐνίων ἤκουον, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ταῖς Ἀττικαῖς τῶν ὑποθέσεων τῶν Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντων θαμὰ ἐμνημόνευεν.

Κατηγοροῦσι δὲ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τινὲς ὡς μὴ διορῶντος τὰς ὑποθέσεις, μηδὲ ὅπη ξυνεστᾶσί τε καὶ μὴ, τεκμήριον τόδε τιθέμενοι τῆς κατηγορίας ταύτης· τοὺς Μεσσηνίους οἱ Θηβαῖοι γράφονται τὴν
 598 τῶν ἀχαριστησάντων, ἐπεὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας αὐτῶν μὴ ἐδέξαντο, ὅτε καὶ αἱ Θῆβαι ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἤλωσαν. ταύτην γὰρ ἐπιφανῶς αὐτῷ εἰρημένην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ σοφῶς, ὡς οἶόν τε, συκοφαντοῦσι λέγοντες, ὡς εἰ μὲν ζῶντος Ἀλεξάνδρου κρίνονται, τίς οὕτω θρασύς, ὡς καταψηφίσασθαι Μεσσηνίων; εἰ δὲ τεθνεώτος, τίς οὕτω πρᾶος, ὡς ἀπογνῶναι τὴν

¹ Nothing more is known of this sophist.

² An echo of Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 208.

³ This theme seems to be based on Diodorus xv. 66, though it is nowhere stated that the Messenians acted as it

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15. PTOLEMY¹ OF NAUCRATIS also had a brilliant reputation among sophists. For he was one of those who were admitted to dine at the public expense in the temple of Naucratis, an honour paid to few of her citizens. Moreover, he was a pupil of Herodes, but he did not desire to imitate him, but came rather under the influence of Polemo. For the impetus and force of his style and the ample use of rhetorical ornament he borrowed from the equipment of Polemo. Also it is said that he spoke extempore with marvellous ease and fluency. He nibbled at legal cases and the courts, but not enough to win fame for himself thereby. They used to call him "Marathon." Some say that this was because he was enrolled in the deme Marathon at Athens, but I have been told by others that it was because in his Attic themes he so often mentioned those who were forward to brave death at Marathon.²

Ptolemy is sometimes accused of having failed to comprehend clearly his controversial themes so as to see where they were consistent and where not; and as evidence for this accusation they quote the following instance: "The Thebans accuse the Messenians of ingratitude because they refused to receive the Theban refugees when Thebes was taken by Alexander."³ For though he handled this argument brilliantly, and with the greatest possible skill, they make out an unfair case against it by saying: If the Messenians were being tried while Alexander was still alive, who would be so foolhardy as to give a verdict against them? But if it was after his death, who would be so lenient as to acquit them of the

assumed; it is mentioned by Marcellinus iv. 249; Sopater viii. 239 quotes a similar theme; cf. Schmid, *Atticismus* 65.

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αἰτίαν; οὐ γὰρ ξυνιᾶσιν οἱ ταῦτα διαβάλλοντες, ὅτι ἡ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἀπολογία κατὰ ξυγγνώμην ἴσταται τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον προῖσχομένων καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου φόβον, οὐ μὲν δὲ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς ἀπείρως εἶχεν. ταῦτά μοι ἀπολελογήσθω ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς παραιτουμένῳ αὐτὸν ἀδίκου καὶ πεπανουργημένης αἰτίας· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ εὐφημότατος σοφιστῶν οὗτος. πλείστα δὲ ἐπελθὼν ἔθνη καὶ πλείσταις ἐνομιλήσας πόλεσιν οὐδαμοῦ διέβαλε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ κλέος, οὐδὲ ἡττων ἢ προσεδοκήθη ἔδοξεν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐπὶ λαμπροῦ ὀχήματος τῆς φήμης πορευόμενος διήκει τὰ ἄσθη. ἐτελεύτα δὲ γηραιὸς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οὐκ ἀφαιρεθεὶς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς ρεύματος, ἐπικοπεῖς δέ.

ις'. Εὐδοδιανὸν δὲ τὸν Σμυρναῖον τὸ μὲν γένος ἐς Νικήτην τὸν σοφιστὴν ἀνῆγεν, αἱ δὲ οἴκοι τιμαὶ ἐς τοὺς ἀρχιερέας τε καὶ στεφανουμένους τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων, τὰ δὲ τῆς φωνῆς ἄθλα ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τὸν ἐκείνῃ θρόνον. ἐπιταχθεὶς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις, τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἀγέρωχοι καὶ χαλεποὶ ἀρχθῆναι, ἐπιτηδειότατος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔδοξε καὶ κρείττων ἢ λαβεῖν αἰτίαν. υἱοῦ δὲ αὐτῷ τελευτήσαντος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ οὐδὲν θῆλυ οὐδὲ ἀγεννὲς ἀνεφθέγγατο, ἀλλ' "ὦ τέκνον" 597 τρὶς ἀνακαλέσας ἔθαιψεν. ἀποθνήσκοντι δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην παρήσαν μὲν οἱ ἐπιτηδαιοὶ πάντες, βουλὴν δὲ αὐτῶν ποιουμένων ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος, εἴτε χρὴ καταθάπτειν αὐτόθι, εἴτε ταριχεύσαντας πορθμεύειν ἐς τὴν Σμύρναν ἀναβοήσας ὁ Εὐδοδιανὸς

¹ Nothing more is known of this sophist.

² See above, p. 580; and, for the bad character of these *thymelici*, Aulus Gellius xx. 4.

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charge? For those who make these severe criticisms do not understand that the defence made by the Messenians is framed as a plea for pardon, since they shield themselves by making Alexander their excuse, and that dread of him from which the rest of Greece also was not immune. So much let me say in defence of Ptolemy, that I may ward off from him an unfair and maliciously manufactured accusation; for indeed this man was of all the sophists the most moderate and temperate in his speech and though he visited very many nations and was conversant with many cities, nowhere did he bring reproach on his own fame or fall below their expectations of him; but he passed on from one city to another, borne as it were on the shining car of his own renown. He died in Egypt, well on in years; a catarrh of the head had not indeed destroyed his eyesight, but had seriously impaired it.

16. EUODIANUS OF SMYRNA¹ by birth ranked as a descendant of Nicetes the sophist, but the honours won by his house ranked him with high-priests and controllers of supplies, and the achievements of his oratory carried him to Rome and the chair of rhetoric in that city. He was appointed also to supervise the artisans of Dionysus,² a very arrogant class of men and hard to keep in order; but he proved himself most capable in this office, and above all criticism. When his son died at Rome he gave vent to no womanish or ignoble laments, but thrice cried aloud, "O my child!" and then laid him in the grave. When he was at the point of death in Rome, all his most intimate friends were by his bedside and were consulting about his body, whether they ought to bury it there or embalm it and ship it to Smyrna, when Euodius exclaimed

“ οὐ καταλείπω ” ἔφη “ τὸν υἱὸν μόνον. ” ὦδε μὲν δὴ σαφῶς¹ ἐπέσκηψε τὸ τῷ παιδί ξυνταφῆναι. ἀκροατῆς δὲ Ἀριστοκλέους γενόμενος πανηγυρικῆς ιδέας ἤψατο ἐν στρυφνῷ κρατῆρι συγκεράσας οἶον νᾶμα πότιμον. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ φασι καὶ Πολέμωνος ἠκροᾶσθαι αὐτόν.

ἰζ'. Ροῦφον δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Περίνθου σοφιστὴν μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας, μηδὲ εἰ πολλοὶ ὕπατοι τὸ ἐκείνου γένος, μηδὲ εἰ τὴν τῶν Πανελληνίων Ἀθήνησιν εὐκλεῶς ἤρξεν, ταυτὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ πλείω λέγοιτο, οὐπω τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς παραβεβλήσθαι ἄξια, ἀλλ' ἢ γλῶττα δηλούτω αὐτόν καὶ ἡ ξύνεσις, ἢ περὶ τὰς ἐσχηματισμένας μάλιστα τῶν ὑποθέσεων ἐχρήσατο. τὴν δὲ ιδέαν ταύτην ἐθανμάσθη πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι χαλεπὴ ἐρμηνεύσαι, δεῖ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς κατὰ σχῆμα συγκειμέναις τῶν ὑποθέσεων τοῖς μὲν λεγομένοις ἡνίας, τοῖς δὲ σιωπωμένοις κέντρον, ἔπειτα, οἶμαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, ἐκκειμένως γὰρ τοῦ ἡθους καὶ ἀπανούργως ἔχων ὑπεκρίνετο εὖ, καὶ ἂ μὴ ἐπεφύκει. πλουσιώτατος δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸν

598 Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ Προποντίδα γενόμενος καὶ δόξης αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῷ σχεδιάζειν πολλῆς μὲν ὑπαρχούσης Ἀθήνησι, πολλῆς δὲ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ τε καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ, οὐδαμοῦ κατέστησεν ἑαυτόν ἐς ἀπέχθειαν ἢ πόλεως ἢ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ πραότητος ἦν χρηματιστής.

¹ σοφῶς Kayser ; σαφῶς Cobet.

¹ This is a commonplace in sophistic prose and the Christian Fathers. Three Platonic passages seem to be echoed ; *Phaedrus* 235 c, *Timaeus* 75 e, but especially *Phaedrus* 243 d ἐπιθυμῷ ποτίμῳ λόγῳ οἶον ἀλμυρὰν ἀκοὴν ἀποκλύσασθαι ; cf. Libanius, *Oration*, xiii. 67 Foerster ; Himerius, *Eclogues*, x. 76.

² Nothing more is known of this sophist.

³ See Glossary s.v. σχηματίζειν and above, pp. 542, 561.

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in a loud voice: "I will not leave my son behind alone." Thus did he clearly enjoin on them that he should be buried in the same grave as his son. Having been a pupil of Aristocles he devoted himself to the panegyrical type of oratory, but he poured as it were sweet spring water into that bitter bowl.¹ Some say that he studied with Polemo also.

17. It is not for his wealth that I shall hand down to fame the name of RUFUS OF PERINTHUS,² the sophist, or because his family produced many men of consular rank, or because he presided over the Pan-Hellenic festival at Athens with great distinction. For though I might recount even more honours of this sort, they would yet not be worthy of comparison with the man's skill and learning. But rather let his eloquent tongue be his passport to fame, and that keen intelligence which he employed by preference in simulated arguments.³ For this type of eloquence he was much admired; in the first place because it is a difficult kind of oratory, since in themes that are composed as simulated arguments one needs to put a curb on what one actually says, but to apply the spur to what one leaves unsaid. Then too I think he was admired because his own natural disposition was taken into account. For though his character was naturally open and without guile, he was clever in portraying characters that were not at all suited to his natural bent. And though he became the wealthiest man in the region of the Hellespont and the Propontis, though he won a great reputation at Athens for extempore eloquence and in Ionia and Italy also, yet he nowhere incurred the enmity of any city or individual, but made money out of his benevolent disposition. It is said

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ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ γυμναστικῇ κρατύνειν τὸ σῶμα ἀναγκοφαγῶν ἀεὶ καὶ διαπονῶν αὐτὸ παραπλησίως τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις. ἀκροατῆς δὲ Ἡρώδου μὲν ἐν παισίν, Ἀριστοκλέους δὲ ἐν μεираκίοις γενόμενος, καὶ μεγάλων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀξιωθεὶς ἐλαμπρύνετο τῷ Ἡρώδῃ μᾶλλον δεσπότην τε αὐτὸν καλῶν καὶ Ἑλλήνων γλῶτταν καὶ λόγων βασιλέα καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα. ἐτελεύτα δὲ οἴκοι ἐν καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη γενόμενος καὶ ἐπὶ παισίν, ὑπὲρ ὧν γε μέγα οὐδὲν ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ἀπ' ἐκείνου.

ιη'. Ὀνόμαρχος δὲ ὁ ἐκ τῆς Ἀνδρου σοφιστῆς οὐκ ἐθαυμάζετο μὲν, οὐ μεμπτὸς δὲ ἐφαίνετο. ἐπαίδευσε μὲν γὰρ κατὰ χρόνους, οὓς Ἀδριανὸς τε καὶ Χρῆστος Ἀθήνησι, πρόσοικος δὲ ὧν τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς Ἰωνικῆς ἰδέας οἷον ὀφθαλμίας ἔσπασε, σπουδαζομένης μάλιστα τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, ὅθεν ἐδόκει τισὶν οὐδ' ἡκροᾶσθαι Ἡρώδου καταψευδομένοις τοῦ ἀνδρός· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἐρμηνείας παρέφθορεν ἔσθ' ὅπη δι' ἣν εἴρηκα αἰτίαν, αἱ δὲ ἐπιβολαὶ τῶν νοημάτων Ἡρώδειοί τε καὶ ἀπορρήτως γλυκεῖαι. ἔξεστι δὲ αὐτὸν θεωρεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς εἰκόνης ἐρῶντος, εἰ μὴ μεираκιεύεσθαι δόξω. εἴρηται δὲ ὧδε· “ὦ κάλλος ἔμφυχον ἐν ἀψύχῳ σώματι, τίς ἄρα σε δαιμόνων ἐδημιούργησεν; πειθῷ τις ἢ χάρις ἢ 599 αὐτὸς ὁ Ἔρως, ὁ τοῦ κάλλους πατήρ; ὥς πάντα σοι πρόσσεστιν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ προσώπου στάσις χρόας ἄνθος βλέμματος κέντρον μειδίαμα κεχαρισμένον

¹ Nothing more is known of this sophist.

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of him that he used to harden his body by athletics, that he always followed a rigid diet, and exercised himself like a regular athlete. As a boy he studied with Herodes, with Aristocles when he was a strippling, and he was greatly esteemed by the latter; but he took more pride in Herodes, and used to call him the master, the tongue of the Hellenes, the prince of eloquence, and much more of the same sort. He died at home aged sixty-one years, and left sons about whom I have nothing important to relate, except indeed that they were his offspring.

18. ONOMARCHUS¹ OF ANDROS, the sophist, was not greatly admired, yet he was evidently not to be despised. He taught in the days when Adrian and Chrestus were lecturing at Athens, and living as he did so near to the coast of Asia, he contracted, as one might ophthalmia, the Ionian manner of oratory, which flourished especially at Ephesus. On this account there were some who did not believe that he had ever so much as attended a lecture by Herodes, but in this they did him an injustice. For though he did debase his style to some extent, from the cause that I have mentioned, nevertheless his abundant use of synonyms was like Herodes, and they were pleasing beyond words. If I shall not be thought too frivolous, we can observe his style in his speech. "The man who fell in love with a statue." Here is a quotation from it: "O living loveliness in a lifeless body, what deity fashioned thee? Was some goddess of Persuasion, or a Grace, or Eros himself the parent of thy loveliness? For truly nothing is lacking in thee, the expression of the face, the bloom on the skin, the sting in the glance, the charming smile, the blush on the cheeks,

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παρειῶν ἔρευθος ἀκοῆς ἔχνος. ἔχεις δὲ καὶ φωνὴν μέλλουσιν αἰεὶ. τάχα τι καὶ λαλεῖς, ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ μὴ παρόντος, ἀνέραστε καὶ βάσκανε, πρὸς πιστὸν ἔραστὴν ἄπιστε. οὐδενός μοι μετέδωκας ῥήματος· τοιγαροῦν τὴν φρικωδεστάτην ἅπασιν αἰεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἀρὰν ἐπὶ σοὶ θήσομαι· εὐχομαί σοι γηρᾶσαι."

Τελευτῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν Ἀθήνησι, οἱ δὲ οἴκοι, μεσαιπόλιόν τε καὶ παριόντα ἐς γῆρας, γενέσθαι δὲ ἀγροικότερον τὸ εἶδος καὶ κατὰ τὸν Μάρκου τοῦ Βυζαντίου αὐχμόν.

ιβ'. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ὁ Ναυκρατίτης Ἡρακλείδῃ μὲν ἐναντία ἐπαίδευσεν τὸν Ἀθήνησι θρόνον κατειληφότεν, λόγου δὲ ἐπεμελήθη πολιτικοῦ καὶ εὖ κεκολασμένου, ἥττον δὲ ἀγωνιζομένου, περιβολὴ γὰρ ἄπεστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ πνεῦμα. ὄντι δὲ αὐτῷ κακῷ τὰ ἔρωτικά γίγνεται παῖς ἐξ ἀδίκων γάμων Ῥουφίνος ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῷ σοφιστεύσας οὐδὲν γόνιμον, οὐδὲ ἐκ καρδίας, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐκείνου κομματίων τε καὶ νοιδίων ἐχόμενος, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ λαβὼν αἰτίαν ἐξ ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ "οἱ νόμοι," ἔφη "διδόασί μοι χρῆσθαι τοῖς πατρώοις," καὶ ὅς "διδόασι μὲν," εἶπεν "ἀλλὰ τοῖς κατὰ νόμους γεγονόσι." καθάπτονται δὲ αὐτοῦ τινες καὶ τὸ σταλῆναι ἐς
600 Μακεδονίαν μισθωτὸν οἰκίας οὐδὲ εὖ πραττούσης. ἀλλ' ἀφείσθω τῶν τοιούτων· εὖροις μὲν γὰρ ἂν καὶ τῶν πολὺ¹ σοφῶν ἐπίους πολλὰ καὶ ἀνελεύθερα ὑπὲρ χρημάτων πράξαντας, οὐ μὴν τὸν γε

¹ Valckenaer suggests πάλαι, "the wise men of old."

¹ Nothing more is known of this sophist.

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signs that thou canst hear me. Yea and thou hast a voice ever about to speak. And one day it may be that thou wilt even speak, but I shall be far away. O unloving and unkind! O faithless to thy faithful lover! To me thou hast granted not one word. Therefore I will lay on thee that curse at which all fair ones always shudder most: I pray that thou mayest grow old."

Some say that he died at Athens, others at home, when his hair was beginning to grow grey and he was on the verge of old age; they say too that he was somewhat rustic in appearance and squalid and unkempt, like Marcus of Byzantium.

19. APOLLONIUS¹ OF NAOCRATIS taught rhetoric as the rival of Heracleides, when the latter held the chair at Athens. He devoted himself to political oratory of a type restrained and moderate, but little suited to controversy; for it lacks rhetorical amplitude and force. He was a libertine in love, and from one of his lawless intrigues he had a son named Rufinus who succeeded him as a sophist, but produced nothing that was his own or from the heart, but always clung to his father's phrases and epigrams. When he was criticized for this by a learned man, he said: "The laws allow me to use my patrimony." "The laws allow it, certainly," said the other, "but only to those that are born within the law." Some people blame him for going to Macedonia as the hireling of a certain family that was not even in good circumstances. But let us acquit him of any such charge. For though even among the most learned men you would easily find those who for the sake of gain have done much that is unworthy of a free-born man, yet this is not true of our Apollonius

Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦτον, κοινήν τε γὰρ παρέσχε τὴν οὐσίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῖς δεομένοις, καὶ οὐ βαρὺς ἦν ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ ξυμβῆναι. ἐτελεύτα δὲ ἑβδομηκοντούτης Ἀθήνησιν ἔχων ἐντάφιον τὴν ἐξ ἀπάντων Ἀθηναίων εὖνοιαν. Ἀδριανοῦ μὲν καὶ Χρήστου τῶν σοφιστῶν ἀκροατῆς ἐγένετο, ἀμφοῖν δὲ ἀφέστηκεν, ὅσον οἱ μὴ ἀκούσαντες. ἐφεώρα δὲ τὰς ὑποθέσεις ὑπεξιών μὲν τοῦ κοινοῦ, καιρὸν δὲ πλείω τοῦ ξυμμέτρου.

κ'. Ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὀνόματος μὲν ἤξιώθη καθ' Ἑλληνας, ὡς ἱκανὸς τὰ δικανικὰ καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ μελέτην οὐ μεμπτός, ἐπαίδευσε δὲ Ἀθήνησι καθ' Ἡρακλείδην τε καὶ τὸν ὁμῶνυμον τοῦ πολιτικοῦ θρόνου προεστῶς ἐπὶ ταλάντῳ. διαπρεπῆς δὲ καὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ γενόμενος ἔν τε πρεσβείαις ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἐπρέσβευσεν ἔν τε λειτουργίαις, ὥς μεγίστας Ἀθηναῖοι νομίζουσι, τὴν τε ἐπῶνυμον καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἐπετράπη καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἀνακτόρου φωνὰς ἤδη γηράσκων, 601 Ἡρακλείδου μὲν καὶ Λογίμου καὶ Γλαύκου καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἱεροφαντῶν εὐφωνίᾳ μὲν ἀποδέων, σεμνότητι δὲ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ καὶ κόσμῳ παρὰ πολλοὺς δοκῶν τῶν ἄνω.

Πρεσβεύων δὲ παρὰ Σεβήρον ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀπεδύσατο πρὸς Ἡρακλείδην τὸν σοφιστὴν τὸν ὑπὲρ μελέτης ἀγῶνα, καὶ ἀπήλθεν

¹ For this metaphor cf. pp. 502, 590.

² Nothing more is known of this sophist.

³ Apollonius of Naucratis.

⁴ Or "the municipal chair" as opposed to the imperial; but there is no clear evidence that Athens maintained a second salaried chair of rhetoric.

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at any rate. For he shared his estate with any Hellenes that were in need, nor was he hard to deal with in the matter of lecture fees. He died at Athens, aged seventy, and for his winding-sheet¹ he had the goodwill of all the Athenians. He was a pupil of the sophists Adrian and Chrestus, but he was as different from them both as any who had not studied with them. He used to retire from the public view to meditate on the themes of his declamations, and would spend an inordinate length of time on this.

20. APOLLONIUS OF ATHENS² won a name for himself among the Greeks as an able speaker in the legal branch of oratory, and as a declaimer he was not to be despised. He taught at Athens at the same time as Heracleides and his own namesake,³ and held the chair of political oratory⁴ at a salary of one talent. He also won distinction in public affairs, and not only was he sent as ambassador on missions of the greatest importance, but also performed the public functions which the Athenians rank highest, being appointed both archon and food controller, and when already well on in years hierophant⁵ of the temple of Demeter. In beauty of enunciation he fell short of Heracleides, Logimus, Glaucus, and other hierophants of that sort, but in dignity, magnificence, and in his attire he showed himself superior to many of his predecessors.

While he was on an embassy to the Emperor Severus at Rome,⁶ he entered the lists against the sophist Heracleides to compete in declamation, and Heracleides came out of the encounter with the loss

⁵ The hierophant delivered the mystic utterances at the Eleusinian rites, and was often a sophist.

⁶ In A.D. 196 or 197.

ὁ μὲν τὴν ἀτέλειαν ἀφαιρεθεῖς, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος δῶρα ἔχων. διαδόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου λόγον οὐκ ἀληθῆ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ βαδιουμένου ἐς Λιβύην, ἥνικα ἦν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἀπάσης γῆς ἀρετὰς συνῆγεν, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος “ ὦρα σοι ἀναγινώσκειν τὸν πρὸς Λεπτίνην ” “ σοὶ μὲν οὖν, ” ἥ δ’ ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, “ καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀτελείας γέγραπται. ”

Βαλβίδα μὲν δὴ τοῦ λόγου ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐκ τῆς Ἀδριανοῦ ιδέας βέβληται ἅτε δὴ καὶ ἀκροατῆς γενόμενος, παραλλάττει δὲ ὁμως ἐς ῥυθμούς ἐμμέτρους τε καὶ ἀναπαίοντας, οὓς εἰ φυλάξαιτο, σεμνοπρεπῆς τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν δοκεῖ καὶ βεβηκώς. τουτὶ δέ ἐστιν εὐρεῖν καὶ ἐπ’ ἄλλων μὲν ὑποθέσεων, μάλιστα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Καλλίου, ὃς ἀπαγορεύει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πυρὶ μὴ θάπτειν. “ ὑψηλὴν ἄρον, ἀν-
 802 θρωπε, τὴν δᾶδα. τί βιάζῃ καὶ κατάγεις κάτω καὶ βασανίζεις τὸ πῦρ; οὐράνιον ἐστίν, αἰθέριόν ἐστιν, πρὸς τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἔρχεται τὸ πῦρ. οὐ κατάγει νεκρούς, ἀλλ’ ἀνάγει θεούς. ἰὼ Προμηθεῦ δαδουῖχε καὶ πυρφόρε, οἶά σου τὸ δῶρον ὑβρίζεται· νεκροῖς ἀναισθήτοις ἀναμίννυται. ἐπάρηξον βοήθησον κλέψον, εἰ δυνατόν, κᾶκεῖθεν τὸ πῦρ. ”

Παρεθέμην δὲ ταῦτα οὐ παραιτούμενος αὐτὸν τῶν ἀκολάστων ῥυθμῶν, ἀλλὰ διδάσκων, ὅτι μηδὲ τοὺς σωφρονεστέρους ῥυθμούς ἡγνόει. ἔτε-

¹ From certain taxes and expensive public services, i.e. “liturgies.”

² The law of Leptines abolished all exemptions from public charges. In 355 B.C. Demosthenes by his speech *Against Leptines* secured the repeal of the law. Heraclides may be punning on the word Leptis where the
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of his privileges of exemption,¹ while Apollonius carried off gifts. Heracleides spread a false report about Apollonius that he was to set out forthwith to Libya, when the Emperor was staying there and was gathering about him the talented from all parts, and he said to Apollonius: "It is a good time for you to read the speech *Against Leptines*." ² "Nay for you rather," retorted Apollonius, "for indeed it also was written on behalf of exemptions."

Apollonius took as the starting-point and basis of his eloquence the style of Adrian, whose pupil he had in fact been. But in spite of this he slips into rhythms that belong to verse, and anapaestic effects; but whenever he avoided these his style has great impressiveness and a stately march. This may be observed in others also of his arguments, but especially in that called "Callias tries to dissuade the Athenians from burning the dead": "Lift the torch on high, man! Why do you do violence to its fire and abase it to the earth and torment it? Fire belongs to the sky, it is ethereal, it tends towards that which is akin to itself. It does not lead the dead down below, but leads the gods up to the skies. Alas, Prometheus, torch-bearer and fire-bringer, see how thy gift is insulted! It is polluted by the senseless corpse. Come to its help, give it aid, and, if thou canst, even from where thou art steal this fire!" ³

I have not quoted this passage in order to excuse him for his licence in the use of rhythms, but to show that he also knew how to use the more sober

Emperor was born. Philostratus here includes Egypt under the word Libya and refers to the visit of Severus to Egypt.

³ Quoted by Norden, p. 414, for its dochmiac rhythm which was one of the marks of Asianism.

λεύτα μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη πολὺς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀθηναίων δήμῳ πνεύσας, ἐτάφη δὲ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ τῆς Ἐλευσινιάδε λεωφόρου. ὄνομα μὲν δὴ τῷ προαστείῳ Ἱερὰ συκῇ, τὰ δὲ Ἐλευσινόθεν ἱερά, ἐπειδὰν ἐς ἄστὺ ἄγῳσιν, ἐκεῖ ἀναπαύουσιν.

κα'. Ἀναγράψω καὶ Πρόκλον τὸν Ναυκρατίτην εἰδὼς εὖ τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν διδασκάλων εἰς οὗτος. Πρόκλος τοίνυν ἦν μὲν 603 τῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον, στασιάζουσιν δὲ ἰδὼν τὴν Ναύκρατιν καὶ παρὰ τὰ ἥθη πολιτεύοντας τὴν Ἀθήνησιν ἡσυχίαν ἡσπάσατο καὶ ὑπεκπλεύσας ἐκεῖ ἔζη πολλὰ μὲν ἀγαθῶν χρήματα, πολλοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν μεγαλοπρεπῶς κεκοσμημένην. εὖ δὲ ἀκούων Ἀθήνησι καὶ τὸν ἐν μειρακίῳ χρόνον ἡυδοκίμησε πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου αἰρέσει, ἔπειτα, οἶμαι, καὶ ἐπὶ εὐεργετήματι γενομένῳ μὲν περὶ ἓνα Ἀθηναῖον, δήλωσιν δὲ παρασχομένῳ χρηστοῦ ἡθους· ἐς γὰρ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἐσπλεύσας ἤρετό τινα τῶν αὐτόθεν, εἰ ὁ δεῖνα καλῶς Ἀθήνησι ζῇ καὶ εὖ πράττει, ἡρώτα δὲ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τοῦ ξένου, ᾧ προσέμιξεν Ἀθήνησι νέος ὢν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ Ἀδριανῷ ἐφοίτα. μαθὼν δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναί τε καὶ ζῆν, ἐκπε-

¹ Pausanias i. 37; Athenaeus 74 D.

² Nothing more is known of this sophist.

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sort. For the rest he died aged about seventy-five, after a career of great energy as a speaker at Athens, and was buried in the suburbs near the highway that leads to Eleusis. This suburb is called the "Sacred Fig-tree,"¹ and when the sacred emblems from Eleusis are carried in procession to the city they halt here to rest.

21. I will proceed to record the life of PROCLUS or NAUCRATIS² also, for I knew the man well, indeed he was one of my own teachers. Proclus, then, was a person of some importance in Egypt, but since he saw that Naucratis was rent by factions and that the State was administered with no regard to law and order, he desired to embrace the peace and quiet of Athens. So he sailed away secretly, and spent his life in that city. He brought with him a large sum of money, many slaves and other household gear, all splendid and ornate. Even while yet a stripling he was well thought of at Athens, but after he had attained to manhood he became far more renowned. This was due in the first place to the manner of life that he elected, but also I think it was because of a beneficent act of his, which, though it concerned only one Athenian citizen, yet furnished clear proof of a noble and generous disposition. For when he had arrived by ship at the Piraeus, he inquired of one of the inhabitants of that place whether a certain person still lived at Athens, and whether his affairs were going well. Now these inquiries concerned a friend and host of his with whom he had been intimate as a young man at Athens, at the time, that is, when he was attending the lectures of Adrian. He was told that he still survived and lived there, but that he was on the point of being evicted from

σεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτίκα τῆς οἰκίας διακηρυττομένης ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς πρὸς δραχμὰς μυρίας, ἃς ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἐδεδά-
νειστο, ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ τὰς μυρίας μηδὲ ἀνελθὼν
πω εἰς τὸ ἄστυ εἰπὼν "ἐλευθέρωσον τὴν οἰκίαν, ἵνα
μή σε κατηφῇ ἴδω." ταῦτα μὴ πλουσίου μόνον
ἠγώμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ καλῶς χρωμένου
πεπαιδευμένου τε ἱκανῶς καὶ τὰ φιλικὰ ἀκριβοῦντος.

Ἐκτῆσατο δὲ καὶ οἰκίας δ',¹ δύο μὲν ἐν ἄστει,
μίαν δὲ ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ ἄλλην Ἐλευσίνι. ἐφοίτα
δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου λιβανωτὸς ἐλέφας
μύρον βίβλος βιβλία καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τοιάδε ἀγορά,
καὶ ἀποδιδόμενος αὐτὰ τοῖς διατιθεμένοις τὰ
τοιαῦτα οὐδαμοῦ φιλοχρήματος ἔδοξεν οὐδὲ ἀν-
ελεύθερος, οὐδὲ ἐραστής τοῦ πλείονος, οὐδὲ ἐπι-
κέρδειαν² μαστεύων ἢ τόκους, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ ἀγαπῶν
τὸ ἀρχαῖον. νύῳ τε ἀσώτῳ περὶ ἀλεκτρύνων
τροφὴν περὶ τε ὀρτύγων κυνῶν τε καὶ κυνιδίων
καὶ ἵππων ξυννεάζων μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιπλήττων καὶ
παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔχων αἰτίαν "θάπτον" ἔφη
"μεταβαλεῖ τὸ μετὰ γερόντων παίζειν ἢ μετὰ
ἡλίκων." ἀποθανόντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ
τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπὶ παλλακῇ ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ καὶ
604 γηράσκοντας ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπάγεσθαι, θηλυτάτῃ δὲ
αὐτῇ γενομένη πᾶσαν ἐφίεις ἡνίαν οὐκ ἀγαθὸς
ἔδοξε προστάτης τοῦ οἴκου.

Τὰ δὲ τῆς μελέτης πάτρια τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ διέ-
κειτο ὧδε· ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ἅπαξ καταβαλόντι

¹ δ' Richards adds, cf. p. 510.

² ἐπικέρδια Kayser; ἐπικέρδειαν Valckenaer, Cobet; so correct *Heroicus* 740.

¹ The book trade has passed from Athens to Alexandria and Rome.

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his house, and that it was being advertised for sale in the market-place, for ten thousand drachmae, for which sum he had mortgaged it. Thereupon, before he himself even went up to the city, he sent the man the sum named, with this message ; "Free your house, that I may not see you depressed." We are to consider this the act not of a rich man merely, but of one who knew how to use his riches to good purpose, one whom education had made truly humane, and who had an exact understanding of the claims of friendship.

He bought four houses, two in Athens itself, one at the Piraeus, and another at Eleusis. He used to receive direct from Egypt regular supplies of incense, ivory, myrrh, papyrus, books,¹ and all such merchandise, and would sell them to those who traded in such things, but on no occasion did he show himself avaricious or illiberal or a lover of gain ; for he did not seek after profits or usury, but was content with his actual principal. He had a son who dissipated his fortune in breeding fighting-cocks, quails, dogs, puppies, and horses, but instead of rebuking him he used to join him in these youthful pursuits. And when many people blamed him for this, he said : "He will stop playing with old men sooner than he will with those of his own age." When his son died and then his wife, he became attached to a mistress, since even eyes that are growing old can be captivated, and as she had all the feminine vices he gave her the rein in all matters, and showed himself a very poor guardian of his own estate.

Proclus laid down the following rules for attendance at his school of declamation. One hundred

ἐξῆν ἀκροᾶσθαι τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ θήκη βιβλίων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας, ὧν μετῆν τοῖς ξυλλεγομένοις ἐς τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς ἀκροάσεως. ὥς δὲ μὴ συρίττοιμεν ἀλλήλους, μηδὲ σκώπτοιμεν, ἃ ἐν ταῖς τῶν σοφιστῶν ξυνουσίαις φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, ἀθρόοι ἐσεκαλούμεθα καὶ ἐκαθήμεθα ἐσκληθέντες οἱ μὲν παῖδες καὶ οἱ παιδαγωγοὶ μέσοι, τὰ μειράκια δὲ αὐτοί. τὸ μὲν οὖν διαλεχθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν σπανιστοῖς ἔκειτο, ὅτε δὲ ὀρμήσειεν ἐς διάλεξιν, ἱππιάζοντί τε ἐώκει καὶ γοργιάζοντι. ἡ μελέτη δὲ τῆς προτεραίας προεωραμένη ἐσεκυκλείτο. τὸ δὲ μνημονικὸν ἐνενηκοντούτης ἤδη γηράσκων καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἔρρωτο, καὶ ἐρμήνευε μὲν κατὰ φύσιν, Ἀδριάνειοι δὲ ἦσαν αἱ ἐπιβολαὶ τῶν νοημάτων.

κβ'. Φοῖνιξ δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς οὐδὲ θαυμάσαι ἄξιος, οὐδὲ αὖ διαβαλεῖν πάντα. ἦν μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φιλάγρῳ πεφοιτηκότων, γινῶναι δὲ ἀμείνων ἢ ἐρμηνεῦσαι, τάξιν τε γὰρ τὸ νοηθὲν εἶχε καὶ οὐθὲν ἔξω καιροῦ ἐνοεῖτο, ἡ δὲ ἐρμηνεία διεσπᾶσθαι τε ἐδόκει καὶ ῥυθμοῦ ἀφεστηκέναι. ἐδόκει δὲ ἐπιτηδειότερος γεγονέναι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις τῶν νέων ἢ τοῖς ἔξιν τινὰ ἤδη κεκτημένοις, τὰ γὰρ πράγματα γυμνὰ ἐξέκειτο καὶ οὐ περιήμπισχεν αὐτὰ ἡ λέξις. ἐβδομηκοντούτης δὲ ἀποθανὼν Ἀθήνησιν ἐτάφη οὐκ ἀφανῶς, κείται γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς

¹ i.e. the attendants who had brought the boys to the school.

² In his *Life of Apollonius* Philostratus says precisely the same of Apollonius of Tyana at the age of one hundred. Simonides the fifth-century lyric poet was famous for his good memory.

³ Nothing more is known of this sophist.

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drachmae paid down gave one the right to attend his lectures at all times. Moreover, he had a library at his own house which was open to his pupils and supplemented the teaching in his lectures. And to prevent us from hissing or jeering at one another, as so often happens in the schools of the sophists, we were summoned to come in all together, and when we had obeyed the summons we sat down, first the boys, then the pedagogues¹ in the middle, and the youths by themselves. It was the rarest thing for him to deliver a formal prooemium, but whenever he did embark on such an address, Hippias and Gorgias were the men whom he resembled. He used to review his declamations on the day before he delivered them in public. Even when he was an old man, aged ninety years, in his powers of memory he surpassed even Simonides.² The style of his eloquence was natural, but in his abundant use of synonyms he imitated Adrian.

22. PHOENIX³ THE THESSALIAN deserves neither to be admired, nor on the other hand to be wholly slighted. He was one of the pupils of Philagrus, but he had more talent for oratorical invention than for eloquence. For though his ideas were disposed in the proper order, and he never uttered any that were unsuited to the occasion, yet his style of eloquence seemed disjointed and destitute of rhythm. He was thought to be better suited to teach youths who were beginners than those who had already acquired some grasp of their studies; for his subject matter was displayed in the barest terms, and his diction failed to clothe it with rhetoric. He died at Athens at the age of seventy, and was buried in no obscure place, for he lies near the graves of

ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας καθό-
δου.

605 κγ'. Ἄγει με ὁ λόγος ἐπ' ἄνδρα ἐλλογιμώ-
τατον Δαμιανὸν τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἐφέσου, ὅθεν ἐξηγή-
σθων Σώτηροί τε καὶ Σῶσοι καὶ Νίκανδροι καὶ
Φαῖδροι Κῦροί τε καὶ Φύλακες, ἀθύρματα γὰρ
τῶν Ἑλλήνων μᾶλλον οὗτοι προσρηθεῖεν ἂν ἢ
σοφισταὶ λόγου ἄξιοι. Δαμιανῶ τοίνυν ἐλλο-
γιμώτατον μὲν καὶ τὸ ἄνω γένος καὶ πλείστου
ἄξιον τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, εὐδοκιμώτατοι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀπ'
αὐτοῦ φύντες, ξυγκλήτου γὰρ βουλῆς ἀξιοῦνται
πάντες ἐπ' εὐδοξία θαυμαζόμενοι καὶ ὑπεροψία
χρημάτων, αὐτὸς τε πλούτῳ ποικίλῳ καὶ πολυ-
πρεπεῖ κατεσκευασμένος ἐπήρκει μὲν καὶ τοῖς
δεομένοις τῶν Ἐφεσίων, πλείστα δὲ ὠφέλει τὸ
κοινὸν χρήματά τε ἐπιδιδούς καὶ τὰ ὑποδεω-
κότα τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων ἀνακτώμενος. συνῆψε
δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ κατατείνας ἐς αὐτὸ τὴν
διὰ τῶν Μαγνητικῶν κάθοδον. ἔστι δὲ αὕτη στοὰ
ἐπὶ στάδιον λίθου πᾶσα, νοῦς δὲ τοῦ οἰκοδομή-
ματος μὴ ἀπεῖναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοὺς θεραπεύοντας,¹
ὁπότε ὕοι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοῦργον ἀπὸ πολλῶν
χρημάτων ἀποτελεσθὲν ἐπέγραψεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυ-
τοῦ γυναικός, τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐστιατήριον αὐτὸς
ἀνέθηκε μεγέθει τε ἐξάρας ὑπὲρ πάνθ' ὁμοῦ τὰ
παρ' ἐτέροις καὶ λόγου κρείττω περιβαλὼν κό-

¹ θεραπεύοντας Richards suggests.

¹ Nothing more is known of this sophist.

² Soter was an Athenian by birth, though he was educated at Ephesus. We have the inscription found there, in which he is made to boast that the Ephesians twice honoured him with the title of "leading sophist"; this was probably set

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those who died in the wars, on the right of the road that goes down to the Academy.

23. In the course of my narrative I now come to a man who became most illustrious, DAMIANUS¹ OF EPHEBUS. But let me omit from it such persons as Soter,² Sosus, Nicander, Phaedrus, Cyrus, and Phylax, since these men would more properly be called the playthings of the Greeks than sophists worthy of mention. Damianus, then, was descended from the most distinguished ancestors who were highly esteemed at Ephesus, and his offspring likewise were held in high repute, for they are all honoured with seats in the Senate, and are admired both for their distinguished renown and because they do not set too much store by their money. Damianus was himself magnificently endowed with wealth of various sorts, and not only maintained the poor of Ephesus, but also gave most generous aid to the State by contributing large sums of money and by restoring any public buildings that were in need of repair. Moreover, he connected the temple³ with Ephesus by making an approach to it along the road that runs through the Magnesian gate. This work is a portico a stade in length, all of marble, and the idea of this structure is that the worshippers need not stay away from the temple in case of rain. When this work was completed at great expense, he inscribed it with a dedication to his wife, but the banqueting-hall in the temple he dedicated in his own name, and in size he built it to surpass all that exist elsewhere put together. He decorated it with an elegance beyond words, for it is adorned

up by the eleven pupils whose names precede the inscription ;
Kaibel, 877a. ³ The celebrated temple of Artemis.

σμον, ὠραίσται γὰρ Φρυγίῳ λίθῳ, οἷος οὐπω
 ἐτμήθη. πλούτῳ δὲ χρῆσθαι καλῶς ἐκ μειρα-
 κίου ἤρξατο. Ἀριστείδου γὰρ δὴ καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ
 κατειληφότοις τοῦ μὲν τὴν Σμύρναν, τοῦ δὲ τὴν
 Ἐφεσον, ἡκροάσατο ἀμφοῖν ἐπὶ μυρίαῖς εἰπὼν
 πολλῷ ἥδιον εἰς τοιαῦτα δαπανᾶν παιδικὰ ἢ εἰς
 καλοὺς τε καὶ καλὰς, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι. καὶ ὅποσα
 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἀναγέγραφα Δαμianoῦ
 μαθὼν εἴρηκα εἶ τα ἀμφοῖν εἰδότες. πλούτου δὲ
 806 ἐπίδειξιν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ κακεῖνα εἶχεν· πρῶτα
 μὲν ἡ γῆ πᾶσα, ὁπόσῃν ἐκέκτητο, ἐκπεφυτευμένη
 δένδρεσι καρπίμοις τε καὶ εὐσκίοις, ἐν δὲ τοῖς
 ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ νῆσοι χειροποίητοι καὶ λιμένων
 προσχώσεις¹ βεβαιοῦσαι τοὺς ὄρμους καταιρού-
 σαις τε καὶ ἀφιεῖσαις ὀλκάσιν, οἰκίαι τε ἐν προ-
 αστείαις αἱ μὲν κατεσκευασμέναι τὸν ἐν ἄστει
 τρόπον, αἱ δὲ ἀνθρώδεις, ἔπειτα αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρός
 τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἥθος οὐ πᾶν ἀσπαζομένου κέρδος,
 οὐδὲ ἐπαινοῦντος τὸ ἐξ ἅπαντος λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ'
 οὓς αἰσθοῖτο ἀποροῦντας προῖκα τούτοις τὴν
 ἑαυτοῦ φωνὴν διδόντος. παραπλήσιον δὲ ἦν καὶ
 τοῖς σοφιστικοῖς τῶν λόγων, οὓς γὰρ αἰσθοῖτο
 ἀποροῦντας ἐξ ὑπερορίων ἔθνων ἥκοντας, ἡφίει
 τούτοις τὸν μισθὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως, μὴ λάθοιεν
 δαπανώμενοι.

¹ προσχώσεις Kayser ; προσχώσεις Cobet.

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with Phrygian marble such as had never before been quarried. Even when a stripling he began to spend his wealth to good purpose. For when Aristеides and Adrian held sway, the former at Smyrna, the latter at Ephesus, he attended the lectures of both men, and paid them fees of ten thousand drachmae, declaring that he found it more agreeable to spend money on favourites of that sort than on handsome boys and girls, as some prefer to do. And in fact all that I have recorded above about those sophists I stated on the authority of Damianus, who was well acquainted with the careers of both. The wealth of Damianus was displayed also in what I shall now describe. In the first place all the land that he had acquired was planted with trees, both to bear fruit and to give abundant shade. And for his estate by the sea-shore he made artificial islands and moles for harbours to secure safe anchorage for cargo-boats when they put in or set sail; then his residences in the suburbs were in some cases furnished and equipped like town houses, while others were more like grottoes. In the next place the man's own disposition, as he showed it in legal affairs, was that of one who did not embrace every chance of making a profit or approve of taking what he could get from any and every one. On the contrary, whenever he saw that people were in difficulties, he would offer to speak for them himself without payment. It was much the same with his sophistic lectures; for whenever he saw that pupils who had come from remote peoples were embarrassed for money, he used to remit the fee for his lectures, that they might not be led unawares into spending too much.

Ἦν δὲ δικανικοῦ μὲν σοφιστικώτερος, σοφιστικοῦ δὲ δικανικώτερος. προΐων δὲ ἐς γῆρας μεθήκεν ἄμφω τὰς σπουδὰς τὸ σῶμα καταλυθεὶς μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν γνώμην· τοῖς γοῦν κατὰ κλέος αὐτοῦ φοιτῶσιν ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσον παρέχων ἑαυτὸν ἀνέθηκε καὶ μοί τινα ξυνουσίαν πρώτην τε καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην, καὶ εἶδον ἄνδρα παραπλήσιον τῷ Σοφοκλείῳ ἵππῳ, νωθρὸς γὰρ ὑφ' ἡλικίας δοκῶν νεάζουσιν ὁρμὴν ἐν ταῖς σπουδαῖς ἀνεκτάτο. ἐτελεύτα δὲ οἴκοι ἔτη βιούς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν προαστείῳ τινι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, ᾧ μάλιστα ἐνεβίωσεν.

κδ'. Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ τῷ σοφιστῇ πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Ἱεράπολις, ἐγκαταλεκτέα δὲ αὕτη ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν εὖ πραττούσαις, πατὴρ δὲ Ζευξίδημος τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἐκείνῃ, Ἀδριανῷ δὲ καὶ
607 Πολυδεύκει φοιτήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ Πολυδεύκου μᾶλλον ἤρμοσται, τὰς ὁρμὰς τῶν νοημάτων ἐκλύων τοῖς τῆς ἐρμηνείας ῥυθμοῖς. ἀκροασάμενος δὲ καὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἀθηναίου τὸ περὶ τὴν τέχνην ἀκριβὲς ἐκείνου ἔμαθεν. αὐτοσχέδιος δὲ ὢν οὐδὲ φροντισμάτων ἡμέλει, ἀλλ' Ὀλυμπικούς τε ἡμῖν διήκει καὶ Παναθηναίους καὶ ἐς ἱστορίαν ἔβαλε¹ τὰ Σεβήρου τοῦ βασιλέως ἔργα, ὑφ' οὗ μάλιστα ταῖς βασιλείοις ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπιταχθεὶς λαμπρόν τι ἐν αὐταῖς ἤχησεν. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἀποπεφάνθω μελετῆσαι μὲν καὶ ξυγγράφαι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου

¹ ἔλαβε Kayser; ἔβαλε Cobet.

¹ See above, pp. 511, 569, where the same is said of Nicetes and Antiochus.

² *Electra* 25.

³ He was appointed by Severus independently of his son and consort, Caracalla.

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His style was more sophistic than is usual in a legal orator, and more judicial than is usual in a sophist.¹ As old age came on he gave up both these pursuits, from weakness of body rather than of mind. At any rate when students were attracted to Ephesus by his renown he still allowed them access to himself, and so it was that he honoured me also with one interview, then with a second and a third. And so I beheld a man who resembled the horse in Sophocles.² For though he seemed sluggish from old age, nevertheless in our discussions he recovered the vigour of youth. He died at home aged seventy years, and was buried in one of his own suburban villas in which he had spent most of his life.

24. The birthplace of ANTIPATER the sophist was Hierapolis, which must be reckoned among the flourishing cities of Asia, and his father was Zeuxidemus, one of the most distinguished men in that place. Though he studied under Adrian and Pollux, he modelled himself rather on Pollux, and hence he weakened the force of his ideas by the rhythmical effects of his style. He also attended the lectures of Zeno of Athens, and from him learned the subtleties of his art. Though he had a talent for speaking extempore, he nevertheless did not neglect written work, but used to recite to us Olympic and Panathenaic orations and wrote an historical account of the achievements of the Emperor Severus. For it was by the latter's independent³ appointment that he was made Imperial Secretary, a post in which he was brilliantly successful. For my part let me here openly express my opinion that, though there were many men who both declaimed and wrote historical narrative better than Antipater,

πολλοὺς βέλτιον, ἐπιστεῖλαι δὲ μηδένα ἄμεινον, ἄλλ' ὥσπερ τραγωδίας λαμπρὸν ὑποκριτὴν τοῦ δράματος εὖ ξυνιέντα ἐπάξια τοῦ βασιλείου προσώπου φθέγγασθαι. σαφηνεῖάν τε γὰρ τὰ λεγόμενα εἶχε καὶ γνώμης μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων καὶ ξὺν ἡδονῇ τὸ ἀσύνδετον, ὃ δὴ μάλιστα ἐπιστολὴν λαμπρύνει.

Ὑπάτοις δὲ ἐγγραφεῖς ἤρξε μὲν τοῦ τῶν Βιθυνῶν ἔθνους, δόξας δὲ ἐτοιμότερον χρῆσθαι τῷ ξίφει τὴν ἀρχὴν παρελύθη. βίου μὲν δὴ ὀκτὼ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐτάφη οἴκοι, λέγεται δὲ ἀποθανεῖν καρτερία μᾶλλον ἢ νόσῳ· διδάσκαλος μὲν γὰρ τῶν Σεβήρου παιδῶν ἐνομίσθη καὶ θεῶν διδάσκαλον ἐκαλοῦμεν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τῆς ἀκροάσεως, ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ νεωτέρου σφῶν ἐπ' αἰτία, ὡς τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐπιβουλεύει, γράφει πρὸς τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἐπιστολὴν μονωδίαν περιέχουσαν¹ καὶ θρῆνον, ὡς εἰς μὲν αὐτῷ ὀφθαλμὸς ἐκ δυοῖν, χεὶρ δὲ μία, καὶ οὓς ἐπαίδευσεν ὄπλα ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων αἵρεσθαι, τούτους ἀκούει κατ' ἀλλήλων ἡρμένους. ὑφ' ὧν παροξυνθῆναι τὸν βασιλέα μὴ ἀπιστῶμεν, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἰδιώτην ταῦτα παρώξυνε βουλόμενόν γε τὸ δοκεῖν ἐπιβεβουλεῦσθαι μὴ ἀπιστεῖσθαι.

608 κέ'. Πολὺς ἐν σοφιστῶν κύκλῳ καὶ Ἑρμοκρά-

¹ ἐπέχουσιν Kayser; περιέχουσιν Cobet.

¹ Secretaries were appointed by the Roman emperors to write their letters, under which title rescripts and other public documents were included. The secretary's title was *ab epistulis*, or ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, and sophists were often appointed; cf. p. 590, and Eunapius, *Nymphidianus* 497.

² For this device see what is said of Critias, p. 503.

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yet no one composed letters¹ better than he, but like a brilliant tragic actor who has a thorough knowledge of his profession, his utterances were always in keeping with the Imperial rôle. For what he said was always clear, the sentiments were elevated, the style was always well adapted to the occasion, and he secured a pleasing effect by the use of asyndeton,² a device that, in a letter above all, enhances the brilliance of the style.

He was elevated to the rank of consul, and governed the people of Bithynia, but as he showed himself too ready with the sword he was relieved of the office. Antipater lived to be sixty-eight, and was buried in his native place. It is said that he died of voluntary fasting rather than of any disease. For he had been appointed as tutor to the sons of Severus—in fact we used to call him “Tutor of the Gods” when we applauded his lectures—and when the younger of the two³ was put to death on the charge that he was plotting against his brother, he wrote to the elder a letter which contained a monody and a dirge, lamenting that Caracalla now had but one eye left and one hand, and that those whom he had taught to take up arms for one another had now, he heard, taken them up against one another. We may well believe that the Emperor⁴ was greatly incensed by this, and indeed these remarks would have incensed even a private person, at any rate if he were anxious to gain credence for an alleged plot against himself.

25. HERMOCRATES⁵ OF PHOCIS was a member of the

³ Geta ; he was assassinated by Caracalla A.D. 212.

⁴ Caracalla.

⁵ Nothing more is known of this sophist.

της ὁ Φωκαεὺς ἄδεται φύσεως ἰσχὺν δηλώσας
 παρὰ πάντας, οὓς ἐρμηνεύω, οὐδενὶ γὰρ θαυμα-
 σίῳ σοφιστῇ συγγενόμενος, ἀλλὰ Ῥουφίνου τοῦ
 Σμυρναίου ἀκηκοὺς τὰ σοφιστικὰ τολμῶντος
 μᾶλλον ἢ κατορθοῦντος ἐρμήνευσε ποικιλώτατα
 609 Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἔγνω καὶ ἔταξεν, οὐ τὰς μὲν τῶν
 ὑποθέσεων, τὰς δὲ οὐχί, ἅπαξ δ' ἀπάσας¹ τὰς
 μελετωμένας, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὰς ἐσχηματισμένας
 εὖ διέθετο ἀμφιβολίας τε πλείστας ἐπινοήσας καὶ
 τὸ σημαινόμενον ἐγκαταμίξας τῷ ὑφειμένῳ.

Πάππος μὲν δὴ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο Ἀτταλος ὁ Πολέ-
 μωνος τοῦ σοφιστοῦ παῖς, πατὴρ δὲ Ῥουφινιανὸς
 ὁ ἐκ Φωκαίας, ἀνὴρ ὑπατος Καλλιστῶ γήμας τὴν
 610 Ἀττάλου. τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς
 διαφορὰν κατέστη πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα οὕτω τι
 ἀπαραίτητον, ὥς μηδὲ δάκρυον ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὴν Καλ-
 λιστῶ ἀφεῖναι ἐν μεираκίῳ ἀποθανόντι, ὅτε δὴ καὶ
 τοῖς πολεμιωτάτοις ἐλεεινὰ τὰ τῆς ἡλικίας φαίνεται.
 καὶ τοῦτο οὕτως μὲν ἀκούσαντι κακίᾳ τοῦ μεира-
 κίου προσκείμεται μᾶλλον, εἰ μηδὲ μήτηρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 τι ἔπαθεν, λογιζομένῳ δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ ὅτι τὴν
 μητέρα ἀπέστερξεν ἐπὶ δούλου ἔρωτι, ὁ μὲν ξυμ-
 βαίνων τοῖς νόμοις φαίνοιτο ἄν, οἱ δεδώκασι τὸ
 ἐπὶ ταῖς τοιαῖσδε αἰτίαις καὶ ἀποκτείνειν, ἡ δὲ ἀξία
 μισεῖν καὶ τοῖς οὐ προσήκουσιν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἑαυτὴν τε
 καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἥσχυεν.

Ὡσπερ δὲ ταύτην ὁ Ἑρμοκράτης διαφεύγει τὴν

¹ δὲ πάσας Kayser ; δ' ἀπάσας Cobet.

¹ See Glossary and p. 597.

² See above, p. 543.

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sophistic circle who became very celebrated and showed greater natural powers than any whom I describe here. For though he was not trained by any sophist of great repute, but was a pupil of Rufinus of Smyrna who in the sophistic art displayed more audacity than felicity, he easily surpassed all the Greeks of his day in variety, whether of eloquence or invention or arrangement; and it was not that he excelled thus in some kinds of arguments and not in others, but in all, without exception, to which he devoted his attention. For indeed he was very skilful also in handling speeches with simulated arguments,¹ devised many ambiguous expressions, and inserted among his veiled allusions a hint of the true meaning. His grandfather was Attalus, son of Polemo² the sophist, and his father was Rufinianus of Phocis, a man of consular rank who had married Callisto, the daughter of Attalus. After his father's death he quarrelled with his own mother so irrevocably that Callisto did not even shed a tear for him when he died in the flower of his youth, though on such an occasion even to the bitterest enemies it seems piteous to die at that age. One who hears this and only this, will be inclined to impute it to the youth's own evil disposition that not even his mother felt any grief for his loss. But if one takes into account the real reason, and that he ceased to love his mother because of her low passion for a slave, it will appear that the son conformed to the laws, which actually give him the right to put a woman to death for a reason of that sort; whereas the woman deserves to be detested even by those outside the family for the disgrace that she brought upon herself and her son.

But while we acquit Hermocrates of this charge, it

αἰτίαν, οὕτως ἐκείνην οὐκ ἂν διαφύγοι· τὸν γὰρ πατρῶον οἶκον βαθὺν αὐτῷ παραδοθέντα κατεδ-
πάνησεν οὐκ ἐς ἵπποτροφίας οὐδὲ ἐς λειτουργίας,
ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἄρασθαι, ἀλλ' ἐς ἄκρατον
καὶ ἐταίρους οἴους παρασχεῖν καὶ κωμωδία λόγον,
οἶον παρέσχον λόγον οἱ Καλλίαν ποτὲ τὸν Ἴππονί-
κου κολακεύσαντες.

Ἀντιπάτρου δὲ παρεληλυθότος ἐς τὰς βασιλείους
ἐπιστολὰς ἤδη ἀσπαζομένου τε ἀρμόσαι οἱ τὴν ἑαυ-
τοῦ θυγατέρα πονήρως ἔχουσιν τοῦ εἵδους οὐκ
ἐπήδησε πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου εὐπραγίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς
προμνηστρίας ἀναγούσης ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου
ἰσχύν, ἣν εἶχε τότε, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἔφη δουλεῦσαι
προικὶ μακρᾷ καὶ πενθεροῦ τύφῳ. ἐξωθούντων δὲ
611 αὐτὸν τῶν συγγενῶν ἐς τὸν γάμον καὶ Διὸς Κόριν-
θον ἡγουμένων τὸν Ἀντίπατρον οὐ πρότερον εἶξεν
ἢ Σεβήρον αὐτοκράτορα μεταπέμψαντα αὐτὸν ἐς
τὴν ἐώαν δοῦναί οἱ τὴν κόρην, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τῶν ἐπι-
τηδείων ἐρομένου τινὸς αὐτόν, πότε ἄγοι τὰ ἀνα-
καλυπτήρια, ἀστειότατα ὁ Ἑρμοκράτης “ἐγκαλυ-
πτήρια μὲν οὖν” ἔφη “τοιαύτην λαμβάνων.” καὶ
διέλυσε μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὸν γάμον ὀρών οὔτε ἰδεῖν
ἡδεῖαν οὔτε ἐπιτηδεῖαν τὸ ἦθος.

Καὶ ἀκροατὴς δὲ τοῦ Ἑρμοκράτους ὁ αὐτοκρά-
τωρ γενόμενος ἡγάσθη αὐτὸν ἴσα τῷ πάππῳ δω-
ρεάς τε αἰτεῖν ἀνῆκεν· καὶ ὁ Ἑρμοκράτης “στε-

¹ This probably refers to the *Flatterers* of Eupolis; cf. Athenaeus 506 E; Callias was a rich patron of Sophists.

² This popular proverb was used in two ways: of empty boasting, because the Corinthians boasted that their eponymous hero was Corinthus, son of Zeus; and to express aimless iteration as in Pindar, *Nemean* vii. 105; but here it merely implies exaggerated respect for Antipater.

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is not so easy to acquit him of another. For he had inherited from his father a very handsome property, but he squandered it, not on breeding horses, or on public services from which one may win a great reputation, but on strong drink and boon companions of the sort that furnish a theme for Comedy, such a theme, I mean, as was once furnished by the flatterers of Callias, the son of Hipponicus.¹ After Antipater had been promoted to be Imperial Secretary he desired to arrange a marriage between Hermocrates and his daughter who was very unattractive in appearance. But Hermocrates did not jump at the chance to share Antipater's prosperity, but when the woman who was arranging the affair called his attention to the great resources of which Antipater was then possessed, he replied that he could never become the slave of a large dowry and a father-in-law's swollen pride. And though his relatives tried to push him into this marriage, and regarded Antipater as "Corinthus, son of Zeus,"² he did not give way until the Emperor Severus summoned him to the East and gave him the girl in marriage. Then, when one of his friends asked him when he was going to celebrate the unveiling of the bride, Hermocrates replied with ready wit: "Say rather the veiling, when I am taking a wife like that." And it was not long before he dissolved the marriage, on finding that she had neither a pleasing appearance nor an agreeable disposition.

When the Emperor had heard Hermocrates declaim he admired him as much as his great-grandfather,³ and gave him the privilege of asking for presents. Whereupon Hermocrates said: "Crowns

³ Polemo; see p. 610.

φάνους μὲν” ἔφη “καὶ ἀτελείας καὶ σιτήσεις καὶ πορφύραν καὶ τὸ ἱερᾶσθαι ὁ πάππος ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ παρέδωκεν, καὶ τί ἂν αἰτοίην παρὰ σοῦ τήμερον, ἃ ἐκ τοσούτου ἔχω; ἐπεὶ δέ ἐστὶ μοι προστεταγμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ Πέργαμον Ἀσκληπιοῦ πέρδικα σιτεῖσθαι λιβανωτῶ θυμιώμενον, τὸ δὲ ἄρωμα τοῦτο οὕτω τι σπανιστὸν καθ’ ἡμᾶς νῦν, ὥς ψαιστὸν καὶ δάφνης φύλλα τοῖς θεοῖς θυμιᾶσθαι, δέομαι λιβανωτοῦ ταλάντων πεντήκοντα, ἵνα θεραπεύοιμι μὲν τοὺς θεούς, θεραπευοίμην δὲ αὐτός.” ἔδωκε τὸν λιβανωτὸν ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐρυθριᾶν εἰπών, ἐπειδὴ μικρὰ ἤτήθη.

Ξυνελάμβανε δὲ τῷ Ἑρμοκράτει τῶν ἐπιδείξεων πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τοῦ πάππου κλέος, ἡ γὰρ φύσις ἡ ἀνθρωπεῖα τὰς ἀρετὰς ἀσπάζεται μᾶλλον τὰς ἐκ πατέρων ἐς παῖδας διαδοθείσας, ὅθεν εὐκλεέστερος μὲν Ὀλυμπιονίκης ὁ ἐξ Ὀλυμπιονικῶν οἴκου, γεν-
 612 ναιότερος δὲ στρατιώτης ὁ μὴ ἀστρατεύτων ἡδῖους τε τῶν ἐπιτηδεύσεων αἱ πατέρων τε καὶ προγόνων, καὶ που καὶ¹ τέχναι βελτίους αἱ κληρονομούμεναι, ξυνελάμβανε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ὥρα ἡ περὶ τῷ εἶδει, καὶ γὰρ ἐπίχαρις καὶ ἀγαλματίας, οἷα ἔφηβοι, καὶ τὸ θάρσος δὲ τοῦ μεираκίου τὸ ἐν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἑκπληξιν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔφερεν, ἣν ἐκπλήττονται ἄνθρωποι τοὺς τὰ μεγάλα μὴ ξὺν ἀγωνίᾳ πράττοντας. ἐδίδου τι καὶ ἡ εὖροια καὶ ὁ τῆς γλώττης κρότος καὶ τὸ ἐν στιγμῇ τοῦ καιροῦ

¹ οἴκου Kayser ; suggests καὶ που καὶ.

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and immunities and meals at the public expense, and the consular purple and the high-priesthood our great-grandfather bequeathed to his descendants. Why then should I ask from you to-day what I have so long possessed? However, I have been ordered by Asclepius at Pergamon to eat partridge stuffed with frankincense, and this seasoning is now so scarce in our country that we have to use barley meal and laurel leaves for incense to the gods. I therefore ask for fifty talents' worth of frankincense, that I may treat the gods properly and get proper treatment myself." Then the Emperor gave him the frankincense with approving words, and said that he blushed for shame at having been asked for so trifling a gift.

In his public declamations Hermocrates was aided in the first place by his great-grandfather's renown, since it is human nature to set a higher value on abilities that have been handed down from father to son; and for this reason more glory is won by an Olympic victor who comes of a family of Olympic victors; more honourable is that soldier who comes from a fighting stock; there is a keener pleasure in pursuits that have been followed by one's fathers and forefathers; and in fact arts that have been inherited have an advantage over the rest. But he was also aided by the beauty of his personal appearance, and he was indeed possessed of great charm and looked like a statue with the bloom of early youth. Then, too, the courage of this stripling, when facing a crowded audience, produced in most of his hearers that thrill of admiration which human beings feel for those who achieve great things without intense effort. Moreover his easy flow of words and the striking effects of his voice contributed to his success, and

PHILOSTRATUS

ξυνορᾶν τὰς ὑποθέσεις καὶ τὰ ἀναγινωσκόμενά τε καὶ λεγόμενα πολιώτερα¹ ὄντα ἢ νέω γε ἐνθυμηθῆναι καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι. αἱ μὲν δὴ μελέται τοῦ Ἑρμοκράτους ὀκτώ που ἴσως ἢ δέκα καὶ τις λόγος οὐ μακρός, ὃν ἐν Φωκαίᾳ διήλθεν ἐπὶ² τῷ Πανιωνίῳ κρατῆρι. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀποπεφάνθω μὴ ἂν τινα ὑπερφωνῆσαι τὴν μειρακίου τούτου γλῶτταν, εἰ μὴ ἀφηρέθῃ τὸ παρελθεῖν ἐς ἄνδρας φθόνῳ ἁλούς. ἐτελεύτα δὲ κατ' ἐνίους μὲν ὀκτώ καὶ εἴκοσι γεγονώς, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ ἐδέξατο αὐτὸν ἢ πατρώα γῇ καὶ αἱ πατρώαι θῆκαι.

κς'. Ἀνὴρ ἐλλογιμώτατος καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Λύκιος καὶ τὰ οἴκοι μὲν, ἐπειδὴ πατέρων τε ἀγαθῶν ἔφν καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς Λυκίων ἐγένετο, τὴν δὲ
613 λειτουργησίαν οὖσαν οὐ μεγάλου ἔθνους Ῥωμαῖοι³ μεγάλων ἀξιούσιν ὑπὲρ ξυμμαχίας, οἶμαι, παλαιᾶς, ἐλλογιμώτερος δὲ ὁ Ἡρακλείδης τὰ σοφιστικά, ἀποχρῶν μὲν γὰρ ξυνεῖναι, ἀποχρῶν δὲ ἐρμηνεύσαι καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀπέριτος καὶ τὰς πανηγυρικὰς ἐννοίας οὐχ ὑπερβακχεύων.

Ἐκπεσὼν δὲ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ Ἀθήνησι ξυστάντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ναυκρατίτου ἐταίρων, ὧν πρῶτος καὶ μέσος καὶ τελευταῖος Μαρκιανὸς ὁ ἐκ Δολίχης ἐγένετο, ἐπὶ τὴν Σμύρναν

¹ παλαιότερα Kayser; suggests πολιώτερα.

² ἐν Kayser; ἐπὶ Cobet.

³ Ῥωμαίων mss., Kayser; Ῥωμαῖοι Valckenaer and others.

¹ For this festival at Smyrna and for the ceremony of the loving-cup from which the assembled Ionians drank as a sign of their friendship, see *Life of Apollonius*, iv. 5-6.

² Nothing more is known of this sophist.

³ This phrase, here meaninglessly applied, elsewhere expresses extreme respect; cf. Theocritus xvii. 4; Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis* 1125; and *Paradise Lost*, "Him first, him last, him midst and without end."

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the fact that he could review his themes in the twinkling of an eye, and that what he recited from a manuscript or declaimed was more what one expects from hoary old age than from a mere youth to invent and deliver. There are extant perhaps eight or ten declamations by Hermocrates and a sort of short address which he delivered at Phocaea over the Pan-Ionian loving-cup.¹ But let me here record my judgement that the eloquence of this stripling would have been such that no one could surpass it, had he not been cut off by an envious deity and prevented from attaining to mature manhood. He died, as some say, at the age of twenty-eight, though according to others he was only twenty-five, and the land of his fathers and the sepulchres of his fathers received him.

26. HERACLEIDES² THE LYCIAN was also a very notable person, in the first place as regards his family, since he was descended from distinguished ancestors and so became high-priest of Lycia, an office which, though it concerns a small nation, is highly considered by the Romans, I suppose on account of their long-standing alliance with Lycia. But Heracleides was still more notable as a sophist, because of his great abilities both in invention and oratorical expression; in judicial arguments also he was simple and direct, and in speeches composed for public gatherings he never revelled in a mere frenzy of rhetoric.

When he had been turned out of the chair of rhetoric at Athens in consequence of a conspiracy against him got up by the followers of Apollonius of Naucratis, in which Marcianus of Doliche was first, middle, and last,³ he betook himself to Smyrna,⁴ which

⁴ For Smyrna as a centre of sophistic eloquence see p. 516.

ἐτράπετο θύουσιν μάλιστα δὴ πόλεων ταῖς τῶν σοφιστῶν Μούσαις. νεότητα μὲν οὖν Ἰωνικὴν τε καὶ Λύδιον καὶ τὴν ἐκ Φρυγῶν καὶ Καρίας ξυνδραμεῖν εἰς Ἰωνίαν κατὰ ξυνουσίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐπω μέγα, ἐπειδὴ ἀγχίθυρος ἀπάσαις ἢ Σμύρνα, ὃ δὲ ἦγε μὲν καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης Ἑλληνικόν, ἦγε δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐώας νέους, πολλοὺς δὲ ἦγεν Αἰγυπτίων οὐκ ἀνηκόους αὐτοῦ ὄντας, ἐπειδὴ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Ναυκρατίτῃ κατὰ Αἴγυπτον περὶ σοφίας ἦρισεν. ἐνέπλησε μὲν δὴ τὴν Σμύρναν ὁμίλου λαμπροῦ, ὤνησε δὲ καὶ πλείω ἕτερα, ἃ ἐγὼ δηλώσω· πόλις εἰς ξένους πολλοὺς ἐπεστραμμένη ἄλλως τε καὶ σοφίας ἐρῶντας σωφρόνως μὲν βουλευσεί, σωφρόνως δὲ ἐκκλησιάσει φυλαττομένη δῆπου τὸ ἐν πολλοῖς τε καὶ σπουδαίοις κακῇ ἀλίσκεσθαι, ἱερῶν τε ἐπιμελήσεται καὶ γυμνασίων καὶ κρηνῶν καὶ στοῶν, ἵνα ἀποχρῶσα τῷ ὁμίλῳ φαίνοιτο. εἰ δὲ καὶ ναύκληρος ἢ πόλις εἴη καθάπερ ἢ Σμύρνα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄφθονα αὐτοῖς ἢ θάλασσα δώσει. ξυνήρατο δὲ τῇ Σμύρνῃ καὶ τοῦ εἵδους ἐλαίου κρήνην ἐπισκευάσας ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ γυμνασίῳ χρυσὴν τοῦ ὀρόφου, καὶ τὴν στεφανηφόρον ἀρχὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἦρξεν, ἀφ' ὧν τοῖς ἐνιαυτοῖς τίθενται Σμυρναῖοι τὰ ὀνόματα.

- 614 Ἐπὶ Σεβήρου δὲ αὐτοκράτορός φασιν αὐτὸν σχεδίου λόγου ἐκπεσεῖν αὐλὴν καὶ δορυφόρους δέισαντα. τουτὶ δὲ ἀγοραῖος μὲν τις παθὼν κἂν αἰτίαν λάβοι, τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀγοραίων ἔθνος ἰταμοὶ
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more than any other city sacrificed to the sophistic Muses. Now the fact that the youth of Ionia, Lydia, Phrygia, and Caria flocked to Ionia to study with him is not so wonderful, seeing that Smyrna is next door to all these countries, but he attracted thither the Hellenes from Europe, he attracted the youth of the Orient, and he attracted many from Egypt who had already heard him, because in Egypt he had contended for the prize of learning against Ptolemy of Naucratis. Thus, then, he filled Smyrna with a brilliant throng, and he benefited her in several other ways too, as I shall show. A city which is much frequented by foreigners, especially if they are lovers of learning, will be prudent and moderate in its councils, and prudent and moderate in its citizen assemblies, because it will be on its guard against being convicted of wrongdoing in the presence of so many eminent persons; and it will take good care of its temples, gymnasia, fountains and porticoes, so that it may appear to meet the needs of that multitude. And should the city have a sea trade, as Smyrna in fact has, the sea will supply them with many things in abundance. He also contributed to the beauty of Smyrna by constructing in the gymnasium of Asclepius a fountain for olive oil with a golden roof, and he held in that city the office of the priest who wears the crown; the people of Smyrna designate the years by the names of these priests.

They say that in the presence of the Emperor Severus he broke down in an extempore speech, because he was abashed by the court and the Imperial bodyguard. Now if this misfortune were to happen to a forensic orator, he might well be criticized; for forensic orators as a tribe are audacious

καὶ θρασεῖς, σοφιστῆς δὲ ξυσπουδάζων μεираκίοις τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἡμέρας πῶς ἂν ἀντίσχοι ἐκπλήξει; ἐκκρούει γὰρ σχεδίου λόγου καὶ ἀκροατῆς σεμνῶ προσώπῳ καὶ βραδὺς ἔπαινος καὶ τὸ μὴ κροτεῖσθαι συνήθως, εἰ δὲ καὶ φθόνου ὑποκαθημένου ἑαυτὸν αἰσθοίτο, ὥσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλείδης τὸν τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου τότε ὑφεωρᾶτο, ἦττον μὲν ἐνθυμηθήσεται, ἦττον δὲ εὐροήσει, αἱ γὰρ τοιαῖδε ὑποψίαι γνώμης ἀχλὺς καὶ δεσμὰ γλώττης.

Ἱερὰς δὲ λέγεται κέδρους ἐκτεμῶν δημευθῆναι τὸ πολὺ τῆς οὐσίας, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἀπionτι αὐτῷ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἐπηκολούθουν μὲν οἱ γνώριμοι παραμυθούμενοί τε καὶ ἀνέχοντες τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐνὸς δὲ αὐτῶν εἰπόντος “ ἄλλ’ οὐ μελέτην ἀφαιρήσεται τις, ὦ Ἡρακλείδη, οὐδὲ τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ κλέος,” καὶ ἐπιρραψωδήσαντος αὐτῷ τὸ “ εἰς δὴ που λοιπὸς κατερύκεται εὐρέϊ ” — “ φίσκω ” ἔφη, ἀστείότατα δὲ ἐπιπαίξας τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ κακοῖς.

Δοκεῖ δὲ μάλιστα σοφιστῶν οὗτος τὴν ἐπιστήμην πόνῳ κατακτήσασθαι μὴ ξυγχωρούσης αὐτῷ τῆς φύσεως, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῷ φρόντισμα οὐκ ἀηδές, βιβλίον ξύμμετρον, ὃ ἐπιγέγραπται Πόνου ἐγκώ-
 615 μιον, τὸ δὲ βιβλίον τοῦτο πρὸ χειρῶν ἔχων ἐνέτυχε Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ σοφιστῇ κατὰ τὴν Ναύκρατιν, ὃ δὲ ἤρετο αὐτόν, ὃ τι σπουδάζοι, τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, ὅτι πόνου εἷη ἐγκώμιον, αἰτήσας ὁ Πτολεμαῖος τὸ βι-

¹ For this quotation, which was popular because it was easily parodied, see p. 558; here the pupil means that Heracleides and his fame survive, but the sophist by his allusion to the confiscation of his property to the Emperor, alters the sense of the verb to mean “is checked by,” and changes the last word from “sea” to “privy purse.”

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and self-confident; but a sophist spends the greater part of his day in teaching mere boys, and how should he resist being easily flustered? For an extempore speaker is disconcerted by a single hearer whose features have a supercilious expression, or by tardy applause, or by not being clapped in the way to which he is accustomed; but if in addition he is aware that malice is lying in wait for him, as on that occasion Heracleides was subtly conscious of the malice of Antipater, his ideas will not come so readily, his words will not flow so easily, for suspicions of that sort cloud the mind and tie the tongue.

It is said that for cutting down sacred cedars he was punished by the confiscation of a great part of his estate. On that occasion, as he was leaving the law-court, his pupils were in attendance to comfort and sustain him, and one of them said: "But your ability to declaim no one will ever take from you, Heracleides, nor the fame you have won thereby." And he went on to recite over him the verse: "One methinks is still detained in a wide" — "privy purse,"¹ interrupted Heracleides, thus wittily jesting at his own misfortunes.

This sophist, more than any of the others, seems to have acquired his proficiency by means of hard work, since it was denied to him by nature. And there is extant a rather pleasing composition of his, a book of moderate size, called *In Praise of Work*. Once, when he was carrying this book in his hands, he met Ptolemy the sophist in Naucratis, and the latter asked him what he was studying. When he replied that it was an encomium on work, Ptolemy asked for the book, crossed out the letter

βλίον καὶ ἀπαλείψας τὸ πῖ “ ὦρα σοι ” ἔφη “ ἀναγινώσκειν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἐγκωμίου.” καὶ αἱ διαλέξεις δέ, ὥς Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Ναυκρατίτης κατ’ αὐτοῦ διελέγετο, ὡς νωθροῦ καθάπτονται καὶ μοχθοῦντος.

Ἡρακλείδου διδάσκαλοι Ἡρώδης μὲν τῶν οὐκ ἀληθῶς πεπιστευμένων, Ἀδριανὸς δὲ καὶ Χρῆστος ἐν γνησίοις, καὶ Ἀριστοκλέους δὲ ἡκροᾶσθαι αὐτὸν μὴ ἀπιστῶμεν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ γαστρὶ κοίλῃ χρῆσασθαι καὶ πλείστα ὀψοφαγῆσαι, καὶ ἡ πολυφαγία αὕτη ἐς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἀποσκῆψαι. ἐτελεύτα γοῦν ὑπὲρ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη ἄρτιος τὸ σῶμα καὶ τάφος μὲν αὐτῷ Λυκία λέγεται, ἐτελεύτα δὲ ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ καὶ ἀπελευθέροις οὐ σπουδαίοις, ὑφ’ ὧν καὶ τὴν Ῥητορικὴν ἐκληρονομήθη· ἡ δὲ Ῥητορικὴ γῆδιον δεκατάλαντον ἦν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν ἐωνημένον ἐκ τῶν ἀκροάσεων.

κζ’. Μὴ δεύτερα τῶν προειρημένων σοφιστῶν μηδὲ Ἰππόδρομόν τις ἡγείσθω τὸν Θετταλόν, τῶν μὲν γὰρ βελτίων φαίνεται, τῶν δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι λείπεται. Ἰπποδρόμῳ τοίνυν πατὴρ μὲν ἦν Λάρισσα πόλις εὐ πράττουσα ἐν Θετταλοῖς, πατὴρ δὲ Ὀλυμπιόδωρος· παρελθὼν ἵπποτροφία Θετταλοὺς πάντας.

616 Μεγάλου δὲ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ δοκοῦντος τοῦ καὶ ἅπαξ προστῆναι τῶν Πυθίων ὁ Ἰππόδρομος προέστη δις τῶν Πυθικῶν ἁθλῶν, πλούτῳ τε ὑπερήνευκε τοὺς ἄνω καὶ κόσμῳ τῷ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ μεγέθει γνώμης καὶ δικαιοσύνη βραβεύουση τὸ

¹ By dropping the first letter *π*όνος, “work,” is altered to *δ*νος, “ass.”

² Nothing more is known of this sophist.

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“p,”¹ and said: “Now you must read the title of your encomium.” Furthermore, the discourses which Apollonius of Naucratis delivered against Heracleides reproach him with being slow-witted and plodding.

As for the teachers of Heracleides, Herodes is one as to whom we have no sure evidence, whereas among those who were certainly his teachers are Adrian and Chrestus; and we may believe that he attended the school of Aristocles besides. It is said of him that he had an endless appetite, and gorged himself with rich food, but this gluttony had no ill effects on his health. At any rate he was over eighty and physically sound when he died. He is said to be buried in Lycia, and he left a daughter and some freedmen who were none too honest, to whom he bequeathed “Rhetoric”; now “Rhetoric” was a small estate of his near Smyrna, worth ten talents, and he had bought it with the fees that he earned by his lectures.

27. Let none rate HIPPODROMUS² THE THESSALIAN lower than the sophists whom I have described above; for to some of them he is evidently superior, while I am not aware that he falls short of the others in any respect. Now the birthplace of Hippodromus was Larissa, a flourishing city in Thessaly, and his father was Olympiodorus, who had a greater reputation as a breeder of horses than any other man in Thessaly.

Though in Thessaly it was thought a great thing to have been president at the Pythia even once, Hippodromus twice presided over the Pythian games, and he outdid his predecessors in wealth and in the elegance with which he ordered the games, and also in the magnanimity and justice which he showed as

εὐθύ. τὸ γοῦν περὶ τὸν τῆς τραγωδίας ὑποκριτὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραχθὲν οὐδὲ ὑπερβολὴν ἐτέρῳ καταλέλοιπε δικαιοσύνην τε καὶ γνώμης· Κλήμης γὰρ ὁ Βυζάντιος τραγωδίας ὑποκριτὴς ἦν μὲν οἷος οὕτως τις τὴν τέχνην, νικῶν δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, οὓς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐπολιορκεῖτο, ἀπῆει ἀμαρτάνων τῆς νίκης, ὥς μὴ δοκοίη δι' ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς κηρύττεσθαι πόλις ὅπλα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἡρμένῃ. ἄριστα δὲ αὐτὸν ἀγωνισάμενον καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτυονικοῖς ἄθλοις οἱ μὲν Ἀμφικτύονες ἀπειψηφίζοντο τῆς νίκης δέει τῆς προειρημένης αἰτίας, ἀναπηδήσας δὲ ξὺν ὀρμῇ ὁ Ἱππόδρομος “οὗτοι μὲν” εἶπεν “ἐρρώσθων ἐπιорκοῦντές τε καὶ παραγιγνώσκοντες τοῦ δικαίου, ἐγὼ δὲ Κλήμεντι τὴν νικῶσαν δίδωμι.” ἐφέντος δὲ θατέρου τῶν ὑποκριτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα, ἡὐδοκίμησε πάλιν ἢ τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου ψῆφος, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐνίκα ὁ Βυζάντιος.

Τοιοῦτος δὲ ὢν ἐς τὰ πλήθη θαυμασία πραότητι ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπιδείξεις ἐχρήτο· παραλαβὼν γὰρ τὴν τέχνην φίλαυτόν τε καὶ ἀλαζόνα οὔτε ἐς ἔπαινον ἑαυτοῦ κατέστη ποτὲ καὶ ἐπέκοπτε τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τῶν ἐπαίνων· βοῶντων γοῦν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποτε τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολλὰ καὶ εὐφημα καὶ που καὶ τῷ Πολέμωνι ὁμοιούντων αὐτὸν “τί μ' ἀθανάτοισιν εἰσκέεις;” ἔφη, οὔτε τὸν Πολέμωνα ἀφελόμενος τὸ νομίζεσθαι θεῖον ἄνδρα, οὔτε ἑαυτῷ διδοὺς τὸ

¹ The siege of Byzantium lasted A.D. 193–196 when it was taken by Severus. See Cassius Dio lxxv. 10 for the story of its courageous defence by the Byzantines.

² *Odyssey* xvi. 187.

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umpire. At any rate, his conduct in the affair of the tragic actor has left no one else a chance to surpass him in justice and good judgement. The facts are these. Clemens of Byzantium was a tragic actor whose like has never yet been seen for artistic skill. But since he was winning his victories at a time when Byzantium was being besieged,¹ he used to be sent away without the reward of victory, lest it should appear that a city that had taken up arms against the Romans was being proclaimed victor in the person of one of her citizens. Accordingly, after he had performed brilliantly in the Amphictyonic games, the Amphictyons were on the point of voting that he should not receive the prize, because for the reason that I have mentioned they were afraid. Whereupon Hippodromus sprang up with great energy and cried: "Let these others go on and prosper by breaking their oath and giving unjust decisions, but by my vote I award the victory to Clemens." And when another of the actors appealed to the Emperor against the award, the vote of Hippodromus was again approved; for at Rome also the Byzantine actor carried off the prize.

But though he was so firm in the face of assembled crowds, in his public declamations he displayed an admirable mildness. For though he had adopted a profession that is prone to egotism and arrogance, he never resorted to self-praise, but used to check those who praised him to excess. At any rate, on one occasion when the Greeks were acclaiming him with flatteries, and even compared him with Polemo, "Why," said he, "do you liken me to immortals?"² This answer, while it did not rob Polemo of his reputation for being divinely inspired, was also a

στράτῳ γὰρ τῷ Λημνίῳ γνωρίμῳ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ ὄντι, δύο δὲ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονότι ἀναρριπτοῦντί τινα αὐτοσχέδιον πλείστα μὲν ἐνέδωκε τῇ τέχνῃ τῶν ἐπαίνων, ὧν τε εἰπεῖν ἔδει καὶ μῆ, ἀξιούσης δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰππόδρομον τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτίκα παριέναι, “οὐκ ἐπαποδύσομαι” ἔφη “τοῖς ἑμαυτοῦ σπλάγχνοις.” καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἀνεβάλετο τὴν ἀκρόασιν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς θυσίας ἡμέραν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐχέτω μοι δῆλωσιν ἀνδρὸς πεπαιδευμένου φιλανθρωποῦ τε καὶ πρῶου τὸ ἦθος.

- 618 Τὸν δὲ Ἀθήνησι τῶν σοφιστῶν θρόνον κατασχὼν ἐτῶν που τεττάρων ἀπηνέχθη αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τοῦ πλούτου, ἐκείνη γὰρ ἐνεργότητι γυναικῶν ἐγένετο καὶ φύλαξ ἀγαθὴ χρημάτων, ἀμφοῖν τε ἀπόντων ἢ οὐσία ὑπεδίδου. τοῦ γε μὴν φοιτᾶν ἐς τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πανηγύρεις οὐκ ἡμέλει, ἀλλ’ ἐθάμιζεν ἐς αὐτὰς ἐπιδείξεων ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ μὴ ἀγνοεῖσθαι. βελτίων δὲ κακείνα ἐφαίνετο ὑπὸ τοῦ καὶ μετὰ τὸ πεπαῦσθαι τοῦ παιδεύειν αἰεὶ σπουδάζειν. Ἰππόδρομος μὲν γὰρ δὴ πλείστα μὲν ἐξέμαθεν Ἑλλήνων τῶν γε μετὰ τὸν Καππαδόκην Ἀλέξανδρον μνήμην εὐτυχησάντων, πλείστα δὲ ἀνέγνω μετὰ γε Ἀμμώνιον τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Περιπάτου, ἐκείνου γὰρ πολυγραμματώτερον ἄνδρα οὕτω ἔγνων. μελέτης δὲ ὁ Ἰππόδρομος οὔτε ἐν ἀγρῷ διαιτῶμενος ἡμέλει οὔτε ὁδοιπορῶν οὔτε ἐν θαλάττῃ,¹ ἀλλὰ καὶ κρεῖττον ὄλβου κτῆμα ἐκάλει αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν Εὐριπίδου τε ὕμνων καὶ Ἀμφίονος.

¹ Θετταλίᾳ Kayser; θαλάττῃ Jahn.

¹ The biographer's son-in-law, the author of the *Imagines*.

¹ The last day of the festival.

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Lemnos,¹ his own pupil, aged twenty-two, was about to try his chances in an extempore oration, Hippodromus gave him many useful hints for the art of panegyric, namely what one ought and ought not to say. And when all Greece called on Hippodromus to come forward himself without delay, he replied: "I will not strip for a fight with my own entrails." Having said this, he put off the declamation till the day of the sacrifice.² I have said enough to show that he was a man truly well-educated, with a benevolent and humane disposition.

When he had held the chair of rhetoric at Athens for about four years, he resigned it at the instance of his wife, and also on account of his property; for she was a most energetic woman and an excellent guardian of his money, but in the absence of both the property was beginning to deteriorate. Nevertheless he did not fail to attend regularly the public festivals of Greece, but frequented them partly in order to declaim in public, partly that he might not be forgotten. And on these occasions also he showed himself superior by always keeping up his regular studies even after he had ceased to teach. For indeed Hippodromus, among those who ranked after Alexander the Capadocian as blessed with a good memory, learned more by heart than any of the Greeks, and he was the most widely read, with the exception, that is, of Ammonius the Peripatetic; for a more erudite man than Ammonius I have never known. Moreover, Hippodromus never neglected his study of the art of declamation, either when he was living on his country estate or when travelling by road, or at sea, but he used to call it a possession even greater than wealth, quoting from the hymns of Euripides and Amphion.

Ἄγροικότερός τε ὢν τὸ εἶδος ὅμως ἀμήχανον
 εὐγένειαν ἐπεδήλου τοῖς ὄμμασι γοργόν τε καὶ
 φαιδρὸν βλέπων. τουτὶ δὲ καὶ Μεγιστίας ὁ Συμυρ-
 ναῖος ἐν αὐτῷ καθεωρακέναι φησὶν οὐ τὰ δεύτερα
 τῶν φυσιογνωμονούντων νομισθεῖς· ἀφίκετο μὲν
 γὰρ ἐς τὴν Σμύρναν μετὰ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ὁ
 Ἰππόδρομος οὕτω πρὸ τούτου ἦκων, ἀποβὰς δὲ
 τῆς νεῶς ἀπῆει ἐς ἀγοράν, εἴ τῳ ἐντύχοι πεπαι-
 δευμένῳ τὰ ἐγγχώρια. ἱερὸν δὲ κατιδὼν καὶ παιδ-
 αγωγούς τε προσκαθημένους ἀκολουθούς τε παῖ-
 δας ἄχθη βιβλίων ἐν πήραις ἀνημμένους, ξυνῆκεν
 ὅτι παιδεύοι τις ἔνδον τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, καὶ ἔσω
 παρήει καὶ προσειπὼν τὸν Μεγιστίαν ἐκάθητο
 ἐρωτῶν οὐδέν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Μεγιστίας ὤρετο ὑπὲρ
 μαθητῶν αὐτὸν διαλέξεσθαι οἱ, πατέρα ἴσως ἢ
 τροφέα παίδων ὄντα, καὶ ἤρετο, ὑπὲρ ὅτου ἦκοι,
 619 ὁ δὲ “πεύσῃ” ἔφη “ἐπειδὰν αὐτοὶ γενώμεθα.”
 διακωδωνίσας οὖν ὁ Μεγιστίας τὰ μειράκια
 “λέγε,” ἔφη “ὅ τι βούλει.” καὶ ὁ Ἰππόδρομος
 “ἀντιδῶμεν ἀλλήλοις τὴν ἐσθῆτα” εἶπεν, ἣν δὲ
 ἄρα τῷ μὲν Ἰπποδρόμῳ χλαμύς, τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ δημη-
 γορικὸν ἱμάτιον. “καὶ τίνα σοι νοῦν ἔχει τοῦ-
 το;” ἢ δ’ ὁ Μεγιστίας. “ἐπίδειξιν” ἔφη “σοι
 μελέτης ποιήσασθαι βούλομαι.” δαιμονῶν μὲν
 οὖν αὐτὸν ὥρῃθη ταῦτα ἐπαγγείλαντα καὶ τὴν
 γνώμην ἐλαύνεσθαι, τὰς βολὰς δὲ ἀνασκοπῶν τῶν
 ὁμμάτων καὶ ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἔννοον καὶ καθεστη-
 κότα ἀντέδωκε τὴν ἐσθῆτα ὑπόθεσιν τε αἰτήσαντι
 προὔβαλε τὸν μάγον τὸν ἀποθνήσκειν ἀξιοῦντα,

¹ The Ionian type.

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Though he was somewhat rustic in appearance, yet an extraordinary nobility shone out of his eyes, and his glance was at once keen and good-natured. Megistias of Smyrna also says that he noticed this characteristic of his, and he was considered second to none as a physiognomist. For Hippodromus came to Smyrna after the death of Heracleides—he had never been there before—and on leaving the ship he went to the market-place in the hope of meeting someone who was proficient in the local style¹ of eloquence. And when he saw a temple with attendants sitting near it, and slaves in waiting carrying loads of books in satchels, he understood that someone of importance was holding his school inside. So he entered, and after greeting Megistias, sat down without making any inquiry. Now Megistias thought that he was going to talk to him about pupils, and that he was some father or guardian of boys, and asked him why he had come. "You shall learn that," he replied, "when we are alone." Accordingly when Megistias had finished examining his pupils, he said: "Tell me what you want." "Let us exchange garments," said Hippodromus. He was in fact wearing a travelling-cloak, while Megistias wore a gown suitable for public speaking. "And what do you mean by that?" asked Megistias. "I wish," he replied, "to give you a display of declamation." Now Megistias really thought that he was mad in making this announcement and that his wits were wandering. But when he observed the keenness of his glance and saw that he seemed sane and sober, he changed clothes with him. When he asked him to suggest a theme, Megistias proposed "The magician who wished to die because he was

ἐπειδὴ μὴ ἐδυνήθη ἀποκτεῖναι μάγον μοιχόν. ὡς δὲ ἰζήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ σμικρὸν ἐπισχὼν ἀνεπήδησεν, μᾶλλον ἐσῆει τὸν Μεγιστίαν ὁ τῆς μανίας λόγος καὶ τὰ πλεονεκτήματα ἐμβροντησίαν ᾤετο, ἀρξαμένου δὲ τῆς ὑποθέσεως καὶ εἰπόντος “ἀλλ’ ἐμαυτὸν γε δύναμαι” ἐξέπεσεν ἑαυτοῦ ὑπὸ θαύματος καὶ προσδραμῶν αὐτῷ ἱκέτευε μαθεῖν, ὅστις εἶη. “εἰμὶ μὲν” ἔφη “Ἰππόδρομος ὁ Θετταλός, ἦκω δὲ σοι ἐγγυμνασόμενος, ἵν’ ἐκμάθοιμι δι’ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς οὕτω πεπαιδευμένου τὸ ἦθος τῆς Ἰωνικῆς ἀκροάσεως. ἀλλ’ ὄρα με δι’ ὅλης τῆς ὑποθέσεως.” περὶ τέρμα δὲ τοῦ λόγου δρόμος ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν πεπαιδευμένων ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ Μεγιστίου θύρας ἐγένετο, ταχείας τῆς φήμης διαδοθείσης ἐς πάντας ἐπιχωριάζειν αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἰππόδρομον, ὁ δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἑτέρα δυνάμει μετεχειρίσατο τὰς ἤδη εἰρημένας ἐννοίας, παρελθὼν τε ἐς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σμυρναίων ἀνὴρ ἔδοξε θαυμάσιος καὶ οἶος ἐν τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ γράφεσθαι.

620 Ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν τῆς διαλέξεως Πλάτωνος ἀνημμένα καὶ Δίωνος, τὰ δὲ τῆς μελέτης κατὰ τὸν Πολέμωνα ἐρρωμένα καὶ που καὶ ποτιμώτερα, τὰ δὲ τῆς εὐροίας οἷα τοῖς ἀλύπως ἀναγιγνώσκουσι τὰ σφόδρα αὐτοῖς καθωμιλημένα. Νικαγόρου δὲ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ μητέρα σοφιστῶν τὴν τραγωδίαν προσειπόντος διορθούμενος ὁ Ἰππόδρομος τὸν λόγον “ἐγὼ δὲ” ἔφη “πατέρα Ὀμηρον.” ἐσπούδαζε δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀρχιλόχου καλῶν

¹ An echo of Plato, *Phaedrus* 228 E.

² Cf. above, *Life of Alexander*, p. 572.

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unable to kill another magician, an adulterer." And when he took his seat on the lecturer's chair, and after a moment's pause sprang to his feet, the theory that he was mad occurred still more forcibly to Megistias, and he thought that these signs of proficiency were mere delirium. But when he had begun to argue the theme and had come to the words: "But myself at least I can kill," Megistias could not contain himself for admiration, but ran to him and implored to be told who he was. "I am," said he, "Hippodromus the Thessalian, and I have come to practise my art on you¹ in order that I may learn from one man so proficient as you are the Ionian manner of declaiming. But observe me through the whole of the argument." Towards the end of the speech a rush was made by all lovers of learning in Smyrna to the door of Megistias, for the tidings had soon spread abroad that Hippodromus was visiting their city. Thereupon he took up his theme afresh, but gave a wholly different force to the ideas that he had already expressed.² And when later on he made his appearance before the public of Smyrna, they thought him truly marvellous, and worthy of being enrolled among men of former days.

His style in introductory discourse was wholly dependent on Plato and Dio, while his declamations had Polemo's vigour and an even greater suavity and freshness; and in his easy flow of words he resembled one who reads aloud, without effort, a work with which he is perfectly familiar. Once when Nicagoras had called tragedy "the mother of sophists," Hippodromus improved on this remark, and said: "But I should rather call Homer their father." He was, moreover, a devoted student of Archilochus, and used

τὸν μὲν Ὅμηρον φωνὴν σοφιστῶν, τὸν δὲ Ἀρχίλοχον πνεῦμα. μελέται μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τοῦτου τριάκοντα ἴσως, ἄρισται δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ Καταναῖοι καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι καὶ ὁ Δημάδης ὁ μὴ ξυγχωρῶν ἀφίστασθαι Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ὄντος. ἄδονται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ λυρικοὶ νόμοι, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῆς νομικῆς λύρας ἤπτετο. ἐτελεύτα δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ οἴκοι καὶ ἐπὶ νιῷ ἀγροῦ μὲν προστῆναι καὶ οἰκίας ἱκανῶ, παραπλήγι δὲ καὶ ἔκφρονι, τὰ δὲ τῶν σοφιστῶν οὐ πεπαιδευμένῳ.

κη'. Οἱ τὸν Λαοδικέα Οὐαρὸν λόγου ἀξιούντες αὐτοὶ μὴ ἀξιούσθων λόγου,¹ καὶ γὰρ εὐτελὴς καὶ διακεχνηῶς καὶ εὐήθης καὶ ἦν εἶχεν εὐφωνίαν αἰσχύνων καμπαῖς ἀσμάτων, αἷς κἂν ὑπορχήσαιτο τις τῶν ἀσελγεστέρων· οὐ διδάσκαλον ἢ ἀκροατὴν τί ἂν γράφοιμι, τί δ' ἂν φράζοιμι, εὐ γιγνώσκων, ὅτι μήτ' ἂν τοιαῦτα διδάξειέ τις καὶ τοῖς μεμαθηκόσιν ὄνειδος τὸ τοιούτων ἡκροᾶσθαι;

κθ'. Κυρίνῳ δὲ τῷ σοφιστῇ πατὴρ μὲν Νικομήδεια ἐγένετο, γένος δὲ οὔτε εὐδόκιμον οὔτε αὐ κατεγνωσμένον, ἀλλὰ φύσις ἀγαθὴ παραλαβεῖν
621 μαθήματα καὶ παραδοῦναι βελτίων, οὐ γὰρ μνήμην μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφήνειαν ἥσκει. κομματίας ὁ σοφιστὴς οὗτος καὶ περὶ μὲν τὰ θετικὰ

¹ λόγων . . . λόγων Kayser; λόγου . . . λόγου Cobet; cf. p. 576 ἀξιούσθω λόγου.

¹ This theme was inspired by the eruption of Etna in 425 B.C., mentioned by Thucydides iii. 116. From other references to this theme in Hermogenes it seems that the citizens of Catana are supposed to debate whether they shall migrate.

² See p. 572.

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to say that Homer was indeed the voice of the sophists, but Archilochus was their very breath. There are extant perhaps thirty declamations by this man, and of these the best are: "The citizens of Catana,"¹ "The Scythians,"² and "Demades argues against revolting from Alexander while he is in India."³ His lyric nomes⁴ are still sung, for he was skilful also in composing nomes for the lyre. He died at home aged about seventy, and left a son who, though he was well enough able to take charge of the country estate and the household, was crack-brained and foolish, and had not been educated for the sophistic profession.

28. Let those who think VARUS⁵ OF LAODICEA worthy of mention receive no mention themselves. For he was trivial, vain, and fatuous, and such charm of voice as he had he degraded by uttering snatches of song which might serve as dance music for some shameless person. Why then should I record or describe any teacher or pupil of his, since I am well aware that one would not be likely to teach such arts, and that it would be disgraceful for his pupils to admit that they had listened to such teaching?

29. The birthplace of QUIRINUS⁵ the sophist was Nicomedia. His family was neither distinguished nor altogether obscure, but he had a natural talent for receiving instruction and a still greater talent for handing it on, for he carefully trained not only his memory, but also his faculty for lucid expression. This sophist's sentences were very short, and when he was maintaining an abstract thesis he was

³ Demades is supposed to oppose the advice of Demosthenes.

⁴ These were hymns in honour of the gods.

⁵ Nothing more is known of this sophist.

τῶν χωρίων οὐ πολὺς, ἐρρωμένος μὴν καὶ σφοδρὸς καὶ κατασεῖσαι δεινὸς ἀκροατοῦ ὦτα, καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀπεσχεδιάζεν, προσφύεστερος δὲ ταῖς κατηγορίαις δοκῶν ἐπιστεύθη ἐκ βασιλέως τὴν τοῦ ταμείου γλῶτταν, καὶ παρελθὼν ἐς τὸ δυνηθῆναι τι οὔτε βαρὺς οὔτε ἀλαζὼν ἔδοξεν, ἀλλὰ πρῶός τε καὶ ἑαυτῷ ὅμοιος, οὔτε ἐρασιχρήματος, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὸν Ἀριστείδην Ἀθηναῖοι ἄδουσι μετὰ τὴν ἐπίταξιν τῶν φόρων καὶ τὰς νήσους ἐπανελθεῖν σφισιν ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ τρίβωνι, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Κυρῖνος ἀφίκετο ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἦθη πενία σεμνυνόμενος. αἰτιωμένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐνδεικτῶν, ὡς πρῶτερον περὶ τὰς κατηγορίας ἢ αὐτοὶ διδάσκουσιν “ καὶ μὴν καὶ πολλῷ βέλτιον ” εἶπεν “ ὑμᾶς λαβεῖν τὴν ἐμὴν πραότητα ἢ ἐμὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν ὠμότητα. ” ἐνδείξαντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πόλιν οὐ μεγάλην ἐπὶ πολλαῖς μυριάσιν ἐκράτει μὲν ὁ Κυρῖνος τὴν δίκην ἄκων μάλα, προσιόντες δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ἐνδείκται “ αὕτη σε ” ἔφασαν “ ἢ δίκη ἀρεῖ μέγαν παρελθοῦσα ἐς τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ὦτα. ” καὶ ὁ Κυρῖνος “ οὐκ ἐμοὶ πρέπον, ” ἔφη “ ἀλλ' ὑμῖν ἐπὶ τῷ πόλιν ἀοίκητον εἰργάσθαι τιμᾶσθαι. ” ἐπὶ δὲ νύκτῃ τελευτήσαντι παραμυθουμένων αὐτὸν τῶν προσηκόντων “ πότε ” εἶπεν “ ἀνὴρ ἢ νῦν δόξω ; ” Ἀδριανοῦ δὲ ἀκροατῆς γενόμενος οὐ πᾶσιν ὠμολόγει τοῖς ἐκείνου, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἃ καὶ διέγραφεν οὐκ ὀρθῶς εἰρημένα. τέρμα

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not very successful. Nevertheless he was vigorous and energetic, and was skilled in startling into attention the ears of his audience. For indeed he used to speak extempore, but since he seemed better adapted by nature for making speeches for the prosecution in the courts, he was entrusted by the Emperor with the post of advocate for the treasury. Though he thereby attained to considerable power, he showed himself neither aggressive nor insolent but mild and unchanged in character, never greedy of gain but, like Aristeides in the story that the Athenians recite about him — how after he had arranged the amount of the tribute and the affairs of the islands, he came back to them wearing the same shabby cloak as before — so too Quirinus returned to his native place dignified by poverty. When the informers in Asia found fault with him for being more lenient in his prosecutions than accorded with the evidence furnished by them, he said: "Nay it were far better that you should adopt my clemency than I your ruthlessness." And when they cited a small town for the payment of many myriads of drachmae, Quirinus did indeed win the case, though much against his will, but when the informers came to him and said: "This case when it comes to the Emperor's ears will greatly enhance your reputation," he retorted: "It suits you but not me to win rewards for making a town desolate." When his relatives tried to console him for the death of his son, he said: "When, if not now, shall I prove myself a man?" He had been a pupil of Adrian, but he did not approve of all his writings, and even expunged some passages that had been incorrectly expressed. His life came to a close

δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ βίου ἔτος ἑβδομηκοστὸν καὶ τὸ σῆμα οἴκοι.

λ'. Φιλίσκος δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς Ἰπποδρόμῳ μὲν
 συνῆπται γένος, τοῦ δὲ Ἀθήνησι θρόνου προὔστη
 622 ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ τὴν ἀτέλειαν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀφαιρεθείς,
 τουτὶ δὲ πῶς συνέβη, δηλῶσαι ἀνάγκη· Ἑορδαῖοι
 Μακεδόνες ἀνειπόντες ἐς τὰς οἰκείας λειτουργίας
 τὸν Φιλίσκον, ὡς δὴ ὑπάρχον αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πάντας
 τοὺς ἀπὸ μητέρων, ὡς δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδέξατο¹ ἐφίεσαν·
 τῆς δίκης τοίνυν γενομένης ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα,
 Ἀντωνῖνος δὲ ἦν ὁ τῆς φιλοσόφου παῖς Ἰουλίας,
 ἐστάλη ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὡς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ θησόμενος,
 καὶ προσρυεῖς τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἰουλίαν γεωμέτραις
 τε καὶ φιλοσόφοις εὔρετο παρ' αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦ
 βασιλέως τὸν Ἀθήνησι θρόνον. ὁ δ', ὥσπερ οἱ
 θεοὶ Ὀμήρῳ πεποιήνται οὐ πάντα ἐκόντες ἀλλή-
 λους² διδόντες, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἃ καὶ ἄκοντες, οὕτω δὲ
 ἡγρίαινε καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν ὡς περιδραμόντι, ὡς δὲ
 ἤκουσεν εἶναι τινα αὐτῷ καὶ δίκην, ἧς αὐτὸς
 ἀκροατῆς ἔσοιτο, κελεύει τὸν ἐπιτεταγμένον ταῖς
 δίκαις προειπεῖν οἱ τὸ μὴ δι' ἑτέρου, δι' ἑαυτοῦ δὲ
 ἀγωνίσασθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρῆλθεν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον,
 623 προσέκρουσε μὲν τὸ βάδισμα, προσέκρουσε δὲ ἡ
 στάσις, καὶ τὴν στολὴν οὐκ εὐσχήμων ἔδοξε καὶ
 τὴν φωνὴν μιξόθηλος καὶ τὴν γλώτταν ὑπτίως καὶ

¹ For the lacuna after μητέρων Kayser suggests ὡς δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδέξατο. ² Valckenaer suggests ἀνθρώποις.

¹ Nothing more is known of this sophist.

² This Macedonian clan, mentioned by Herodotus vii. 185, had the privilege of reckoning the *materna origo*; i.e. they reckoned their descent by the mother, not the father, and could call on one whose mother was a Heordaeon to perform his duties as a citizen.

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with his seventieth year; his tomb is in his native place.

30. PHILISCUS¹ THE THESSALIAN was a kinsman of Hippodromus and held the chair of rhetoric at Athens for seven years, but was deprived of the immunity that was attached to it. How this came about I must now relate. The Heordaeans² had summoned Philiscus to perform public services in their city, as was their right in the case of all who on the mother's side were Heordaeans, and since he did not undertake them they referred the matter to the courts. Accordingly the suit came before the Emperor (this was Antoninus³ the son of the philosophic Julia); and Philiscus travelled to Rome to protect his own interests. There he attached himself closely to Julia's circle of mathematicians⁴ and philosophers, and obtained from her with the Emperor's consent the chair of rhetoric at Athens. But the Emperor, like the gods in Homer who are portrayed as granting favours to one another, but sometimes against their will, nourished the same sort of resentment, and was ill-disposed to Philiscus because he thought that the latter had stolen a march on him. So when he heard that there was a suit brought against him and that he was to hear it tried, he ordered the official in charge of lawsuits to give notice to Philiscus that he must make his defence himself and not through another. And when Philiscus appeared in court he gave offence by his gait, he gave offence by the way in which he stood, his attire seemed far from suitable to the occasion, his voice effeminate, his language indolent

³ Antoninus Caracalla.

⁴ This is the regular word for astrologers.

βλέπων ἐτέρωσέ ποι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς τὰ νοούμενα· ἐκ τούτων ἀποστραφεὶς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐς τὸν Φιλίσκον ἐπεστομίζεν αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον διείρων ἑαυτὸν¹ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ ἐρωτήσεις ἐν αὐτῷ στενὰς ποιούμενος, ὥς δὲ οὐ πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτώμενα αἱ ἀποκρίσεις ἐγένοντο Φιλίσκου “ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ” ἔφη “ δείκνυσιν ἡ κόμη, τὸν δὲ ῥήτορα ἡ φωνή,” καὶ μετὰ πολλὰς τοιαύτας ἐπικοπὰς ἐπήγαγεν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς Ἑορδαίοις. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλίσκου “ σύ μοι λειτουργιῶν ἀτέλειαν δέδωκας δούς τὸν Ἀθήνησι θρόνον ” ἀναβοήσας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ “ οὔτε σὺ ” εἶπεν “ ἀτελής οὔτε ἄλλος οὔδεις τῶν παιδευόντων· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε διὰ μικρὰ καὶ δύστηνα λογάρια τὰς πόλεις ἀφελοίμην τῶν λειτουργησόντων.” ἄλλ’ ὅμως καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Φιλοστράτῳ τῷ Λημνίῳ λειτουργιῶν ἀτέλειαν ἐπὶ μελέτῃ ἐψηφίσατο τέτταρα καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονότι. αἱ μὲν δὴ προφάσεις, δι’ ἧς ὁ Φιλίσκος ἀφηρέθη τὸ εἶναι ἀτελής, αἶδε ἐγένοντο, μὴ ἀφαιρείσθω δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ περὶ τῷ βλέμματι καὶ τῷ φθέγματι καὶ σχήματι ἐλαττώματα τὸ μὴ οὐ κράτιστα ῥητόρων ἐλληνίσαι τε καὶ συνθεῖναι. ἡ δὲ ἰδέα τοῦ λόγου λάλος μᾶλλον ἢ ἐναγώνιος, διεφαίνετο δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ καθαρὰ ὀνόματα καὶ καινοπρεπῆς ἡχός. ἐτελεύτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ οὐδενὸς ἀξίῳ, μέτρον δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ βίου ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα. κεκτημένος δὲ Ἀθήνησι χωρίον οὐκ ἀηδὲς οὐκ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐτάφη, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ, οὗ τίθησι τὸν

¹ ἐς αὐτὸν Kayser ; ἑαυτὸν Jahn.

¹ i.e. it was curled and effeminate ; cf. p. 571.

² An echo of Demosthenes, *On the False Embassy* 421.

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and directed to any subject rather than to the matter in hand. All this made the Emperor hostile to Philiscus, so that he kept pulling him up throughout the whole speech, both by interjecting his own remarks in the other's allotted time, and by interrupting with abrupt questions. And since the replies of Philiscus were beside the mark, the Emperor exclaimed: "His hair shows what sort of man he is,¹ his voice what sort of orator!" And after cutting him short like this many times, he ranged himself on the side of the Heordaeans. And when Philiscus said: "You have given me exemption from public services by giving me the chair at Athens," the Emperor cried at the top of his voice: "Neither you nor any other teacher is exempt! Never would I, for the sake of a few miserable speeches,² rob the cities of men who ought to perform public services." Nevertheless he did, even after this incident, decree for Philostratus of Lemnos, then aged twenty-four, exemption from public service as a reward for a declamation. These then were the reasons why Philiscus was deprived of the privilege of exemption. But we must not, on account of the shortcomings of his facial expression, his voice and his dress deprive him of that high place among rhetoricians which is due to his Hellenic culture and his ability to compose speeches. The style of his eloquence was colloquial rather than forensic, but it was illumined by a pure Attic vocabulary and had effects of sound that were original. He died leaving a daughter and a worthless son, and the measure of his life was sixty-seven years. Though he had acquired a charming little estate at Athens, he was not buried on it but in the Academy where the commander-in-chief

ἀγῶνα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων θαπτομένοις¹ ὁ πολέμαρχος.

624 λα΄. Αἰλιανὸς δὲ Ῥωμαῖος μὲν ἦν, ἡττίκιζε δέ, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐπαίνου μοι δοκεῖ ἄξιος ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος, πρῶτον μὲν, ἐπειδὴ καθαρὰν φωνὴν ἐξεπόνησε πόλιν οἰκῶν ἐτέρα φωνῇ χρωμένην, ἔπειθ', ὅτι προσρηθείς σοφιστὴς ὑπὸ τῶν χαριζομένων τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν, οὐδὲ ἐκολάκευσε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην, οὐδὲ ἐπήρθη ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος οὕτω μεγάλου ὄντος, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν εὖ διασκεψάμενος ὡς μελέτῃ οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον τῷ ξυγγράφειν ἐπέθετο καὶ ἐθαυμάσθη ἐκ τούτου. ἡ μὲν ἐπίπαν ἰδέα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀφέλεια προσβάλλουσα τι τῆς Νικοστράτου ὥρας, ἡ δὲ ἐνίοτε πρὸς Δίωνα ὀρᾷ καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου τόνον.

625 Ἐντυχῶν δέ ποτε αὐτῷ Φιλόστρατος ὁ Λήμνιος βιβλίον ἔτι πρόχειρον ἔχοντι καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκοντι αὐτὸ σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ ἐπιτάσει τοῦ φθέγματος ἤρετο αὐτόν, ὃ τι σπουδάζοι, καὶ ὃς “ἐκπεπόνηταί μοι” ἔφη “κατηγορία τοῦ Γύννιδος, καλῶ γὰρ οὕτω τὸν ἄρτι καθηρημένον τύραννον, ἐπειδὴ ἀσελγεία πάσῃ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἥσχυε.” καὶ ὁ Φιλόστρατος “ἐγώ σε” εἶπεν “ἐθαύμαζον ἄν, εἰ ζῶντος κατηγορήσας.” εἶναι γὰρ δὴ τὸ μὲν ζῶντα τύραννον ἐπικόπτειν ἀνδρός, τὸ δὲ ἐπεμβαίνειν κειμένῳ παντός.

¹ Cobet would omit θαπτομένοις as too literal an echo of Thucydides ii. 35 where the participle is appropriate.

¹ These were ceremonies in honour of the famous dead of classical times and were held yearly. This type of speech is called a polemarchic oration. Fictitious polemarchic declamations were a favourite exercise of the sophists.

² For the purity of speech of the interior of Attica see p. 553.

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holds the funeral games in honour of those buried there who have fallen in war.¹

31. AELIAN was a Roman, but he wrote Attic as correctly as the Athenians in the interior of Attica.² This man in my opinion is worthy of all praise, in the first place because by hard work he achieved purity of speech though he lived in a city which employed another language; secondly because, though he received the title of sophist at the hands of those who award that honour, he did not trust to their decision, but neither flattered his own intelligence nor was puffed up by this appellation, exalted though it was, but after taking careful stock of his own abilities, he saw that they were not suited to declamation, and so he applied himself to writing history and won admiration in this field. Simplicity was the prevailing note of his style, and it has something of the charm of Nicostratus, but at times he imitates the vigorous style of Dio.

Philostratus of Lemnos once met him when he was holding a book in his hands and reading it aloud in an indignant and emphatic voice, and he asked him what he was studying. He replied: "I have composed an indictment of Gynnis,³ for by that name I call the tyrant who has just been put to death, because by every sort of wanton wickedness he disgraced the Roman Empire." On which Philostratus retorted: "I should admire you for it, if you had indicted him while he was alive." For he said that while it takes a real man to try to curb a living tyrant, anyone can trample on him when he is down.

³ The "womanish man," applied to Heliogabalus, who was put to death in 222. This diatribe is lost.

Ἐφασκε δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος μὴδ' ἀποδεδημηκέναι ποι τῆς γῆς ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἰταλῶν χώραν, μὴδὲ ἐμβῆναι ναῦν, μὴδὲ γινῶναι θάλατταν, ὅθεν καὶ λόγου πλείονος κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἡξιούτο ὡς τιμῶν τὰ ἦθη. Πausανίου μὲν οὖν ἀκροατῆς ἐγένετο, ἐθαύμαζε δὲ τὸν Ἡρώδην ὡς ποικιλώτατον ῥητόρων. ἐβίω δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη καὶ ἐτελεύτα οὐκ ἐπὶ παισίν, παιδοποιίαν γὰρ παρητήσατο τῷ μὴ γῆμαί ποτε. τοῦτο δὲ εἴτε εὐδαιμον εἴτε ἄθλιον οὐ τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ φιλοσοφῆσαι.

λβ'. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τύχη κράτιστον ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἀνθρώπεια, μὴδὲ Ἡλιόδωρος ἀπαξιούσθω σοφιστῶν κύκλου παράδοξον ἀγώνισμα τύχης γενόμενος· ἐχειροτονήθη μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος πρόδικος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος ἐς τὰ Κελτικὰ ἔθνη ξὺν ἐτέρῳ, νοσοῦντος δὲ θατέρου καὶ λεγομένου τοῦ βασιλέως διαγράφειν πολλὰς τῶν δικῶν διέδραμεν ὁ Ἡλιόδωρος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον δείσας περὶ τῇ δίκῃ, ἐσκαλούμενος δὲ θάπτον ἢ ὦρετο ἐς τὸν νοσοῦντα ἀνεβάλλετο, ὑβριστῆς δὲ ὢν ὁ τὰς δίκας ἐσκαλῶν οὐ
 628 συνεχώρει ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ παρήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ δικαστήρια ἄκοντά τε καὶ τοῦ γενείου ἔλκων. ὡς δὲ ἔσω παρήλθε καὶ θαρραλέον μὲν ἐς τὸν βασιλέα εἶδεν, καιρὸν δὲ ᾗτησεν ὕδατος, αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν παραίτησιν ἐντρεχῶς διέθετο εἰπὼν “καινόν σοι δόξει, μέγιστε αὐτοκράτορ, ἑαυτὸν τις παραγραφόμενος τῷ¹ μόνος ἀγωνίσασθαι τὴν δίκην ἐντολὰς

¹ τῷ Kayser suggests.

¹ A favourite sophistic theme for epideictic orations was “Should a man marry?”

² Otherwise unknown.

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This man used to say that he had never travelled to any part of the world beyond the confines of Italy, and had never set foot on a ship, or become acquainted with the sea ; and on these grounds he was all the more highly esteemed in Rome as one who prized their mode of life. He was a pupil of Pausanias, but he admired Herodes as the most various of orators. He lived to be over sixty years of age and died leaving no children ; for by never marrying he evaded begetting children. However this is not the right time to speculate as to whether this brings happiness or misery.¹

32. Since Fortune plays the most important part in all human affairs, HELIODORUS² must not be deemed unworthy of the sophistic circle ; for he was a marvellous instance of her triumphs. He was elected advocate of his own country among the Celtic tribes, with a colleague. And when his colleague was ill, and it was reported that the Emperor³ was cancelling many of the suits, Heliodorus hastened to the military headquarters in anxiety about his own suit. On being summoned into court sooner than he expected, he tried to postpone the case till the sick man could be present ; but the official who gave the notifications of the suits was an overbearing fellow and would not allow this, but haled him into court against his will, and even dragged him by the beard. But when he had entered he actually looked boldly at the Emperor, asked for time to be allotted to him in which to plead, and then with ready skill delivered his protest, saying : “ It will seem strange to you, most mighty Emperor, that one should nullify his own suit by pleading it alone, without

³ Caracalla.

οὐκ ἔχων," ἀναπηδήσας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἄνδρα τε
 "οἷον οὐπω ἔγνωκα, τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ καιρῶν εὐρημα"
 καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκάλει τὸν Ἡλιόδωρον ἀνασείων
 τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τὸν κόλπον τῆς χλαμύδος. κατ'
 ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ἐνέπεσέ τις καὶ ἡμῖν ὀρμὴ γέλωτος
 οἰομένοις ὅτι διαπτύοι αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱππεύειν
 αὐτῷ τε δημοσίᾳ ἔδωκε καὶ παισίν, ὁπόσους ἔχοι,
 ἐθαυμάζετο ἢ τύχη ὡς τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἰσχὺν ἐνδεικνυ-
 μένη διὰ τῶν οὕτω παραλόγων, καὶ πολλῷ πλέον
 τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἐδηλοῦτο· ὡς γὰρ ξυνῆκεν ὁ
 Ἀράβιος, ὅτι κατὰ δαίμονα ἀγαθὸν τὰ πράγματα
 αὐτῷ προὔβαινεν, ἀπεχρήσατο τῇ φορᾷ τοῦ βασι-
 λέως, καθάπερ τῶν ναυκλήρων οἱ τὰ ἱστία πλήρη
 ἀνασεύοντες ἐν ταῖς εὐπλοίαις καὶ "ὦ βασιλεῦ,"
 ἔφη "ἀνάθες μοι καιρὸν ἐς ἐπίδειξιν μελέτης,"
 καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς "ἀκροῶμαι," εἶπε "καὶ λέγε ἐς
 τόδε· ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐπὶ τοῦ Φιλίππου ἐκπεσὼν
 καὶ δειλίας φεύγων." μελετῶντι δὲ οὐ μόνον
 ἑαυτὸν εὖνον παρεῖχεν, ἀλλ' ἡτοίμαζε καὶ τὸν ἐξ
 ἄλλων ἔπαινον φοβερόν βλέπων ἐς τοὺς μὴ ξὺν
 ἐπαίνῳ ἀκούοντας. καὶ μὴν καὶ προὔστησατο
 αὐτὸν τῆς μεγίστης τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην συνηγο-
 ριῶν ὡς ἐπιτηδειότερον δικαστηρίοις καὶ δίκαις.
 ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως προσετάχθη μὲν τις
 αὐτῷ νῆσος, λαβὼν δὲ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ φονικὴν αἰτίαν
 ἀνεπέμφθη ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὡς ἀπολογησόμενος τοῖς
 627 τῶν στρατοπέδων ἡγεμόσι, δόξαντι δὲ αὐτῷ καθαρῷ

¹ A sign of approval; cf. Eunapius, *Life of the Sophist Julian*.

² For this theme, based on Aeschines, *On the False Embassy*, 34, cf. Maximus Planudes v. 309 Walz.

³ Like Quirinus, he was made an advocate of the Treasury, *advocatus fisci*.

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having your commands to do so." At this the Emperor sprang from his seat and called Heliodorus "a man such as I have never yet known, a new phenomenon such as has appeared only in my own time," and other epithets of this sort, and raising his hand he shook back the fold of his cloak.¹ Now at first we felt an impulse to laugh, because we thought that the Emperor was really making fun of him. But when he bestowed on him the public honour of equestrian rank and also on all his children, men marvelled at the goddess Fortune who showed her power by events so incredible. And this power was illustrated still more clearly in what followed. For when the Arab comprehended that things were going well for him, he profited by the Emperor's impulsive mood, like a navigator who crowds on all sail when the wind is fair for sailing: "O Emperor," said he, "appoint a time for me to give a display of declamation." "I give you a hearing now, and speak on the following theme," said the Emperor: 'Demosthenes, after breaking down before Philip, defends himself from the charge of cowardice.'"² And while Heliodorus was declaiming he not only showed himself in a friendly mood, but also secured applause from the others present by looking sternly at those of the audience who failed to applaud. What is more, he placed him at the head of the most important body of public advocates³ in Rome, as being peculiarly fitted for the courts and for conducting legal cases. But when the Emperor died he was deported to a certain island, and having incurred a charge of murder in the island he was sent to Rome to make his defence before the military prefects. And since he proved himself

εἶναι τῆς αἰτίας ἐπανεῖθῃ καὶ ἡ νῆσος. καὶ γηράσκει ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μήτε σπουδαζόμενος μήτε ἀμελούμενος.

λγ'. Ἀσπάσιον δὲ τὸν σοφιστὴν Ῥάβεννα μὲν ἤνεγκεν, ἡ δὲ Ῥάβεννα Ἰταλοί, Δημητριάδης δὲ ὁ πατὴρ ἐπαίδευσεν εὖ γιγνώσκων τοὺς κριτικούς τῶν λόγων. πολυμαθὴς δὲ ὁ Ἀσπάσιος καὶ πολυήκοος καὶ τὸ μὲν καινοπρεπὲς ἐπαινῶν, ἐς ἀπειροκαλίαν δὲ οὐδαμοῦ ἐκπίπτων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν καιρῷ χρῆσθαι οἷς γιγνώσκει. τουτὶ δὲ που καὶ ἐν μουσικῇ κράτιστον, οἱ γὰρ καιροὶ τῶν τόνων λύρα τε φωνὴν ἔδωκαν καὶ αὐλῷ καὶ μελωδίαν ἐπαίδευσαν. ἐπιμεληθεῖς δὲ τοῦ δοκίμως τε καὶ σὺν ἀφελείᾳ ἐρμηνεύειν πνεύματός τε καὶ περιβολῆς ἡμέλησε, τὸ σχεδιάζειν τε ἐκ φύσεως οὐκ ἔχων πόνῳ παρεστήσατο.

Ἦλθε δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ τῆς γῆς μέρη βασιλεῖ τε ξυνῶν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν μεταβαίνων. προὔστη δὲ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην θρόνου νεάζων μὲν εὐδοκίμωτατος, γηράσκων δὲ ξὺν αἰτίᾳ τοῦ μὴ ἐτέρῳ ἀποστήναι βούλεσθαι. ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Λήμνιον Φιλόστρατον τῷ Ἀσπασίῳ διαφορὰ ἤρξατο μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης, ἐπέδωκε δὲ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ ὑπὸ Κασσιανοῦ τε καὶ Αὐρηλίου τῶν σοφιστῶν αὐξηθεῖσα. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖν ὁ μὲν Αὐρήλιος οἷος καὶ ἐν καπηλείοις μελετᾶν πρὸς τὸν ἐκεῖ οἶνον, ὁ δ' οἷος θρασύνεσθαι

¹ This sophist is occasionally cited by the scholiasts on Hermogenes.

² On oratory as a kind of musical science see Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Literary Composition*.

³ Kayser thinks that Alexander Severus is meant, but there are good reasons for supposing that it was Caracalla.

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innocent of the charge he was also released from his exile on the island. He is spending his old age in Rome, neither greatly admired nor altogether neglected.

33. Ravenna was the birthplace of ASPASIUS¹ the sophist—now Ravenna is an Italian city—and he was educated by his father Demetrianus who was skilled in the art of criticism. Aspasius was an industrious student and was diligent in attending the rhetorical schools. He used to praise novelty, but he never lapsed into bad taste, because what he invented he employed with a due sense of proportion. This is, of course, of the greatest importance in music also,² for it is the time measures of the notes that have given a voice to the lyre and the flute and taught us melody. But though he took great pains to express himself appropriately and with simplicity, he gave too little thought to vigour and rhetorical amplification. Though he had no natural ability for extempore speaking, he made good the deficiency by hard work.

He visited many parts of the earth, both in the train of the Emperor³ and travelling independently. He held the chair of rhetoric at Rome with great credit to himself, so long as he was young, but as he grew old he was criticized for not being willing to resign it in another's favour. The quarrel between Aspasius and Philostratus of Lemnos began in Rome, but became more serious in Ionia, where it was fomented by the sophists Cassianus and Aurelius. Of these two men Aurelius was the sort of person who would declaim even in low wine-shops while the drinking was going on; while Cassianus was a man of such impudence of character that he aspired

μέν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀθήνησι θρόνον διὰ καιρούς, οἷς
 ἀπεχρήσατο, παιδεύσαι δὲ μηδένα, πλὴν Περίγητος¹
 τοῦ Λυδοῦ. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ τρόπου τῆς διαφορᾶς
 εἴρηται μοι καὶ τί ἂν αὖθις ἐρμηνεύοιμι τὰ ἀπο-
 χρώντως δεδηλωμένα; τὸ δὲ εἶναι τι χρηστὸν καὶ
 628 παρ' ἐχθροῦ εὐρέσθαι ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν τῶν ἀν-
 θρωπίνων διεφάνη, μάλιστα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
 τούτων· διενεχθέντε γὰρ ὁ μὲν Ἀσπάσιος προσε-
 ποίησεν αὐτῷ τὸ σχεδιάζειν ξὺν εὐροῖᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ὁ
 Φιλόστρατος καὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους ἐλλογίμως
 εἶχεν, ὁ δ' αὖ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον τέως ὑλομανοῦντα
 πρὸς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τὴν ἐκείνου ἐκόλασεν.

Ἡ δὲ ξυγγεγραμμένη ἐπιστολὴ τῷ Φιλοστράτῳ
 περὶ τοῦ πῶς χρή ἐπιστέλλειν πρὸς τὸν Ἀσπάσιον
 τείνει, ἐπειδὴ παρελθὼν ἐς βασιλείους ἐπιστολὰς
 τὰς μὲν ἀγωνιστικώτερον τοῦ δέοντος ἐπέστελλε,
 τὰς δὲ οὐ σαφῶς, ὧν οὐδέτερον βασιλεῖ πρέπον·
 αὐτοκράτωρ γὰρ δὴ ὅποτε ἐπιστέλλοι, οὐ δεῖ
 ἐνθυμημάτων οὐδ' ἐπιχειρημάτων, ἀλλὰ δόξης,
 οὐδ' αὖ ἀσαφείας, ἐπειδὴ νόμους φθέγγεται,
 σαφήνεια δὲ ἐρμηνεύς νόμου.

Πausανίου μὲν οὖν μαθητῆς ὁ Ἀσπάσιος, Ἴππο-
 δρόμου δὲ οὐκ ἀνήκοος, ἐπαίδευε δὲ κατὰ τὴν
 Ῥώμην ἱκανῶς γηράσκων, ὅποτε μοι ταῦτα ἐγρά-
 φετο.

Τοσαῦτα περὶ Ἀσπασίου. περὶ δὲ Φιλοστράτου
 Λημνίου καὶ τίς μὲν ἐν δικαστηρίοις ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος,

¹ Valckenaer would read Πίγητος, because Pigres is a
 name often occurring in Asia.

¹ Aristophanes, *Birds* 375.

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to the chair at Athens, seizing on opportunities of which he made full use, and this though he had taught no one except Periges the Lydian. However since I have described the manner of their quarrel, why should I relate again what has been made sufficiently plain? The saying that even from an enemy one can learn something worth while¹ has often been illustrated in human affairs, but never more clearly than in the case of these men. For while their controversy lasted Aspasius achieved for himself the art of speaking extempore with ease and fluency, because Philostratus already had a great reputation in this branch of eloquence; while the latter in his turn pruned down his own style of oratory which was running to riot before, till it matched his opponent's accuracy and terseness.

The epistle composed by Philostratus called *How to Write Letters* is aimed at Aspasius, who on being appointed Imperial Secretary wrote certain letters in a style more controversial than is suitable; and others he wrote in obscure language, though neither of these qualities is becoming to an Emperor. For an Emperor when he writes a letter ought not to use rhetorical syllogisms or trains of reasoning, but ought to express only his own will; nor again should he be obscure, since he is the voice of the law, and lucidity is the interpreter of the law. Aspasius was a pupil of Pausanias, but he also attended the school of Hippodromus, and he was teaching in Rome, well advanced in years, when I was writing this narrative.

So much for Aspasius. But of Philostratus of Lemnos and his ability in the law courts, in political

PHILOSTRATUS

τίς δὲ ἐν δημηγορίαις, τίς δὲ ἐν συγγράμμασι, τίς δὲ ἐν μελέταις, ὅσος δὲ ἐν σχεδίῳ λόγῳ, καὶ περὶ Νικαγόρου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, ὃς καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου ἱεροῦ κήρυξ ἐστέφθη, καὶ Ἀψίνης ὁ Φοῖνιξ ἐφ' ὅσον προὔβη μνήμης τε καὶ ἀκριβείας, οὐκ ἐμὲ δεῖ γράφειν, καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἀπιστηθεῖν ὡς χαρισάμενος, ἐπειδὴ φιλία μοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἦν.

¹ From Suidas we learn that the father of Nicagoras was Mnesaius, and his son Minucianus; the latter lived under Gallienus, 253-268. Nicagoras taught at Athens during the latter part of the life of our Philostratus.

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harangues, in writing treatises, in declamation, and lastly of his talent for speaking extempore, it is not for me to write. Nay, nor must I write about Nicagoras¹ of Athens, who was appointed herald of the temple at Eleusis; nor of Apsines² the Phoenician and his great achievements of memory and precision. For I should be distrusted as favouring them unduly, since they were connected with me by the tie of friendship.

² Apsines of Gadara taught rhetoric at Athens about A.D. 235. We have two of his critical works, but his declamations have perished. He gives many examples of themes and was a devout student of Demosthenes.

