

THE TITLE OF PHILOSTRATUS' *LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA*

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Abstract: The title of Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* as it stands in all editions since Kayser's 1844 edition, Τὰ ἐς τὸν Τυανέα Ἀπολλώνιον, is not correct. The genuine title of the work is Εἰς τὸν Τυανέα Ἀπολλώνιον. The suggestion by Ewen Bowie, that the title of the work characterizes it as a novel, must therefore be dismissed. The meaning of the title is ambiguous: it means both 'About Apollonius of Tyana' and 'In honour of Apollonius of Tyana'. This ambiguity may very well have been intended by Philostratus.

Keywords: Philostratus, Apollonius of Tyana, book title, literary genre, ambiguity

The modern title of Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*¹ (henceforward *VA*) does not correspond to the Greek title which has been current since Kayser's critical edition of 1844, namely Τὰ ἐς τὸν Τυανέα Ἀπολλώνιον, 'The things concerning/in honour of Apollonius of Tyana'. There are two issues concerning the title, namely the function of the article Τά and the meaning of the preposition ἐς. In the first place, I will give a brief *status quaestionis* of the discussion on the title. Next, I will demonstrate that the article Τά does not belong to the original title. Then I will show that the absence of the article has consequences for the interpretation of the title; in particular, I will suggest that the absence of the article reinforces the encomiastic interpretation ('in honour of') of the preposition ἐς.

I. *Status quaestionis*

It is fitting to start an overview of the different interpretations of the title with Ewen Bowie's statement on the title of *VA* (Bowie (1978) 1665), if only because he attaches so much value to the article Τά: 'The title Τὰ ἐς τὸν Τυανέα Ἀπολλώνιον is not of the normal biographic form τοῦ δεῖνος βίος but rather suggests the novelistic formula Τὰ περὶ / κατὰ Λευκίππην καὶ Κλειτοφῶντα etc'. In a later publication with the telling title 'Philostratus: writer of fiction' (Bowie (1994) 189) he states: 'More diagnostic of the novel might be the form of the title – not *The Life of Apollonius* but *The Stories of Apollonius of Tyana*, like a novelist's *The Story of Chaereas and Callirhoe*'.²

Bowie apparently takes ἐς as an equivalent of περὶ and κατὰ, and in this respect he is followed by many scholars who do not share Bowie's opinion on the novel-like character of the title. Thus Hägg (2012) 319 renders the title as "Things concerning ...", that is, "*On Apollonius of Tyana*".³ Others interpret the preposition ἐς as encomiastic, 'in honour of'. Thus Phillimore's English translation (1912) bears the title *In Honour of Apollonius of Tyana*.⁴

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¹ This is the current title in English. Titles in other languages are equivalent to the English title: *Vie d'Apollonius* (for example des Places (1986) 38), *Vita di Apollonio di Tiana* (for example del Corno (1978)) and *Das Leben des Apollonios von Tyana* (for example Mumprecht (1983)).

² Bowie's suggestion is accepted by Keulen (2006)

182. Independently from Bowie, del Corno (1978) 27–28 relates the title of *VA* to the titles of the novels.

³ Hägg ((2012) 319) remarks that the title is 'notoriously vague'. See also Hägg (2004) 387. Jones (2005) 3, n.1 states: 'There is no need to assume that the proposition *es* implies a favorable account, "in honor of": cf. e.g. I 3.2, where *es ton Apollonion* surely means no more than "about Apollonius"; cf. Flinterman (2009) 155, n.1.

⁴ Des Places (1986) translates the title of Eusebius' treatise, Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου πρὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Φιλοστράτου εἰς Ἀπολλώνιον, as *D'Eusèbe de Pamphile*

So there are roughly speaking three different labels attached to the title: novel (Bowie, del Corno, Keulen), biography or, less specifically, report of life and works (Jones, Flinterman) and encomium (Phillimore, des Places, Anderson, Swain, Whitmarsh, Robiano).⁵ Yet others again (Gyselinck (2008); Hägg (2012)) draw attention to the ambiguous status of the work, which is reflected in the title.⁶ But before going more deeply into the meaning of the title let us now study its actual form.

II. The form of the title

Kayser (1844) VIII states the following with regard to the title of *VA*: ‘Liber ab ipso Philostrato inscriptus erat τὰ ἐς τὸν Τυανέα Ἀπολλώνιον, et hunc indicem optimus liber π, atque antiquissimus f habent. In Vitis Sophistarum 570 ... citat opus suum dicens τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ὀπόσοις τρόποις ἀπίθανον, εἴρηται σαφῶς ἐν τοῖς ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον, ubi omittitur quidem Τυανέα quippe lectum in superioribus. Eandem inscriptionem auctor epitomae Vit. Soph. tuetur in brevi prooemio: τοῦτου τοῦ Φιλοστράτου ἔουκεν εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν Τυανέα Ἀπολλώνιον. Brevitatis gratia alii abierunt inde ab Eunapio ad vulgarem βίος Ἀπολλωνίου, in quibus etiam Suidas est s.v. Φιλόστρατος’.

In the first place, it should be pointed out that Kayser’s report of the mss readings is wrong in both cases. Kayser’s π (Parisinus gr. 1801; Boter’s siglum **A**) has φιλοστράτου εἰς τὸν τυανέα ἀπολλώνιον, without Τά; Kayser’s f (Laur. plut. 69.33; Boter’s siglum **F**) has βίος ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ τυανέως.⁷ Escorialensis Φ.III.8 (**E**) derives from the same source as **F**; this lost common source is a gemellus of **A**.⁸ The fact that **E** has the same title as **A**, namely φιλοστράτου εἰς τὸν τυανέα ἀπολλώνιον, proves that the archetype must have had this title as well. From Book 2 on all mss, including **F** and its gemellus **Q**, have titles such as φιλοστράτου εἰς τὸν τυανέα, φιλοστράτου εἰς τὸν τυανέα λόγος γ’, φιλοστράτου τῶν εἰς τὸν τυανέα πέμπτος; the name of Apollonius is only found in the title of Book 8 in **A** and **F** (φιλοστράτου εἰς τὸν τυανέα ἀπολλώνιον (+ λόγος) **A** η’).⁹

In the second place, the title of Eusebius’ treatise against Apollonius runs Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου πρὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Φιλοστράτου εἰς Ἀπολλώνιον. From this title it can be inferred that Eusebius’ copy of *VA* had the same title as the archetype of the medieval tradition. This title is also found in the self-reference in *VS* 570 (p. 77.5–6 Kayser (1870–1871)): τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ὀπόσοις τρόποις ἀπίθανον, εἴρηται σαφῶς ἐν τοῖς ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον. I will come to speak about the article in Eusebius and in the *VS* passage later on.

contre les écrits de Philostrate en l’honneur d’Apollonius. Similarly Anderson (1986) 121; Swain (1999) 157, n.1; Robiano (2001) 637; Whitmarsh (2001) 225, n.170. Robiano (2001) 638 states that ‘il semble que le texte philostratéen connaisse parfaitement l’usage de cette préposition pour signifier sans aucun doute possible un éloge’.

⁵ Reardon (1971) 189 combines the first and the third approach without, however, claiming that the novel-like character of *VA* is already apparent from the title: ‘*La Vie d’Apollonius de Tyane* – plus exactement *En l’honneur d’Apollonius de Tyane* – est presque un roman’. Billault (2000) 51 sits on the fence. On the one hand, he states that the title ‘signifie littéralement *Les choses relatives à Apollonios de Tyane* et le mot “vie” n’y figure pas. *Le livre d’Apollonios* serait plus exact, malgré une légère ambiguïté’. But on the other hand, he sympathizes with Reardon’s translation of the title, ‘qui rend bien compte du caractère encomiastique du livre, même si elle s’éloigne un peu de la lettre du texte grec’ (51, n.13).

⁶ Gyselinck (2008) 3–5 wittily argues that a bibliothecarian aiming at clarity would be compelled to buy

some 20 copies of the work and put them under the headings ‘biography’, ‘travel literature’, ‘philosophy’, ‘history’ and so on. Hägg (2012) 319–20 argues that the vague title ‘leaves him the possibility of combining – freely alternating between or fusing – a number of approaches to his subject, as we shall presently see exemplified in the text: apology, hagiography, biography, travelogue, documentary, fiction, paradoxography, political pamphlet, philosophical treatise, religious protreptic ...’. See also Francis (1998).

⁷ **F** can be consulted at <http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0000830199&keyworks=plut.69.33#page/1/mode/1up> (accessed 24 June 2015).

⁸ For the textual tradition of *VA* see Boter (2009; 2014). The fourth primary ms. of *VA*, Vaticanus Pal. gr. 329 (**Q**), only starts in Book 4, ch. 25 (at ἐξωγράφει, p. 144.27 Kayser (1870–1871)), the preceding part of the work having got lost. **Q** is a gemellus of **F**. See fig. 1 for a slightly simplified stemma of *VA*.

⁹ The word λόγος here is not to be regarded as forming part of the title: it equals our ‘Book’.

In the third place, Eunapius *VS* 2.1.4 states the following: ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐς τοῦτον ὁ Λήμιος ἐπετέλεσε Φιλόστρατος, βίον ἐπιγράψας Ἀπολλωνίου τὰ βιβλία, δέον Ἐπιδημίαν ἐς ἀνθρώπους θεοῦ καλεῖν. It is possible that Eunapius found the title βίος Ἀπολλωνίου in his source. It is also possible that he introduced this title himself. The point he wants to make is that Philostratus should have given his work the name Ἐπιδημία ἐς ἀνθρώπους θεοῦ, 'God's sojourn among men'; in order to bring out the contrast with this title βίος ἀπολλωνίου is much clearer than ἐς τὸν τυανέα ἀπολλώνιον.

In the fourth place, two 'codices' in Photius' *Bibliotheca*, 44 and 241, are devoted to *VA*. The title of 'codex' 44 runs ἀνεγνώσθη Φιλοστράτου Τυρίου (sic) εἰς τὸν Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως βίον λόγοι ὀκτώ, which is a conflation of the title in **AE** and the title in **F**. In 'codex' 241 the mss are divided. Ms. A has ἀνεγνώσθη ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀπὸ φωνῆς Φιλοστράτου, which corresponds to the title in **AE** of *VA*. Ms. M has ἀνεγνώσθη ἀπολλωνίου βίος ἀπὸ φωνῆς Φιλοστράτου, which is close to the title of *VA* in **F**. Now Photius' source is a gemellus of the common ancestor of **F** and **Q**. Because of the divergencies in Photius and because the titles of Books 2–8 are of the type φιλοστράτου εἰς τὸν τυανέα in **FQ** – as in the other two primary mss – I assume that the common source of Photius and **FQ** had two titles, εἰς τὸν τυανέα ἀπολλώνιον and ἀπολλωνίου βίος (or βίος ἀπολλωνίου), the latter possibly derived from Eunapius.

Finally, the *Suda* has the same title as **F**: see for instance κ 2341 ὡς λέγει Φιλόστρατος ὁ Λήμιος ἐν τῷ βίῳ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως and φ 421 ἔγραψε (...) Ἀπολλωνίου βίον τοῦ Τυανέως ἐν βιβλίοις η'. The source of the *Suda* is derived from the same source as **F**.¹⁰

To sum up: Philostratus in the self-reference in *VS*, Eusebius in the title of his treatise and the archetype of the medieval tradition have εἰς (τὸν τυανέα) ἀπολλώνιον; Eunapius and the **FQ** branch of the medieval tradition have βίος ἀπολλωνίου (τοῦ τυανέως) but in this branch there are traces of the other title as well, namely in Photius and in the titles of Books 2–8 in **FQ** (which coincide with the titles of these books in **AE**). I conclude that εἰς (τὸν τυανέα) ἀπολλώνιον must be regarded as the original title of the work.¹¹ But should the words τὸν τυανέα be included or not? I think they should. As to the omission of the words in *VS*, Kayser rightly remarks: 'ubi omittitur quidem Τυανέα quippe lectum in superioribus'.¹² Because τὸν τυανέα had already been mentioned a few lines before it would be cumbersome to repeat it in the reference to *VA*.¹³ As to the title of Eusebius' treatise: here the words τὸν τυανέα are absent in the mss but they were added in the Aldine edition, albeit after the name of Apollonius: εἰς ἀπολλώνιον τὸν τυανέα.¹⁴ The words τὸν τυανέα may have fallen out in Eusebius' source or in the course of the transmission of Eusebius' treatise, but I think it more probable that Eusebius thought that the mentioning of φιλοστράτου εἰς ἀπολλώνιον, that is, author with short title, would be sufficient for his readers to identify the work.¹⁵

¹⁰ For a discussion of the stemmatical position of Photius and *Suda*, see Boter (2014) 38–45.

¹¹ With regard to the form of the preposition it should be noted that in the title all witnesses have εἰς, not ἐς. The form εἰς is also found in all mss in the titles of Books 2–8. On the other hand, there are many places in *VA* where the witnesses have ἐς. I think it is best to print everywhere the form as given in the transmission and not to strive for consistency in such matters. We simply cannot tell whether authors themselves intended to be consistent in this respect.

¹² The full passage runs as follows: ἐρασθῆναι τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης καὶ ἐτέρους μὲν, ἐπιδήλως δὲ Ἀπολλώνιον φασὶ τὸν Τυανέα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπαξιώσαι, τῷ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ζυγγενέσθαι δι' ἔρωτα εὐπαιδίας, ἐπειδὴ θεϊότερος ἀνθρώπων. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ὁπόσοις τρόποις ἀπίθανον, εἴρηται σαφῶς ἐν τοῖς ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον.

¹³ The absence of τοῦ τυανέως in Eunapius can be explained in the same way as its absence in Philostratus' self-reference in *VS*: in Eunapius too the name Apollonius with the toponym had already been mentioned a few lines earlier, ἐν οἷς ... ἦν ... Ἀπολλωνίως τε ὁ ἐκ Τυάνων, οὐκέτι φιλόσοφος ἀλλ' ἦν τι θεῶν τι καὶ ἀνθρώπου μέσον. τὴν γὰρ Πυθαγόρειον φιλοσοφίαν ζηλώσας, πολὺ τὸ θεϊότερον καὶ ἐνεργὸν κατ' αὐτὴν ἐπεδείξατο. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐς τοῦτον ὁ Λήμιος ἐπετέλεσε Φιλόστρατος, βίον ἐπιγράψας Ἀπολλωνίου τὰ βιβλία, δέον Ἐπιδημίαν ἐς ἀνθρώπους θεοῦ καλεῖν.

¹⁴ Des Places wrongly states in his apparatus that the words were added by Kayser.

¹⁵ An analogous argument can be developed with regard to the absence of τοῦ τυανέως in Photius: the combination of the author's name, Philostratus, and the short title ἀπολλωνίου βίος is sufficient to identify the work. For a modern parallel of such an abbreviated title

Let us now turn to the article *Τά* which precedes the title in the modern editions of *VA* but which is absent from the mss **A** and **E**. As we have already seen, Kayser argues that Philostratus' self-reference εἶρηται ἐν τοῖς ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον shows that the article belongs to the title. Eusebius also has the article in the title of his work, πρὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Φιλοστράτου εἰς Ἀπολλώνιον. To my mind, the article does not belong to the original title. The strongest argument in favour of this thesis is the absence of the article in **A** and **E**. Secondly, in Photius' 'codex' 44 the title is ἀνεγνώσθη Φιλοστράτου Τυρίου (sic) εἰς τὸν Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως βίον λόγοι ὀκτώ, without τὰ preceding εἰς τὸν Ἀπολλωνίου. Thirdly, the presence of the article in Philostratus' self-reference and in Eusebius does not constitute an argument in favour of adding it to the title but should be explained in a different way.

There are many works with a title starting with a preposition such as Περὶ φύσεως. In references to a work with such a title the addition of the definite article before the title is indispensable, either in the singular or in the plural. Thus we find ἐν τοῖς περὶ Φύσεως (for example Plu. 1044c) and ἐν τῷ περὶ φύσεως (for example Clem. *Strom.* 5.14.133), but never *ἐν περὶ φύσεως.¹⁶ As to the use of the article preceding a title starting with *περὶ* it is interesting to have a look at Galen 18a.199 Kühn: τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ βιβλίον ἐπιγράφεται Περὶ τῶν καθ' Ἴπποκράτην στοιχείων. ἕτερα δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ τὰ Περὶ κράσεων, ἐν οἷς δείκνυμι, τίνα μὲν κτέ. In both cases the title must have been Περὶ ..., without the article. When the title forms part of the running text Galen adds the article.¹⁷ This satisfactorily explains the presence of the article in the reference in the epitome of *VS*: τοῦτο τοῦ Φιλοστράτου ἔοικεν εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν Τυανέα Ἀπολλώνιον (quoted by Kayser (1844) VIII).

Thus it has become clear that the original title of the work is εἰς τὸν τυανέα ἀπολλώνιον, without the article.

III. The meaning of the title

Now that we have established the form of the title we can turn to its meaning. In the first place we can conclude that the absence of *Τά* from the title refutes Bowie's claim that the title is meant to evoke associations with the novel.¹⁸

one might think of Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*, which is usually referred to as Goethe's *Werther*. For curiosity's sake I will briefly discuss the history of the title in the editions. The *editio princeps* by Aldus Manutius (1501–1502) has Φιλοστράτου εἰς τὸν ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ τυανέως βίον βιβλία ὀκτώ, which is rendered in Latin as *Philostrati de vita Apollonii Tyanei libri octo*. The same title is also found in the editions by Morel (1608) and Olearius (1709); the latter has *Tyanensis* instead of *Tyanei*. This title is the same as the one in Photius' 'codex' 44 and I assume that Aldus took the title from Photius' *Bibliotheca*. Laur. plut. 69.26, which is the source of the Aldine edition, does not have any title; the title should have been added by the rubricator but this was never done. In the year 1501 Photius' *Bibliotheca* was not yet available in print but the Marcian library already possessed a number of mss of the work – I therefore assume that Aldus consulted one of these mss. The title in the Aldine edition stood as the basis of the title *Vita Apollonii* as it is used nowadays. It is also reproduced in the early translations into vernacular languages, such as Baldelli's *Della vita di Apollonio Tiano* (1549) and de Vigenère's translation *De la vie d'Apollonius Thyaneen* (1611). The title introduced by Kayser in 1844, *Τὰ ἐς τὸν Τυανέα Ἀπολλώνιον*, is reproduced in later editions such as Westermann (1849), Conybeare (1912)

and Mumprecht (1983). Jones, in his Loeb edition which replaces the one by Conybeare, states: 'Philostratus may have entitled the work *On Apollonius of Tyana*, but in general form and structure it is a biography, and far the longest that survives from antiquity' (Jones (2005) 3). The title page preceding Book 1 has 'The Life of Apollonius of Tyana', but Jones does not add any Greek title.

¹⁶ Editors are not unanimous in their choice of which word should be written with a capital. See for instance: Arist. *Metaph.* 983a33 τεθεώρηται μὲν οὖν ἰκανῶς περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς περὶ φύσεως (Jaeger, *OCT*); Plu. 1044C Γράψας τοίνυν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Φύσεως (Pohlenz-Westman, Teubner); Them. *in de An.*, CAG 5.3, p. 46 ἀλλ' ἐν γε τῷ πάσχοντι καὶ διατιθεμένοι τὰς τῶν ποιούντων ἐνυπάρχειν ἐνεργείας ἔφημεν ἐν τοῖς Περὶ φύσεως ἀποδείξαντες (Heinze, *CAG*).

¹⁷ See also, for example, Galen 6.770 Kühn ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπὶ πλέον ἐν τοῖς τρισὶν ὑπομήμασι διήλθον, ἃ Περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς τροφαῖς δυνάμεων ἐπιγράφεται.

¹⁸ With regard to the titles of the novels to which Bowie refers one might also wonder whether these titles started with *Τά*. For instance, the ms. of Chariton's novel has the heading Χαρίτωνος Ἀφροδισίεως τῶν περὶ Χαίρεαν καὶ Καλλιρόην ἐρωτικῶν διηγημάτων λόγος α'. (On the basis of the reference in the papyrus and the subscription of the work itself, Reardon (2004) prints the

We have already seen that the preposition εἰς is interpreted in two ways: the neutral 'on' and the encomiastic 'in honour of'. I have investigated the use of the preposition ἐς/εἰς in titles and references to works or passages of works.

The use of εἰς in the sense of 'in honour/praise of' is regular in the titles of hymns, encomia and epigrams: *h.Hom.* 2 Εἰς Δημήτραν; *Call. h.Ap.* Εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα; *Arist. Rhet.* 1416a1 mentions Gorgias' ἐγκώμιον εἰς Ἡλείου; *Aelius Aristides Or.* 28.141 Keil (p. 398.17 Jebb) τὰ εἰς αὐτὸν αὐτῶι ταῦτα ἐγκώμια πεποιημένα; a number of speeches in praise of emperors by Themistius bear titles such as εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Κωνστάντιον; in the Christian epigrams in the *Anthologia Palatina* we find titles such as 1.19 εἰς τὸν σωτήρα, 1.84 εἰς τὸν Λουκᾶν; in *Schol. Nicand. Ther.* 3 τούτωι δὲ τὰ Περσικὰ γέγραπται καὶ τὰ εἰς Λεόντιον τὴν ἐρωμένην, it can be safely assumed that εἰς has a positive sense. Robiano (2001) 638, n.5, quotes some instances of the encomiastic use of ἐς in *VA*, namely 1.14 ὕμνος αὐτῶι τις ἐς τὴν Μνημοσύνην ἦδετο, 1.30 τοὺς ὕμνους, οὓς ἐς τὴν Ἄρτεμιν τὴν Περγαίαν ἄδουσι and 6.39 ὕμνοι αὐτῶι ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα ἦδοντο. I might add 4.16, ἐχέτω δὲ ὁ λόγος τῷ τε ἀνδρὶ τιμὴν, ἐς ὃν ζυγγέγραπται, where it is explicitly stated that the author hopes that the work will bring honour to Apollonius (ἐς ὃν ζυγγέγραπται).¹⁹

Exceptionally, εἰς can also have the opposite meaning to 'in honour of', namely 'against', as in the title of Philo's Εἰς Φλάκκον. I have not found other instances of this negative use. This use is exactly similar to Latin *in* + acc., as *In Verrem*. εἰς is regular in titles of commentaries; see for instance *Γαλήνου εἰς τὸ Προρρητικὸν Ἰπποκράτους ὑπόμνημα πρῶτον* (16.489 Kühn); *Eusebius HE* 6.32.1 ἐν ταῦτωι δὲ καὶ τὰ εἰς τὸν Ἰεζεκιὴλ συνετάττετο; *Σμπλικίου εἰς τὸ α' τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ οὐρανοῦ*. Again, this use is similar to Latin *in* + acc.

Pausanias very often uses ἐς in the neutral sense 'about'. Here are some instances: 3.2.3 ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς Λαβῶτας ὁ Ἐχεστράτου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἐν Σπάρτηι. τοῦτον τὸν Λαβῶταν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῶι λόγῳ τῶι ἐς Κροῖσον ὑπὸ Λυκούργου τοῦ θεμένου τοὺς νόμους φησὶν ἐπιτροπευθῆναι παῖδα ὄντα; 3.24.1 καὶ μοι τὰ ἐς τὸν Κλεώνυμον ἐτέρωθι ἔστιν εἰρημένα; 3.18.16 πεποιήται δὲ καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἀχελῶϊον Ἡρακλέους πάλῃ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐς Ἦραν, ὡς ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου δεθείη, καὶ ὃν Ἄκαστος ἔθηκεν ἀγῶνα ἐπὶ πατρὶ καὶ τὰ ἐς Μενέλαον καὶ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Πρωτέα ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐαι; 7.8.6 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐς πλέον ἐπέξεισιν αὐθὶς μοι τὰ ἐς Ἀρκάδας.

So we see that ἐς/εἰς can be used in both a positive and a neutral sense (and sporadically in a negative sense). When used of persons in titles it almost always has a positive connotation; when used in running text (as in Pausanias) it usually has a neutral sense.

In *VA* 1.3.2 Philostratus mentions the work by Moiragenes, οὐ γὰρ Μοιραγένει γε προσεκτέον βιβλία μὲν ξυνηθέντι ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον τέτταρα; and in *VA* 8.29 he refers to Damis' notes as Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Τυανέα Δάμιδι τῶι Ἀσσυρίῳ ἀναγεγραμμένα. The use of ἐς in these two passages may be an echo of the title which Philostratus gave to his own work; alternatively (or rather, simultaneously: see below) these cases may be instances of ἐς in the sense of 'about' which occurs so frequently in running text in Pausanias.²⁰

title Τὰ περὶ Καλλιρόην ἐρωτικά διηγήματα.) Here the article τῶν belongs to διηγημάτων, whereas in Τὰ ἐς τὸν Τυανέα Ἀπολλώνιον there is no substantive to which the article belongs; further, τῶν διηγημάτων in its turn depends on α', 'Book One'. By the same token, in the title of Longus' novel, *Ποιμενικά τὰ κατὰ Δάφνιν καὶ Χλόην*, the article τὰ stands in conjunction with *Ποιμενικά*. And in the title of Achilles Tatius' novel, *Ἀχιλλέως Τατίου Ἀλεξανδρέως τῶν κατὰ Λευκίπτην καὶ Κλειτοφῶντα α'*, the article in the genitive is necessary to make the whole title depend on α', 'Book One'; cf. what I have said above about the addition of the article in references to titles such as *Περὶ φύσεως*. All in all, I

think that, for example, the title of Chariton should rather be *Περὶ Καλλιρόην* or even *Καλλιρόη* (which parallels titles such as Xenophon's *Ἀγησίλαος*) than the title with the article we find in our editions.

¹⁹ See also Phillimore (1912) xvii: 'A Hymn was regularly addressed εἰς τὸν δεῖνα; and in fact we have exactly our title in the *Apollonius* itself, [1.30 (p. 32.15 Kayser (1870–1871))] τὰ ἐς τὴν Ἄρτεμιν, "The poem in honour of Artemis"'. Of course, Phillimore wrongly believed that the article belongs to the title of *VA*.

²⁰ So Jones (2005) 3, n.1 (quoted above, n.3) on the former passage.

The absence of the article *Tá* from the title reinforces the encomiastic interpretation of the title, *εἰς τὸν τυανέα ἀπολλώνιον*, as it corresponds exactly with such titles as *εἰς Δημήτραν*.²¹ On the other hand, we have seen that the preposition can have a neutral meaning. With regard to the title, Hägg (2012) 319 states: ‘But vagueness is no doubt the author’s very intention’; Swain (1999) 157, n.1 renders the preposition *εἰς* as ‘relating to/in honour of’.²² I very much sympathize with Swain’s rendering, which suggests right from the start that the work is both an encomium (‘in honour of’) and an objective report (‘relating to’).²³ I do not know of a preposition in any current modern language which covers the two meanings of *εἰς* simultaneously, but if a choice has to be made – and this is inescapable because double renderings are inadmissible in translations – I would support Swain’s choice, which becomes clear from the title of his article, ‘Defending Hellenism: Philostratus, *In Honour of Apollonius*’. *Traduttore traditore*.

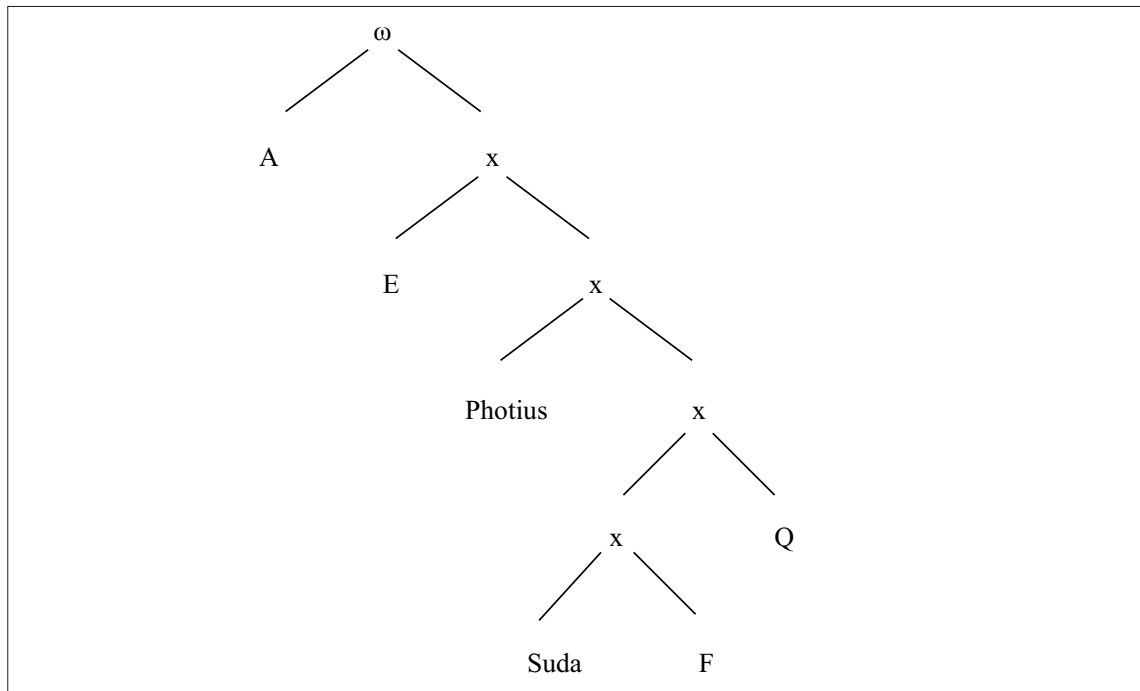


Fig. 1. Stemma of *VA* (slightly simplified).

²¹ One of this journal’s anonymous reviewers remarks: ‘*εἰς* in the encomiastic context seems to rely on the idea of presence, whether real (in the case of the emperors and the Gorgias title) or imagined (in the case of the Homeric hymns, where the god is certainly envisaged as being in the vicinity of the speaker). In other words, the primary meaning is “addressed to”, which then takes on an encomiastic tinge. Clearly Philostratus’ text is not addressed to Apollonius in this way’. I fully agree, but even so I think that this does not undermine my thesis. For one thing, I do not contend that the title is meant as indicating a hymn *tout court*. I contend that the title is partly *inspired by* the titles of hymns, namely by borrowing the encomiastic element which is characteristic of hymns. For another I would refer to *VA* 6.39, the story about the man who found an enormous treasure in the land he had bought, while following Apollonius’ advice; the man is overwhelmed with joy and conse-

quently ὕμνοι αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα ἤδοντο, ‘he sang hymns in praise of him [= Apollonius]’. Here we need neither assume that Apollonius himself was present when the man sang his praise nor that his presence was evoked. The phrase ὕμνοι αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα ἤδοντο is used in a loose sense. And this is the case with the use of *εἰς* in the title of the work too.

²² For the ambiguity of *VA* and its title, see above, with n.6.

²³ The same ambiguity appears to be present in 1.3.2. Here we first read οὐ γὰρ Μοιραγένει γε προσεκτέον βιβλία μὲν ξυνοθέντι ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον τέτταρα; as we have already seen (n.20), Jones argues that here the meaning of *εἰς* is simply ‘about’. A few lines further, however, we read ἐχέτω δὲ ὁ λόγος τῷ τε ἀνδρὶ τιμῆν, ἐς ὃν ξυγγέγραπται; here the preposition is directly coupled to the concept of τιμή, ‘honour’.

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