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SALUSTIOS — DIVINE MAN OF CYNICISM IN LATE ANTIQUITY

In the reconstructed *Philosophical History* of Damascius, which is our main source of repainting the circle of late platonic philosophers and their world in the 5th and early 6th century, the author mentioned Salustios of Emesa. In a few places Damascius gave this person the name of Cynic. He said: “His [Salustios’] philosophy was along the lines of Cynicism” (κυνικώτερον δὲ ἐφιλοσόφει), and in another passage: “As a Cynic philosopher Salustios (Ὁ Σαλούστιος κυνίζων) did not follow the well-trodden path of philosophy, but the one made jagged through criticism and abuse and especially through toil in the service of virtue¹. According to his opinion, in the modern historiography Salustios is called the last Cynic philosopher of the antiquity, the last heir of philosophy and spiritual movement which was founded by the famous Diogenes of Sinope in the fourth century BC. He was not only the last one, but also the only Cynic philosopher known by name after 4th century who is described by sources.

In the times of the Roman Empire cynicism was a vital philosophy, but also it became the widespread social movement which Giovanni Reale named the *Phenomena of the Masses*². On the one hand, we have the Cynicism of well-educated philosophers like Demetrius — a friend of Seneca, or Dio of Prusa. They both adopted some aspects of Cynic philosophy (toil and suffering as the way to virtue, ignoring popular opinion, the nature is better than civilization, animal’s life is an example for man). On the other hand, the name of Cynics was ascribed to low-status people who were often anonymous in the sources. They wore the characteristic Cynic costume (a staff, dirty and short cloak, a begging wallet and long hair) which meant entering the way of Cynic philosophy. By those attributes the Cynics imitated Heracles — the ideal

¹ Damascius, *The Philosophical History*, 66 A–B, ed. and trans. P. Athanassiadi, Athens 1999.

² *A History of Ancient Philosophy: The schools of the Imperial Age*, New York 1990, p. 159.

hero whose earthly life was an exemplar for every one of them³. They learned by heart a few anecdotes (χρειαί) about famous ancient Cynics, especially Diogenes of Sinope, which they repeated among the people playing the roles of real philosophers to gain livelihood. Of course, those cynical pseudo-philosophers were criticized by real philosophers and intellectuals of second century like Epictetus, Juvenal, Martial, Lucian, Aelius Aristides⁴. In fourth century the similar arguments repeated the emperor-philosopher Julian in his two writings: *The Uneducated Cynics* and *To the Cynic Heracleios*, in which he also compared the Cynics to the Christians monks, and gave both groups this same name — ἀποτακτίται (renouncers)⁵. However, the 4th century was the last when the Cynics appeared many times in the texts, and we know the names of a few of them. One of them was Maximos Heron of Alexandria, usurper bishop of Constantinople, who was a Christian but did not abandon the cynic costume and way of life⁶. At that time, Cynicism was losing popularity in favor of Christianity, but there appeared some “hybrids” like Maximos or other begging monks wandering from town to town. Since the beginning of 5th century we have very few references about still-acting Cynics. Before Salustios, St. Augustine talked about the meeting of Cynics in *De Civitate Dei*, and in times of our philosopher, in a treatise entitled *De statu animae* of Claudianus Mamertus where the Cynics and Epicureans were criticized for their materialism, and they were mentioned as contemporaries with the author (*nostrī saeculi*)⁷.

However, what must be also said is that in the late 4th and in 5th centuries the circle of non-Christian intellectuals were positively disposed to Cynicism. For example, Eunapios of Sardis appreciated the Cynic studies in the field of ethics⁸. The Cynic philosophers also appeared among the pagan aristocracy in Rome. Quintus Aurelius Symmachus called the Cynic Asclepiades a holy man, and another Cynic — Horus the Egyptian, his friend. According to *The Saturnalia* of Macrobius, Horus (a former Olympic champion in boxing who turned to the Cynic philosophy) was a guest in

³ For this aspect of Cynic ideology see: R. Høistad, *Cynic Hero and Cynic King. Studies in the Cynic Conception of Man*, Uppsala 1948, pp. 23–73.

⁴ R. Dudley, *A History of Cynicism — From Diogenes to the Sixth Century A.D.*, London 1937, pp. 144–145; M-O. Goulet-Cazé, *Introduction* [in:] *The Cynics The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and Its Legacy*, R.B. Branham and Goulet-Cazé (eds.), Berkeley and Los Angeles and London 1996, p. 19. Epictetus, praises the rules of Cynic philosophy but he criticizes the contemporary begging and mocking Cynics; *Discourses*, III, 22, 50–52, ed. W.A. Oldfather, vol. II, Cambridge, MA and London 1959.

⁵ Julian the Apostate, *To the Uneducated Cynics* (Or. VI (IX)) and *To the Cynic Heracleios* (Or. VII), [in:] *The Works of Emperor Julian*, vol. II, ed. W.C. Wright, Cambridge, MA and London 2002. The passage about Cynic and Galilaeans (ἀποτακτίται), Or. VII, 224B.

⁶ On Maximos Cynic garb see: Gregory of Nazianzus, Or. XXV, 2, ed. C. Moreschini, Milano 2002; Damasus, *Epistolae*, V and VI, *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne, vol. XIII, 365A–367A; 369A–370A, Paris 1845; Dudley, *op. cit.*, pp. 203–206.

⁷ St. Augustine, *City of God*, xiv, 20, ed. P. Levine, vol. IV, Cambridge, MA and London 1966. According to Augustine, the Cynics of his days are less shameless than their predecessors. Claudianus Mamertus, *De Statu Animae Libri Tres*, II, 9, 2, *Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, vol. LIII, 751D, Paris 1865.

⁸ Eunapius, *The Lives of the Sophists*, 455, ed. W.C. Wright, Cambridge, MA and London 1952.

the house of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, the leader of pagan aristocracy where he lectured on the native Egyptian religion⁹. Those late Cynics differed in their philosophy from their predecessors. Diogenes of Sinope was accused of not believing in the gods, Oenomaus of Gadara wrote a treatise against oracles — *Detectio Praestigiarum*¹⁰. Marcus Aurelius in *Meditations* thanked his teacher Diognetos the Cynic that he learned him: “not to give credence to the statements of miracle-mongers and wizards about incantations and the exorcizing of daemons, and such-like marvels”¹¹. The Cynics of late antiquity were more interested in mystic matters and they were strongly devoted to gods. The Cynic Asclepiades walked everywhere with a statue of his beloved goddess Astarte, Horus studied the bloodless rituals of the native Egyptian religion. Finally, our last Cynic — Salustios was presented as a fortune-teller, a mysterious person and divine man. In this field the Cynics approached the philosophers of the late Platonism.

Salustios, like Damascius himself, came from Syria. His hometown was Emesa which was the city of his mother — Theocleia. His father, Basilides, came also from Syria, but from some other uncertain place. He was probably born around 430, because in 70s his philosophical career was at the peak. He was still alive in the first decades of the 6th century since Simplicius, who was born about 490, considered him as a contemporary person. His family was probably well-off since he opened his career trying to become a lawyer and studied legal oration under the sophist Eunoios. Then, for the first time he changed the direction of his studies, abandoning the law career for sophistry. He was interested in old attic speeches, especially of Demosthenes whose all public orations he learned by heart. Young Salustios left Eunoios’s rhetorical courses which he considered unsatisfactory for him. He went to Alexandria, probably on his first journey, where he continued the rhetorical studies¹². At this point we lose sight of Salustios. We do not know when he changed his way of life again and became a philosopher. It happened when he was in Alexandria for the first time or a few years later. This turn was similar to that of Dio of Prusa who was first a sophist and orator and then became a wandering philosopher. However, that turn was forced by Dio’s exile during the reign of Domitian. Moreover, Cynicism was a much more widespread philosophy in the epoch of Dio¹³. But even in times of Salustios we have other examples of such transformations. For example, Proclus learned the legal profession before he began studying philosophy¹⁴. Probably,

⁹ Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, 7; I, 15; I, 16, III, 13; VII, 7; VII, 13, ed. Fr. Eyssenhardt, Leipzig 1893. Libanios of Antioch tells about Horus’ boxing career in his two letters, 1278; 1279 [in:] *Libanii Opera*, vols. XI, ed. R. Foerster, Leipzig 1922.

¹⁰ The fragments are preserved in *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius of Caesarea, V, 18–36; VI, 7, *Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum*, vol. II, F.W.A. Mullach (ed.), Paris 1867, pp. 359–385.

¹¹ Marcus Aurelius, *The communings with himself*, I, 6, ed. and trans. C.R. Haines, Cambridge, MA and London 1953.

¹² Damascius, 60.

¹³ C.P. Jones, *The Roman world of Dio Chrysostom*, Cambridge, MA 1978, p. 49; Dio abandoned Cynic way of life after exile.

¹⁴ Marinus, *The Life of Proclus or Concerning Happiness*, 8, ed. H.D. Saffrey, A–P. Segonds, C. Luna, Paris 2001.

Salustios met the late platonic philosophers for the first time in Alexandria, but surely then he got interested in divination, art which was always lively in Egypt.

Chronologically, the next information about Salustion pertains to his presence at the court of Marcellinus in Dalmatia, probably in Salona¹⁵. In 454 Marcellinus rejected the sovereignty of Valentinian III, and to his death in 468 he was actually an independent ruler of Dalmatia, first as *comes rei militari*, and next as *magister militum Dalmatiae*. Under his command he had a strong army of mercenaries among whom there were Huns. He also possessed his own fleet. In 467 Marcellinus helped gain the throne of the Western Empire for Procopius Anthemius. He had significant success in war against Vandals in 468, he expelled them from Sicily and regained Sardinia, but then he was treacherously murdered, maybe on the orders of *master utriusque militiae* — Ricimer¹⁶. According to Damascius, Marcellinus was a Helene (i.e. pagan) in his religious beliefs. He was fascinated especially divination, and he was led in his activities by the prophecies. So, it is no wonder that Salustios seemed an interesting figure to Marcellinus, for he already possessed the ability of divination in a strange way. “By looking into the eyes of the people he met, Salustios could foretell for each one a violent death that would come upon him”. When the eyes were dark, misty and moist it meant that the person was in danger¹⁷. In this way Salustios saw the approaching death of Marcellinus which “came upon him a fiery yearning” (ἡ ἐπιθυμία. ἕμερος αὐτὸν εἰσῆλθε διάπυρος ἰδεῖν Μάρκελλον νεκρόν)¹⁸. How did Salustios appear at the court of mighty *magister militum*? I suppose that through the friendship with Flavius Messius Phoebus Severus who lived and studied in Alexandria. According to Damascius, Severus, consul from 470, with the emperor Anthemius tried to restore the cult of gods¹⁹. Maybe Anthemius was not pagan, but he was kind for paganism and Marcellinus cooperated with him. Salustios as Helene and fortune-teller could have been recommended to Marcellinus by Severus, because of Marcellinus’s interest in divination.

Up until this point, we do not hear about Salustios’s Cynicism. He obviously traveled a lot, but it is not enough to call him a Cynic. Damascius related that Salustios met Pamprepius of Panopolis, a pagan poet and grammarian, when the latter was at the height of his power. It is possible that he could have met Pamprepius in Athens where Pamprepius taught as an official grammarian from 473 to 476²⁰. We know that Salustios was in Athens at that time, for Damascius mentioned that he taught

¹⁵ Damascius, 69.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, 69 D; Procopius, *History of the Wars*, III, 6.7–8; 6.25, ed. H.B. Dewing, London and New York 1916; S. Williams, G. Friell, *The Rome That Did Not Fall: Survival of the East in the Fifth Century*, London and New York 1999, pp. 178–179.

¹⁷ Damascius, 70 (trans. Athanassiadi).

¹⁸ *Suda*, (ἕμερος), ed. A. Adler, p. II, Leipzig 1931.

¹⁹ Damascius, 77A; Marcellinus, Anthemius and Severus are considered to be linked with Proclus’ school; Athanassiadi, *Persecution and Response in Late Paganism: The Evidence of Damascius*, “The Journal of Hellenic Studies” 113 (1993), p. 18; D.J. O’Meara, *Platonopolis: Platonic Political Philosophy in Late Antiquity*, Oxford and New York 2003, p. 21.

²⁰ *The Philosophical History*, p. 269, note 301; PLRE, vol. II, Cambridge and New York 1980, pp. 825–828.

philosophy in Athens and had students²¹. One of them was probably Isidore with whom Salustios returned to Alexandria in the mid or late of 470s.²² Probably, it was during Salustios' *akme* and this confirms that he was born about 430.

In the description of this meeting with Pampreprios Damascius mentioned for the first time that Salustios philosophized as a Cynic. So, probably he adopted the Cynic way of life then or a few years earlier, after returning from Dalmatia. What inclined him to almost expired philosophy? Maybe the source of inspiration for him were the guests from the East, the Brahmans who visited the house of Severus in Alexandria²³. Brahmans in Greek literature were often compared with the Cynics. Onesicritus, who was a Cynic philosopher himself and accompanied Alexander the Great in the expedition to India first made such a comparison. The Brahmans, like his master Diogenes of Sinope, trained their bodies by toils and were vegetarians and were not ashamed of walking naked²⁴. Peregrinos Proteus, a Cynic philosopher of 2nd century AD, made public self-immolation, and probably imitated the Brahmans in this. According to *The Philosophical History* the Brahmans in Sever's house were "uninterested external things. They ate rice and dates and their drink was water"²⁵. Diogenes Laertios attributed to the Cynics a similar diet: "Some at all events are vegetarians and drink cold water only"²⁶. Of course, in this epoch vegetarianism was popular among the some platonic philosophers as well in this age²⁷. In turn, Damascius claimed that Salustios was on diet and ate only uncooked food, he also approved of the students who did not cook their meals. In addition, the Brahmans were regarded as masters of divination. According to Philostratos, Apollonius of Tyana knew secrets of divinations from Brahman Iarchas²⁸. Of course, we must be careful here. The Brahmans as a source of wisdom is a conventional theme in Greek literature. However, such a visit was possible and Salustios could be impressed by naked sages from the East²⁹. Afterwards, he endeavored to assume some of their

²¹ Damascius, 66.

²² *Ibidem*, 60; *The Philosophical History*, p. 167, note 141.

²³ Damascius, 51 D.

²⁴ Strabo, *Geography*, XV, 65, ed. H.I. Jones, vol. VII, Cambridge, MA and London 1954.

²⁵ Damascius, 51 D. In the Greek literature the Brahmans or Gymnosophists are two names giving to the sages from India. That does not mean that they were believers of Hinduism. They could be ascetic wanderers and followers of Buddhism, Jainism (although Jains did not make self-immolation because they avoided the use of fire) or other Indian ascetic sects, see R. Stoneman, *Who are the Brahmans? Indian Lore and Cynic Doctrine in Palladius' De Bragmanibus and Its Models*, "The Classical Quarterly", New Series 44, no. 2 (1994), pp. 506–507. They were called also the Sramanas what is more correct: Clement of Alexandria, *The Stromata*, I, 71,4, ed. M. Caster, Paris 1951; Porphyry, *On Abstinence*, IV, 17–18, ed. M. Patillon, A.Ph. Segonds, I. Brisson, Paris 1995. Clement and Porphyry distinguished Brahmans from Sramanas, but they did not specify the religion of both groups.

²⁶ Diogenes Laertios, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, VI 104, vol. II, ed. and trans. R.D. Hicks, Cambridge, MA and London 1958.

²⁷ Marinus, 12, Proclus very rigidly abstaining from flesh food.

²⁸ Philostratos, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, III 41–45, vol. I, ed. F.C. Conybeare, New York and London 1912.

²⁹ In time of Roman Empire Egypt was well connected with the west coast of India through the ports on the Red Sea coast. The best evidence of this connection is *The Periplus of the Erythraean*

practices. For the contemporaries these practices were related more to Cynic than Indian tradition.

However, Damascius wrote about some typical features of Cynic philosopher which Salustios possessed. Firstly, he spoke frankly and often he: “attacked anyone who made a mistake and criticized and made a fun of people”. He mentioned Pamprepios, whose behavior was effeminate, and who asked Salustios: “How the gods relate to men” the philosopher answered in “the Diogenes’s style”: “Every know that I have not yet become a god, nor you a man” (male)³⁰. This was an example of Cynic freedom of speech (παρρησία), through which Cynics uncovered the truth and revealed the faults of their interlocutors. Salustios despised the mob, which was attributed to Diogenes who saw a crowd, but not individual humans³¹. Damascius criticized Salustios partly for this frank speech claiming that “his philosophizing was too heavy and his jokes too amusing”³². But, what is interesting, Damascius did not use the term παρρησία and he attributes “propensity and inclination to ridicule to his Syrian origin”³³.

Secondly, Salustios led a wandering life. It was also a feature attributed to the Cynics. We hear about some of his travels (to Alexandria, Salona, Athens, to Alexandria again). Of course, other philosophers often changed their place of living and study in that epoch, but Salustios travelled barefoot and only sometimes he wore the Attic light and comfortable boots called ἰφικρατίδες or common sandals³⁴. In this passage Damascius stressed that Salustios spent many years on the road on his own feet, but probably he did not inform us about most of his journeys³⁵. This barefoot wandering can be put together with the Cynic love of freedom (ἐλευθερία), but also with the Cynic way of life, full of hardships, on which the needs and livelihoods are reduced to a very low level. Through this a Cynic philosopher tried to achieve

Sea from first century AD. *The Periplus* described Indian great market-town called Barygaza where the Italian wine was exported and preferred, 6; 49, ed. L. Casson, Princetown 1989. From Barygaza came the Indian sage named Zarmarus or Zarmanochegas (the Sramana master) who was a member of the embassy of Indian king to August, and who burned himself in Athens in 13 AD, Strabo, *Geography*, XV, 73; Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, LIV, 9, 10, vol. VI, ed. E. Cary, Cambridge, MA and London 1955; H.G. Rawlinson, *India in European Literature Thought* [in:] *The Legacy of India*, G.T. Garratt (ed.), London 2007, p. 15; in the late antiquity the Christians writers also were interested in the land of India and in the wisdom of Brahmans. The best example is Palladius of Helenopolis, author of the work titled *On the Races of India and the Brahmans*. In it he described the journey of some Christian scholasticus of Thebes in Egypt to India and Ceylon. Palladius tried to reach India himself, but a road was too difficult for he and he gave up, Palladius; *On the Races of India and the Brahmans*, 3–4, ed. J. Duncan, M. Derrett, (in:) *The History of “Palladius on the Races of India and the Brahmans”*, “Classica et mediaevalia” 21, fasc. 1–2 (1960), pp. 64–135; see: Duncan, Derrett, *The Theban Scholasticus and Malabar in c. 355–60*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 82, no. 1 (1962), pp. 21–31.

³⁰ Diogenes Laertios VI 60.

³¹ D.L., *op. cit.*, VI, 60.

³² Damascius, 60.

³³ *Ibidem* 66 A (trans. Athanassiadi).

³⁴ *Ibidem* 66 B.

³⁵ *Ibidem* 66 B–C.

self-sufficiency (αὐτάρκεια). According to the well-known story, Diogenes threw away his bowl when he saw a child drinking water straight from his palms. Salustios in his αὐτάρκεια walked barefoot and ate only uncooked food. Eating raw foods was a behavior in accordance with nature (κατὰ φύσιν) and against civilization, which was a principle of some Cynics³⁶. Diogenes Laertios claimed, as I mentioned, that diet was an important part of the Cynic practical philosophy. The ideal Cynic philosopher should disregard the feeling. This dispassion was called ἀπάθεια. Salustios achieved also it according to Damascius, because he endured criticism and abuse and “he never appeared either sick in body and distressed in spirit for long, but submitted to an ascetic life “with his neck unbowed”, as the proverb goes”³⁷. In this passage we find another trace of Cynicism which was linked with ἀπάθεια — ἄσκησις — training in austerity and devotion of toils (πόννοι) which prepared the body and the soul of a philosopher for the struggle and for confrontations with adversity, especially the passions which were drawing him away from virtue. It was a test of physical and mental endurance. Diogenes practiced it by walking barefoot in the snow in winter, and rolling in the hot sand in summer³⁸. This principle of the practical Cynic philosophy Salustios applied clearly. We hear about it not only from Damascius who wrote that Salustios exerted *toil in the service of virtue*, but mainly from Simplicius in his *Commentary on Epictetus’ Enchiridion* where we can read that Salustios placed a red-hot coal upon his thigh, and blew the fire, to try how long he was able to endure the pain (ἦ τὸν ἐφ’ ἡμῶν Σαλούστιον, ἄνθρακα πεπυράκτωμον ἐπιθέντα γυμνῶ τῷ μηρῷ, καὶ φυσῶντα αὐτὸν καὶ δοκιμάζοντα ἑαυτὸν μέχρι πόντου δύναται καρτερεῖν)³⁹.

Hurting himself as exercise of physical and mental endurance could stem from Cynic tradition of Diogenes, but also from behaviors of the eastern Gymnosophists. Fire-walking or lying on hot ground among Indian Brahmins was a test of endurance, but it asserted about an existence the supernatural powers in man as well⁴⁰. It may be another trace that the sources Salustios’s transformation was eastern rather than Cynic.

Since Simplicius met Salustios personally and saw his exercises, it means that our philosopher lived long and died as an old man in the first decades of the 6th century. He could have spent his last years in Athens. Assuredly he was there for the second time, because Damascius listened to his lectures personally. In the school Salustios tried to lead the young away from philosophy, even Damascius himself

³⁶ This principle is emphasized in so called “Diogenes” discourses (VI, VIII, IX i X) of Dio of Prusa, see especially: *Or. VI — On Tyranny*, vol. I, ed. J.W. Cohoon, Cambridge, MA and London 1949.

³⁷ Damascius, 66 A.

³⁸ Diogenes Laertios VI, 23; VI, 34

³⁹ Damascius, 66B; Simplicius in his *Commentary on Epictetus’ Enchiridion*, XIV, 299–302, vol. I, ed. I. Hadot, Paris 2001.

⁴⁰ Strabo, *Geography*, XV, I, 6; the hot-iron test (fire ordeal) is prescribed in Hindu *Chandogya Upanishad* (first millennium BCE) VI, 16, ed. R. Mitra, Calcutta 1862; *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. VI, J. Haatings, L.H. Gray, J.A. Selbie (eds.), New York 1914, p. 30.

(who started his education in Athens about 490)⁴¹. He did this in one of two ways. Either he criticized and defamed the philosophical schools, or he emphasized their magnitude that “no man was worthy of it”⁴². It was a kind of test for students. The first Cynics also took disciples reluctantly and they required from them to prove their determination⁴³. The young and able philosopher Athenodoros resigned from the Platonic school under the influence of Salustios. This discouraging of students by Salustios was the reason of a quarrel with Proclus, the head of the Academy (Διάδοχος) to 485⁴⁴.

We cannot say too much about the views of Salustios at that time. Some mentions show his Cynic character. He kept himself at a distance, for example he claimed as a philosopher that for men to philosophize in fact is impossible⁴⁵. He “called the true belief about gods “the fifth virtue”, which is sometimes present in the most wicked of men” (ὁ γάρ τοι πέμπτην ἀρετὴν ὀνομάσας τὴν περὶ θεῶν δόξαν ἀληθῆ)⁴⁶. Of course, in this statement Salustios thought about himself as well, but it meant also that he still claimed the view about the four cardinal virtues: prudence (φρόνησις), temperance (σωφροσύνη), courage (ἀνδρεία) and justice (δικαιοσύνη). It was that which always associated Cynic philosophy with the Stoic and Platonic schools. We do not know the principles of his theology, but the fact that he emphasized it as the fifth virtue means that Salustios devoted himself to the contemplative and mystical matters. It was not characteristic for the classical Cynicism. He worshipped the old gods. Some Christians (called by Damascius “foreigners”) praised him, maybe appreciating some of his views or his ascetic practices. They persuaded him to accept Christianity. Salustios rejected this proposal arguing in “Cynic style” that he does not want to expose himself to the wrath of Nemesis even more⁴⁷.

Summing up, Damascius in his description of Salustios tried to show him as a philosopher more in the way of life which was also characteristic of his master — Isidore⁴⁸. Because of this the author of *The Philosophical History* linked the philosophy of Salustios with Cynicism. He didn't call Salustios a “Cynic” anywhere (κυνικός or simply κύων) explicitly, but only he stated that Salustios lived like a cynic (κυνίζων) and that he philosophized more in the Cynic style (κυνικώτερον δὲ ἐφιλοσόφει). Salustios did not label himself as Cynic philosopher, we do not hear that he wore the typical Cynic costume (the staff, the doubled and dirty thread-bare cloak without tunic, the begging bag and long hair) or that he admired Diogenes or worshipped Heracles, the ideal Cynic hero and patron of Cynic philosophers whose

⁴¹ Damascius, *op. cit.*, 66F; about the date of Damascius' arriving to Athens see Athanassiadi, *Introduction* [in:] *The Philosophical History*, p. 39.

⁴² Damascius, 66 E–F.

⁴³ Diogenes Laertios VI 2723; VI 87; Musonius Rufus used the same method, Epictetus, *Discourses*, III, 6, 10.

⁴⁴ Damascius, 66G.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, 66 A.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*.

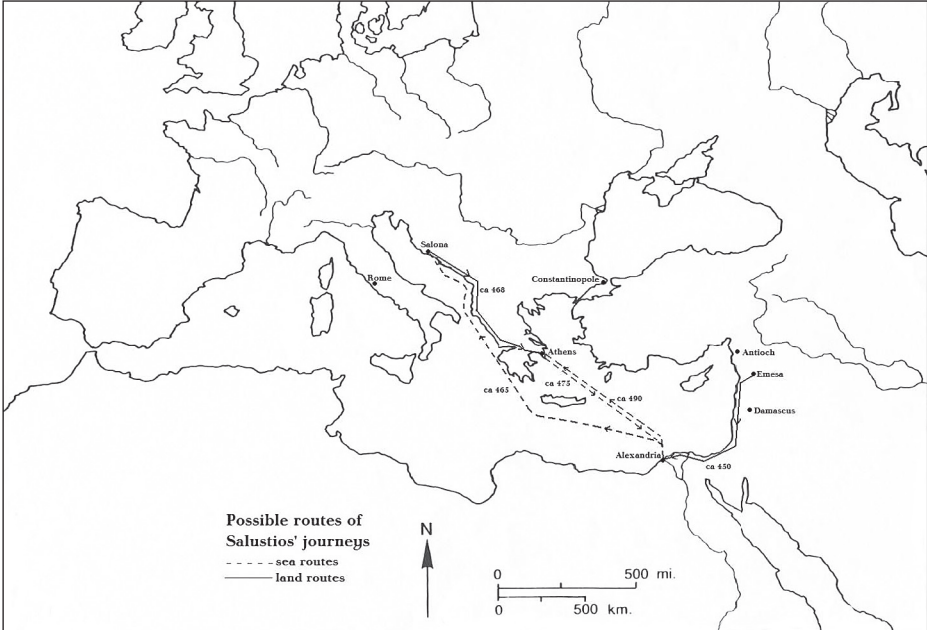
⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, 71 A–B.

attributes were worn even by the Christian Cynic — Maximos Heron. In the description of Salustios we find similarities to some of the popular anecdotes related to the Cynics. It is difficult to identify a potential source of inspiration in Cynicism for Salustios. In the second half of the 5th century it was in fact an already outdated philosophy. In the literature of this period the behavior of some characters, especially Christian wandering and city monks, was portrayed in the Cynic convention. Good examples were *Saloi* — the Holy Fools like Serapion from *The Lausiaca history* of Palladius and Simeon the Fool described by Leontios of Neopolis⁴⁹. Some modern scholars saw the Cynic gestures in behavior of Hypatia of Alexandria⁵⁰. I believe in the case of Salustios it could be similar. Damascius interpreted some of his behavior as Cynical. However, according to my suspicions, the ascetic practices of Salustios (eating raw food, walking barefoot, testing the endurance by walking on hot coal) could stem from eastern sources, or even from a group of ascetics from the East. We must remember that the behavior patterns of Cynics and Brahmins have always been compared to each other. This unique, non-Christian asceticism, strong resistance to pain combined with the ability of divination and true belief in the gods caused that Salustios could be perceived by contemporaries as Divine Man with superhuman abilities. Additionally, his “too heavy philosophizing”, harshness against his disciples, “criticizing and making fun of people” and “too amusing jokes” caused that Salustios was perceived as a distant heir of Cynic Diogenes.

⁴⁹ Influence of Diogenes legend on *Life of Serapion* in Paladius's *Historia Lausiaca* see: M. Billerbeck, *The Ideal Cynic from Epictetus to Julian* [in:] *The Cynics: The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and Its Legacy*, R. Bracht Branham, M.-O. Goulet-Cazé (eds.), Berkeley and Los Angeles and London 1996, p. 218; D. Krueger, *The Life of Symeon the Fool and the Cynic Tradition*, *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 1 (1993), pp. 423–442; idem, *The Life of Symeon the Fool. Leontius' Life and the Late Antique City*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1996, pp. 90–107; 126–129.

⁵⁰ She wore a philosophical cloak (τρίβων) and she showed the young student in love her bloody sanitary napkin, Damascius, *op.cit* 43 A–C; about cynical interpretation of this behavior see: P. Chuvin, *A Chronicle of the Last Pagans*, Cambridge, MA 1990, p. 86. The critical look on this matter see: A. Cameron, *Barbarians and Politics at the Court of Arcadius*, Berkeley 1993, pp. 43–45; M. Dzielska, *Hypatia of Alexandria*, Cambridge, MA 1996, pp. 56–57.



Map — author A. Szoka