

the courtesy-title 'mother' of Berenike. There is no difficulty in the poet's association of her with Mount Athos: she had formerly been married to King Lysimachos of Thrace, who won Macedonia and Thessaly from Demetrius, and her ties with the northern Aegean world were close. As queen in Thrace she had made a dedication to the Great Gods of Samothrace;<sup>1</sup> it was to Samothrace also that she came after Ptolemy Keraunos had murdered her sons by Lysimachos.<sup>2</sup> Callimachus has these northern Aegean connexions of Arsinoe in mind in another poem, the *Ektheosis Arsinoes*, in which Charis sees from Athos the funeral smoke of the queen's pyre at Alexandria (*fr.* 228.57), having been sent from Lemnos to the mountain by the spirit of Arsinoe's dead sister Philotera (*fr.* 228.44-7).

The difficulty lies not in the mention of Arsinoe, but in her 'ox-piercer', *βουπόρος*. Catullus in his translation left out the apposition by which the mountain is called 'the ox-piercer of Arsinoe', perhaps because he did not understand it.<sup>3</sup> Modern scholars have been baffled by the expression: 'qua de causa Athos a. 246/5 ita appellatus sit, adhuc plane ignotum est', writes Pfeiffer;<sup>4</sup> Fraser calls it 'mysterious';<sup>5</sup> and Trypanis remarks that we do not know why Athos was called thus.<sup>6</sup> Since the scholiast wrote *βουπόρος ὁ ὀβελίσκος* [s], Trypanis supposes that the mountain 'would be, strictly speaking, the obelisk of Queen Arsinoe II'; but if *βουπόρος* simply signified the mountain or its summit the scholiast would hardly have glossed it by the word *ὀβελίσκος*, as Fraser points out. An obelisk stood in the precinct of the unfinished temple of Arsinoe at Alexandria;<sup>7</sup> but there is no connexion between the mountain and the Egyptian monument.

A notable phenomenon produced by Mount Athos is the long shadow it casts eastwards across the Aegean at sunset. The shadow was mentioned by Sophocles (*fr.* 776 Pearson), who in an unidentified play wrote

*\*Αθως σκιάζει νῶτα Λημνίας βοός.\**<sup>8</sup>

The line, with the variants *καλύπτει* and *πλευρά*, became proverbial.<sup>9</sup> The shadow was well known in the time of Callimachus, because Apollonius Rhodius described it in the *Argonautica*, saying that it reached even as far as Myrina near the southwestern extremity of Lemnos: *ἀκροτάτη κορυφή σκιάει* (*sc. \*Αθω κολώνη*) *καὶ ἐσάχρη Μυρίνης*.<sup>10</sup> The distance according to Apollonius was equal to that sailed by a well-trimmed ship from dawn to noon (*ἐς ἔνδιον*).<sup>11</sup>

Athos is about forty miles from the nearest point on Lemnos. In clear conditions the shadow falls on the southwestern parts of the island about one month before the summer solstice and again one month after the solstice, when the sun is seen from Myrina, or from the modern Kastro, to set immediately behind Mount Athos.<sup>12</sup> At

<sup>1</sup> P. M. Fraser, *Samothrace* ii 1: *The Inscriptions on Stone* (New York 1960) 48-50, no. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Justin xxiv 3.9.

<sup>3</sup> P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* ii (Oxford 1972) 1024.

<sup>4</sup> *Callimachus* i (Oxford 1949) 115.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.* (n. 3).

<sup>6</sup> *Callimachus*, Loeb edn (London 1975) 82-3 note c.

<sup>7</sup> Fraser (n. 3) i 25 and nn. 168, 169.

<sup>8</sup> *Et. Mag.* s.v. *\*Αθως* (p. 26, 16 Gaisford). *Schol. Theoc.* vii 76d (p. 98 Wendel).

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. Makarios 1.46 [ii 139 Leutsch-Schneidewin] and Suda (A 749, 1.71 Adler).

<sup>10</sup> i 604.

<sup>11</sup> i 603.

<sup>12</sup> A. C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles* iii (repr. Amsterdam 1963) 27 reports observations of travellers.

these times part of the island is in the shadow cast by the summit of Athos and part is in sunlight.

As the fragment of Sophocles shows, the shadow of the mountain was believed to fall on the back of a cow in Lemnos. The cow was a statue made either of bronze (*Et. Mag.*)<sup>13</sup> or of white stone (Suda),<sup>14</sup> but since its exact position is not known, the precise dates on which it was struck by the shadow before and after the solstice cannot be determined. Apollonius says that the shadow extended to Myrina, but he does not mention the cow.

When the statue was struck by the shadow of the summit, neighbouring parts of Lemnos were still in sunlight; thus the cow was, in the Callimachean metaphor, skewered by the shadow cast in the sunlight on Lemnos. The poet with characteristic neatness alluded to an astronomical phenomenon, even as he praised in an astronomical poem the deified queen of Egypt who formerly had been the wife of a king of Thrace; and from the metaphor of the ox-piercer it follows that the 'bright descendant of Theia' who travels beyond Mount Athos is the Sun, as Bentley supposed—not, as Pfeiffer suggests, Boreas. For it was Helios setting in the west who caused the shadow of Athos to fall on the statue of the cow in Lemnos.

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<sup>13</sup> See n. 8 above.

<sup>14</sup> See n. 9 above.

**An Epigram on Apollonius of Tyana<sup>1</sup>**

PLATE Ib

An inscription of major importance, now in the New Museum of Adana, contains an epigram on Apollonius of Tyana. Almost simultaneously, a preliminary text has been provided by E. L. Bowie, and a full publication with discussion and photograph by G. Dagron and J. Marcillet-Jaubert.<sup>2</sup> I offer here a text, translation, and commentary, and look for a historical and cultural setting.

The inscription is cut on a single large block, now damaged on the left, which originally served as an architrave or lintel. The photograph (PLATE Ib) makes detailed comment on the palaeography superfluous: but it is worth noting the sign of punctuation (:) after *ἐπώνυμος* and of elision (σ) after *τὸ δ'*; the leaf filling the vacant space at the end of line 4; and generally the very affected script, notably the *rho* shaped like a shepherd's crook, the complicated *xi* and the lyre-shaped *omega*.<sup>3</sup> This strange lettering makes it more than usually hazardous to date the inscription from this feature alone. A date in the third or

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Glen Bowersock and Louis Robert for their comments, and to Jean Marcillet-Jaubert for supplying the photograph (PLATE Ib). *Bull.* = J. and L. Robert, 'Bulletin épigraphique', followed by the year of publication of *REG* and the number of the item. All dates are A.D.

<sup>2</sup> E. L. Bowie in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der röm. Welt* xvi 2 (Berlin/New York 1978) 1687-8 (henceforth 'Bowie'); G. Dagron and J. Marcillet-Jaubert, *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten* xlii (1978) 402-5 (henceforth 'Dagron-Jaubert').

<sup>3</sup> For the critical and punctuation marks used in inscriptions see W. Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik*<sup>3</sup> (Munich 1914) 301-5, M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca* i (Rome 1967) 391-7. The same *omega* in *JG* x 2.1 551 (Thessalonica), which C. Edson dates 'ante med. s. iv p.'.

fourth century seems roughly right, and would accord with the content of the epigram.<sup>4</sup>

The origin of the stone is also uncertain, though it is presumably a place in eastern, 'level', Cilicia. An attractive suggestion, independently made by Bowie and the other two editors, is the coastal city of Aegaeae.<sup>5</sup> This is closely connected with Apollonius: the young sage received his Pythagorean training in the city, and began his religious career by residing in the famous sanctuary of Asclepius. His stay in Aegaeae was subsequently narrated by one of the citizens, a certain Maximus.<sup>6</sup> However, the claims of a city closer to Adana should not be ignored—Tarsus. Apollonius began his studies in Tarsus, but in disgust at its immorality moved to its rival Aegaeae; later, however, after he had interceded for the city with the emperor Titus, it considered him a 'founder and mainstay'; and he also performed a miraculous cure there.<sup>7</sup>

I propose the following text and translation.

[οὔτο]ς Ἀπόλλωνος μὲν ἐπώνυμος, ἐκ Τυά[νων] δ' ἐλάμψας ἀνθρώπων ἔσβεσεν ἀμπλακίας. |  
[σώμα τά]φος Τυάνων, τὸ δ' ἐτήτυμον οὐρανὸς αὐτόν |  
[δέξαθ' ὄ]πως θνητῶν ἐξελάσει πόνους. |

1. [οὔτο]ς B.; [οὔτος] D.-M.-J. Τυά[νων] δ' ἐ B.; Τυά[νων] δ' ἐ D.-M.-J.

3. [-ω] ΦΟΣ Τυάνων τὸδ' ἐτήτυμον, οὐρανὸς αὐτόν D.-M.-J.; [γαῖα τά]φος Τυάνων, τὸ δὲ ἐτήτυμον ο. α. B.; [σώμα τά]φος Τυάνων, τὸ δ' ἐτήτυμον ο. α. sc̄ripsi.

4. [δέξαθ' ὄ]πως B.; [πέμψεν ὄ]πως D.-M.-J. ἐξελάσει = ἐξελάσειε.

'This man, named after Apollo, and shining forth from Tyana, extinguished the faults of men. The tomb in Tyana (received) his body, but in truth heaven received him so that he might drive out the pains of men (or: drive pains from among men).'

1. οὔτος is a favourite beginning of epigrams, drawing the attention of a reader to an object such as a tomb or statue.<sup>8</sup> Here it no doubt implies that the viewer reading the epigram could simultaneously see a statue of Apollonius below.<sup>9</sup>

'Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπώνυμος is not used merely because Ἀπολλώνιος would not fit in elegiac metre. When such language appears in other epigrams, it implies a connection between the god and the person who bore his name. A young man buried at Thessalonica was Ἀμμωνος κεραοῖο φερώνυμον Ἀμμώνιον: his epitaph goes on to reveal that he was some kind of 'heavy' athlete (boxer, wrestler, or pancratiast), and therefore aptly named after the god with ram's horns.<sup>10</sup> An epigram from Carian Stratonicea emphasises the youthful charm of a doctor

<sup>4</sup> Dagron-Jaubert (405) incline to a date after 217 (the *terminus post quem* of Philostratus' *Life*, cf. *VA* i 3) and before 'la christianisation de l'empire'. If by the latter they mean the reign of Constantine, this is surely too early.

<sup>5</sup> Bowie 1688, Dagron-Jaubert 404. The latter report that other stones in the Adana Museum are precisely from Aegaeae/Ayas.

<sup>6</sup> Philostr. *VA* i 3, 7-12. On Aegaeae, Robert, *J Sav* 1973 170-211, esp. 184-204 on the Asklepieion and Apollonius' stay there. On Maximus, Bowie 1684-5.

<sup>7</sup> *VA* i 7; vi 34, 43.

<sup>8</sup> Robert in *L'épigramme grecque*, Entr. Hardt xiv (Geneva 1968) 206-7.

<sup>9</sup> Thus Bowie 1688, Dagron-Jaubert 404.

<sup>10</sup> *IG* x 2.1 541; the words βραβεία and πόνων show that he was an athlete, though Edson *ad loc.* prefers to consider him a gladiator. Another heavy athlete was surnamed 'Camel', Robert (n. 8) 199-201.

'named from the Paphian,' that is, 'Epaphroditus'.<sup>11</sup> In an epigram from Antinooupolis, a man 'named after Pallas' was 'chief of the works of Antinoos,' and so apparently connected with the quarries near the city: he no doubt bore a name like 'Palladios,' which the poet treats as an omen of his skill.<sup>12</sup>

ἐκ Τυά[νων] δ' ἐ. With this accent the city is named, with Τυά[νων] the citizens. If the citizens were meant, Τυά[νέων] would probably be necessary, and there is space for it on the stone:<sup>13</sup> but the verb λάμψας seems to call for the name of the place rather than of its inhabitants.

2. λάμψας. The imagery of light is frequently applied to outstanding persons, especially saviours: a notable example of its application to a philosophic saviour is in the exordium of Lucretius' third book.<sup>14</sup> An epigram of Antiphilus represents the island of Rhodes as saying of a Nero (no doubt the emperor),<sup>15</sup>

ἦδη σβεννυμέναν με νέα κατεφώτισεν ἀκτίς,  
Ἄλιε, καὶ παρὰ σὸν φέγγος ἔλαμψε Νέρων.

Like the present epigrammatist, Antiphilus pairs the verbs λάμπεω and σβεννύναι, but more logically uses the second of the condition reversed by the action of the light, not of that action itself: however, the illogicality is smoothed by the use of σβεννύναι and similar verbs to express the 'extinction' of crime, passion or sin (see below). As Nero's cult of the Rhodian Helios was linked to his cult of Apollo, so here the poet seems to imply a connection between Apollonius' name and his radiant effect on humanity. This 'Apolline' aspect of the epigram is one of its most interesting features.

ἔσβεσεν. As already mentioned, this verb is sometimes used of the 'extinction' of abstract concepts such as 'Fame' or 'Murder'. κατασβεννύναι, and in Latin *extinguere*, seem to carry a clearer suggestion that the object extinguished is turbulent or destructive, and Christian writers can talk of Christ 'extinguishing' sin.<sup>16</sup>

ἀμπλακίας. The examples in Stephanus suggest that these are moral errors rather than mere misconceptions or confusions.<sup>17</sup> The poet is probably thinking of traditions such as the one whereby Apollonius 'reformed his brother from his faults, which were many' (Philostr. *VA* i 13).

3-4. With the reading τὸδ', it is almost impossible to find a supplement at the beginning of the line which will serve even *exempli gratia*.<sup>18</sup> τὸ δ' ἐτήτυμον (adverbial), on

<sup>11</sup> *GVI* 1934; on the provenance, Robert, *Gnomon* xli (1959) 19 (*Op. min.* iii 1658).

<sup>12</sup> A full edition now in A. Bernard, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, Ann. litt. de l'Univ. de Besançon xcvi (Paris 1969) no. 26. Bernard misses the sense of ἐπώνυμος, and assumes that the man was called 'Pallas.'

<sup>13</sup> Coins of Tyana invariably show Τυανέων before the gift of colonial status in 212/13, κολωνίας Τυάνων thereafter. Ruge, *RE* xiv (1943) 1640, rightly reads Τυάνων in place of Τυανών in an epigram published by G. Jacopi (*GVI* 381 follows Jacopi).

<sup>14</sup> Generally, LSJ s.v. φάος II, *OLD* s.v. *lumen* 6 d, s.v. *lux* 11 b. *Lucr.* iii 1 ff., 'e tenebris tantis tam clarum extollere lumen / qui primus potuisti, inlustrans comoda vitae, ...'

<sup>15</sup> *AP* ix 178 = Gow-Page, *The Garland of Philip*, Antiphilus vi. For the attribution to Nero, Gow-Page *ad loc.*, cf. C. P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom* (Cambridge Mass. 1978) 27-8.

<sup>16</sup> Kittel-Friedrich-Bromiley, *Theol. Dict.* s.v. σβεννύναι A 2; LSJ s.v. κατασβέννυμι; *TLL* s.v. *extinguo*, v. 2 1920, 3 ff., esp. 25-6 (Christian).

<sup>17</sup> Thus, rightly, Dagron-Jaubert 403.

<sup>18</sup> Dagron-Jaubert (402-3) tentatively suggest [εἰ γε (or καὶ τὸ) βρέφος, 's'il est vrai qu'il fut un authentique enfant de Tyane'. But βρέφος is a baby, born or unborn, and does not seem to be used metaphorically of a 'child.'

the other hand, permits several choices, and moreover has the support of Aristophanes (*Pax* 119),

δοξάσαι ἔστι, κόραι· τὸ δ' ἔτήτυμον, ἄχθομαι ὑμῖν.<sup>19</sup>

Before trying to fill the lacuna in line 3, it is best to consider that in 4. The editors are clearly right to restore *ὄπως* preceded by a verb having *οὐρανός* as its subject and *αὐτόν* as its object. Dagron and Marcillet-Jaubert opt for *πέμψεν*, and understand 'driving out the pains of men' as a reference to Apollonius' activity on earth. But Bowie's *δέξαθ'* is surely right: heaven is the place to which Apollonius has gone 'in order to drive out the pains of men.' The second couplet, describing Apollonius' activity after death, now balances the first, which described his activity on earth, and the parallelism is underlined by the correspondences between them, *Τυάνων* in lines 1 and 3, and the syntax (genitive noun, verb, object) in 2 and 4. In the version of Apollonius' passing preferred by Philostratus, he disappears from earth in the temple of Artemis Dictynna on Crete, and a chorus of maidens is heard within singing 'Proceed from earth, proceed to heaven, proceed' (*VA* viii 30). So also in Greek and Latin funerary epigrams, which are crucial for the understanding of this second couplet, 'heaven' frequently appears as the abode of the deceased.<sup>20</sup> As for Apollonius' activity after death, Philostratus reports how he appeared to a young man at Tyana and convinced him of the immortality of the soul: the author comments, 'This is a clear pronouncement established by Apollonius on the mysteries of the soul, in order that we may go cheerful and with knowledge of our own nature to the place appointed by the Fates' (*VA* viii 31). This idea of posthumous beneficence is another that appears in funerary epigrams. In a remarkable series of them from Pergamum, a doctor whose son was of the same profession is addressed by him thus: 'Be favourable, and grant me the cure of illness as you did before, for now you have the more divine part of existence.'<sup>21</sup> Finally, *δέχεσθαι* is almost a technical term for the reception of the deceased by the gods or demi-gods after death.<sup>22</sup>

It may be noted now, since it will be important later, that when funerary epigrams say that the deceased did not die, or that he or his soul is in heaven, they do not assert his bodily ascension: rather, the survival of the soul entails that 'real' life continues beyond the death of the body. In another epigram of the same series at Pergamum, the father himself speaks: 'Hippocrates died easily. "But he did not die." Nor then did I, who am no less notable than Hippocrates of old: rather, in truth (*ἔτυμον*) the soul of Philadelphos remains heavenly, while his body being mortal is kept in the sacred earth.'<sup>23</sup>

This leads to the lacuna in line 3. A recurrent motif in funerary epigrams is the opposition between the resting place of the body (earth, tomb, urn) and that of the soul (heaven, stars, Blessed Isles, Elysium). The epigram from

Pergamum quoted above plays on this idea; in one from Miletus, a boy of eight is assured that 'the tomb did not conceal you' but 'swift-ankled Hermes led you with him to Olympus' (*GVI* 1829). Bowie's [τά]φος is therefore another certain restoration. The preceding trochee is more difficult. Bowie reads *γαῖα*, though considering *σῶμα* in a footnote.<sup>24</sup> This presumably means 'the earth of Tyana is his tomb,' as in Thucydides' famous phrase (ii 43. 3), *ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν πάσα γῆ τάφος*.<sup>25</sup> This is unobjectionable in itself, but *σῶμα*, to be understood as the object of *δέξαθ'*, is better supported by the evidence of funerary epigrams. In these, the opposition between body and soul is the commonest of motifs, and *σῶμα* is often placed at the beginning of a line.<sup>26</sup> Sometimes the contrast is sharpened by a single verb used *ἀπό κοινοῦ*: thus an epigram from Athens, if correctly restored, shows *οὐρανός* and *γαῖα* respectively governing *ψυχὴν* and *σῶμα* with the single verb *ἐδέξατο*.<sup>27</sup> The verb *δέχεσθαι* is frequently used of the reception of the body into the tomb,<sup>28</sup> as of the soul into the after life. Though the present epigram does not explicitly contrast the body with the soul, but rather with the 'self' regarded as one with the soul, this too has many parallels in funerary epigram: thus from Corcyra (*GVI* 1978),

τεσσαρακονταετής δὲ πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα  
ἤλυθον, ἐν γαίῃ σῶμ' ἔμὸν ἐνθεμένη.

So also from Rome (*Carm. Lat. epigr.* 611),

mundus me sumpsit et astra,  
corpus habet tellus et saxum nomen inane.<sup>29</sup>

A slight difficulty with this reading is the meaning required of *τάφος Τυάνων*, 'the tomb in Tyana'. However, if it is right that *TYANΩN* could only be read as *Τυάνων* (above), there was no danger that the phrase could be misconstrued as 'the tomb of the Tyaneans'.

Whether *σῶμα* or *γαῖα* is the first word, this line raises a question of historical fact. Philostratus claims not 'to be aware' of having seen a tomb or cenotaph of Apollonius, though he has travelled over 'most of the earth': this last phrase must include Tyana, since he immediately goes on to mention the sanctuaries of Apollonius there (*VA* viii 31). This passage concludes the last section of the work, in which, after considering several traditions about Apollonius' end, Philostratus opts for the one already mentioned whereby he ascended into heaven from the temple of Artemis Dictynna (*VA* viii 29–31). The discrepancy between the epigram and Philostratus can be explained in several ways. (i) Apollonius was in fact buried in Tyana, and Philostratus lied, no doubt led to do so by his story of Apollonius' assumption; that he was merely mistaken seems unlikely from the interest which he shows in the question. The epigrammatist might simply have forgotten what Philostratus had said, or he might be con-

<sup>24</sup> Bowie 1688 and n. 141. I agree with him that *οὐδέ* is not to be considered. As the third word, Bowie prints *Τυανῶν*, but for reasons already given *Τυάνων* is to be preferred.

<sup>25</sup> This phrase is both directly quoted by Philostratus (*VS* i 22, p. 526), and also adapted by him (*τάφος μὲν αὐτῷ Λυκία λέγεται*, *VS* ii 26, p. 615).

<sup>26</sup> In the following examples from *GVI*, those marked by an asterisk show *σῶμα* as the first word of a line: 1112, 1146, 1753, 1755, \*1756, \*1758, \*1759, 1763, \*1766, \*1768, 1770, 1772, \*1773, \*1774, \*1776, 1777, 1978, 1996, \*2040.

<sup>27</sup> *GVI* 1996. 1–4. Similarly with *δέκτο*, *GVI* 1774; with *ἔχει*, *GVI* 1755, 1764, *SEG* xvii 172; with *ἀπέδωκεν*, *GVI* 1169.

<sup>28</sup> A series of examples in A. Wilhelm, *Nachr. Gesell. Wiss. Göttingen* 1939, iii 141–2, 149 (*Akademischeschriften* iii 73–4, 81).

<sup>29</sup> Similarly, *GVI* 861, 1765, 1971.

<sup>19</sup> According to the scholiast, this whole line is taken from Euripides' *Aeolus*, with the exception of the last three words which were *οὐχ ἔχω εἶπεῖν* (*fr.* 19 Nauck). Aristophanes has therefore slightly altered the syntax, but not in a way that affects the present point.

<sup>20</sup> R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana Ill. 1942) 28, 34, 313–14. E.g., *GVI* 861, 1112, 1765, 1775, 1777, 1939, 1971, 1978, 1993.

<sup>21</sup> *GVI* 2040. 7–8. For similar ideas, *GVI* 1282. 5–6, 1829. 7–8.

<sup>22</sup> A. D. Nock, *Mélu St Joseph Beyrouth* xxxvii (1961) 297–308 (*Essays* ii 919–27). Cf. E. Peterson, *RömQuartals* xlii (1934) 172–6. For *δέχεσθαι* similarly used in funerary epigrams, *GVI* 1774, 1996.

<sup>23</sup> *GVI* 2040. 17–20. For similar assertions of the unreality of death, *GVI* 1282, *MAMA* viii 487; cf. Lattimore (n. 20) 40, 49–51.

sciously correcting him. (ii) Apollonius was not buried in Tyana, and the epigrammatist was in innocent error; there seems no reason to suspect him, as there does Philostratus, of conscious fraud. A similar mistake occurred over the 'small temple' in Smyrna containing a cult-statue (*agalma*) of the sophist Polemo: some inferred that he was buried there, when in fact he was buried in his native Laodicea (Philostr. *VS* i 25, p. 543). (iii) Both Philostratus and the epigrammatist are correct, and the body of Apollonius was moved to Tyana after Philostratus' *Life*: unless the body had hitherto been in a very remote or obscure place, this would not do much to rescue the credit of Philostratus. It seems impossible to make a firm decision between these possibilities, but they are enough to show that the discrepancy is not difficult.

4. *θνητῶν ἐξελάσειε πόνους*. Like the two mentions of Tyana in 1 and 3, so this phrase balances *ἀνθρώπων ἔσβεσεν ἀμπλακίας* in 2. *ἐξελαύνειν* is sometimes, *expellere* frequently, used of the expulsion of mental or physical ills: thus in the Vulgate (*Sirach* 1.27), 'Timor Domini expellit peccatum'.<sup>30</sup> This use supports the translation of *πόνους* as 'pains' rather than 'labours', which in any case would hardly suit.<sup>31</sup> There seems to be an allusion to the 'Apolline' aspect of Apollonius prominent in the first couplet.

Thus restored and interpreted, the epigram speaks of Apollonius as a being more than human, if not explicitly as a hero or god. The building on which it was inscribed seems to have contained his statue; it could well have resembled the 'small temple' of Polemo in Smyrna. Notoriously, the emperors forbade the worship of Roman governors which had been usual under the republic: but divine honours rendered by a city to its notable citizens or benefactors, such as Dio Chrysostom's mother or the sophist Polemo, are sporadically found under the empire.<sup>32</sup>

The history of Apollonius' posthumous reputation is long and complex, and it is natural to ask if the epigram can be given a definite place in it. The first steps towards his cult may already have been taken in his lifetime: according to Philostratus, the Spartans were ready to worship him as a god but Apollonius declined 'so as not to incur envy' (*VA* iv 31).<sup>33</sup> In Ephesus he ended a plague, and there is some evidence that he was subsequently worshipped there in the guise of Heracles Alexikakos.<sup>34</sup> Other cities in which he was remembered as a holy man, such as Aegaeae and Tarsus, might also have founded cults of him, more probably after his death than before. As is natural, the chief centre of his cult was his birthplace, Tyana. The emperor Caracalla founded a sumptuous shrine of him there: it seems likely, however, especially in view of the cults of him elsewhere, that worship had been

paid to him at Tyana well before Caracalla.<sup>35</sup> There may even have been an earlier sanctuary built at imperial expense.<sup>36</sup>

It cannot therefore be assumed that the epigram is subsequent to Philostratus merely because it implies Apollonius' divinity. However, there is another element of his posthumous reputation which might provide a clue: his use by the opponents of Christianity.<sup>37</sup> It is worth recalling the more notable allusions to Apollonius in the pagan literature of the third and fourth centuries, and asking if they help to date the present epigram. Porphyry, in his work *Against the Christians*, cited Apollonius together with Moses and Apuleius as great thaumaturges.<sup>38</sup> An oracle preserved in the 'Tübingen Theosophy' is a reply to one who asked if a pure life could bring a man 'near to God'; Apollo replied that such a privilege was granted to very few, Hermes Trismegistos, Moses,

καὶ Μαζακέων σοφὸς ἀνήρ,  
ὄν ποτε δὴ χθῶν θρέψεν ἀριγνώτιο Τυήνῃς.<sup>39</sup>

This oracle may come from a pagan source of the third century, rather than being a Christian fraud of the fourth: if not from Porphyry himself, it expresses ideas related to his.<sup>40</sup> At the beginning of the fourth century, Sosianus Hierocles, in his *Lover of Truth*, argued simultaneously that Apollonius was a greater thaumaturge than Jesus, and yet that his admirers regarded him 'not as a god, but as a man dear to the gods'.<sup>41</sup> A weakness of Hierocles' case, as he seems to have recognized, was that Apollonius had in fact been regarded by some as a god;<sup>42</sup> and Hierocles was also hard put to show that Philostratus was less credulous than the evangelists.<sup>43</sup>

A number of sources show the intense interest in Apollonius of pagans living in the late fourth century. The strongly anti-Christian Eunapius declared that Philostratus should have called his work not *The Life of Apollonius* but *A Visit of God to Mankind*.<sup>44</sup> Eunapius also

<sup>35</sup> Caracalla: inferred from the combination of Philostr. *VA* i 5, viii 31, and Cass. Dio lxxvii 18. 4. cf. Bowie 1688. However, Philostratus seems to think that Apollonius had been worshipped at Tyana long since: the locals regarded him as a son of Zeus (*VA* i 5-6), and prayers could be addressed to him (*VA* viii 31).

<sup>36</sup> In his last sentence, Philostratus talks of 'sanctuaries' built by 'kings' (*VA* viii 31); the plural is usually thought to be used for the singular (I unfortunately translated 'a shrine' in the Penguin edn [1970]), but may rather suggest that Caracalla had been anticipated by another emperor.

<sup>37</sup> Generally, P. de Labriolle, *La réaction païenne* (Paris 1934) esp. 311-14, and now G. Petzke, *Die Traditionen über Apollonius von Tyana und das Neue Testament* (Leiden 1970) 5-10.

<sup>38</sup> Porph. *adv. Chr.* (A. Harnack, *ADAW Berlin* 1916 i) nos 4, 60, 63. However, the attribution of 60 and 63 to Porphyry is not quite certain.

<sup>39</sup> W. Scott and A. S. Ferguson, *Hermetica* iv (Oxford 1936) 227-9; H. Erbse, *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien*, Hamb. Arb. zur Altertumswiss. iv (Hamburg 1941) 177 sect. 44. *Μαζακέων* probably replaces the expected *Καππαδόκων* because of the undesirable connotations of 'Cappadocian': cf. Robert, *Op. min.* iv 392-3. For the rare form *Τυήνην*, Georg. Cypr. 1380 ed. Gelzer, M. le Quien, *Oriens Christianus* i (Paris 1740) 399 sect. xii (Ruge, *RE* xiv [1940] 1632).

<sup>40</sup> On the date, Nock, *REA* xxx (1928) 285 (*Essays* i 164). For fragments of Porphyry in the *Tübingen Theosophy*, Nock, *ibid.* 280-7 (*Essays* i 160-6); Robert, *CRAI* 1968 584, 590, 1971 604. Another oracle in the same collection (Erbse [n. 39] 176 sect. 37), also recorded by Lactantius and ascribed to Didyma (*div. inst.* vii 13. 4-5), closely resembles the oracular statement of Apollonius in *VA* viii 31: cf. G. Wolff, *Porphyrii de philosophia ex oraculis haurienda* (Berlin 1856) 92-3, 178, and (on the Didymean origin) Robert, *CRAI* 1968 590.

<sup>41</sup> Eus. *Hierocl.* 2 (Migne *PG* xxii 800 B; Philostr. *VA*, Loeb edn ii 488). On Hierocles' work generally, Labriolle (n. 37) 306-14; on his career, T. D. Barnes, *HSCP* lxxx (1976) 239-52.

<sup>42</sup> Lact. *div. inst.* v 3, 14-15. On this difficult passage, Bowie 1687.

<sup>43</sup> It is to this point that Eusebius' reply is mainly directed.

<sup>44</sup> *VS* 2.1.4 (Loeb p. 346); the reference is presumably to *VA* i 9.

<sup>30</sup> LSJ s.v. *ἐξελαύνω* I 4; *TLL* s.v. *expello* v 2, 1635, 34 ff., 78 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Stephanus, s.v. 1473 C-D, LSJ s.v. ii 2. Thus Dagron-Jaubert 403.

<sup>32</sup> Polemo: above, p. 193. Dio's mother: *Or.* xlv 3. For a senator receiving divine honours at Herculaneum in the first century A.D., L. Schumacher, *Chiron* vi (1976) 165-84. Cf. also *Acts* xiv 11-13 (Paul and Barnabas at Lystra).

<sup>33</sup> It is not clear whether this refers to imperial envy, such as brought down the descendants of Theophanes of Mytilene (*Tac. Ann.* vi 18. 2) or to the general dislike that was regularly thought to attend excessive honour. Philostratus' language does not seem to suit divine envy.

<sup>34</sup> Lact. *div. inst.* v 3, 14-15. On this difficult passage, Bowie 1687. Ephesus was one of the cities in which Apollonius was supposed to have died (Philostr. *VA* viii 30): this suggests that it claimed to have his tomb.

compares his teacher, the Neoplatonist Chrysanthius, with Pythagoras, Archytas of Tarentum, Apollonius, 'and those who revered (*προσκυνήσαντες*) Apollonius', 'all of whom merely seemed to have a body and to be men'.<sup>45</sup> In the contemporary west, Apollonius became the device of militant paganism. Nicomachus Flavianus, one of Eugenius' most prominent supporters, either adapted or translated Philostratus' work.<sup>46</sup> The appearance of Apollonius on 'contorniates' probably expresses the same atmosphere.<sup>47</sup>

The activity of Nicomachus is inseparable from another work also probably of the late fourth century, the *Historia Augusta*. The author refers to Apollonius in two passages, both of which are relevant to the question of his cult. The first is notorious. Severus Alexander had in his *lararium* not only the deified emperors but *optimos electos et animas sanctiores*, including Apollonius and, so a contemporary author averred, Christ, Abraham, Orpheus, and others of the like.<sup>48</sup> The distinction between Apollonius and the other 'souls' may suggest that the author found him in his source and was inspired to add the three others: there is nothing inherently unlikely in Alexander's worshipping a person to whom his divine father had erected a sanctuary.<sup>49</sup> The other names, however, clearly reflect the pagan polemics of the late fourth century.<sup>50</sup> The second reference to Apollonius is equally revealing. The emperor Aurelian, marching east against Palmyra, was blocked by the resistance of Tyana and determined to destroy it. However, he had a vision of Apollonius, 'that sage of the most celebrated fame and authority, an ancient philosopher, truly a friend of the gods,<sup>51</sup> himself worthy to be worshipped as a divinity (*numen*)'. Aurelian recognized the 'venerable philosopher' from the portraits which he had seen in many temples<sup>52</sup> and, dissuaded from his purpose, promised him 'a portrait, statues, and a temple'. The historian proceeds to extol Apollonius as one who 'gave life to the dead, and said and did much that was more than human'; the curious are referred to the books written about him in Greek; in fact the author himself, 'if the favour of the great man permits', will write his own brief account (*HA* Aurel. xxiv 2-9). It is clear from the mention soon after of a translator called Nicomachus (*ibid.* xxvii 6) that he is thinking of the translation of Nicomachus Flavianus; probably the whole incident is drawn from another work of Nicomachus, the *Annales*.<sup>53</sup> However, the author has not only read Nicomachus, but imbibed some of his spirit. Apollonius is 'more than human', a saviour, and his 'favour' still operates beneficently in human affairs.

The way in which the *Historia Augusta* talks of Apollonius and his continuing influence on mankind recalls the new epigram, and it is tempting to place it in the context of the struggle waged by paganism and Christianity in the

fourth century.<sup>54</sup> Yet it has been seen that such language does not go far, if at all, beyond the domestic divinisation exemplified by many funeral epigrams of the high empire, so that a third century date is not to be rejected. But if the date must therefore remain in doubt, there is no doubt of the importance of this new text for the history of Apollonius and his legend.

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<sup>54</sup> Compare the not dissimilar Neoplatonic inscription *GVI* 1283, with the discussion of P. Boyancé, *Le culte des Muses* (Paris 1937) 284-91 (*Bull.* 1938 574); I plan to argue elsewhere that the inscription published by W. M. Ramsay, *CR* xxxiii (1919) 2, is Neoplatonic and not Christian as usually assumed. Cf. also *MAMA* viii 487, with Robert's discussion, *Hellenica* xiii (1965) 170-1.

### Datis the Mede

Professor R. T. Hallock generously allows me to publish here his text and translation of the hitherto unpublished Persepolis Fortification Tablet Q-1809, to which he has referred in *Cahiers de la délégation française en Iran* viii (1978) 115.

<sup>17</sup> mar-ri-iš <sup>2</sup>KAŠ.lg m.Da-ti-<sup>3</sup>ya gal-ma du-iš <sup>4</sup>hal-mi m.sunki-na <sup>5</sup>ku-iz h.İš-par-da-mar <sup>6</sup>pir-ra-da-zi-iš <sup>7</sup>iz<sup>7</sup>-zi-i[š] h. <sup>8</sup>Ba-ir-[ša] <sup>9</sup>m.sunki-<sup>10</sup>ik<sup>10</sup>-ka pa-raš <sup>10d</sup>.ITU.lg <sup>11</sup>ša-mi-man-<sup>12</sup>taš<sup>12</sup> <sup>12h</sup>.be-ul 27-um-<sup>13</sup>me-na h.Hi-da-li

<sup>1-37</sup> *marriš* beer Datiya received as rations. <sup>4-5</sup> He carried a sealed document of the king. <sup>5-9</sup> He went forth from Sardis (via) express (service), went to the king (at) Persepolis. <sup>10-13</sup> 11th month, year 27. <sup>13</sup> (At) Hidali.

On its left edge it bears Seal 201, which should belong to the supplier at Hidali. It appears in the same position there two months earlier on PF 1404. Earlier seals for suppliers at Hidali are Seals 84 (this and not Seal 201 is on PF 1408) and 138. The seal on the reverse is a small stamp, with figure at left facing an altar with an animal on it, with a moon above.

A beer or wine ration of 70 quarts marks its recipient as a very high personage. The figure recurs on PF 1558 as the ration of Abbatema the Indian, who travels in considerable style (see Lewis, *Sparta and Persia* [Leiden 1977] 5 with n. 14; his rations vary considerably, and he only gets 30 quarts in PF 1556), and has been suggested as a likely ration for apparent sisters of the king (Hallock, *loc. cit.*). To our knowledge it is only exceeded by Parnaka, uncle of the king and chief economic official of Persia, who is on 90 quarts (PF 664-5), and Gobryas, father of Mardonios, one of the greatest men of the kingdom, who is on 100 quarts (PF 688). It is therefore very tempting indeed to identify Datiya with Datis the Mede, commander, along with the king's nephew, of the Persian expedition to Marathon in 490 (Hdt. vi 94.2). The only objection seems to be the unassuming seal, but this may belong to a guide acting for him.

That a high official on a journey should be qualified with *pirradaziš* confirms Hallock's view (*Persepolis Fortification Tablets* 42) that the word is not a title in the strict sense, but may rather qualify the nature of the journey and the facilities to be extended to it. Since horses are also so qualified (PF 1672.5, 1700.3, 2061.4, 2062.5, 2065.4), it may be that the special facilities involve special horses (*cf.*

<sup>45</sup> *V S* 23.1.8 (Loeb p. 542).

<sup>46</sup> *Sid. ep.* viii 3.1. On the problems of this passage, J. Schwartz, *Bonn. Hist.-Aug. Coll.* 1975/76 (Bonn 1978) 191-3.

<sup>47</sup> A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten* (Budapest 1943) 74-6; cf. now A. and E. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniat-Medaillons I* (Berlin 1976) 32.

<sup>48</sup> *HA* Alex. 29.2. On this passage see now Schwartz (n. 46) 187-190.

<sup>49</sup> For an imitation of Caracalla by Alexander in Tarsus, R. Ziegler, *JfNG* xxvii (1977) 40-2.

<sup>50</sup> R. Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (Oxford 1968) 138.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Hierocles quoted by Eusebius, *θεοὶς κεχαρισμένον ἄνδρα* (above, n. 41).

<sup>52</sup> Compare the portraits of the aged Apollonius in the sanctuary at Tyana, Philostr. *VA* viii 29.

<sup>53</sup> W. Hartke, *Klio* Beih. xlv (1940) 18-19, 33-4, 37; cf. Syme (n. 50) 111.



(a) The Kocabaş by Dimetoka; looking downstream from the bank just below the bridge.



(b) Inscription of Apollonius of Tyana now in Adana (Courtesy, J. Marcillet-Jaubert).

THE GRANICUS RIVER (a)  
AN EPIGRAM ON APOLLONIUS OF TYANA (b)