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 Απολλώνιον, is not correct. The genuine title of the work is Εἰς τὸν Τυανέα Απολλώνιον. 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 Tyana1 (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 Απολλώνιον, ‘The things concerning/in honour of Apollonius of Tyana’. There are two issues concerning the title, namely the function of the article Τὰ 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 Τὰ 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 Τὰ: ‘The title Τὰ ἐς τὸν Τυανέα Απολλώνιον 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 κατά, 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

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)).


4 Des Places (1986) translates the title of Eusebius’ treatise, Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου πρὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Φιλοστράτου εἰς Απολλώνιον, 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). Yet others again (Gyselinck 2008; Hägg 2012) draw attention to the ambiguous status of the work, which is reflected in the title. 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 tā ἐς τὸν Τυανέα Απολλώνιον, et hunc indicem optimus liber π, atque antiquissimus f habent. In Vitis Sophistorum 570 ... citat opus suum dicens τούτο μὲν δὴ ὀπόσοις τρόποις ἀπίθανον, εἰρήται σαφῶς ἐν τοῖς ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον, ubi omittitur quidem Τυανέα quippe lectum in superioribus. Eandem inscriptionem auctor epitomae Vit. Soph. tuetur in brevi prooemio: τοῦτο τοῦ Φιλοστράτου ἔοικεν εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν Τυανέα Ἀπολλώνιον. Brevitatis gratia alii abierunt inde ab Eunapio ad vulgarem βίος Απολλώνιον, 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. plat. 69.33; Boter’s siglum F) has βίος ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ τυανέως. Escorialensis F III.8 (E) derives from the same source as F; this lost common source is a gemellus of A. 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 ἀπολλώνιον (+ λόγ(ος) Α) η’.

In the second place, the title of Eusebius’ treatise against Apollonius runs Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Φιλοστράτου εἰς τὸν τυανέα 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, εἰρήται σαφῶς ἐν τοῖς ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον. I will come to speak about the article in Eusebius and in the VS passage later on.


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 Apollonius de Tyane et le mot “vie” n’y figure pas. Le livre d’Apollonius 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 achèves à son sujet, as we shall presently see exemplified in the text: apology, hagiography, biography, travelogue, documentary, fiction, paradoxography, political pamphlet, philosophical treatise, religious proto-epic ...’. See also Francis (1998).

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).


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 ἐξορθόθεν, 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 its ‘Book’.
In the third place, Eunapius VS 2.1.4 states the following: ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐς τοῦτον ὁ Λήμνιος ἐπετέλεσε Φιλόστρατος, βιον ἐπιγράψας Ἀπολλώνιον τὰ βιβλία, δέον Ἐπιδημίαν ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον καλέν. It is possible that Eunapius found the title βιον Φιλόστρατος 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 'Επιδημία ἐς Ἀπολλώνιον, 'God’s sojourn among men'; in order to bring out the contrast with this title βίος Ἀπολλωνίου is much clearer than ἐς ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ τυανέα.

In the fourth place, two 'codices' in Photius' Bibliotheca, 44 and 241, are devoted to VA. The title of 'codex' 44 runs ἀνεγνώσθη Φιλόστρατου Τυρίου (sic) εἰς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀπὸ φωνῆς Φιλοστράτου, which corresponds to the title in AE of VA. Ms. M has ἀνεγνώσθη ἐκ τοῦ εἰς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον 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 Q – 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 ἀπολλώνιον βίος (or βίος ἀπολλώνιον), the latter possibly derived from Eunapius.

Finally, the Suda has the same title as F: see for instance κ 2341 ὡς λέγει Φιλόστρατος ὁ Λήμνιος ἐπετέλεσε Φιλόστρατος, βίον Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ τυανέως ἐπετέλεσε Φιλόστρατος, βίον ἐπιγράψας Ἀπολλωνίου τὰ βιβλία, δέον Ἐπιδημίαν ἐς ἀνθρώπου θεοῦ καλεῖν. It is possible that Eunapius found the title βίος ἀπολλωνίου in his source. It is also possible that Eunapius added the words τὸν τυανέα that he found in one of his sources.

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 ἀπολλώνιον (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. 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’. Because τὸν τυανέα had already been mentioned a few lines before it would be cumbersome to repeat it in the reference to VA. As to the title of Eusebius’ treatise: here the words τὸν τυανέα are absent in the ms but they were added in the Aldine edition, albeit after the name of Apollonius: εἰς ἀπολλώνιον τὸν τυανέα. 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.

10 For a discussion of the stemmatic 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 εἰς. 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 εἰς. 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 ἑτέρους μέν, ἐπιδήλως δὲ ἐν τῷ τυανέως μέσον. τὴν γὰρ Πυθαγόρειον φιλοσοφίαν ζηλώσας, πολὺ οὐκέτι φιλόσοφος ἀλλ' ἦν θεῶν τι καὶ ἀνθρώπου. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐς τοῦτον ὁ Λήμνιος ἐπετέλεσε Φιλόστρατος, βίον Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ τυανέως, ὡς λέγει Φιλόστρατος ὁ Λήμνιος ἐπετέλεσε Φιλόστρατος, βίον Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ τυανέως, ὡς λέγει Φιλόστρατος, βίον Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ τυανέως, δέον Ἐπιδημίαν ἐς ἀνθρώπου θεοῦ καλέν. τὴν γὰρ Ἀπολλώνιον, τὸ θειότερον καὶ ἐνεργὸν κατ' αὐτὴν ἐπεδείξατο. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐς τοῦτον ὁ Λήμνιος ἐπετέλεσε Φιλόστρατος, βίον Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ τυανέως, δέον Ἐπιδημίαν ἐς ἀνθρώπου θεοῦ καλέν.

13 The absence of τὸν τυανέα 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 ἠφίλοσφος ἀλλ’ ἦν τι θεῶν τι καὶ ἀνθρώπου μέσον. τὴν γὰρ Πυθαγόρειον φιλοσοφίαν ζηλόμενος, πολύ τοι θειότερον καὶ ἐνεργὸν κατ’ αὐτὴν ἐπεξείζητο. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐς τοῦτον ὁ Λήμνιος ἐπετέλεσε Φιλόστρατος, βίον Ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ τυανέως, δέον Ἐπιδημίαν ἐς ἀνθρώπου θεοῦ καλέν.

14 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 ἀπολλώνιον βίος is sufficient to identify the work.
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 εἰρηται ἐν τοίς ἐς Απολλώνιον shows that the article belongs to the title. Eusebius also has the article in the title of his work, πρὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Φιλοστράτου εἰς Απολλώνιον. 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 ἄνεγγυσεθή Φιλοστράτου Τυρίου (sic) εἰς τὸν Απολλώνιον τοῦ Τυανέως βίον λόγοι ὀκτώ, without τά preceding εἰς τὸν Απολλώνιον. 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 Clem. Strom. 5.14.133), but never ἐν περὶ φύσεως. As to the use of the article preceding a title starting with περὶ it is interesting to have a look at Galen 18a.199 Κύην: τούτου μὲν δὴ τὸ βιβλίον ἐπιγέγραπται Περὶ τῶν καθ’ Ἱπποκράτην στοιχείων. ἕτερα δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ τὰ Περὶ κράσεων, ἐν οἷς δείκνυμι, τίνα μὲν κτἑ. 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 μὲν δὴ τὸ βιβλίον ἐπιγέγραπται Περὶ τῶν καθ’ Ἱπποκράτην στοιχείων. ἕτερα δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ τὰ Περὶ κράσεων, ἐν οἷς δείκνυμι, τίνα μὲν κτἑ.

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 ἀπολλώνιον τοῦ τυανέως 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 Tyanesis 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. plur. 69.26, which is the source of the Aldine edition, does not have the article; 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 Apolloonio Tianeo (1549) and de Vigenère’s translation De la vie d’Apollonius Tyaneen (1611). The title introduced by Kayser in 1844, Τά 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 I 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 ικάνως περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμᾶς 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 τοῖς πάσχοντι καὶ διατιθεμένοι τάς τῶν ποιοῦντων ἑναρμόσεις ἑνεργείας ἐπιδήμην ἐν τοῖς Περὶ φύσεως ἀποδειξάντες (Heinze, CAG).

17 See also, for example, Galen 6.770 Kühn υπὲρ ὧν ἐπὶ πλέον ἐν τοῖς τρισὶν ὑπομνήμασι διῆλθον, ἃ Περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ πλέον ἐν τοῖς τρισὶν ὑπομνήμασι διῆλθον, ἃ (Jones (2005) 3) ἐπὶ πλέον ἐν τοῖς τρισὶν ὑπομνήμασι διῆλθον, ἃ (Jones (2005) 3).

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 Χαιρέαν 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 Ηλείους; Aelius Aristides Or. 28.141 Keil (p. 398.17 Jebb) τὰ εἰς αὑτὸν 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 σωτῆρα, 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 εἰς τὴν Μνημοσύνην ᾔδετο, 1.30 τοὺς ὕμνους, οὓς εἰς τὴν Ἁρτεμίν περὶ Περγαίαν ᾄδουσι and 6.39 ὕμνοι αὐτῶι εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα ᾔδοντο. I might add 4.16, ἐχέτω δὲ ὁ λόγος τῷ τε ἀνδρὶ τιμήν, εἰς ὃν ξυγγέγραπται, where it is explicitly stated that the author hopes that the work will bring honour to Apollonius (ἐς ὃν ξυγγέγραπται).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 Ἱπποκράτους ὑπόμνημα πρῶτον (16.489 Kühn); Eusebius HE 6.32.1 ἐν ταὐτῶι δὲ καὶ τὰ εἰς τὸν Ἰεζεκιὴλ συνετάττετο; Σιμπλικίου 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 ἐς τῶν τεταρτῶν οὐ πολλοῖς Λαβώτας ὁ Ἐχεστράτου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοῦτον τὸν Λαβώταν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῶι λόγωι τῶι ἐς Κροῖσον ὑπὸ Λυκούργου τοῦ θεμένου τοὺς νόμους φησίν ἐπιτροπευθῆναι παῖδα ὄντα; 3.24.1 καί μοι τὰ ἐς τὸν Κλεώνυμον ἑτέρωθί ἐστιν εἰρημένα; 3.18.16 πεποίηται δὲ καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἀχελῶιον Ἡρακλέους πάλη καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐς Ἦραν, ὡς ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου δεθείη, καὶ ὃν Ἀκαστος ἔθηκεν ἀγῶνα ἐπὶ πατρὶ καὶ τὰ ἐς Μενέλαον καὶ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Πρωτέα ἐν Ὀδυσσείαι; 7.8.6 ταῦτα μὲν δὲ ἐς πλέον ἐπέξεισιν αὖθί 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 ξυνθέντι 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

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 Ἁρτεμίν, “The poem in honour of Artemis”.’ Of course, Phillimore wrongly believed that the article belongs to the title of I.A.

20 So Jones (2005) 3, n.1 (quoted above, n.3) on the former passage.
The absence of the article Τά from the title reinforces the encomiastic interpretation of the title, εἰς τὸν τυανέα ἀπολλώνιον, as it corresponds exactly with such titles as εἰς Δημήτραν. 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’. 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’). 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.

21 One of this journal’s anonymous reviewers remarks: ‘ἐς 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-}

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

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 ξυνθέντι 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 τιμήν, ἐς ὃν ξυγγέγραπται; here the preposition is directly coupled to the concept of τιμή, ‘honour’.

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THE TITLE OF PHILOSTRATUS’ LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA

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