

**Classical Tragedy, the Second Sophistic and Greek
Criticism of Tyranny in
The Roman Empire: Flavius Philostratus and the
*Life of Apollonius of Tyana***

**Danny PRAET
Ghent University**

Apollonius of Tyana travelled the world, from the Hindu Kush to the shores of the Atlantic, and Flavius Philostratus, the author of the early third century biography of the Pythagorean sage, also describes his travels to Egypt¹ and all the way to Upper-Egypt and to Ethiopia (*Life of Apollonius* book 5, 20 ff). This trip to Egypt is a sort of home-coming for Apollonius because the sage is presented by Philostratus (*Life of Apollonius* 1, 4) as the incarnation of the god Proteus, whom Homer (*Odyssey* IV, 355 ff.) had located on the island of Pharos. The godlike philosopher arrived in Alexandria and visited the timeless land in timeless fashion. Apollonius and ten of his disciples (*Life of Apollonius* 5, 43.3): “after praying to the gods and sacrificing as if about to start on a sea voyage, set out straight for the pyramids on camelback, keeping the Nile on their right. They also crossed the river at many points in order to learn about everything on its banks, and there was no city, sanctuary or any sacred place in Egypt that they passed in silence, but were constantly hearing or giving a kind of sacred discourse, and any vessel that carried Apollonius resembled a pilgrim ship.”²

The city of Alexandria is chosen by Philostratus in the *Vita Apollonii*, as the scene of a long discussion (5, 27 - 36) on the best possible political system.³ The new emperor Vespasian asked whether his predecessors Nero and Caligula had brought monarchy in disrepute and whether he should restore the Republic. In book V, chapters 27 and the following, the philosophers

Tragedy, the Second Sophistic and Greek Criticism of Tyranny

Dio of Prusa and the Stoic Euphrates, discussed with the emperor Vespasian and with Apollonius. Euphrates pleaded for the restoration of the republic, Dio believed the people of Rome had lost the ability to rule themselves (5, 34): “I think it a greater achievement not to let tyranny come about than to end one already established. I think highly of democracy, for even if it is a constitution perhaps inferior to aristocracy, still the wise prefer it to tyranny and oligarchy. I am afraid, however, that these tyrannies, by reducing the Romans to subservience, will make the change difficult, so that they may be unable to be free or to gaze on democracy, like people emerging from darkness to the light of day.”⁴ Vespasian should oppose Vitellius to prevent a new tyranny from rising, and then let the people decide: “if you defeat him, as I think you will succeed in doing without effort, give the Romans the choice of their own constitution. If they choose democracy, grant it to them.” Apollonius however pleaded for an enlightened monarchy (V, 35.4): “Just as one man of exceptional virtue changes democracy so as to make it appear the rule of one man better than the rest; so the rule of one man who is always looking out for the common good is a democracy.”

The link with ancient drama is not to be found in these passages about the best constitution, but in the confrontation between Apollonius and Vespasian’s second son, the tyrant Domitian. Flavius Philostratus has designed a very sophisticated web of allusions to and quotes from Euripides, from *Bakchai*, to depict Domitian as a god-fighting tyrant and Apollonius as Dionysos, a god in human form. We also hope to show that subtle humour was one of the weapons used by Philostratus to ridicule the emperor.⁵

First I would like to mention a reference to another Euripidean tragedy from the Dionysian cycle – the *Ino* – and the allusion is to the fate of tyrants (7.5): ‘A tragic actor visited Ephesus to appear in the play *Ino* and the governor of Asia was in the audience. Though young and a distinguished consular, he had rather a timid view on these subjects. The

actor was just finishing the iambic lines in which Euripides says that tyrants whose power lasts long are overthrown by trifles, when Apollonius jumped up and said.: “But this coward understands neither Euripides nor me.”⁶ This little anecdote not only shows us that classical tragedy was still being performed in the Roman provinces but that performances could be used as platforms for political statements.

The conflict between Apollonius of Tyana and the emperor Domitian reaches a climax in book 7 of the *Vita Apollonii*.

Apollonius totally abstained from sexual intercourse and wine but he did not present his own asceticism as a model to be followed by all. Philostratus emphasizes that his abstinence from wine did not make him reject the divinity of Dionysos or deny the beneficial aspects of the grapevine. Apollonius said that: ‘everything was pure which the earth produced unaided. Wine, he said was a pure drink, since it came from a plant so beneficial to humans, but it obstructed mental balance by confusing the ether in the soul.’⁷) His diet consisted of dried fruit and vegetables and his clothing too, made of linen, was a free gift of Mother Earth. But he criticized Domitian’s decrees against planting grapevines and against making men into eunuchs.

Several aspects of his ascetic practices and of his physical appearance were linked to Pythagoreanism or to Dorian traditions. Prominently present in the *Vita Apollonii* is his long and unkempt hair. Patrick Robiano has discussed the importance of wearing long hair (κ ο μ ᾶ ν) from the point of view of philosophical traditions, as part of the appearance of a *theios anèr*, and as part of second sophistic rhetoric: as a paradoxical praise of *unkempt* hair.⁸) His physical appearance was part of the accusations made by Domitian (7.20), who saw it as an indication that Apollonius was a *goès* or, at least, an advocate of a subversive virtue.⁹) Apollonius inverted at least one aspect of this tradition: his long hair is explicitly unkempt whereas the appearance of the earlier “Pythagorean” philosopher Empedocles can be

Tragedy, the Second Sophistic and Greek Criticism of Tyranny

called extravagant and even the Indian Brahmins, whose habit of wearing their hair long (κ ο μ ᾶ ν δ ἔ ἔ π ι τ η δ ε ὕ ο υ σ ι ν) is linked to ‘all the peoples that valued Spartan ways’ (3.15.4), wear ribbons in their hair. According to Philostratus Apollonius did none of these things, but the author went to great lengths to stylize his hair with literary references.

Philostratus focuses on the long hair during the physical confrontation between Domitian and Apollonius. At the beginning of the scene, the emperor is preparing a sacrifice to his favourite goddess Athena.¹⁰⁾ As the emperor turns towards Apollonius he was (7.32.1) ‘taken aback by the Master’s appearance, [and he] said: “Aelianus, you have brought a demon before me.”’ Apollonius picks up on the special reverence for Athena and starts a discussion with Domitian about mistaking men for demons and about which humans are worthy to be called gods. With a clear reference to *Iliad* 5.127-8 Apollonius prays that Athena might do for Domitian what ‘she once did for Diomedes in Troy. She took away from Diomedes’s eyes the mist (ἄ χ λ ὀ ν) that prevents men from seeing fully, and gave him the power to distinguish gods from men. But the goddess has not cleansed you in that way.’ This altercation can be read as covert criticism of the infamous *dominus et deus* aspirations,¹¹⁾ but we will argue that it prepares the reader for the revelation of the divine nature of Apollonius. Athena had taken away the mist from Diomedes’s eyes so as not to fight any of the immortal gods, except Aphrodite,¹²⁾ and the speech of Athena is followed by the famous sequence in which Diomedes wounds the goddess of love. Since Apollonius states that the goddess Athena has not taken away the mist from Domitian’s eyes, the reader might expect the following confrontation to be one between a mortal and an immortal god. In fact, the reader had already been prepared in book 4 for the qualification of Apollonius’ imperial opponents as ‘godfighters’. The only time θ ε ο μ α χ ε ἶ ν or related words are used in the VA is in 4.44.4: in the confrontation with Nero, when Tigellinus took Apollonius for a demon. Philostratus even explicitly

(4.44.2) links this scene with 7.32.1: ‘Apollonius is later said to have had the same effect on Domitian.’ Tigellinus and Apollonius have a discussion about ‘unmasking’ demons and phantoms, and the praetorian prefect ‘decided that these words were supernatural and superhuman, and as if reluctant to fight a god he said, ‘Go where you like, for you are too powerful to be ruled by me.’¹³⁾

This first confrontation, in the palace, before the actual trial, ends in Domitian’s ‘outrages against the Master, shearing off his beard and his hair, and shackling him in the company of the most hardened criminals. Apollonius said about this shearing, “I had not realized, Majesty, that my hair put me in the dock,” and about being chained up, “If you think me a sorcerer (γ ό η ς), how will you chain me? And if you chain me, how will you say I am a sorcerer?” “Yes,” replied the other, “I will not set you free until you turn into water, or some animal or tree.”¹⁴⁾ The reference to the metamorphoses of Proteus (*Od.* 4.350ff) should be called tragic irony in light of VA 1.4 where Apollonius is presented as an incarnation of the old sea god. The tragic undertones become even more clear in what follows. Philostratus introduces explicit literary parallels for the cutting of hair in 7.36 when one of Domitian’s agents came to the prison, trying to provoke *lèse majesté*. The ‘agent provocateur’ asked three questions: ‘Who would have expected Apollonius to be in jail? (...) And who would have expected that those heavenly locks would ever be cut off? (τ ί ς δ’ ἄν τὰς ἀμβροσία ς ποτὲ ἀποτμηθῆναι χαίτα ς;) (...) How is your leg taking the pain?’ Apollonius first answered in his typical ‘laconian’ style, but ‘When the man kept recalling his hair and bringing the conversation back to it, Apollonius said, “It is lucky for you, young man, that you were not one of the Greeks at Troy. You would have grieved terribly for the hair of Achilles (τὰ ς Ἀχιλλείου ς κόμα ς), I think, when he cut it for Patroclus, if he really did

Tragedy, the Second Sophistic and Greek Criticism of Tyranny

(τμηθεῖσας, εἰ δὴ ἐτμήθησαν), and you would have fainted over it. If you say you are sorry for my hair, which was squalid and turning gray, what would you have felt about his hair, which was groomed and blond?” This refers to *Iliad* 23.141: arguably the most famous haircut in ancient Greek literature. But we should note two inversions (and one subversive version).¹⁵ The first inversion was made explicit by Apollonius: his long hair was neither groomed nor blond. The second is actually too obvious to mention but should be made explicit for our argument: Achilles cut his own hair. These discrepancies are indications that Philostratus is conjuring up another famous haircut: Pentheus cutting the blond hair of the imprisoned Dionysos / priest of Dionysos in Euripides’ *Bacchae*.¹⁶

There are many parallels. Pentheus calls the foreigner from Lydia ‘a wizard, an enchanter’ (v. 234: γόησι δόσι). Because of his opposition against Dionysos he is described as a ‘godfighter’ (v. 45: θεομαχεῖ).¹⁷ The king criticizes ‘his blond locks reeking of scent’ (235)¹⁸ and associates long hair with being a *goês*. He threatens to kill him: ‘If I catch him in this country, I’ll stop him from beating his thyrsus on the ground and tossing his locks: I’ll separate his head from his body.’¹⁹ (239-241) Pentheus has imprisoned and put into fetters as many maenads as he could find. He did the same with the foreigner who, as the audience knows since verse 4, is the god himself: ‘I have exchanged my divine form for a mortal

one /

μὲν φησὶ δ’ ἀμεΐψασι κθεοῦ βροτῆσιν.’ The king thinks he is able to use force against the priest / the divinity but the prisoner has come out of his own free will and the imprisonment is but an illusion. Pentheus takes away his thyrsus and cuts the long hair of the foreigner, who responds with noted tragic irony (493-4): ‘*Pentheus*: “First I shall cut off your delicate locks.” *Dionysos*: “My locks are sacred: I grow them long in the god’s honor.”’²⁰ There is also an ironic inversion in the punishment Pentheus will undergo. The king who threatened the effeminate

stranger will appear in women's clothes and the god will first of all attend to the hair of Pentheus: 'First on your head I will cause your hair to grow long' (v. 831).

Philostratus has intertwined the Homeric and the Euripidean echoes by switching scene and choice of words. An immortal in human form, accused of being a *goês*, imprisoned by a blinded king who cuts off his long hair is clearly the situation from the *Bacchae*. Euripides uses *πλόκαμος*, *βόστρυχος* and *τέμνω*, *ἀποτέμνω* (vv. 150, 235, 493-4). Homer describing Achilles cutting his own hair has *ἀποκείρω* and *χαίτη*²¹⁾ and these are exactly the words chosen

by Philostratus (7.34):
*γενεῖων τε ἀποκείρας αὐτὸν καὶ χαίτης.*²²⁾

The allusions to the *Iliad* and the *Bacchae* are combined with citations. In his study "Quotation of earlier texts in *Ta es ton Tyanea Apollonion*" Ewen Bowie has shown that Homer is the most frequently quoted author with 46 citations or clear allusions on a total of 138 in the *Vita*. Both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are central subtexts for the general narrative of the *Life* and for a large number of its episodes.²³⁾ Herodotus second with 13 quotes; closely followed by Plato and Euripides on a shared third place with 12 citations each.

Of the Euripidean plays the *Bacchae* is clearly the most popular with three clear references. This should not come as a surprise since the mythological travels of Dionysos offer another model for Apollonius' journey to the East and his triumphant return to the West.²⁴⁾ The explicit references are nicely distributed over books 2, 4 and 6. In 2.36.1 we have a clear but significantly altered allusion to *Bacchae* 918-9. After a discussion between king Phraotes and Apollonius on madness and sanity, on the effects on the mind of heavy drinking, moderate drinking and abstinence of wine on the quality of one's nights rest, Apollonius says to his companion Damis: 'You clearly

Tragedy, the Second Sophistic and Greek Criticism of Tyranny

said that drunkards are confused in their minds and rather inclined to madness. We see those prey to drunkenness thinking that they see two moons and two suns.’ In *Bacchae*, it is Pentheus and not some drunk, who exits the palace in women’s clothes. He says it is ‘as if he sees two suns and two Thebes.’ Under the influence, not of wine, but of Dionysos the god, he now sees what he did not see before: the stranger as a bull, the stranger with horns.

In book 4.21.2 Apollonius criticizes the degeneration of the Dionysia in Athens and the general loss of manliness in Greece, comparing his contemporaries with the generation who fought the Persians: ‘These used to go to the sanctuary of Agraulos swearing to die and take up arms for their native city, but now perhaps they will swear to be Bacchants on their city’s behalf and carry a wand, not wearing any helmet, but shamefully resplendent in “woman-like” disguise, as Euripides says.’ The word $\gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\iota$ is a quote from *Bacchae* 980 where the chorus talks about the fool Pentheus in his women’s clothes. The third locus (7.11.18: ‘If Edonians or Lydians are possessed by Bacchus, you are ready to believe that the earth will give them streams of milk and wine, and quench their thirst.’) contains an allusion to *Bacchae* 704-711: the report by the servant of Pentheus sent to spy on the Maenads. The reference is clearly not to Pentheus directly, although it is remarkable that, in the previous sentence, Apollonius refers to how ‘Homer in his description of the Cyclops says that the earth feeds that most rustic and uncivilized race without their sowing or reaping.’ The Cyclops has long been identified as an intertextual characterization of Domitian,²⁵ and it could be argued that the *Bacchae* and the *Odyssey* are here united in two references not pointing directly to Domitian, as these texts are united elsewhere in giving Philostratus two types to characterize the fierce tyrant.

There were several other reasons to link Domitian with Pentheus, and to include all these references to haircuts in the *Vita Apollonii*, although this was also a favourite topic in other writings by Philostratus.²⁶ The official

iconography and literary texts show the emperor with full hair, but we know from Suetonius that the tyrant was bald at a fairly young age: ‘He was so sensitive about his baldness, that he regarded it as a personal insult if anyone else was twitted with that defect in jest or in earnest; though in a book “On the Care of the Hair”, which he published and dedicated to a friend, he wrote the following by way of consolation to the man and himself: “Do you not see that I am too tall and comely to look on?” And yet the same fate awaits my hair, and I bear with resignation the ageing of my locks in youth. Be assured that nothing is more pleasing than beauty, but nothing shorter-lived.’²⁷⁾ The words quoted by Domitian (*Il.* 21, 108) are again by Achilles: they belong to the famous speech in which the son of Peleus, enraged by the death of Patroclus, refuses to spare the life of Lykaon. Domitian adapted the next verses arguing that even fair Achilles himself was destined to die to the tragic loss of hair awaiting us all. Llewelyn Morgan has analyzed this *Libellus de cura capillorum*, its literary allusions, its humour and its historical context.²⁸⁾ Domitian combined the “strong association between Achilles and (early) death” with the “strong association between Achilles and hair.”²⁹⁾ Morgan concluded: “Hair preoccupied this emperor. He composed literature on baldness. He displayed paranoia about it; he cultivated an image which actively emphasized the hair he did not possess. His fixation – as it is fair to call it – manifested itself in more ways than one. Wit – a work on hair care written by a bald man – was one outlet.”³⁰⁾ We can not be sure that Philostratus had read or even knew this *libellus*, and even if he did, we can not be sure that Domitian also referred explicitly to the mourning Achilles who dedicated his long, blond locks to Patroclus, but enough was known about Domitian and his hair-issues to make the association almost inescapable.

Although he had issued a law against castration, Domitian kept a eunuch as his personal ‘Ganymedes’: Earinus. Dio Cassius remarked: ‘Accordingly, though he himself entertained a passion for a eunuch named Earinus, nevertheless, since Titus also had shown a great fondness for eunuchs, in

Tragedy, the Second Sophistic and Greek Criticism of Tyranny

order to insult his memory, he forbade that any person in the Roman Empire should thereafter be castrated.³¹⁾ This Earinus had cut his own hair and dedicated it to Asclepius in the sanctuary at Pergamon, hoping to preserve his youthful beauty for Domitian. The hair was kept in a golden box, adorned with precious stones. Although Philostratus probably hadn't read any of the (numerous) Latin poems written by Statius or Martial on this eunuch and the dedication of his hair, many of which were commissioned by the emperor³²⁾ other Greek contemporaries of Philostratus must have known Earinus. If only to criticize Domitian as a hypocrite, the eunuch was mentioned in the epitome of Dio Cassius.

We believe we have come full circle. Domitian, the tyrant who made laws against vines, is depicted as a godfighter: a fool who did not realize that in opposing Apollonius he was fighting the god Proteus, just as Pentheus did not recognize the god Dionysos in human form. Domitian and Pentheus imprison the god and cut his hair. Domitian was bald and rather obsessed with hair. His lover sacrificed his hair to the god in whose sanctuary Apollonius started to wear his hair long. As he was made to look a fool by Dionysos in Euripides, so we can wonder about the subtle irony used by Philostratus at the expense of Domitian. Apollonius wears long hair in honour of Dorian traditions. He follows and partially inverts the example of the Pythagorean Empedocles who had groomed hair and claimed he was 'an immortal god to you and no longer a mortal' (quoted in VA 1.1.3). The intertextual references support the claims made by some about the divine nature of Apollonius. The sophist Philostratus managed to weave a web of allusions between Homer, Euripides, philosophy, and history - both Greek and Roman - that does not cease to amaze. We hope the analysis of these references has shown how Philostratus used classical tragedy to add a literary and one might argue religious element to his criticism against tyranny. The humour Philostratus used against the tyrant was very subtle and even if his irony was understood he was at no personal risk, writing more than 120 years after the death of Domitian, but we thought this

analysis of the use of ancient drama as elements for a humoristic attack against a tyrant was appropriate for the theme of the Cairo Conference in 2012.

Notes:

¹ I would like to thank all the members of the Classics Department of Cairo University for the perfect organisation of this conference during this very difficult period of social and political transition, and I would especially want to congratulate the ever kind PhD-students for their efforts and encourage them in their scholarly love for the ancient World.

² Translation by Christopher Jones, vol. II, p. 91.

³ See Flinterman (1995) for a general analysis of the politics of the Vita Apollonii.

⁴ Translation by Christopher Jones, vol. II, p. 67.

⁵ What follows has also appeared in almost the same form in *Latomus* 70, 2011, pp. 1058-1067.

⁶ Jouan F. and Van Looy H. 2000, 205, fr. 17; with discussion of the VA VII, 5 on 185: “un récital avec des extraits de cette tragédie fut encore représentée à Éphèse sous l’empereur Domitien.”

⁷ Philostr., VA 1.8.1; vol. 1, 47-9.

⁸ See Robiano 1994, 57-65 and also his 2003.

⁹ See of course Francis 1995, 127 for the accusations regarding Apollonius’ hair and clothing. Also discussed by Anderson 1994, 135.

¹⁰ Domitian’s preference for Athena-Minerva is well documented by other sources, see D. C. 67.1.2 (‘The god that he revered most...’ All translations by Cary) and 67.16.1 (‘Minerva, whose statue he kept in his bed-chamber’); see Flinterman 1995, 147-156 for the whole Domitian episode.

¹¹ D. C. 67.5.7: ‘For he even insisted upon being regarded as a god and took vast pride in being called “master” and “god”.’ The historical accuracy of Domitian’s divine aspirations is under discussion, but for Philostratus only the reputation would have been relevant.

¹² Hom., *Il.* 5.127-132:

ἀχλὺν δ’ αὖ τοι ἀπ’ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔλον ἦ πρὶν ἐπῆεν
ὄφρ’ εὖ γιγνώσκῃς ἡμὲν θεὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα
τῶ νῦν αἶ κε θεὸς πειρώμενος ἐνθάδ’ ἵκηται

μή τι σύ γ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς ἀντικρὺ μάχεσθαι
τοῖς ἄλλοις· ἀτὰρ εἴ κε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη
ἔλθῃσ' ἐς πόλεμον, τήν γ' οὐτάμεν ὀξείῃ χαλκῶ

¹³Philostr., VA 44.4.4:

‘ἔδοξε τῷ Τιγελλίνῳ ταῦτα δαιμόνιά τε εἶναι καὶ πρόσω ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ὥσπερ θεομαχεῖν φυλαττόμενος, „χώρει“, ἔφη „οἱ βούλει, σὺ γὰρ κρείττων ἢ ὑπ' ἐμ οὐ ἄρχεσθαι.’ These final words are of course an echo of VA 1.4: the characterization of Apollonius as the incarnation of Proteus who is called ‘impossible to catch’: κρείττων τοῦ ἀλῶναι. The combination of these themes will return in the “tragic irony” of Domitian’s reference to the shape-shifting of Proteus in 7.34, discussed *infra*.

¹⁴ Philostr., VA 7.34:

‘ἄρχεται τὸ ἐνθένδε τῆς ἐς τὸν ἄνδρα ὕβρεως γενεῶν τε ἀποκείρας αὐτὸν καὶ χαίτης ἔν τε τοῖς κακουργοτάτοις δήσας, ὁ δ' ὑπὲρ μὲν ν τῆς κουρᾶς “ἐλελήθειν, ὦ βασιλεῦ,” ἔφη „περὶ ταῖς θριξὶ κινδυνεύων,…” The words are repeated in 7.35: κείρασθαι and ἐπὶ τῇ κουρᾶ.

¹⁵The *subversive* correction of Homer – ‘if he really did’ - refers back to VA 4.16.2, where Achilles himself offered yet another Homeric *epanorthosis*: ‘He said that he had never cut his hair (τήν μὲν δὴ κόμην οὐδὲ κείρασθαί ποτε ἔλεγεν), but kept it sacred in honor of Spercheios.’ Note that Philostr., *Im.* 2.7 does follow the traditional Homeric story!

¹⁶Thomas Schirren (2005, 236) was the first to point to a possible parallel: “Dieses Nichtgebunden-werden-Können durch den Mächtigen, der das wundersame Verschwinden schlicht übergeht, erinnert an den Euripideischen Dionysos, den Pentheus vergeblich zu binden sucht: Damit ist Apollonios wieder mit einem Attribut des Göttlichen versehen, das über den Wirkungskreis der irdischen Macht hinausgeht.” Jaap-Jan Flinterman has referred to the Bacchic colouring of these passages in his 2009, 231-232: “Domitian is clearly cast in the role of Pentheus, in the *Bacchantes*, imprisoning Dionysus as a sorcerer and an enchanter and cutting off his hair.” At page 232, note 27 he graciously added: “My awareness of the extent of the parallel between the treatment of Apollonius by Domitian and of Dionysus by Pentheus has profited from a discussion with Kristoffel Demoen.” This discussion in turn reflected a collective analysis during the FWO-project referred to in note 1.

¹⁷ Translations by David Kovacs 2002, 15. See also vv. 325, 1255 and (circumscribed) v. 636.

¹⁸ Kovacs 2002, 33. See also the description of the god in the chorus, v. 150: ‘tossing his luxuriant locks to heaven - τ ρ υ φ ε ρ ὀ ν ≤ τ ε ≥ π λ ὀ κ α μ ο ν εἰς αἰθέρα ῥίπτων.’

¹⁹ There is a possible parallel in VA 7.21.2 where a smirking tribune offers to cut off Apollonius' head as a defence against the *goês* charge: '...if I cut off your head with my sword, that will refute the charge and you will be acquitted.'

²⁰ Cadmus uses the phrase τὸν δαίμον' ... νέον in v. 256. Dodds 1960, 139 for the irony. The Pentheus-Dionysos haircut was not as popular in the visual arts, but see Kossatz-Deissmann, A. 1994, 313-4, nr. 62: a late antique bronze (Rome, Villa Giulia 24844: reproduced on 314), with a number of scenes from the *Bacchae*, starting with Pentheus and a reclining Dionysos with long hair; also "unsicher" nr. 63: "Mann mit gebundener Händen (D. ?) vor sitzendem Mann (P.?)" The references in Gasparri C. sub "Dioniso en Pentheus" (nrs. 793-795) all refer to the attacks by the Maenads.

²¹ *Il.* 23.141
σ τὰς ἀπάνευθε πυρῆς ξανθὴν ἀεκεῖρατο χαίτην

²² Also 7.34; 7.35; and 7.36 already quoted; wearing the hair long (*κομᾶν*) already: 1.8.2 he was known as 'the ephebe' when he stayed in the temple of Asclepius; 3.15.4: the Brahmins; 7.36.2: ὁ κομῶν; see also 7.15.3; 8.7.6; 8.7.17 and 8.7.19.

²³ See now Van Dijk 2009.

²⁴ See Hartog 2001, 202: "The precursors of Apollonius' travels in the East were, of course, Dionysus, Heracles and - above all - Alexander, who is himself presented as a latter-day Dionysus." Or Elsner 1997, 30: "The trip eastwards develops an insistent parallelism of Apollonius with Heracles, Dionysus and Alexander..."

²⁵ See most recently Van Dijk 2009, 179-181. In the interpretation of Praet 2009, 302-3 the association of book 7 with Cronus adds a tyrant eating his own children to the characterization of Domitian.

²⁶ We should refer to several letters by Philostratus where hair (the loss, cutting or dedication of hair) is important: *Ep.* 16 en 61. Also in the *Heroicus* hair is prominently present in the description of the hero Protesilaus (10.9-10), and as part of the identification of heroes: see especially the discussion about the identity of Hector or Achilles (19.5): 'He disputed the identity of Hektor's statue and claimed it was Achilles on the basis of the hair, which Achilles had shorn for Patroklos.' Translation by Maclean, Aitken 2001, 53-55.
(μετὰ τὴν κόμην, ἣν ἐκεῖρατο ἐπὶ τῷ Πατρόκλῳ) We can not discuss this further, but the importance of hair (present in its many synonyms) is immediately clear from the index of Greek words in Maclean and Aitken.

²⁷ Suet., *Dom.* 18; Rolfe 1997, 359.

²⁸ Morgan 1997.

²⁹ Morgan 1997, 211. Morgan has many references to iconography and literary texts on Achilles, emphasizing his hair. We should also recall that Achilles, as a youth, was

dressed as a girl and hidden on Scyros among the daughters of king Lycomedes: see Philostr., *Im.* 1, 2 and *Im.* 2.7.4 again on the hair dedicated to Patroclus by Achilles.

³⁰ Morgan 1997, 214.

³¹ D. C. 67, 2, 3.

³² See also Henriksén 1997 and Pederzani 1992. Note that Apollonius, staying as an ephebe in the Asclepius-shrine in Aegeae (1.8), *started* his habit of wearing his hair long.

Bibliography

Anderson, G. 1994. *Sage, Sage and Sophist. holy men and their associates in the Early Roman Empire* (London / New York).

Bowie, E. 2009. *Quotation of earlier texts in Ta es ton Tyanea Apollonion*, in: Demoen K., Praet D. (eds.) 2009, 57-73.

Bowie E., Elsner J. (eds.) 2009, *Philostratus* (Cambridge).

Cary, E. 1955. *Dio's Roman History*, vol. VII. (Cambridge, Mass. / London).

Demoen, K. & Praet D. (eds.) 2009. *'Theios Sophistès.' Essays on Philostratus, Vita Apollonii* (Leiden / Boston).

Dodds, E.R. 1960. *Euripides, Bacchae. Edited with introduction and commentary. Second Edition.* (Oxford).

Elsner, J. 1997. *Hagiographic Geography: Travel and Allegory in the Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, JHS 117, 22-37.

Flinterman, J.-J. 1995. *Power, Paideia and Pythagoreanism: Greek Identity, Conceptions of the Relationship between Philosophers and Monarchs and Political Ideas in Philostratus' Life of Apollonius* (Amsterdam).

Flinterman, J.-J. 2009. *Apollonius' ascension*, in: Demoen, K. & Praet D. (eds.), *'Theios Sophistès.' Essays on Philostratus, Vita Apollonii.* (Leiden / Boston), 225-248.

- Francis, J. A. 1995. *Subversive virtue: asceticism and authority in the second-century pagan world*. (University Park, Pa.)
- Gasparri, C. 1986. *Dionysos*, in: LIMC, III, 1-2, (Zürich), 414-514.
- Griffin, M. 2000. *Domitian*, in: Garnsey, P., Rathbone, D., Bowman, A.K. (eds) *The Cambridge Ancient History (Second Edition), Vol. 11: The High Empire, A.D. 70-192* (Cambridge), 54-83.
- Hartog, F. 2001. *Memories of Odysseus: Frontier Tales from Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh).
- Henriksén, C. 1997. *Earinus: an imperial eunuch in the light of the poems of Martial and Statius*. Mn Ser. 4, 50.3, 281-294.
- Jones, B. W. 1992. *The emperor Domitian* (London / New York).
- Jones, C. 2005. *Philostratus, The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (Cambridge, Mass. / London).
- Jouan, F., Van Looy, H. 2000. *Euripides, Tome 8. Fragments. 2: Bellérophon-Protésilas*. Texte établi et traduit par. (Paris).
- Kovacs, D. 2002. *Euripides, Vol. 6, Bacchae, Iphigenia at Aulis, Rhesus*. (Cambridge, Mass. / London).
- Kossatz-Deissmann, A. 1994. *Pentheus*, in: LIMC VII, 1 (Zürich), 306-317.
- Macleán, J. K. Berenson, Aitken, E. Bradshaw (eds.), 2001. *Flavius Philostratus, Heroikos*. Transl. with an introd. and notes, with a prologue by Gregory Nagy and an epilogue by Helmut Koester. (Atlanta).
- Morgan, L. 1997. *Achilleae Comae: Hair and Heroism According to Domitian*, CQ NS, 47.1, 209-214.
- Pederzani, O. 1992. *L'imperatore e l'eunuco: note di commento a Stat. Silv. 3, 4*. Ath. 80, 79-95.

-
- Praet, D. 2009. *Pythagoreanism and the planetary deities: the philosophical and literary master-structure of the Vita Apollonii*, in: Demoen K., Praet D. 2009, 283-320.
- Robiano, P. 1994. *Philostrate et la chevelure d' Apollonios de Tyane. Pallas*. *Revue d'études antiques*, 41, 57-65.
- Robiano, P. 2003. *Lucien, un témoignage-clé sur Apollonios de Tyane*. *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*, 77/2, 259-273.
- Rolfe, J.C. 2001. *Suetonius*. In two volumes, with an English translation by. (Cambridge, Mass. / London).
- Schirren, Th. 2005. *Philosophos Bios. Die antike Philosophenbiographie als symbolische Form. Studien zur Vita Apollonii des Philostrat* (Heidelberg).
- Van Dijk, G.-J. 2009. *The Odyssey of Apollonius: an intertextual paradigm*, in: Bowie E., Elsner J. (eds.), *Philostratus*. (Cambridge), 176-202.