

ΕΙΣ ΦΛΑΚΚΟΝ

- [517] I. Δεύτερος μετὰ Σημιανὸν Φλάκκος Ἀουίλλιος
¹ διαδέχεται τὴν κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιβουλήν, σύμπαν μὲν ἀδικῆσαι τὸ ἔθνος ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος ἄντικρυς οὐ δυνηθεῖς—ἐλάττους γὰρ εἶχε τὰς εἰς τοῦτ' ἀφορμάς—, ἐφ' ὅσους δ' ἔφθανε, ἀθρόους ἀνηκέστοις περιέπειρε κακοῖς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μέρει δόξας ἐπιτίθεσθαι τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ἐξέτεινεν ἐπὶ τὸν πανταχοῦ πάντας διὰ τέχνης τὸ πλεον ἢ δυνάμεως· οἷς γὰρ ἰσχύς οὐ πρόσεστι τῶν τὰς φύσεις τυραννικῶν, πανουργίαις τὰς ἐπιβουλάς κατ-
² ὀρθοῦσιν. ὁ Φλάκκος οὖν οὗτος ἐν τοῖς ἐταίροις κριθεὶς παρὰ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι μετὰ τὴν Ἰβήρου¹ τελευτήν, ὃς ἐπετέτραπτο Αἴγυπτον, καθίσταται τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐπίτροπος, ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἀρχῇ μυρία καλοκάγαθίας ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἐξενεγκῶν δείγματα· πυκνὸς τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ συνεχὴς καὶ ὀξὺς νοῆσαι καὶ τὰ βουλευθέντα πρᾶξαι καὶ προχειρότατος εἰπεῖν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ
³ λεγομένου τὸ ἡσυχάζομενον αἰσθῆσθαι. παντά-
 πασιν οὖν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον

¹ So Reiter for mss. βήρου or σεβήρου. See note b.

^a For Sejanus's hostility to the Jews cf. *Legatio* 159-161, and see further App. p. 531.

^b The name of Iberus is mentioned by Dio Cass. lvi. 19. 6

FLACCUS

I. The policy of attacking the Jews begun by 1
Sejanus^a was taken over by Flaccus Avillius. He had
not like his predecessor the power to ill-treat out-
right the whole nation, for he had less opportunities
of doing so, but those whom he reached suffered
the direst misery from the stabs which he dealt to
them one and all. And, indeed, though his assault
appeared to be only partial, by employing craft
rather than power he brought them all wherever they
were within the scope of his hostility. For persons
naturally tyrannical who have not the addition of
strength achieve their malignant designs through
cunning. This Flaccus then, who had been given a 2
place in the suite of Tiberius Caesar, was after the
death of Iberus,^b who had been prefect of Egypt,
made prefect of Alexandria and the country round it.
He was a man who at first gave to all appearance
a multitude of proofs of high excellence. He was
sagacious and assiduous, quick to think out and
execute his plans, very ready at speaking, and at
understanding what was left unspoken better even
than what was said. So in quite a short time he 3
became thoroughly familiar with Egyptian affairs,

as succeeding Vitrasius Pollio as prefect of Egypt. Older
editions adopting the reading of most of the mss. called him
Severus. Cf. *De Som.* ii. 123 and note, vol. v. p. 609.

πραγματειῶν ἐθὰς γίνεται· πολύτροποι δ' εἰσὶ καὶ ποικίλοι, μόλις τοῖς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας τὸ ἔργον ἐπιτήδευμα πεποιημένοις γνωριζόμεναι. περιττὸς ὄχλος ἦσαν οἱ γραμματεῖς, ἥδη πρὸς πάντα μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα φθάνοντος αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις, ὥς μὴ μόνον ὑπερβαλεῖν ἀλλὰ χάριν ἀκριβείας ἀντὶ γνωρίμου διδάσκαλον γεγενῆσθαι τῶν τέως ὑφηγη-
 4 τῶν. καὶ ὅσα μὲν περὶ λογισμοὺς καὶ τὴν τῶν προσοδομενῶν κατῴρθου διοίκησιν, εἰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐδέν γε δεῖγμα
 [518] | ψυχῆς ὑπέβαινε ἡγεμονικῆς, ἃ δὲ λαμπροτέραν καὶ βασιλικὴν ἐδήλου φύσιν, μετὰ πλείονος παρρη-
 σίας ἐπεδείκνυτο· οἷον σεμνότερον ἦγεν αὐτόν—
 ἄρχοντι δὲ λυσιτελέστατον ὁ τύφος—, ἐδίκαζε τὰ μεγάλα μετὰ τῶν ἐν τέλει, τοὺς ὑπεραύχους καθήρει, μιγᾶδων καὶ συγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων ὄχλον ἐκώλυνεν ἐπισυνίστασθαι· τὰς τε ἑταιρείας καὶ συνόδους, αἱ αἰεὶ ἐπὶ προφάσει θυσιῶν εἰστιῶντο τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐμπαροinouσαι, διέλυε τοῖς ἀφηγία-
 5 ζουσιν ἐμβριθῶς καὶ εὐτόνως προσφερόμενος. εἰπ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀνέπλησεν εὐνο-
 μίας, ἐν μέρει πάλιν ταῖς στρατιωτικαῖς δυνάμεσιν ἐφῆδρευεν ἐκτάττων, συγκροτῶν, γυμνάζων πεζούς,

^a Cf. § 133.

^b παρρησία seems to be used here in a wider sense than the ordinary "frankness of speech" and to describe a person who shows his mind by actions as well as speech.

^c Or simply "behaved in matters generally like drunkards." So Josephus, *Ant.* vi. 12. 7 uses the phrase of Saul's general conduct. Cf. *De Ios.* 45, where the adulterer ἐμπαροινεῖ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν of the husband. But the description of the θίασοι in § 136 suggests that drunkenness in the literal sense is intended.

^d This is a curious use of ἐφεδρεύω. The regular sense of

intricate and diversified as they are and hardly grasped even by those who have made a business of studying them from their earliest years. His crowd of secretaries were a superfluity, since nothing small or great was beyond the reach of his experience, so that he not only surpassed them but thanks to his mastery of detail became the teacher instead of the pupil of his erstwhile instructors. And ⁴ all matters connected with accountancy and administration of the revenue he managed successfully.^a These indeed, great and vital though they were, did not supply proof that he possessed the soul of a leader of men, but in a more open way ^b he displayed qualities which revealed a more brilliant and kingly nature. Thus he bore himself with dignity, for outward pomp is very useful to a ruler. He judged important cases with the help of those in authority, humbled the arrogant and prevented any motley promiscuous horde of people from combining in opposition. The sodalities and clubs, which were constantly holding feasts under pretext of sacrifice in which drunkenness vented itself in political intrigue,^c he dissolved and dealt sternly and vigorously with the refractory. Then when he had fully ⁵ established good order throughout the city and the country he began to turn his attention to supporting^d the armed forces. He set them in array,^e drilled, exercised them, cavalry, infantry and light-

of the word in Philo is to watch or wait generally for an opportunity to attack, sometimes to help. So in *De Mig.* 57 *πρὸς βοήθειαν δύναμις ἀρωγὸς ἐφεδρεύει παρὰ θεῶν*. In other writers the sense of waiting seems sometimes to be lost, and it is used more generally for "help" or "reinforce," though hardly in the sense required here of improving the morale of the troops. ^e Box gives "detail to special duties."

ἱππεῖς, τοὺς τῆς κούφης ὀπλίσεως, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἵνα μὴ τὰς μισθοφορὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφαιρούμενοι πρὸς ληστείας καὶ ἀρπαγὰς αὐτοὺς ἀλείψωσι, πάλιν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον, ἵνα μηδὲν ἕξω τῶν κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν περιεργάζεταιται μεμνημένος, ὅτι τέτακται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην διαφυλάττειν.

- 6 II. Ἴσως δ' ἂν τις εἴποι· “σὺ δ', ὦ οὗτος, ἐγνωκῶς ἀνθρώπου κατηγορεῖν ἐγκλημα μὲν οὐδὲν διεξῆλθες, μακροὺς δ' ἐπαίνους συνείρεις· μὴ ἄρα παραπαίεις καὶ μέμνηας;”—οὐ μέμνηνα, ὦ οὗτος, οὐδ' ἡλίθιός τίς εἰμι, ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι πράγματος
7 ἀκολουθίαν ἰδεῖν. ἐπαινῶ τὸν Φλάκκον, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ προσῆκεν ἐχθρὸν ἐγκωμιάζειν, ἀλλ' ἵν' αὐτοῦ τὴν μοχθηρίαν ἀριδηλοτέραν παραστήσω· τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοία τοῦ κρείττονος διαμαρτάνοντι συγγνώμη δίδοται, ὁ δ' ἐξ ἐπιστήμης ἀδικῶν ἀπολογίαν οὐκ ἔχει προεαλωκῶς ἐν τῷ τοῦ συν-
8 εἰδότης δικαστηρίῳ. III. ἔξαετίαν γὰρ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν λαβὼν πέντε μὲν ἔτη τὰ πρῶτα, ζῶντος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, τὴν τε εἰρήνην διεφύλαξε καὶ οὕτως εὐτόνως καὶ ἐρρωμένως ἀφηγγήσατο, ὥς
9 τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντας ὑπερβαλεῖν. τῷ δ' ὑστάτῳ, Τιβερίου μὲν τελευτήσαντος, Γαῖου δ' ἀποδειχθέντος αὐτοκράτορος, ὑφίεναι καὶ χαλᾶν ἤρξατο τὰ πάντα εἴτε διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Τιβερίῳ βαρύτατον πένθος—δηλὸς γὰρ ἦν ὥς ἐπ' οἰκειοτάτῳ περιπαθὼν ἔκ τε τῆς συνεχοῦς κατηφείας καὶ τῆς τῶν δακρύων φορᾶς, ἃ καθάπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἀπαύστως ἐξεχείτο

^a Box takes μεμνημένος as agreeing with Flaccus instead of the individual soldier. This is grammatically possible, but I think the run of the sentence is against it, and

FLACCUS, 5-9

armed alike, training the officers not to withhold the pay of their men and so incite them to pillage and rapine, and also each single soldier not to interfere in things outside his military duties but remember^a that he had been appointed also to maintain the peace.

II. Possibly someone may say " My dear sir, after 6 deciding to accuse a man you have stated no charge but come out with a long string of praises. Are you out of your senses and gone quite mad ? " No, my friend, I have not gone mad and I am not a silly person who cannot see what the sequence of an argument demands. I praise Flaccus not because I 7 thought it right to laud an enemy but to show his villainy in a clearer light. For to one who sins through ignorance of a better course pardon may be given, but a wrongdoer who has knowledge has no defence but stands already convicted at the bar of his conscience. III. Flaccus held his prefectship 8 for six years and for the first five of these while Tiberius Caesar was alive maintained peace and held command with such activity and vigour that he excelled all his predecessors. But in the last year 9 when Tiberius was dead and Gaius had been appointed Emperor he began to let everything slip from his hands. This may have been due to his profound grief at the death of Tiberius. For how greatly he mourned the loss of one whom he looked on as his closest friend was shown by his constant depression and the stream of tears which poured ceaselessly from

" remembered " is hardly the word we should expect. I doubt also whether the sense is much, if at all, better. The soldier may very properly be admonished to remember that he is a policeman as well.

—εἴτε καὶ κακόνους ὧν τῷ διαδόχῳ διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν γνησίων πρὸ τῆς τῶν θετῶν τεθεραπευκέναι μερίδα εἴτε καὶ τῶν συνεπιθεμένων τῇ Γαῖου μητρί, καθ' ὃν χρόνον εἶχε τὰς αἰτίας ἐφ' αἷς ἀνηρέθη, γεγονὼς καὶ διὰ φόβον ἀλώσεως ἐπιλελησμένος.¹

- 10 καὶ μέχρι μὲν τινος ἔτ' ἀντείχε μὴ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς μεθιέμενος τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντίληψιν. ὡς δ' ἤκουσε τὸν Τιβερίου μὲν νύωνόν
[519] κοινωνόν δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀναιρεθέντα | Γαῖου κελεύσαντος, ἀλέκτω πληγείς συμφορᾷ καταβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν ἀχανῆς ἔκειτο, τῆς διανοίας πολὺ πρότερον
11 ἀπειρηκυίας καὶ παρειμένης αὐτῷ. ζῶντος μὲν γὰρ τοῦ μεираκίου τὰ ζώπυρα τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας οὐκ ἀπεγίνωσκεν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ συντεθνάναι καὶ τὰς οἰκείας ἐλπίδας ἔδοξεν, εἰ καὶ μικρά τις ἀπελείπετο αὔρα βοηθείας, ἢ πρὸς Μάκρωνα φιλία τὰ σύμπαντα παρὰ Γαίῳ κατ' ἀρχὰς δυνηθέντα καὶ πλείστην μοῖραν ὡς λόγος εἰσενεγκάμενον αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον πρὸς
12 τὸ σωθῆναι, πολλάκις μὲν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι

¹ The translation is based on the suggestion that some such phrase as ὧν ἔδει has fallen out. The simplest emendation perhaps would be to change καὶ to καίπερ or, according to Philo's common use, to καίτοι "though he had neglected later" (to take an active part). But can ἐπιλελησμένος mean this?

^a For this use of γνήσιος see note on *Quod Omn. Prob.* 87.

^b Tiberius Gemellus. For him and other historical points in these sections see App. p. 531.

^c The statement seems hardly consistent with what has been said just before. A better sense can be got if πολὺ πρότερον can be taken as a "much graver matter," i.e. the effect of the news upon him extended much beyond the refusal to speak. There are other passages in Philo which

him as from a fountain. Or it may have been the ill-will he bore to his successor, since he had been a devoted partisan of the actual^a rather than the adopted children. Or again as he had been one of those who had attacked Gaius's mother when she lay under the charges for which she was put to death, his fear of being held guilty on this count caused him to neglect his duties. And for a time he held out 10 and did not entirely lose his grasp of affairs, but when he heard that the grandson of Tiberius,^b who shared the sovereignty, had been killed by Gaius's orders, this misfortune was so terrible a blow that he threw himself down and lay speechless, and for a considerable time before^c this his thinking powers had become feeble and paralysed. For while the youth lived, 11 his hopes of preserving his own safety were still alight, but with his death it seemed that his personal hopes had died also, even though some little waft of possible assistance still reached him in his friendship with Macro, who originally was all-powerful with Gaius, said to have contributed more than anyone to his gaining the principate and still more to his preservation.^d For Tiberius had been often minded to 12

point to some such meaning for the phrase. In *Spec. Leg.* i. 101 (of priests marrying) we have "he is a man *πολὺ πρότερον* than a priest and therefore must feel the desire for mating." Here the idea may be that manhood is a wider thing than priesthood. In *De Mig.* 87, "there is no use in seeming to be so and so, unless you are it *πολὺ πρότερον*." Here "*long before*" is rather pointless and a better sense is got if the phrase emphasizes the necessity of "being." In *Legatio* 115 the Jews have been taught from the cradle to worship the one God, by their parents and teachers and *πολὺ πρότερον* by the holy laws. So also perhaps *Mos.* i. 162, *De Praem.* 88.

^d On Macro see *Legatio* 32-61, where what is stated here is given much more fully.

- τὸν Γάιον διανοηθέντος Τιβερίου ὡς κακοήθη καὶ οὐ πεφυκότα πρὸς ἀρχήν, καὶ ἅμα διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ υἱωνῷ φόβον—ἐδεδίδει γάρ, μὴ παρανάλωμα γένηται τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ—, πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ Μάκρωνος τὰς ὑπονοίας ὑπεξαιρουμένου καὶ τὸν Γάιον ἐπαινοῦντος ὡς ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀπόνηρον καὶ κοινωνικὸν καὶ τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ μάλιστα ἡττημένον, ὡς ἢ μόνῳ ἂν ἐθελῆσαι παραχωρῆσαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἢ πάντως
- 13 τὰ πρωτεῖα. ὑφ' ὧν ἀπατηθεὶς ἔλαθεν ἄσπονδον ἐχθρὸν ἑαυτῷ καὶ υἱωνῷ καὶ γένει καὶ παρακλήτῳ Μάκρωνι καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κατα-
- 14 λιπών. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ Μάκρων ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἐκδιατῶμενον καὶ ἀχαλίνους ταῖς ὁρμαῖς, ἐφ' ἃ ἂν τύχη καὶ ὡς ἂν τύχη, χρώμενον ἐνουθέτει καὶ παρηγόρει νομίζων ἐκεῖνον εἶναι Γάιον τόν, ἡνίκ' ἔτ' ἔζη Τιβερίος, ἐπικεικῇ καὶ πειθαρχικόν, ὁ κακοδαίμων εὐνοίας περιττῆς ἔδωκε τὰς ἀνωτάτω δίκας πανοίκιος αὐτῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις συναναιρεθεὶς
- 15 ὡς περιττὸν ἄχθος καὶ παρενόχλημα. καὶ γὰρ ὁπότε πόρρωθεν αὐτὸν ἀφικνούμενον ἴδοι, τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς συνόντας διεξήει. “μὴ μειδιῶμεν, κατηφῶμεν· ὁ νουθετητῆς παραγίνεται, ὁ αὐθέκαστος, ὁ ἀνδρὸς τελείου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος ἀρξάμενος νῦν εἶναι παιδαγωγός, ὅτε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ὁ καιρὸς ἀπήλασε καὶ διέζευξεν.”
- 16 IV. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν καὶ τοῦτον ἔγνω προσανηρη-

^a The word παρανάλωμα recurs in *Legatio* 369, but in a different sense. There life is sacrificed for no profitable purpose is a παρανάλωμα. Here the idea may be as in the translation, or perhaps simply “an extra expenditure,” i.e. “having got rid of Tiberius let us get rid of his kin too.”

get Gaius out of the way as a person ill-disposed and devoid of natural gifts for rulership, and also because he was concerned for his grandson, who he feared might at his death be got rid of as an encumbrance.^a But Macro often tried to eliminate his suspicions and would praise Gaius as straight-forward and free from vice and liberal and particularly devoted to his cousin, so much so that he would willingly relinquish the principate to his sole charge, or, at any rate, the premier place.

Deceived by these representations Tiberius unwittingly left behind him an implacable enemy to himself, his grandson, his family, Macro the intercessor and all mankind. For when Macro saw him straying from the regular way and letting his impulses range unbridled anywhere and in any way he would admonish and exhort him, thinking that he was the same Gaius who while Tiberius still lived was reasonable and docile. But, alas, poor wretch, for his excessive goodwill he paid the extreme penalty, being slain with his whole house, wife and children as a burden, a superfluity and a nuisance. For whenever Gaius caught sight of him at a distance he would talk in this strain to his companions, "Let us not smile, let us look downcast, for here comes the monitor, the stickler for straight speaking,^b who has begun to take charge as tutor of a grown man and an emperor, at this very time which has dismissed and set aside those who tutored him from his earliest years."

IV. So when Flaccus learnt that Macro too had

^b Or simply "martinet," "strict disciplinarian." The word is coupled by Plutarch with *ὀμφακίας* and *στυφνός* in describing a harsh father. For other examples see Stephanus, who explains it as meaning a person who reckons *αὐτὰ ἕκαστα* and leaves nothing out.

- μένον ὁ Φλάκκος, τὴν λοιπὴν ἐλπίδα κατὰ τὸ
 παντελὲς ἀπεγνώκει καὶ οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἀντιλαμ-
 βάνεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων οἷός τε ἦν ἐξασθενῶν
 17 καὶ διαρρέων τὴν γνώμην. ὅταν δ' ὁ ἄρχων
 ἀπογνῶ τὸ δύνασθαι κρατεῖν, ἀνάγκη τοὺς ὑπη-
 κόους εὐθὺς ἀφηγιάζειν καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐκ μικρῶν
 καὶ τῶν τυχόντων πεφυκότας ἀνереθίζεσθαι· ἐν οἷς
 τὸ Αἰγυπτιακὸν τὰ πρωτεῖα φέρεται διὰ βραχυτάτου
 18 σπινθήρος εἰωθὸς ἐκφυσᾶν στάσεις μεγάλας. ἐν
 ἀμηχάνοις δὲ καὶ ἀπόροις γεγονῶς ἐσφάδαξε καὶ
 τὰ πρὸ μικροῦ πάντα¹ ἥλλαξεν ἅμα τῇ τοῦ λογισμοῦ
 [520] | πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον μεταβολῇ ποιησάμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν
 ἀπὸ τῶν συνηθεστάτων· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εὖνους καὶ
 μάλιστα φίλους ὑφωρᾶτο καὶ διωθεῖτο, τοῖς δ' ἐξ
 ἀρχῆς ἀνομολογηθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐσπένδετο καὶ
 19 συμβούλοις περὶ πάντων ἐχρῆτο. οἱ δ'—ἐγκότως
 γὰρ εἶχον—τὸ κατηλλάχθαι δοκεῖν λόγῳ μόνον
 ἐπιμορφάσαντες, ἔργοις δὲ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀσύμβατα
 μνησικακοῦντες καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ καθυποκρι-
 νόμενοι γνησίαν φιλίαν ὅλον αὐτὸν συναρπάζουσι·
 καὶ γίνεται ὁ μὲν ἄρχων ὑπήκοος, οἱ δ' ὑπήκοοι
 ἡγεμόνες, εἰσηγούμενοι μὲν ἀλυσιτελεστάτας γνώ-
 20 μας, εὐθὺς δὲ ταύτας ἐπισφραγίζόμενοι. βεβαιωταὶ
 γὰρ ὧν ἐβουλεύσαντο πάντων ἐγίνοντο κωφὸν ὥς
 ἐπὶ σκηνῆς προσωπεῖον ἔνεκα προσχήματος αὐτὸ
 μόνον παραλαμβάνοντες ἐπιγεγραμμένον ὄνομα
 ἀρχῆς, Διονύσιοι δημοκόποι, Λάμπωνες γραμμα-

¹ Some word or phrase to express policy seems to be needed. Reiter suggests *δόξαντα*.

been put to death he completely lost any hope that he still had and could no longer keep any grip of affairs, so utterly enfeebled was he and incapable of solid judgement. And when the ruler despairs of 17 keeping control the subjects necessarily at once become restive, particularly those who are naturally excited by quite small and ordinary occurrences. Among such the Egyptian nation holds the first place, accustomed as it is to blow up the tiniest spark into grave seditions. Flaccus, thus left without help 18 or resources, was much agitated and at the same time as his reasoning powers deteriorated made changes in all his recent policy, beginning with his treatment of his closest companions. For he suspected and repelled those who were well disposed and particularly friendly to him, while he allied himself to those who from the first had been his avowed enemies and took them for his counsellors in every matter. But their rancour was still there. The 19 apparent reconciliation was a counterfeit, existing only in words. In real fact they cherished an implacable vindictiveness and acting as in a theatre the part of genuine friends they carried him off into complete captivity. The ruler became the subject, the subjects leaders, who put forward very pernicious proposals and straightway set on them the seal of reality. They proceeded to confirm all their plans, 20 and took Flaccus like a masked dummy on the stage with the title of government inscribed upon him merely for show, to be an instrument in the hands of a popularity-hunting Dionysius,^a a paper-

^a Dionysius's name does not recur again in this treatise, but see App. p. 532, on him as well as on Isidorus and Lampo.

- τοκούφωνες, Ἰσίδωροι στασιάρχαι, φιλοπράγμονες, κακῶν εὐρεταί, ταραξιπόλιδες· τοῦτο γὰρ κεκρά-
 21 τηκέ πως τοῦνομα. συνταξάμενοι πάντες οὔτοι βούλευμα βουλεύουσι κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀργαλεώτατον καὶ τῷ Φλάκκῳ προσελθόντες ἰδίᾳ
 22 φασίν· “ ἔρρει μὲν σοι τὰ ἀπὸ Τιβερίου Νέρωνος τοῦ παιδός, ἔρρει δὲ καὶ ἡ μετ’ ἐκείνων ἐλπίς, ὃ ἐταῖρός σου Μάκρων, αἴσια δ’ οὐκ ἔστι σοι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος· δεῖ δὴ παράκλητον ἡμᾶς εὐρεῖν
 23 δυνατώτατον, ὑφ’ οὗ Γάιος ἐξευμενισθήσεται. ὃ δὲ παράκλητος ἡ πόλις Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐστίν, ἣν τετίμηκε μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅπας ὁ Σεβαστὸς οἶκος, διαφερόντως δ’ ὁ νῦν ἡμῶν δεσπότης. παρα-
 κλητεύσει δὲ τυχοῦσά τινος παρὰ σοῦ δωρεᾶς· μείζον δ’ ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲν αὐτῇ παρέξεις ἢ τοὺς
 24 Ἰουδαίους ἐκδοὺς καὶ προέμενος.” ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀφείλων ἀπώσασθαι καὶ δυσχερᾶναι τοὺς λέγοντας ὥς νεωτεροποιούς καὶ κοινούς πολεμίους συνεπι-
 γράφεται τοῖς λεχθεῖσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀδηλοτέρας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς ἐπιβουλάς μήτ’ ἴσον παρέχων καὶ κοινὸν ἀκροατὴν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς θάτερον ἀπο-
 κλίνων μέρος, μήτ’ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἰσηγορίαν διδούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅποτε προσίοι τις τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἀποστρεφόμενος καὶ τὸ δυσέντευκτον ἐπιτηδεύων

^a Or perhaps “paper-nosing,” if that is not too slangy. “Paper-porer” is a variation on L. & S.’s “record-porer.” This epithet, which recurs again in § 131, is taken from *De* 314

poring^a Lampo, an Isidorus, faction leader, busy intriguer, mischief contriver and a name which has gained special currency—state embroiler.^b All 21 these combining concerted a plot of the most damaging kind against the Jews and coming to Flaccus privately said, “Lost are your prospects from the 22 boy Tiberius Nero, lost too the hope that you had next to him in your comrade Macro, and your expectations from the Emperor are anything but favourable. We must find you a really powerful intercessor to propitiate Gaius. Such an intercessor 23 is the city of the Alexandrians which has been honoured from the first by all the Augustan house and especially by our present master; and intercede it will if it receives from you some boon, and you can give it no greater benefaction than by surrendering and sacrificing the Jews.” Though on hearing these 24 words it was his duty to repulse and frown upon the speakers as sedition-makers and enemies of the commonwealth he subscribed to their suggestions. At first he showed his hostile intentions in a somewhat less obvious way by refusing to give a fair and impartial hearing to the parties in disputes and leaning to one side only, while in all other matters he gave them no right of free speech, but whenever any Jew approached he turned away, while to all others he

Cor. 209. Though it is uncertain whether Demosthenes applies it to Aeschines as a scribe, or as an usher in his father's school, Philo clearly takes it in the first sense. No effective rendering has been suggested to my knowledge for the term which describes a pedant hunching his shoulders over writings. Kennedy translates it by “scribbler,” Abbott by “hack of a scribe.” Dr. Rouse suggests to me a number of renderings of which I select “ledger-dredger” as the most effective.

^b This epithet is again applied to Isidorus in § 137.

ἐπὶ μόνων τούτων· αὐθις δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ
τὴν δυσμένειαν ἐπεδείξατο.

- 25 V. Προσεπέρρωσε δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκ μαθήσεως
τὸ πλεόν ἢ φύσεως ἐπιτετηδευμένην ἀπόνοιαν καὶ
συντυχία τις τοιαύτη. Γάιος Καῖσαρ Ἀγρίππα
τῷ Ἡρώδου βασιλέως νύωνῳ δίδωσι βασιλείαν
[521] | τῆς παπώας λήξεως τρίτην μοῖραν, ἣν Φίλιππος
τετράρχης θεῖος ὢν αὐτῷ πρὸς πατρός ἐκαρποῦτο.
26 μέλλοντι δ' ἀπαίρειν συνεβούλευσεν ὁ Γάιος τὸν
μὲν ἀπὸ Βρεντεσίου μέχρι Συρίας πλοῦν μακρὸν
ὄντα καὶ καματηρὸν παραιτήσασθαι, χρῆσθαι δ'
ἐπιτόμῳ τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀναμείναντι τῷ διὰ τῆς
Ἀλεξανδρείας· τὰς τε γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν ὁλκάδας ταχυ-
ναυτεῖν ἔφασκε καὶ ἐμπειροτάτους εἶναι κυβερνήτας,
οἱ καθάπερ ἀθλητὰς ἵππους ἡνιοχοῦσιν ἀπλανῆ
παρέχοντες τὸν ἐπ' εὐθείας δρόμον. ὁ δὲ πει-
θαρχεῖ ὡς δεσπότῃ τε ἅμα καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα συμ-
27 φέρειν παραγγέλλοντι. καταβὰς δ' εἰς Δικαι-
άρχειαν καὶ ναῦς ὑφόρμους Ἀλεξανδρίδας ἰδὼν
εὐτρεπεῖς πρὸς ἀναγωγὴν, ἐπιβὰς μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων,
εὐπλοῖα χρησάμενος, ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις
ἀνεπιφάτως καὶ ἀφωράτως κατάγεται, κελεύσας
τοῖς κυβερνήταις—περὶ γὰρ δειλὴν ὥραν ὁ Φάρος
ἀναφαίνεται—τὰ μὲν ἰστία συνάγειν, ἔξω δὲ περὶ
αὐτὸν μὴ μακρὰν ἀφισταμένους θαλαττεύειν ἄχρι
τοῦ βαθεῖαν ἐσπέραν ἐπιγενέσθαι καὶ νυκτὸς τοῖς
λιμέσι προσσχεῖν, ἵν' ἀποβὰς ἤδη τετραμμένων
<ἀπάντων> πρὸς ὕπνον, μηδενὸς ὀρώντος, ἀφίκηται
28 πρὸς τὸν ξενοδόχον. ὁ μὲν δὴ μετὰ τοσαύτης
αἰδοῦς ἐπεδήμησε βουλόμενος εἴ πως οἶόν τε ἦν,

^a For Agrippa see App. p. 532.

^b Puteoli.

made himself easily accessible. But later he also showed his ill-will openly.

V. The infatuation due to instruction from others 25 rather than to his own nature, which thus was shown in his conduct, was further strengthened by the following incident. Gaius Caesar gave to Agrippa, the grandson of King Herod, the kingship over that third part of his grandfather's territory, the revenues of which were taken by Philip the tetrarch, Agrippa's paternal uncle.^a When he was about to set out 26 thither Gaius advised him not to undertake the voyage from Brundisium to Syria which was long and wearisome but wait for the etesian winds and take the short route through Alexandria. He told him that thence there were swift-sailing merchant vessels and highly skilled pilots who manage them as a charioteer manages race-horses and provide a straightforward passage along the direct route. Agrippa did as he was told, partly out of deference to his lord and master, and also because the course he enjoined seemed to be advisable. He went down 27 to Dicaearchia,^b and seeing there some ships of Alexandria lying at anchor and ready to sail he embarked with his retinue, and after a good voyage came to land a few days later without being expected or his purposes detected. He had ordered the pilots when they sighted Pharos in the late afternoon to furl the sails and lie outside round about it and not far off until the evening had well set in, and then by night to put in at the harbour, so that he might disembark when everyone had settled down to sleep and reach the house of his host without anyone seeing him. His reason for making his visit in such an unassuming 28 way was that he wished if possible to slip out of the

ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει λαθὼν ὑπεξελθεῖν· οὐ γὰρ κατὰ θεάν ἀφίκτο τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπιδεδημηκῶς αὐτῇ πρότερον, ἥνίκα τὸν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης πλοῦν ἐστέλλετο πρὸς Τιβέριον, ἀλλ' ὁδῶ χρησόμενος ἐπιτόμῳ τῆς οἴκαδε ἀφίξεως. οἱ δ' ὑπὸ φθόνου ῥηγνύμενοι—βάσκανον γὰρ φύσει τὸ Αἰγυπτιακόν—καὶ τὰς ἐτέρων εὐτυχίας ἰδίας ὑπελάμβανον εἶναι κακοπραγίας καὶ ἅμα διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ <φύσει> γεγεννημένην¹ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἀπέχθειαν ἥσχαλλον ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενῆσθαι τινα βασιλέα Ἰουδαίων οὐχ ἦττον, ἢ εἰ αὐτός τις
 29 ἕκαστος βασιλείαν προγονικὴν ἀφήρητο. καὶ τὸν ἄθλιον Φλάκκον πάλιν οἱ συνόντες ἀνηρέθιζον εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνάγοντες καὶ προκαλούμενοι² φθόνον, “σὴ κατάλυσις ἐστὶ” φάσκοντες “ἢ ἐπιδημία τούτου· μείζονα τιμῆς καὶ εὐδοξίας ὄγκον ἢ σὺ περιβέβληται· πάντας εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφει τὴν δορυφόρον τῶν σωματοφυλάκων στρατιὰν ὀρῶντας ἐπαργύροις καὶ ἐπιχρύσοις ὄπλοις διακεκοσμημένην.
 31 ἔδει γὰρ ἦκειν εἰς ἐπικράτειαν ἐτέρου δυνάμενον πλῶ χρησάμενον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσφαλῶς παραπεμφθῆναι; καὶ γὰρ εἰ Γάιος ἐπέτρεπε, μᾶλλον δ' ἠνάγκαζεν, ἐχρῆν ἐκλιπαρήσαντα παραιτήσασθαι τὴν ἐνθάδε ἀφίξιν, ἵνα μὴ παρευημερηθεῖς ὁ τῆς
 32 χώρας ἡγεμὼν ἀδοξῇ.” ταῦτα ἀκούων ἔτι μᾶλλον

¹ Other suggestions are *συγγεγεννημένην* or *ἐγγεγεννημένην*. (Perhaps *συγγεγεννημένην* as Cohn in *De Praem.* 62.)

² MSS. *προσκαλούμενοι*.

^a This and indeed the general excitement caused by Agrippa's visit seem inconsistent with his attempt to remain incognito. The explanation presumably is that the Jews forced this change of attitude on him. We find later (§ 103)

city quietly and unobserved by the whole population. For he had not come to see Alexandria as he had stayed there before on his voyage to Rome to join Tiberius, and he only wanted to get a short route for his journey home. But jealousy is part of the 29 Egyptian nature, and the citizens were bursting with envy and considered that any good luck to others was misfortune to themselves, and in their ancient, and we might say innate hostility to the Jews, they resented a Jew having been made a king just as much as if each of them had thereby been deprived of an ancestral throne. And the unhappy Flaccus 30 was again stirred up by his companions with incitements and appeals calculated to make him as envious as themselves. "His stay here," they said, "is your deposition. The dignity of the honour and prestige which invest him surpasses yours; he is attracting all men to him by the sight of his bodyguard of spearmen, decked in armour overlaid with gold and silver.^a Was it right for him to come to another 31 ruler's domain when a fair wind^b could have carried him safely by sea to his own? For if Gaius gave him permission or rather put compulsion on him to do so, he ought to have earnestly entreated to be excused from coming here, so that the governor of the country would not be thrown into the background and lose prestige." Such words made his temper 32

that they took the occasion to lay before him their grievance against Flaccus for failing to transmit their address to Gaius and doubtless were as ready to make much of his royal status as the Alexandrines were to resent it.

^b *πλῶ* here = *εὐπλοία*. See examples in L. & S. revised, e.g. *πλοῦς ἡμῖν γίγνεται*, and the same phrase as here *πλῶ χρήσασθαι* Thuc. iii. 3. 5. Cf. also *εὐπλοία χρησάμενος* § 27 above.

ἢ πρότερον ᾧδει καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ φανερωῷ τὸν ἐταῖρον
καὶ φίλον καθυπεκρίνετο διὰ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πέμψαντος
φόβον, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐξηλοτύπει καὶ ἐξελάλει τὸ μῖσος
[522] καὶ πλαγίως | αὐτὸν ὕβριζεν, ἐπειδὴ περ ἄντικρυς
33 οὐκ ἐθάρρει. τῷ γὰρ ἀργοῦντι καὶ σχολάζοντι
τῆς πόλεως ὄχλῳ—πλήθος δ' ἐστὶν ἐπιτετηδευκὸς
γλωσσαλγίαν καὶ ἐνευκαιροῦν διαβολαῖς καὶ βλασ-
φημίαις—ἐπιτρέπει κακηγορεῖν τὸν βασιλέα εἴτε
ἀρξάμενος δι' ἑαυτοῦ τῶν λοιδοριῶν εἴτε προτρεψά-
μενος καὶ ἐναγαγὼν αὐτὸς διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετεῖν τὰ
34 τοιαῦτα εἰωθότων. οἱ δ' ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενοι
διημέρευον ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ χλευάζοντες τὸν
βασιλέα καὶ σκώμματα συνείροντες· πῇ δὲ καὶ
ποιηταῖς μίμων καὶ γελοίων διδασκάλοις χρώμενοι
τὴν ἐν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς εὐφυΐαν ἐπεδείκνυντο, βραδεῖς
μὲν ὄντες τὰ καλὰ παιδεύεσθαι, τὰ δ' ἐναντία
35 μαρθάνειν ὀξύτατοι καὶ προχειρότατοι. διὰ τί γὰρ
οὐκ ἡγανάκτησεν, οὐκ ἀπήγαγεν, οὐκ ἐπέπληξε
τῆς αὐθάδους βλασφημίας; εἰ δὲ μὴ βασιλεὺς ἦν,
ἀλλὰ τις τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας, οὐκ ὥφειλε
προνομίαν τινὰ καὶ τιμὴν ἔχειν; ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' εἰσὶ
πίστεις ἐναργεῖς τοῦ συναίτιον γεγενῆσθαι τῶν
βλασφημιῶν Φλάκκον· ὁ γὰρ ἐπιπλήττειν ἢ τὸ
πανύστατον ἐπέχειν ἂν δυνηθεῖς εἰ μὴ κεκώλυκε,
δῆλος ἦν ἐφιεῖς καὶ ἐπιτρέπων αὐτός. πρὸς ὃ
τι δ' ἂν ὄχλος ἀσύντακτος ἀφορμὴν λάβῃ τῶν

^a i.e. "took a leaf from their book," referring to the
320

FLACCUS, 32-35

rise still more, and while in public he played the part of friend and comrade to Agrippa through fear of him who had sent him there, in private he vented his jealousy and gave full utterance to his hatred by insulting him indirectly since he had not the courage to do so outright. For the lazy and unoccupied mob 33 in the city, a multitude well practised in idle talk, who devote their leisure to slandering and evil speaking, was permitted by him to vilify the king, whether the abuse was actually begun by himself or caused by his incitement and provocation addressed to those who were his regular ministers in such matters. Thus started on their course they spent 34 their days in the gymnasium jeering at the king and bringing out a succession of gibes against him. In fact they took the authors of farces and jests for their instructors^a and thereby showed their natural ability in things of shame, slow to be schooled in anything good but exceedingly quick and ready in learning the opposite. Why did Flaccus show no 35 indignation? Why did he not arrest them? Why did he not chastise them for their presumptuous evil-speaking? Even if Agrippa had not been a king, yet as a member of Caesar's household, did he not deserve to have some precedence and marks of honour? No, these are clear proofs that Flaccus was a party to the defamation. For it is evident that if he who could have chastised or at the very least stopped them did nothing to prevent them from acting in this way they did it with the full permission and consent of him himself. And if the undisciplined mob get a starting point for their misconduct in any

Carabas incident which was a sort of "mime." See Box's notes on §§ 34 and 38.

ἁμαρτημάτων, οὐχ ἴσταται, μέτεισι δ' ἀφ' ἐτέρων εἰς ἕτερα προσεπεξεργαζόμενος αἰεί τι νεώτερον.

- 36 VI. Ἦν τις μεμνηὺς ὄνομα Καραβᾶς οὐ τὴν ἀγρίαν καὶ θηριώδη μανίαν—ἄσκηπτος¹ γὰρ αὕτη γε καὶ τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς πλησιάζουσιν—, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀνειμένην καὶ μαλακωτέραν. οὗτος διημέρευε καὶ διενυκτέρευε γυμνὸς ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς οὔτε θάλπος οὔτε κρυμὸν ἐκτρεπόμενος, ἄθλημα νηπίων καὶ 37 μειρακίων σχολαζόντων. συνελάσαντες τὸν ἄθλιον ἄχρι τοῦ γυμνασίου καὶ στήσαντες μετέωρον, ἵνα καθορώτο πρὸς πάντων, βύβλον μὲν εὐρύναντες ἀντὶ διαδήματος ἐπιτιθέασιν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ, χαμαιστρώτῳ δὲ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα περιβάλλουσιν ἀντὶ χλαμύδος, ἀντὶ δὲ σκήπτρου βραχύ τι παπύρου τμήμα τῆς ἐγχωρίου καθ' ὁδὸν ἐρριμμένον ἰδὼν 38 τις ἀναδίδωσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡς ἐν θεατρικοῖς μίμοις τὰ παράσημα τῆς βασιλείας ἀνελήφει καὶ δι-εκεκόσμητο εἰς βασιλέα, νεανίαι ράβδους ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέροντες ἀντὶ λογχόφορων ἐκατέρωθεν εἰστήκεσαν μιμούμενοι δορυφόρους. εἰθ' ἕτεροι προσήεσαν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἀσπασόμενοι, οἱ δὲ ὡς δικασόμενοι, οἱ δ' ὡς ἐντενυζόμενοι περὶ κοινῶν 39 πραγμάτων. εἰτ' ἐκ τοῦ περιεστῶτος ἐν κύκλῳ πλήθους ἐξήχει βοή τις ἄτοπος Μάριν ἀποκαλούντων—οὕτως δέ φασι τὸν κύριον ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ Σύροις—· ἥδεσαν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν καὶ γένει

¹ So mss. This otherwise unknown word, for which L. & S. gives "which cannot be feigned," makes nonsense here. So also does ἄσκηπτος, which Mangey adopts and translates "improvisus." I think that another suggestion ἄσκηπης (better in the equivalent form ἄσκέπαστος) is not quite hopeless. From its natural meaning of "uncovered" it

direction, they do not halt there but pass on from one thing to another, always engaging in some fresh form of violence.

VI. There was a certain lunatic named Carabas, 36 whose madness was not of the fierce and savage kind, which is dangerous both to the madmen themselves and those who approach them, but of the easy-going, gentler style. He spent day and night in the streets naked, shunning neither heat nor cold, made game of by the children and the lads who were idling about. The rioters drove the poor fellow into the gymnasium 37 and set him up on high to be seen of all and put on his head a sheet of byblus spread out wide for a diadem, clothed the rest of his body with a rug for a royal robe, while someone who had noticed a piece of the native papyrus thrown away in the road gave it to him for his sceptre. And when as in some theatrical 38 farce he had received the insignia of kingship and had been tricked out as a king, young men carrying rods on their shoulders as spearmen stood on either side of him in imitation of a bodyguard. Then others approached him, some pretending to salute him, others to sue for justice, others to consult him on state affairs. Then from the multitudes standing 39 round him there rang out a tremendous shout hailing him as Marin,^a which is said to be the name for "lord" in Syria. For they knew that Agrippa was both a

^a Cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 22. R.V. "Maranatha," with marginal note, "That is, our Lord cometh."

might come to mean "defenceless" and so as applied to a position "indefensible" and therefore "dangerous," which seems to be what we want here. But we have no knowledge of any such development. Box very tentatively suggests ἀστεκτος = "insufferable."

- [523] Σύρον καὶ Συρίας μεγάλην | ἀποτομὴν ἔχοντα,
 40 ἧς ἐβασίλευε. ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούων, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁρῶν
 ὁ Φλάκκος, δεόντως ἂν καὶ τὸν μεμνηνότα συλλαβὼν
 καὶ καθείρξας, ἵνα μὴ παρέχῃ τοῖς κατακερτομοῦσιν
 ἀφορμὴν εἰς ὕβριν τῶν βελτιόνων, καὶ τοὺς ἐνσκευά-
 σαντας τιμωρησάμενος, ὅτι γε βασιλέα καὶ φίλον
 Καίσαρος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς τετιμη-
 μένον στρατηγικαῖς τιμαῖς ἐτόλμησαν καὶ ἔργοις
 καὶ λόγοις καὶ φανερώς καὶ πλαγίως ὑβρίζειν, οὐ
 μόνον οὐκ ἐπέπληξεν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπισχεῖν ἠξίωσεν
 ἄδειαν καὶ ἐκχειρίαν διδούς τοῖς ἐθελοκακοῦσι καὶ
 ἐθελέχθως ἔχουσι, προσποιούμενος ἃ τε ἑώρα μὴ
 41 ὁρᾶν καὶ ὧν ἤκουε μὴ ἀκούειν. ὅπερ συναισθό-
 μενος ὁ ὄχλος—οὐχ ὁ καθεστὼς καὶ δημοτικός,
 ἀλλ' ὁ πάντα θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς εἰωθὼς ἀναπιμ-
 πλάναι διὰ φιλοπραγμοσύνην καὶ ζῆλον ἀβιώτου
 βίου καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἔθους ἀργίαν καὶ σχολήν, πρᾶγμα
 ἐπίβουλον—συρρυνέντες εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐξ ἑωθिनού
 Φλάκκον ἤδη τιμῶν ἀθλίων ἑωνημένοι, ἃς ὁ
 δοξομανῆς καὶ παλίμπρατος ἐλάμβανεν οὐ καθ'
 αὐτοῦ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς κοινῆς ἀσφαλείας,
 ἀνεβόησαν ἀφ' ἐνὸς συνθήματος εἰκόνας ἐν ταῖς
 προσευχαῖς ἀνατιθέναι, καινότατον καὶ μηδέπω
 42πραχθέν εἰσηγούμενοι παρανόμημα. καὶ τοῦτ'
 εἰδότες—ὀξύτατοι γὰρ τὴν μοχθηρίαν εἰσὶ—κατα-
 σοφίζονται τὸ Καίσαρος ὄνομα προκάλυμμα ποιη-
 σάμενοι, ᾧ προσάπτειν τι τῶν ἐπαιτίων οὐ θεμιτόν.
 43 τί οὖν ὁ τῆς χώρας ἐπίτροπος; ἐπι-

^a Hardly, I think, as Box "called upon *him*." Flaccus is only accused here of not taking any steps to stop it, cf. 324

Syrian by birth and had a great piece of Syria over which he was king. When Flaccus heard, or rather 40 saw all this, it was his duty to take and keep the mad-man in charge, to prevent him from providing an occasion to the railers for insulting their betters and then to punish those who had arrayed him thus, because they had dared both in word and deed both openly and indirectly to insult a king, a friend of Caesar's, a person who had received Praetorian honours from the Roman Senate. Instead of this not merely did he refrain from chastising them but even shrank from restraining them, thereby giving immunity and free-play to those who displayed evil intentions and hostile feeling by pretending not to see what he saw nor hear what he heard. When 41 the crowd perceived this, not the peaceful, public-spirited crowd, but the crowd which regularly fills everything with confusion and turmoil, which by its love of meddling, its eager pursuit of the worthless life, its habitual laziness and idling, is a thing that means mischief, they streamed into the theatre at early dawn, and having Flaccus purchased by the miserable price which he crazy for fame and ever-ready to be sold took to the destruction not only of himself but of the public safety, called out with one accord ^a for installing images in the meeting-houses. What they proposed was a breach of the law en- 42 tirely novel and unprecedented and knowing this, quick-witted as they are for villainy, they cunningly glozed it by using the name of Caesar as a screen, that name with which no guilty action can lawfully be associated. What then did the governor 43

Legatio 132 f. Later in § 53 a more active participation is suggested.

στάμενος, ὅτι καὶ ἡ πόλις οἰκήτορας ἔχει διττούς, ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τούτους, καὶ πᾶσα Αἴγυπτος, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀποδέουσι μυριάδων ἑκατὸν οἱ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τὴν χώραν Ἰουδαῖοι κατοικοῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Λιβύην καταβαθμοῦ μέχρι τῶν ὁρίων Αἰθιοπίας, καὶ ὡς ἡ πείρα κατὰ πάντων ἐστὶ καὶ ὡς οὐ λυσιτελὲς ἔθνη πάτρια κινεῖν, ἀμελήσας ἀπάντων ἐπιτρέπει ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀνάθεσιν, μυρία καὶ πάντα προνοητικὰ δυνάμενος ἢ ὡς ἄρχων κελεύειν ἢ συμβουλευεῖν ὡς φίλος.

- 44 VII. Ὁ δέ—συνεχειρουργεῖ γὰρ ἕκαστα τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων—καὶ ἀπὸ μείζονος ἐξουσίας ἀναρριπίζειν καινοτέραις αἰεὶ κακῶν προσθήκαις τὴν στάσιν ἡξίου καὶ τό γ' ἐφ' αὐτὸν ἦκον μέρος ἅπασαν ὀλίγου δεῖν φάναι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμφυλίων
45 πολέμων ἐπλήρωσεν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄδηλον, ὅτι ἡ περὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν προσευχῶν φήμη λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας διαδοθήσεται μὲν εὐθὺς εἰς τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ νομούς, δραμεῖται
[524] | δ' ἀπὸ μὲν Αἰγύπτου πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἔθνη τὰ ἐῷα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ὑποταγίου καὶ Μαρείας, αἱ Λιβύης εἰσὶν ἀρχαί, πρὸς δυσμὰς καὶ ἔθνη τὰ ἐσπέρια. Ἰουδαίους γὰρ χώρα μία διὰ πολυανθρω-
46 πῖαν οὐ χωρεῖ. ἥς αἰτίας ἔνεκα τὰς πλείστας καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτας τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ καὶ Ἀσίᾳ κατὰ τε νήσους καὶ ἡπείρους ἐκνέμονται μητρόπολιν μὲν

^a As to what is implied by this word, see App. p. 533.

^b Or district below the coastal strip (Box, see his note on the geography). Mangey has "ora maritima."

^c Lit. "the most and most prosperous." So in § 51 "the most and most necessary," and in *De Aet.* 64 τὰ πλείστα καὶ 326

of the country do? He knew that both Alexandria and the whole of Egypt had two kinds of inhabitants, us and them, and that there were no less than a million Jews resident in Alexandria and the country from the slope into Libya to the boundaries of Ethiopia; also that this was an attack against them all, and that ancestral customs cannot be disturbed without harm, yet he disregarded all these facts and permitted the installation of the images though there were a host of considerations all tending to caution which he might have set before them either as orders from a ruler or advice from a friend.

VII. But since he worked hand in hand with them 44 in all their misdeeds he did not scruple to use his superior power to fan the flames of sedition perpetually by still more novel additions of evil, and as far as lay in his power filled, one may also say, the whole habitable world with racial conflict. For it was perfectly clear that the rumour of the overthrowing^a of the synagogues beginning at Alexandria would spread at once to the nomes of Egypt and speed from Egypt to the East and the nations of the East and from the Hypotaenia^b and Marea, which are the outskirts of Libya, to the West and the nations of the West. For so populous are the Jews that no one country can hold them, and therefore they settle in 46 very many of the most prosperous countries^c in Europe and Asia both in the islands and on the mainland, and while they hold the Holy City where

μέγιστα τῶν ὀρῶν. Here Box gives "the most extensive and wealthiest," and below "the greatest and most important." I am not sure whether *πλείστα* can mean this and at any rate it does not fit in with *De Aet.* 64. I think that in all three places it is a curious way of expressing "most of the wealthiest, greatest," etc.

τὴν ἱερόπολιν ἡγούμενοι, καθ' ἣν ἰδρυται ὁ τοῦ
 ὑψίστου θεοῦ νεὺς ἅγιος, ὥς δ' ἔλαχον ἐκ πατέρων
 καὶ πάππων καὶ προπάππων καὶ τῶν ἔτι ἄνω
 προγόνων οἰκεῖν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας νομίζοντες, ἐν
 αἷς ἐγεννήθησαν καὶ ἐτράφησαν· εἰς ἐνίας δὲ καὶ
 κτιζόμενας εὐθὺς ἦλθον ἀποικίαν στειλάμενοι, τοῖς
 47 κτίσταις χαριζόμενοι. καὶ δέος ἦν, μὴ οἱ πανταχοῦ
 τὴν ἀφορμὴν ἐκείθεν λαβόντες ἐπηρεάζωσι τοῖς
 πολίταις αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίοις εἰς τὰς προσευχὰς καὶ
 48 τὰ πάτρια νεωτερίζοντες. οἱ δέ—οὐ γὰρ ἔμελλον
 ἄχρι παντὸς ἡσυχάζειν καίτοι πεφυκότες εἶ
 πρὸς εἰρήνην, οὐ μόνον ὅτι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις οἱ
 περὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀγῶνες καὶ τοὺς περὶ ψυχῆς κινδύ-
 νους ὑπερβάλλουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ μόνοι τῶν ὑφ'
 ἡλίον ἅμα ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἀπεστεροῦντο τὴν εἰς
 τοὺς εὐεργέτας εὐσέβειαν, ὃ μυρίων θανάτων
 ἐτετίμηντο ἂν—οὐκ ἔχοντες ἱεροὺς περιβόλους, οἷς
 ἐνδιαθήσονται τὸ εὐχάριστον,¹ καὶ τοῖς ἐναντιου-
 49 μένοις εἶπον ἂν· “λελήθατε ἑαυτοὺς οὐ προστι-
 θέντες τοῖς κυρίοις τιμὴν, ἀλλ' ἀφαιρούμενοι, οὐκ
 εἰδότες ὡς τοῖς πανταχόθι τῆς οἰκουμένης Ἰου-
 δαίοις ὀρμητήρια τῆς εἰς τὸν Σεβαστὸν οἶκον

¹ It would perhaps be better to omit the marks of the parenthesis, and put a colon or full stop at εὐχάριστον. In this case we have the same anacoluthic γὰρ as in *De Aet.* 75, and the verb to which οἱ δέ is subject is ἔμελλον. See note b.

^a The thought here seems confused. The point in which the Jews were unique is that they believed that the admission of an image into a place of worship desecrated it, and assuming as Philo does that εὐσέβεια can only be adequately shown in a place of worship, they would be deprived of the means of
 328

stands the sacred Temple of the most high God to be their mother city, yet those which are theirs by inheritance from their fathers, grandfathers, and ancestors even farther back, are in each case accounted by them to be their fatherland in which they were born and reared, while to some of them they have come at the time of their foundation as immigrants to the satisfaction of the founders. And 47 it was to be feared that people everywhere might take their cue from Alexandria, and outrage their Jewish fellow-citizens by rioting against their synagogues and ancestral customs. Now the Jews though 48 naturally well-disposed for peace could not be expected to remain quiet whatever happened, not only because with all men the determination to fight for their institutions outweighs even the danger to life, but also because they are the only people under the sun ^a who by losing their meeting-houses were losing also what they would have valued as worth dying many thousand deaths, namely, their means of showing reverence to their benefactors, since they no longer had the sacred buildings where they could set forth their thankfulness.^b And they might have said to their enemies "You have failed to see that you are 49 not adding to but taking from the honour given to our masters, and you do not understand that everywhere in the habitable world the religious veneration of the Jews for the Augustan house has its basis as

showing it adequately. But the destruction of their temples would equally incapacitate Gentiles. But see App. p. 533.

^b The sentence as punctuated here has no verb to the initial *οἱ*, unless *καὶ* at the end is taken = "also," which seems pointless. If punctuated as suggested in note 1, there would be no objection to taking *εἶπον* as 1st person singular, which will fit in better with *οὐκ οἶδα*.

οσιότητός εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαὶ ἐπιδήλως, ὧν ἡμῖν
 ἀναιρεθεισῶν τίς ἕτερος ἀπολείπεται τόπος ἢ
 50 τρόπος τιμῆς; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐφίεντων¹ τῶν ἐθῶν
 ὀλιγωροῦμεν, τῆς ἀνωτάτω τιμωρίας δίκαιοι τυγ-
 χάνειν ἐσμέν μὴ παρέχοντες ἀρτίους καὶ πλήρεις
 τὰς ἀμοιβάς. εἰ δ' οὐκ ἐξὸν τοῖς ἰδίοις ὑποστέλ-
 λομεν νομίμοις, ἃ καὶ τῷ Σεβαστῷ φίλον βεβαιοῦν,
 τί μικρὸν ἢ μέγα πλημμελοῦμεν οὐκ οἶδα· πλὴν εἰ
 μὴ ψέγειν τις ἐθελήσῃε τὸ μὴ γνώμη ἐκουσίῳ
 παρανομεῖν τὰς ἐκδαιτήσεις τῶν ἐθῶν οὐ φυλαξα-
 μένους, αἷ, καὶ ἀφ' ἐτέρων ἄρξωνται, τελευτῶσι
 51 πολλάκις εἰς τοὺς αἰτίους." ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Φλάκκος
 τὰ τε λεκτέα ἡσυχάζων καὶ τὰ ἡσυχαστέα λέγων
 οὕτως εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐξημάρτανεν. ἐκεῖνοι δ', οἷς
 ἐχαρίζετο, τίνα γνώμην εἶχον; ἄρα γε τὴν τῶν
 τιμῶν ἐθελόντων; εἴτα σπάνις ἦν ἱερῶν κατὰ τὴν
 πόλιν, ἥς τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ἀναγκαϊότατα μέρη
 52 τετεμένισται, πρὸς ἀνάθεσιν ὧν ἐβούλοντο; τὴν
 μὲν οὖν τῶν φιλαπεχθημόνων καὶ μετὰ τέχνης
 ἐπιβουλευόντων ὁρμὴν ἔφαμεν, δι' ἣν οἱ μὲν ἐπηρεά-
 [525] ζοντες | οὐ δόξουσιν ἀδικεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἐπηρεαζομένοις

¹ MSS. ἀφίεντων or ἀφεθέντων.

^a I take νομίμοις as a dative of the same kind as νόμῳ or νόμοις corresponding to our own "by the law," e.g. χρῆθαι θανεῖν answered by ποίῳ νόμῳ; or οἰκεῖν τοῖς νόμοις. See other examples in Stephanus. Box takes it after ὑποστέλλειν = "shelter ourselves under the laws."

^b The sentence πλὴν . . . αἰτίους is very difficult, for (1) πλὴν εἰ μὴ is pleonastic instead of either πλὴν εἰ or εἰ μὴ; (2) the general sense seems to be "if we are to be blamed it is not because we refused to break the law by admitting images, but because we have not been strict enough in preventing defecation" (though what this alludes to is not clear); (3) τοὺς αἰτίους must mean those who are responsible by having allowed the

all may see in the meeting-houses, and if we have these destroyed no place, no method is left to us for paying this homage. If we neglect to pay it 50 when our institutions permit we should deserve the utmost penalty for not tendering our requital with all due fullness. But if we fall short because it is forbidden by our own laws,^a which Augustus also was well pleased to confirm, I do not see what offence, either small or great, can be laid to our charge.^b The only thing for which we might be blamed would be that we transgressed, though involuntarily, by not defending ourselves against the defections from our customs, which even if originally due to others often ultimately affect those who are responsible for them."

It was by saying what he should leave unsaid and 51 leaving unsaid what he should say that Flaccus treated us in this iniquitous way. But what were the motives of those whose favour he was seeking? Was it that they really wished to honour the Emperor? Was there then any lack of temples in the city, so many parts of which are consecrated and give all that is needed for the installation of anything they wished? No, what we have described is an act of aggression 52 by bitterly hostile and crafty plotters in which the authors of the outrages would not appear to be acting unjustly and the sufferers could not oppose them with

others to begin. But this is very forced (I am inclined to think that *μη* has dropped out as often in Philo, or that we should read *ἀναίτιους*); (4) assuming that *τοὺς αἰτίους* is right, what is meant by *τελευτώσι . . . εἰς*? Perhaps "they at last come to practise them" (Box). Rather I think "they ultimately suffer from the consequences," and perhaps the thought may be something like this: "If we had insisted more on the strict observance of the law in other matters, the Greeks would not have attempted to force this desecration upon us."

οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐναντιοῦσθαι. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς γενναῖοι, τιμὴ καταλύειν νόμους, ἔθνη πάτρια κινεῖν, ἐπηρεάζειν τοῖς συνοικοῦσι, διδάσκειν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὁμοφροσύνης ἀλογεῖν.

- 53 VIII. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ κατὰ τῶν νόμων πείρα εὐδοεῖν ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ τὰς προσευχὰς ἀρπάσαντι καὶ μηδὲ τοῦνομα ὑπολιπομένῳ, πάλιν ἐφ' ἕτερον ἐτρέπετο, τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας πολιτείας ἀναίρεσιν, ἢν' ἀποκοπέντων οἷς μόνοις ἐφώρμει ὁ ἡμέτερος βίος ἐθῶν τε πατρίων καὶ μετουσίας πολιτικῶν δικαίων τὰς ἐσχάτας ὑπομένωμεν συμφορὰς οὐδενὸς
- 54 ἐπειλημμένοι πείσματος εἰς ἀσφάλειαν. ὀλίγαις γὰρ ὕστερον ἡμέραις τίθησι πρόγραμμα, δι' οὗ ξένους καὶ ἐπήλυδας ἡμᾶς ἀπεκάλει μηδὲ λόγου μεταδούς, ἀλλ' ἀκρίτως καταδικάζων. οὐ τί ἂν εἴη τυραννίδος ἐπάγγελμα μεῖζον; αὐτὸς γενόμενος τὰ πάντα, κατήγορος, ἐχθρός, μάρτυς, δικαστής, κολαστής, εἴτα δυσὶ τοῖς προτέροις καὶ τρίτον προσέθηκεν ἐφείς ὡς ἐν ἀλώσει τοῖς ἐθέλουσι
- 55 πορθεῖν Ἰουδαίους. οἱ δὲ λαβόντες ἄδειαν τί πράττουσι; πέντε μοῖραι τῆς πόλεως εἰσιν, ἐπώνυμοι τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων τῆς ἐγγραμμάτου φωνῆς· τούτων δύο¹ Ἰουδαῖκαί λέγονται διὰ τὸ πλείστους Ἰουδαίους ἐν ταύταις κατοικεῖν· οἰκοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις οὐκ ὀλίγοι σποράδες. τί οὖν ἐποίησαν; ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων γραμμάτων ἐξώκισαν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ συνήλασαν εἰς ἑνὸς μοῖραν

¹ MSS. ἐν δυσὶν.

^a As to what this proclamation actually meant, see App. pp. 534 f. The only point which here emerges is that the Jews were restricted to the one quarter (Delta, according to 332

safety. For surely, my good sirs, there is no honour given by overthrowing the laws, disturbing ancestral customs, outraging fellow-citizens and teaching the inhabitants of other cities to disregard the claims of fellow feeling.

VIII. When then his attack against our laws by 53 seizing the meeting-houses without even leaving them their name appeared to be successful, he proceeded to another scheme, namely, the destruction of our citizenship, so that when our ancestral customs and our participation in political rights, the sole mooring on which our life was secured, had been cut away, we might undergo the worst misfortunes with no cable to cling to for safety. For a few days afterwards he 54 issued a proclamation in which he denounced us as foreigners and aliens and gave us no right of pleading our case but condemned us unjudged.^a What stronger profession of tyranny could we have than this? He became everything himself, accuser, enemy, witness, judge and the agent of punishment, and then to the two first wrongs he added a third by permitting those who wished to pillage the Jews as at the sack- 55 ing of a city. Having secured this immunity what did they do? The city has five quarters named after the first letters of the alphabet, two of these are called Jewish because most of the Jews inhabit them,^b though in the rest also there are not a few Jews scattered about. So then what did they do? From the four letters they ejected the Jews and drove them

Josephus, *B.J.* ii. 18. 8) which had been originally allotted to them. It did not of course formally sanction the pogrom which ensued. That Flaccus did not stop this was a *third* wrong.

^b Or perhaps "because most of the inhabitants are Jews," *i.e.* there are also Gentiles.

56 βραχυτάτην. οἱ δὲ ἐξεχέοντο διὰ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς αἰγιαλοὺς καὶ κοπρίας καὶ μνήματα πάντων στερόμενοι τῶν ἰδίων. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τὰς οἰκίας ἐρήμους καταδραμόντες ἐφ' ἄρπαγὴν ἐτράποντο καὶ ὡς ἐκ πολέμου λείαν διενέμοντο, μηδενὸς δὲ κωλύοντος καὶ τὰ ἐργαστήρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων συγκεκλεισμένα διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Δρουσίλλῃ πένθος ἀναρρήξαντες ὅσα εὖρον—πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν—ἐξεφόρησαν καὶ διὰ μέσης ἀγορᾶς ἐκόμιζον ὡς οἰκείοις τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις
 57 καταχρῶμενοι. τῆς δ' ἄρπαγῆς ἡ ἀπραξία κακὸν ἦν βαρύτερον, τὰς μὲν ἐνθήκας ἀπολωλεκότων τῶν ποριστῶν, μηδενὸς δὲ ἐωμένου, μὴ γεωργοῦ, μὴ ναυκλήρου, μὴ ἐμποροῦ, μὴ τεχνίτου, τὰ συνήθη πραγματεύεσθαι, ὡς διχόθεν κατεσκευάσθαι πενίαν, ἔκ τε τῆς ἄρπαγῆς, ἐξουσίῶν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ γενομένων καὶ περισεσυλημένων τὰ ἴδια, κακὸν τοῦ μὴ δεδυνῆσθαι πορίζειν ἐκ τῶν συνήθων ἐπιτηδευμάτων.
 [526] 58 IX. | Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰ καὶ ἀφόρητα, ἀλλ' οὖν τοῖς αὖθις πεπραγμένοις συγκρινόμενα οἰστά. πενία γὰρ χαλεπὸν μὲν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν κατασκευάζεται πρὸς ἐχθρῶν, ἔλαττον δὲ τῆς εἰς τὰ
 59 σώματα ὕβρεως, κἂν ἡ βραχυτάτη. τοὺς δ' ἡμέτερους διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ὧν ἔπαθον οὐδ' ἂν εἴποι τις ὕβριν ἢ αἰκίαν ἐνδεδέχθαι κυρίοις χρώμενος τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ προσρήσεων οἰκείων ἂν ἀπορῆσαι διὰ μέγεθος κεκαινουργημένης ὁμότητος, ὡς τὰ τῶν πολέμῳ μὲν κρατησάντων, ἐκ φύσεως δ' ἀσπόνδων εἰς τοὺς ἐαλωκότας, συγκρινόμενα

^a Gaius's sister. She died on June 10th, which gives the *terminus a quo* for the attack. See also App. p. 535.

to herd in a very small part of one. The Jews were 56 so numerous that they poured out over beaches, dunghills and tombs, robbed of all their belongings. Their enemies overran the houses now left empty and turned to pillaging them, distributing the contents like spoil of war, and as no one prevented them they broke open the workshops of the Jews which had been closed as a sign of mourning for Drusilla,^a carried out all the articles they found, which were very numerous, and bore them through the middle of the market-place, dealing with other people's property as freely as if it was their own. A still more grievous 57 evil than the pillaging was the unemployment produced. The tradespeople had lost their stocks, and no one, husbandman, shipman, merchant, artisan, was allowed to practise his usual business. Thus poverty was established in two ways : first, the pillaging, by which in the course of a single day they had become penniless, completely stripped of what they had, and secondly, their inability to make a living from their regular employments.

IX. Unbearable though these things were, yet 58 compared with subsequent actions they were tolerable. Poverty, indeed, is grievous, particularly when it is effected by enemies, but it is less grievous than bodily injuries if suffered through wanton violence, even the slightest. But so excessive were the suffer- 59 ings of our people that anyone who spoke of them as undergoing wanton violence or outrage would be using words not properly applicable and would I think be at a loss for adequate terms to express the magnitude of cruelty so unprecedented that the actions of conquerors in war, who are also naturally merciless to the conquered, would seem kindness

- 60 τοῖς τούτων ἡμερώτατα ἂν εἶναι δόξαι. χρήματα ἀρπάξουσιν ἐκείνοι καὶ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ κινδυνεύσαντες, εἶπερ ἡττήθησαν, ἀποβαλεῖν τὰ οἰκεῖα. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μυρίους, ὧν λύτρα κατατιθέασι συγγενεῖς ἢ φίλοι, μεθίενται τῶν δορυαλώτων, ἴσως μὲν ἀκαμπεῖς ὄντες πρὸς ἔλεον, ἡττώμενοι δὲ φιλαργυρίας. ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο; φαίη τις ἂν· τοῖς γὰρ εὖ πάσχουσιν ἀδιαφορεῖ τῆς
- 61 σωτηρίας ὁ τρόπος. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τοὺς πεσόντας ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ταφῆς ἀξιοῦσιν οἱ μὲν ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ φιλόανθρωποι ταῖς οἴκοθεν δαπάναις, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἔχθραν καὶ πρὸς νεκροὺς ἀποτείνοντες ὑπόσπονδα τὰ σώματα διδόντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τῆς τελευταίας χάριτος ἀμοιρῆσαι τῶν νομιζομένων.
- 62 ἐν πολέμῳ μὲν οἱ δυσμενεῖς ταῦτα· ἐν εἰρήνῃ δ' οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ φίλοι θεασώμεθα ὅποια. μετὰ γὰρ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀνοικισμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν πλείστων μερῶν τῆς πόλεως βιαίους ἐλάσεις καθάπερ τειχήρεις ἐν κύκλῳ περικαθημένων ἐχθρῶν γεγονότες, ἀπορία καὶ σπάνει δεινῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων πιεζόμενοι καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνα νήπια ὀρώντες ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς παραπολλύμενα λιμῷ χειροποιήτῳ—
- 63 πάντα γὰρ τᾶλλα εὐθηνίας καὶ εὐετηρίας μεστὰ ἦν, τοῦ μὲν ποταμοῦ ταῖς πλημμύραις τὰς ἀρούρας πλουσίως λιμνάσαντος, τῆς δὲ πεδιάδος, ὅση πυροφόρος, ἀφθονώτατον ὑπ' εὐγονίας τὸν τοῦ
- 64 σίτου καρπὸν ἀναγούσης—, μηκέτι στέγειν δυνάμενοι τὰς ἐνδείας, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων, πρότερον οὐκ εἰωθότες, οἰκίας ἤλθον ἔρανον αὐτὰ

^a For another account of the pogrom described in the next

itself in comparison. Those conquerors do seize 60 property and take numerous captives but they have run the risk of losing their own if they were defeated. And indeed, multitudes of the prisoners of war, whose ransoms are provided by their kinsfolk and friends, are released by their captors, not perhaps because they have weakened towards mercy, but because they cannot resist their desire for money, though of that one might say, "to the benefited the method of their rescuing is a matter of indifference." Ob- 61 serve, too, that enemies fallen in war are allowed burial. The mild and humane give it at their own expense and those who extend their hostility even to the dead restore the bodies under a truce, that they may not lack the final boon which the established rites supply. This is what enemies do in war. 62 Let us see what was done in peace by our friends of yesterday.^a After the pillaging and eviction and violent expulsion from most parts of the city the Jews were like beleaguered men with their enemies all round them. They were pressed by want and dire lack of necessities; they saw their infant children and women perishing before their eyes through a famine artificially created, since elsewhere all else was 63 teeming with plenty and abundance, the fields richly flooded by the overflow of the river and the wheat-bearing parts of the lowlands producing through their fertility the harvest of grain in unstinted profusion. Unable any longer to endure their privation, 64 some of them contrary to their former habits went to the houses of their kinsmen and friends to ask for

ten sections see *Legatio* 119-131, where the violence is ascribed to the belief of the Alexandrians that Gaius hated the Jews, a point completely ignored here.

τὰ ἀναγκαῖα αἰτήσונτες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ φρονήματος
 εὐγενοῦς τὴν μεταιτῶν τύχην ὡς δουλοπρεπῇ καὶ
 ἀνελεύθερον ἐκτρεπόμενοι προῆλθον εἰς ἀγορὰν
 οὐδενὸς ἑτέρου χάριν ἢ τοῦ πρίασθαι τοῖς τε
 65 οἰκείοις καὶ ἑαυτοῖς τροφάς, οἱ δυστυχεῖς. εὐθὺς
 γὰρ συναρπασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν ὀχλοκρατίαν
 ἐπιτειχισάντων δολοφονοῦνται καὶ συρόμενοι καὶ
 πατούμενοι διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης ἐξαναλώθησαν,
 οὐδενὸς ὑπολειφθέντος μέρους, ὃ δυνήσεται κοινω-
 66 νῆσαι ταφῆς. μυρίους μέντοι καὶ ἄλλους πολυ-
 τρόποις κακῶν ιδέαις ἐπιτετηδευμέναις εἰς χαλεπὴν
 ὠμότητα κατειργάσαντο καὶ διέφθειραν οἱ λελυτ-
 [527] τηκότες ὑπ' ἀγριότητος | εἰς θηρίων φύσιν· τοὺς
 γὰρ ὅπῃ τύχοι φανέντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἢ κατέλευον
 ἢ ξύλοις κατέκοπτον οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰ καιριώτατα
 μέρη τὰς πληγὰς φέροντες, ἵνα μὴ θάττον τελευ-
 τήσαντες θάττον καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀδυνηρῶν ἀντίληψιν
 67 ἀπόθωνται. τῇ δὲ τῶν συμφορῶν ἀδεία¹ καὶ
 ἐκεχειρία τινὲς ἐπινεανιευόμενοι, τῶν ἀμβλυτέρων
 ὅπλων ἀλογήσαντες, ἀνελάμβανον τὰ πάντων ἀνυ-
 σιμώτατα, πῦρ καὶ σίδηρον, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ξίφεσιν
 68 ἀνείλον, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ πυρὶ διέφθειραν. ἤδη δὲ
 καὶ γενεὰς ὅλας, ἄνδρας μετὰ γυναικῶν, τέκνα
 νήπια μετὰ γονέων, ἐνέπρησαν οἱ πάντων ἀνηλε-
 ἔστατοι κατὰ μέσσην τὴν πόλιν, μὴ γῆρας, μὴ
 νεότητα, μὴ παίδων ἄκακον ἡλικίαν οἰκτισάμενοι·
 καὶ ὅποτε ξύλων ὕλης ἀπορήσειαν, φρύγανα συλ-
 λέγοντες καπνῷ τὸ πλεόν ἢ πυρὶ διέφθειρον,
 οἰκτρότερον καὶ ἐπιμηκέστερον ὀλεθρον τοῖς δει-
 λαίοις τεχνάζοντες, ὧν τὰ σώματα ἡμίφλεκτα

¹ MSS. ἀδικία or ἀδίκω.

the mere necessities as a charity, while those whose high-born spirit led them to avoid the beggar's lot as fitter for slaves than for the free went forth into the market solely to buy sustenance for their families and themselves. Poor wretches, they were at once 65 seized by those who wielded the weapon of mob rule, treacherously stabbed, dragged through the whole city, and trampled on, and thus completely made away with till not a part of them was left which could receive the burial which is the right of all. Multi- 66 tudes of others also were laid low and destroyed with manifold forms of maltreatment, put in practice to serve their bitter cruelty by those whom savagery had maddened and transformed into the nature of wild beasts ; for any Jews who showed themselves anywhere, they stoned or knocked about with clubs, aiming their blows at first against the less vital parts for fear that a speedier death might give a speedier release from the consciousness of their anguish. Some, made rampant by the immunity and licence ^a 67 which accompanied these sufferings, discarded the weapons of slower action and took the most effective of all, fire and steel, and slew many with the sword, while not a few they destroyed with fire. Indeed, 68 whole families, husbands with their wives, infant children with their parents, were burnt in the heart of the city by these supremely ruthless men who showed no pity for old age nor youth, nor the innocent years of childhood. And when they lacked wood for fire they would collect brushwood and dispatch them with smoke rather than fire, thus contriving a more pitiable and lingering death for the miserable victims whose bodies lay promiscuously half-burnt,

^a See note on *Quod Omn. Prob.* 123.

69 ἀναμιξ ἔκειτο, χαλεπή καὶ ὀδυνηροτάτη θέα. εἰ
 δὲ καὶ οἱ παραληφθέντες ἐπὶ φρυγανισμὸν ἐβρά-
 δυνον, ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων σκευῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς
 ἐνεπίμπρασαν τοὺς δεσπότας τὰ μὲν πολυτελῆ
 νοσφίζόμενοι, τὰ δὲ μὴ πάνυ χρήσιμα συγκαταφλέ-
 70 γοντες, οἷς ἀντὶ ξύλων εἰκαίων ἐχρῶντο. πολλοὺς
 δὲ καὶ ζῶντας τοῖν ποδοῖν τὸν ἕτερον ἐκδήσαντες
 κατὰ τὸ σφυρὸν εἵλκον ἅμα καὶ κατηλόων ἐναλλό-
 71 μενοι θάνατον ὠμότατον ἐπινοήσαντες· καὶ τελευ-
 τησάντων, οὐδὲν ἦττον ἀτελεύτητα μηνιῶντες
 βαρυτέρας αἰκίας τοῖς σώμασιν ἐπέφερον, διὰ
 πάντων ὀλίγου δέω φάναι τῶν τῆς πόλεως στενω-
 πῶν κατασύροντες, ἕως ὃ νεκρὸς δοράς, σάρκας,
 ἱνας ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἐδάφων ἀνωμαλίας καὶ τραχύ-
 τητος περιβρυφθεῖς, καὶ τῶν ἠνωμένων μερῶν τῆς
 συμφυίας διαστάντων καὶ διασπαρέντων ἀλλαχόσε
 72 ἄλλων, ἐδαπανήθη. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα
 δρῶντες ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς θεατρικοῖς μίμοις καθ-
 υπεκρίνοντο τοὺς πάσχοντας· τῶν δ' ὡς ἀληθῶς
 πεπονθότων φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς, ὅτι μόνον ταῖς
 τῶν προσηκόντων συμφοραῖς συνήλγησαν, ἀπή-
 γοντο, ἐμαστιγοῦντο, ἐτροχίζοντο, καὶ μετὰ πάσας
 τὰς αἰκίας, ὅσας ἐδύνατο χωρῆσαι τὰ σώματα
 αὐτοῖς, ἡ τελευταία καὶ ἑφεδρος τιμωρία σταυρὸς
 ἦν.

^a Not to be translated "mimicked the sufferers," even if that is the outcome of what is said. The regular use of this verb followed by the article with a noun or participle points to what I have put. Thus in § 32 above we have τὸν ἑταῖρον καὶ φίλον καθυπεκ., in *De Jos.* 50 Potiphar's wife accusing

a painful and most heart-rending spectacle. And 69 if the persons enlisted to get brushwood were too slow, they would burn the owners with their own furniture taken out of the spoil. Costly articles, indeed, they appropriated but anything that was not very useful they put on the fire to serve instead of ordinary wood. Many also while still alive they 70 drew with one of the feet tied at the ankle and meanwhile leapt upon them and pounded them to pieces. And when by the cruel death thus devised, their life 71 ended, the rage of their enemies did not end, but continued all the same. They inflicted worse outrages on the bodies, dragging them through almost every lane of the city until the corpses, their skin, flesh and muscles shattered by the unevenness and roughness of the ground, and all the parts which united to make the organism dissevered and dispersed in different directions, were wasted to nothing.

While those who did these things like 72 actors in a farce assumed the part of the sufferers,^a the friends and kinsmen of the true sufferers, simply because they grieved over the misfortunes of their relations, were arrested, scourged, tortured and after all these outrages, which were all their bodies could make room for, the final punishment kept in reserve was the cross.

Joseph καθυπεκ. τὴν σώφρονα, *ibid.* 166 Joseph to his brothers καθυπεκ. τὸν δυσχεραίνοντα. So also in this treatise with similar verbs ἐπιφάσκων τὸν πλούσιον § 130 and προσποιούμενος τὸν ἡδόμενον § 98. No doubt "pretended to be the sufferers" may mean "mimicked them," but I should prefer to take it that they assumed the air of the injured parties, who were only inflicting a righteous punishment. This will give more point to ἀληθῶς, and if Box is right in his note on "mimes" (§ 34) that they emphasized the characteristic rather than the dramatic, it will be in accord with this view.

- 73 Χ. Πάντα δὲ διορύξας καὶ τοιχωρυχήσας ὁ
 Φλάκκος καὶ μηδὲν μέρος τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀμέτοχον
 ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς ἀνωτάτω καταλιπὼν ἐπενόησεν
 74 λουργός, ὁ καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων εὐρετής. τῆς γὰρ
 ἡμετέρας γερουσίας, ἣν ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης
 Σεβαστὸς ἐπιμελησομένην τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν εἴλετο
 [528] μετὰ τὴν τοῦ γενάρχου | τελευτὴν διὰ τῶν πρὸς
 Μάγιον Μάξιμον ἐντολῶν μέλλοντα πάλιν [ἀπ']
 Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτροπεύειν, ὅκτῳ
 καὶ τριάκοντα συλλαβὼν τοὺς εὐρεθέντας ἐν ταῖς
 οἰκίαις εὐθὺς μὲν δῆσαι κελεύει, καὶ στείλας καλὴν
 πομπὴν διὰ μέσης ἀγορᾶς πρεσβύτας δεσμίους
 ἐξηγκωνισμένους, τοὺς μὲν ἱμάσι, τοὺς δὲ σιδηραῖς
 ἀλύσειν, εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσάγει—θέαν οἰκτίστην
 75 καὶ ἄλλοτριωτάτην τῷ καιρῷ—καὶ στάντας ἀντικρὺ
 ἐχθρῶν καθεζομένων πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν αἰσχύνης προσ-
 τάττει πάντας περιδυσθέντας αἰκισθῆναι μάστιξιν,
 αἷς ἔθος τοὺς κακούργων πονηροτάτους προπηλακί-
 ζεσθαι, ὡς ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν τοὺς μὲν φοράδην
 ἐκκομισθέντας αὐτίκα τελευτῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ νοσή-
 σαντας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν σωτηρίας
 76 ἐλθεῖν. ἥς ἐπιβουλῆς τὸ μέγεθος ἐξελή-
 λεγκται μὲν καὶ δι' ἐτέρων, οὐχ ἥττον δὲ καὶ διὰ

^a The term *γενάρχης* elsewhere applied by Philo to founders and heads of the nation (Abraham, the three Patriarchs, and the Seventy Elders) here apparently = the technical word *ἐθνάρχης* (cf. 2 Cor. xi. 32), the official who at Alexandria, at any rate according to Strabo writing under Augustus, served as general administrator and judge of the Jews.

^b Or "elsewhere," i.e. either in some other treatise or some lost part of this. Reiter and others assume that this is the

X. Having broken into everything like a burglar 73 and left no side of Jewish life untouched by a hostility carried to the highest pitch, Flaccus devised another monstrous and unparalleled line of attack worthy of this perpetrator of enormities and inventor of novel iniquities. Our Senate had been appointed 74 to take charge of Jewish affairs by our saviour and benefactor Augustus, after the death of the ethnarch,^a orders to that effect having been given to Magius Maximus when he was about to take office for the second time as Governor of Alexandria and the country. Of this Senate the members who were found in their houses, thirty-eight in number, were arrested by Flaccus, who having ordered them to be straightway put in bonds marshalled a fine procession through the middle of the market of these elderly men trussed and pinioned, some with thongs and others with iron chains, and then taken into the theatre, a spectacle most pitiable and incongruous with the occasion. Then as they stood with their 75 enemies seated in front to signalize their disgrace he ordered them all to be stripped and lacerated with scourges which are commonly used for the degradation of the vilest malefactors, so that in consequence of the flogging some had to be carried out on stretchers and died at once, while others lay sick for a long time despairing of recovery.

The great lengths 76 of malevolence to which the plan was carried have been fully proved in other ways,^b but all the same

meaning of δι' ἐτέρων and perhaps there are other places in Philo, not quoted by them nor observed by me, which go to prove that this is its meaning here. Failing such evidence, I should prefer to take it as above. The ἐπιβουλή may be either the pogrom in general or the treatment of the thirty-eight just described.

- τοῦ μέλλοντος λέγεσθαι σαφέστερον ἐπιδειχθήσεται. τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γερουσίας τρεῖς ἄνδρες, Εὐόδος καὶ Τρύφων καὶ Ἄνδρων, ἐγεγέννητο ἐξούσιοι, πάνθ' ὅσα εἶχον ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις διαρπασθέντες ἐφόδῳ μιᾷ, οὓς οὐκ ἠγγνόσε ταῦτα πεπονθότας· ἐδηλώθη γὰρ αὐτῷ μεταπεμφαμένῳ πρότερον τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἄρχοντας ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἐπὶ καταλλαγαῖς ταῖς πρὸς
 77 τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν. καὶ ὁμῶς εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς (τού)-
 τους στερομένους τῶν ἰδίων ἐν ὧσιν τῶν ἀρπασάν-
 των ἔτυπτεν, ἵν' οἱ μὲν ὑπομένωσι διττὰς συμφοράς,
 πενίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ὕβριν, οἱ δὲ
 διττὴν ἡδονήν, ἀλλότριόν τε καρπούμενοι πλοῦτον
 καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀφαιρεθέντων ἀτιμίας εἰς κόρον ἀπο-
 λαύοντες.
- 78 Ἐχων τι τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων εἰπεῖν ἐπαμφο-
 τερίζω, μὴ ἄρα εὐτελὲς εἶναι νομισθὲν ἐκλύσει τὰ
 μεγέθη τῶν τοσούτων· ἔστι δ' εἰ καὶ μικρόν, ἀλλ'
 οὐ μικρᾶς δεῖγμα κακονοίας. τῶν μαστίγων εἰσὶ
 διαφοραὶ διακεκριμέναι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὰ
 τῶν τύπτεσθαι μελλόντων ἀξιώματα· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ
 Αἰγυπτίους ἐτέραις μαστίζεσθαι συμβέβηκε καὶ
 πρὸς ἐτέρων, τοὺς δὲ Ἀλεξανδρέας σπάθαις καὶ
 79 ὑπὸ σπαθηφόρων Ἀλεξανδρέων. τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων διετήρησαν οἱ πρὸ Φλάκκου
 καὶ Φλάκκος αὐτὸς τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους. ἔστι

^a It will be observed that this interview must have taken place after the pillaging described in §§ 56 f. This suggests the possibility that it was either the attitude there taken up by

they will be shown still more clearly by the following statement. Three members of the Senate, Euodus, Trypho and Andro, had become penniless, having been robbed in a single inroad of all that they had in their houses ; and that they had been so treated was known to Flaccus, who had been so informed when on an earlier occasion ^a he sent for our magistrates, ostensibly to reconcile them with the rest of the city. Nevertheless, though he knew quite well 77 that they had been deprived of their property, he beat them before the eyes of their despoilers. Thus, while they suffered a twofold misfortune, poverty and the outrage to their persons, the others had a twofold pleasure, enjoying the possession of the wealth which was not their own and sating themselves with gloating on the dishonour of those from whom that wealth was taken.

One point in the deeds committed at this time I 78 mention only with hesitation, lest by being considered an insignificant matter it may detract from the magnitude of these horrors. Yet even if it is a small thing it is an evidence of no small malignancy. There are differences between the scourges used in the city, and these differences are regulated by the social standing of the persons to be beaten. The Egyptians actually are scourged with a different kind of lash and by a different set of people, the Alexandrians with a flat blade, and the persons who wield them also are Alexandrians. This custom was also ob- 79 served in the case of our people by the predecessors of Flaccus and by Flaccus himself in his first years of office. For it is surely possible when inflicting

the magistrates or their failure to carry out the conditions there laid down which led to their arrest and punishment.

γάρ, ἔστι καὶ ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ βραχύ τι τῶν εἰς ἐπιτιμίαν
 εὔρεῖν καὶ ἐν ὕβρει παραφερόμενόν τι τῶν εἰς τὸ
 ἀνύβριστον, ὅταν τις αὐτὰς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐὰ τὰς
 φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξετάζεσθαι, μὴ προστιθεὶς
 οἰκοθεν ἐπίβουλον πάθος, ὃ πάνθ' ὅσα παρα-
 μέμικται τῆς ἐπιεικεστέρως ἰδέας ὑφαίρει καὶ
 80 διοικίζει. πῶς οὖν οὐ παγχάλεπον, τῶν ἰδιωτῶν
 Ἀλεξανδρέων Ἰουδαίων ταῖς ἐλευθεριωτέραις καὶ
 πολιτικωτέραις μάστιξι τετυπτημένων, εἴ ποτε
 ἔδοξαν πληγῶν ἄξια ἐργάσασθαι, τοὺς ἄρχοντας,
 [529] | τὴν γερουσίαν,¹ οἳ καὶ γήρως καὶ τιμῆς εἰσιν
 ἐπώνυμοι, κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἔλαττον τῶν
 ὑπηκόων ἐνέγκασθαι, καθάπερ Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς
 ἀφανεστάτους καὶ ἐνόχους τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀδική-
 81 μασιν; ἐὼ λέγειν ὅτι, εἰ καὶ μυρία ἦσαν
 ἡμαρτηκότες, ὥφειλε τὸν καιρὸν αἰδεσθεὶς τὰς
 τιμωρίας ὑπερθέσθαι· τοῖς γὰρ ὀρθῶς πολιτευο-
 μένοις τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ μὴ προσποιουμένοις
 τιμᾶν ἀλλ' ὄντως τιμῶσι τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἔθος ἐστὶ
 μηδένα κολάζειν τῶν κατακρίτων, ἄχρισ ἂν αἱ
 ἐπιφανεῖς² γενέθλιοι καὶ πανηγύρεις αὐταὶ τῶν
 82 ἐπιφανῶν Σεβαστῶν διεξέλθωσιν. ὁ δ' ἐν αὐταῖς
 παρηγνόμεναι καὶ ἐτιμωρεῖτο τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας,
 οὓς ἐνῆν³ αὐθις, εἶπερ ἐβούλετο, κολάζειν. ἀλλ'
 ἔσπευδε καὶ κατήπειγεν ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἐναντίον
 ὄχλον ἀρεσκείας, ταύτῃ νομίζων ἐξοικειώσασθαι
 83 μᾶλλον αὐτὸν εἰς ἅπερ διανοεῖτο. ἤδη τινὰς οἶδα

¹ Very possibly a gloss inserted in view of the words which follow.

² Perhaps, as Mangey held, an insertion. The duplication of the epithet, with no obvious point, is not like Philo.

degradation on others to find some little thing to sustain their dignity, or when wantonly maltreating them, to find some accompaniment to counteract the wantonness, if one allows the nature of the case to be determined on its own merits and does not import some personal feeling of malice which removes and dislodges all ingredients of the milder type. Surely then it was the height of harshness that when 80 commoners among the Alexandrian Jews, if they appeared to have done things worthy of stripes, were beaten with whips more suggestive of freemen and citizens, the magistrates, the Senate, whose very name implies age and honour, in this respect fared worse than their inferiors and were treated like Egyptians of the meanest rank and guilty of the greatest iniquities.

I leave out of account 81 the point that if they had committed a host of crimes he ought to have postponed the punishments in respect for the season,^a for rulers who conduct their government as they should and do not pretend to honour but do really honour their benefactors make a practice of not punishing any condemned person until these notable celebrations in honour of the birthdays of the illustrious Augustan house are over. Instead he made them an occasion for illegality and 82 for punishing those who had done no wrong, whom he could have punished at a later time if he wished. But he hurried and pressed on the matter to conciliate the mob, who were opposed to the Jews, thinking that this would help to bring them to make his policy their own. I have known cases when on 83

^a Apparently the birthday of Gaius himself (Aug. 31st). Cf. *αὐτοκράτορος* § 83.

³ MSS. οὐδένα ἦν.

τῶν ἀνεσκολοπισμένων μελλούσης ἐνίστασθαι τοιαύτης ἐκεχειρίας καθαιρεθέντας καὶ τοῖς συγγενέσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ταφῆς ἀξιωθῆναι καὶ τυχεῖν τῶν νενομισμένων ἀποδοθέντας· ἔδει γὰρ καὶ νεκροὺς ἀπολαύσαι τινος χρηστοῦ γενεθλιακαῖς αὐτοκράτορος καὶ ἅμα τὸ ἱεροπρεπὲς τῆς πανηγύρεως φυλαχθῆναι.

- 84 ὁ δ' οὐ τετελευτηκότας ἐπὶ σταυρῶν καθαιρεῖν, ζῶντας δ' ἀνασκολοπίζεσθαι προσέτατ-
 τεν, οἷς ἀμνηστίαν ἐπ' ὀλίγον, οὐ τὴν εἰς ἅπαν, ὁ
 καιρὸς ἐδίδου πρὸς ὑπέρθεσιν τιμωρίας, οὐκ ἄφεσιν
 παντελῆ. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰργάζετο μετὰ τὸ πληγαῖς
 αἰκίσασθαι ἐν μέσῳ τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ σι-
 85 δῆρῳ βασανίσαι. καὶ ἡ θεὰ διενενέμητο· τὰ μὲν
 γὰρ πρῶτα τῶν θεαμάτων ἄχρι τρίτης ἢ τετάρ-
 τῃς ὥρας ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ ταῦτα ἦν· Ἰουδαῖοι μαστιγού-
 μενοι, κρεμάμενοι, τροχιζόμενοι, κατακιζόμενοι,¹
 διὰ μέσης τῆς ὀρχήστρας ἀπαγόμενοι τὴν ἐπὶ
 θανάτῳ· τὰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν καλὴν ταύτην ἐπίδειξιν
 ὀρχησται καὶ μῖμοι καὶ αὐληταὶ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα
 σκηνικῶν ἀθύρματα ἀγώνων.

- 86 XI. Καὶ τί ταῦτα μηχανῶ; δευτέρα γὰρ ἐπι-
 νοεῖται πόρθησις, βουλομένου καὶ τὸ στρατευόμενον
 πλῆθος ἡμῖν ἐπιτειχίσαι ξένου συκοφαντήματος
 εὐρέσει. τὸ δὲ συκοφάντημα ἦν, ὡς τῶν Ἰουδαίων
 πανοπλίας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐχόντων. μεταπεμφά-
 μενος οὖν ἐκατόνταρχον ᾧ μάλιστ' ἐπίστευε,
 Κάστον ὄνομα, κελεύει παραλαβόντα τῆς ὑπηκόου
 τάξεως ἑαυτῷ τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους στρατιώτας

¹ MSS. καταδικαζόμενοι.

^a This elliptical phrase is principally cited from Herodotus, κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ i. 109, συλλαβὼν δὲ σφεας ἔδησε τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ iii. 119, and so with κατέδησαν v. 72. If this

the eve of a holiday of this kind, people who have been crucified have been taken down and their bodies delivered to their kinsfolk, because it was thought well to give them burial and allow them the ordinary rites. For it was meet that the dead also should have the advantage of some kind treatment upon the birthday of an emperor and also that the sanctity of the festival should be maintained. But 84

Flaccus gave no orders to take down those who had died on the cross. Instead he ordered the crucifixion of the living, to whom the season offered a short-lived though not permanent reprieve in order to postpone the punishment though not to remit it altogether. And he did this after maltreating them with the lash in the middle of the theatre and torturing them with fire and the sword. The show had been arranged 85 in parts. The first spectacle lasting from dawn till the third or fourth hour consisted of Jews being scourged, hung up, bound to the wheel, brutally mauled and haled for their death march^a through the middle of the orchestra. After this splendid exhibition came dancers and mimes and flute players and all the other amusements of theatrical competitions.

XI. But why dwell on these things, for he had a 86 second plan of spoliation hatching. He desired to use the large body of soldiers serving under him as a weapon against us, and to do this he invented a strange calumny to the effect that the Jews had stocks of every kind of arms in their houses. Accordingly having sent for a centurion named Castus, whom he especially trusted, he bade him take the most intrepid soldiers in the company under him and with-

represents the facts it would seem to be a deliberate archaism in Philo. Lucian however also uses it (*Alex.* 44).

ἐπισπεύδειν καὶ ἄνευ προρρήσεως ἐπεισιόντα ταῖς
 87 τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἰκίαις ἐρευνᾶν, μή τις ὄπλων
 [530] ἐναπόκειται παρασκευή. | καὶ ὁ μὲν συντείνας
 ἔθει τὸ προσταχθέν ἐργασόμενος. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπί-
 νοιαν οὐκ εἰδότες ἀχανεῖς τὸ πρῶτον εἰστήκεσαν
 ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως, γυναιῶν καὶ τέκνων αὐτοῖς ἐμπλε-
 κομένων καὶ ῥεομένων δάκρυσι διὰ τὸν ἐπ' αἰχμα-
 λώτοις φόβον· ὁ γὰρ λοιπὸν τῆς πορθήσεως, τοῦτ'
 88 αἰὲ προσεδόκων. ὥς δ' ἤκουσαν παρά τινος τῶν
 ἐρευνώντων· “ ποῦ ταμιεύεσθε τὰ ὄπλα; ” μικρὸν
 ἀνέπνευσάν καὶ πάντα καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἀναπετά-
 89 σαντες ἐπεδείκνυντο, τῇ μὲν ἡδόμενοι, τῇ δὲ
 στένοντες, ἡδόμενοι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ διελεγχθῆσεσθαι
 τὸ συκοφάντημα ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, δυσχεραίνοντες δέ,
 ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν αἱ τηλικαῦται διαβολαὶ κατ' αὐτῶν
 προπιστεύονται συντιθέμεναι πρὸς ἐχθρῶν, ἔπειτα
 δ', ὅτι γυναῖα κατὰκλειστα μηδὲ τὴν αὐλειον
 προερχόμενα καὶ θαλαμεύμεναι παρθένοι, δι' αἰδῶ
 τὰς ἀνδρῶν ὄψεις καὶ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἐκτρεπό-
 μεναι, τότε οὐ μόνον ἀσυνήθεσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιω-
 τικὸν δέος ἐπανατεινόμενοις ἐμφανεῖς ἐγένοντο.
 90 γενομένης δ' ὁμῶς ἀκριβοῦς ἐρεῦνης ὅσον¹ πλήθος
 ἀμυντηρίων ὀπλων εὔρεθῃ! κράνη, θώρακες, ἀσ-
 πίδες, ἐγχειρίδια, κοντοί, παντευχίαι σωρηδὸν
 προεκομίζοντο, καὶ ἐν μέρει τὰ ἐκηβόλα, παλτοί,

¹ Wendland suggests πόσον, but see note c.

^a The phrase τὸν ἐπ' αἰχμαλώτοις is certainly strange, but we have something like it in *De Ios.* 184 τὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τεθνεῶτι φόβον “the fear that he is dead,” though here to make the parallel complete we should have a participle ἐσομένους.

^b Cf. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 169 “The women are best suited to the indoor life which keeps to the house, within which the
 350

out loss of time and without giving notice enter and search the houses of the Jews to see whether they had any arms stored there. Castus hurried off to do what 87 he was told. The Jews as they knew nothing of the scheme at first stood dumbfounded in consternation, while their women and children clung to them bathed in tears in the fear of being taken into captivity.^a For they lived in expectation of this which was the one thing left to complete the spoliation. When they heard one of the searching party say 88 "Where do you stock your arms?" they revived somewhat and laid open everything, even the contents of the recesses. In one way they felt pleased, 89 in another deeply pained. They were pleased that the refutation of the calumny would be self-evident but indignant first that such grave slanders, fabricated against them by their enemies, were so readily believed, secondly that their women kept in seclusion, never even approaching the outer doors, and their maidens confined to the inner chambers, who for modesty's sake avoided the sight of men, even of their closest relations, were displayed to eyes, not merely unfamiliar, but terrorizing through the fear of military violence.^b And after this careful inves- 90 tigation, what an enormous amount^c of defensive weapons was discovered, the helmets, breastplates, shields, daggers, pikes, outfits of armour, piles of which were produced, and on another side, the mis-

middle door (μέσανυλον = θαλαμευόμεναι here) is taken by the maidens as their boundary, and the outer door by those who have reached full womanhood." See note, vol. vii. p. 640. A good deal of additional information is given by Box.

^c ὅσον exclamatory may be kept as more expressive than πόσον, cf. e.g. *Rep.* 450 Α οἶον . . . εἰργάσασθε! ὅσον λόγον . . . κινεῖτε!

σφενδόναί, τόξα, βέλη! τούτων ἀπλῶς οὐδέν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν ὀψαρτυτῶν
 91 αὐτάρκη μαχαιρίδια. ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸν βίον εὐθὺς εὐκολία διεφαίνετο πολυτέλειαν καὶ τὸ ἄβροδίατον μὴ προσιεμένων, ἃ πέφυκε γεννᾶν κόρον· κόρου δ' ὕβρις ἔκγονον, ἡ πάντων κακῶν
 92 ἀρχή. καίτοι γ' οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν Αἰγυπτίων ὀπλολογηθέντων ὑπὸ Βάσσου τινός, ᾧ προσέταξεν ὁ Φλάκκος τουτὶ τὸ ἔργον, [ἀλλ'] ἦν τότε ἰδεῖν στόλον μὲν πολλὴν νεῶν καταπεπλευκότα καὶ ἐνορμοῦντα τοῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ λιμέσι, γέμοντα παντοίων ὀπλων, ἀχθοφόρα δ' ὑποζύγια παμπληθῇ συνδεδεμένων δοράτων φορμηδὸν ἀφ' ἑκατέρας πλευρᾶς εἰς τὸ ἰσόρροπον, τὰς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πάσας σχεδὸν ἄρμαμάξας μεστὰς πανοπλιῶν, αἱ στοιχηδὸν ὑπὸ μίαν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν σύνταξιν ἐν κόσμῳ προήεσαν· τὸ δὲ μετὰ τῶν λιμένων καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ὀπλοθήκης, εἰς ἣν ἔδει κατατεθῆναι τὰ ὄπλα, δέκα
 93 σταδίων πού διάστημα σύμπαν ἔχον. τὰς τῶν ταῦτα παρασκευασαμένων οἰκίας ἄξιον ἦν ἐρευνᾶσθαι· πρὸς γὰρ νεωτερισμὸν ὑποπτοὶ πολλάκις ἀποστάντες ἦσαν, καὶ ἔδει κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν ἱερῶν ἀγώνων τριετηρίδας ἄγειν καινὰς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συγκομιδῆς ὀπλων τοὺς προεστῶτας, ἢ ἢ μὴ κατασκευάζεσθαι φθάνωσιν ἢ ἀντὶ πολλῶν ὀλίγα,
 94 καιρὸν οὐκ ἔχοντες εἰς ἀναχώρησιν.¹ ἡμᾶς δὲ τί [531] τοιοῦτον ἔδει παθεῖν; | πότε γὰρ εἰς ἀπόστασιν

¹ The word is hopeless. Of the corrections proposed,

sile kind, javelins, slings, bows and arrows ! Why ! absolutely nothing, not even the knives which suffice the cooks for their daily use. This last in itself 91 showed clearly the simplicity of the life led by people who discarded the expensive habits and luxury which naturally breed that satiety, whose child is the wanton insolence which is the source of all evils.

And yet not long before, when the Egyptians in the 92 country districts had their weapons collected by one Bassus, on whom Flaccus had laid this task, there was a great array of ships to be seen which had sailed to the bank and moored in the harbours of the river brimful of all manner of weapons, also a great number of beasts of burden with spears tied in bundles hung on each side to balance equally. Also there was a procession of waggons sent from the camp, nearly all full of outfits of armour, moving regularly one after the other so as to form a single ordered line, all visible at once, and the space between the harbours and the armoury in the palace where the arms had to be deposited was, taken altogether, about ten stades long. Those who procured these equipments 93 might well have had their houses searched, for they had often revolted and were suspected of favouring sedition. Indeed, the authorities ought to have copied the sacred contests by instituting new triennial celebrations for the collection of arms, so that the Egyptians would not have time to provide them or at least only a few instead of this great quantity, as they had no opportunity for replacing them. But why 94 should we have been subject to anything of the kind ?

ἀνανέωσις and *ἀναχώνευσις* ("reforging"), the latter seems the more probable. Considering that it follows on *ἀντὶ πολλῶν ὀλίγα*, I should myself prefer *ἀναπλήρωσιν* to *ἀνανέωσιν*.

ὑπωπτεύθημεν; πότε δ' οὐκ εἰρηνικοὶ πᾶσιν ἐνομίσθημεν; τὰ δ' ἐπιτηδεύματα, οἷς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν χρώμεθα, οὐκ ἀνεπίληπτα, οὐ συντείνοντα πρὸς εὐνομίαν πόλεως καὶ εὐστάθειαν; εἴ γε μὴν εἶχον ὄπλα Ἰουδαῖοι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὑπὲρ τετρακοσίας ἀφηρέθησαν οἰκίας, ἐξ ὧν μετανάσται ἐγένοντο, φυγαδευθέντες πρὸς τῶν τὰς οὐσίας ἀρπασάντων¹. διὰ τί οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τούτοις ἠρεύνησέ τις, τοῖς εἰ καὶ μὴ ἴδια ὄπλα, 95 ὅσα γοῦν ἤρπασαν, ἔχουσιν; ἀλλ' ἦν, ὡς ἔφην, ὅλον τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπιβουλὴ τῆς ἀποτομίας Φλάκκου καὶ τῶν ὀχλῶν, ὧν ἀπέλαυσαν καὶ γυναῖκες. οὐκ ἐν ἀγορᾷ γὰρ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῷ θεάτρῳ καθάπερ αἰχμάλωτοι συνηρπάζοντο καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐφ' ὅτῳ δήποτε συκοφαντούμεναι παρήγοντο μετὰ τινος ἀφορήτου καὶ ἀργα- 96 λεωτάτης ὕβρεως. εἴτ' ἐπειδὴ μὲν ἐγνωρίσθησαν ἐτέρου γένους, ἀπελύοντο—πολλὰς γὰρ ὡς Ἰουδαίας ἀκριβῆ μὴ ποιούμενοι τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν ἔρευναν συνελάμβανον—, εἰ δ' ἐφάνησαν ἡμέτεραι, προσέταττον οἱ ἀντὶ θεατῶν τύραννοι καὶ δεσπότες γεγονότες κρέα χοίρεια διδόναι κομίζοντας. ὅσαι

¹ Mangey, Reiter, etc., take this sentence as a question, and Reiter inserts *ἂν* after *ἀφηρέθησαν*. But see note a.

^a This sentence has been taken by other editors as a question (*ἂν* being inserted after *ἀφηρέθησαν*) and understood to mean "if they had had arms, would they have been stripped of their homes?" This is quite good sense in itself, but what bearing has it on the sequel? As I have taken it, the apodosis is suppressed for the moment, but is understood from the next sentence, *i.e.* "if they had arms, they must have passed into the hands of those who occupied their houses."

When were we suspected of revolting? When were we not thought to be peacefully inclined to all? Were not our ways of living which we follow day by day blameless and conducive to good order and stability in the State? Indeed, if the Jews did have arms in their possession, they had been dispossessed from over four hundred houses from which they were driven to wander by those who seized their property.^a Why then did not their despoilers have their property searched, since they would have, if not arms of their own, at any rate those which they had seized?

But the whole proceeding was as I have 95
said a malicious plot, due to the ruthlessness of Flaccus and the turbulent outbreaks,^b the effect of which was felt by women also.^c For they were seized like captives not only in the market-place but also in the middle of the theatre and taken on to the stage on no matter what calumnious charge, meanwhile being subjected to outrage of an intolerable and most barbarous kind. Then, if they were recognized 96
to be of another race, since many were arrested as Jewesses without any careful investigation of the truth, they were released. But if they were found to be of our nation then these onlookers at a show turned into despotic tyrants and gave orders to fetch swine's flesh and give it to the women. Then all

^b So rather than "crowds," for which Philo would use the singular; nor does it suit ἀπέλαυσαν so well. For the use cf. τὸ πλῆθος . . . ὄχλων καὶ θορύβων *De Mut.* 144.

^c Why does Philo bring this account of the women's sufferings in at this point? They belong rather to the pogrom which we left at § 85. Possibly he means that the insult to feminine modesty involved in the investigation just described did not stand alone, though in the account of the atrocities nothing had been said about the women.

μὲν οὖν φόβῳ κολάσεως ἀπεγεύσαντο, μηδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν προσυπομείνασαι ἀπελύοντο· αἱ δ' ἐγκρατέστεραι βασανισταῖς παρεδίδοντο πρὸς αἰκίας ἀνηκέστους, ὅπερ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν αὐτὰς σαφειστάτη πίστις ἐστί.

- 97 XII. Πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις οὐ δι' ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐζήτει καὶ ἐπενόει κακοῦν ἡμᾶς. τιμὰς γάρ, ὅσας οἷόν τε ἦν καὶ ἐπέτρεπον οἱ νόμοι, πάσας Γαῖῳ ψηφισάμενοι καὶ ἐπιτελέσαντες ἔργοις ἀνέδομεν τὸ ψήφισμα αὐτῷ, δεηθέντες, ἐπειδὴ πρεσβείαν αἰτησαμένοις οὐκ ἂν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἵνα διαπέμψηται δι' αὐτοῦ.
- 98 ἀναγνοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι πολλάκις τῇ κεφαλῇ συνεπινεύσας, ὑπομειδιῶν καὶ γεγανωμένος ἢ προσποιούμενος τὸν ἡδόμενον, “ἀποδέχομαι πάντας ὑμᾶς” ἔφη “τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ πέμψω, καθάπερ αἰτείσθε, ἢ πρεσβευτοῦ τάξιν ἐκπλήσω, ἵν' αἰσθηται Γάιος τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐχαριστίας. μαρτυρήσω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσα σύννοια τῷ πλήθει τῶν εἰς κοσμιότητα καὶ εἰς εὐπείθειαν προστιθεῖς οὐδέν· ἢ γὰρ ἀλήθεια αὐταρκέστατος
- 99 100 ἔπαινος.” ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι γεγηθότες εὐχαριστοῦμεν, ὥς ἤδη ταῖς ἐλπίσι παρανεγνωσμένου Γαῖῳ τοῦ ψηφίσματος. καὶ γὰρ ἦν εἰκός, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ' ὅσα διὰ τῶν ὑπάρχων πέμπεται μετὰ [532] σπουδῆς | ἀνυπέρθετον ἔχει τὴν παρ' ἡγεμονί¹

¹ MSS. ἡμῖν or ὑμῖν.

^a The sections which follow describe events which go back to a time previous to those narrated in § 25 and onwards. Philo seems to take this action of Flaccus as his crowning
356

FLACCUS, 96-100

the women who in fear of punishment tasted the meat were dismissed and did not have to bear any further dire maltreatment. But the more resolute were delivered to the tormentors to suffer desperate ill-usage, which is the clearest proof of their entire innocence of wrongdoing.

XII. ^aTo all these we have to add that Flaccus had 97 before this been seeking to utilize the emperor to supplement his own efforts to injure us and laid his plans accordingly. We had decreed and ratified with our actions all the tributes to Gaius which were possible and were allowed by the laws and had submitted the decree to Flaccus, begging him since he would not have granted our request for an embassy to provide himself for its transmission. He read it and nodded 98 his head several times in assent at each point, smiled gently, and looked pleased or pretended to be pleased, and said "I commend you all for your piety, and I will send it as you ask or will fulfil the duties of an envoy myself that Gaius may learn your gratitude. I will also testify myself from my own knowledge to 99 your abundantly orderly and loyal behaviour without adding anything else,^b for the truth in itself is all-sufficient praise." When we heard these promises 100 we rejoiced and were thankful, feeling in our hopefulness as though Gaius had already read the decree. The hope was reasonable, since any communication sent by a viceroy with urgency secures a prompt de-

wickedness, and very possibly connects it directly with his fall, perhaps justly. It is quite conceivable that when the insulted Agrippa informed the emperor that Flaccus had suppressed a complimentary address to himself, his animosity against Flaccus was roused to activity.

^b Or "without adding to the multitude," etc. But the dative of the thing known following *σύνοιδα* is not uncommon.

- 101 **διάγνωσιν.** ὁ δὲ πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσας οἷς δι-
 ενοήθημεν, οἷς εἶπεν, οἷς ὡμολόγησε, τὸ ψήφισμα
 παρ' ἑαυτῷ παρακατέσχεν, ἵνα μόνοι τῶν ὑφ'
 ἡλίον ἀνθρώπων ἐχθροὶ νομισθῶμεν. ταῦτ' οὐ
 διηγρυπνηκότος ἦν ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ περιεσκεμμένου
 τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλήν, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ' ἀπόνοιαν¹
 αὐτοσχεδιάζοντος ἀκαίρῳ φορᾷ καὶ παραγωγῇ τινὶ
- 102 **λογισμοῦ;** θεὸς δ' ὡς ἔοικεν, ᾧ μέλει
 τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων, τοὺς θῶπας αὐτοῦ
 λόγους καὶ κεκομφευμένους ἐπὶ φενακισμῷ καὶ τὸ
 τῆς ἐκνόμου διανοίας βουλευτήριον, ἐν ᾧ κατ-
 εστρατήγει, προβαλλόμενος, λαβὼν οἶκτον ἡμῶν,
 ἀφορμὴν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐμπαρέσχε τοῦ μὴ ψευ-
- 103 **σθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος.** Ἀγρίππας γὰρ ἐπιδημήσας
 ὁ βασιλεὺς διηγνησαμένοις ἡμῖν τὴν ἐκ Φλάκκου
 γενομένην ἐπιβουλήν ἐπανορθοῦται τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ
 ὑποσχόμενος τὸ ψήφισμα διαπέμψεσθαι λαβὼν ὡς
 ἀκούομεν ἔπεμψεν, ἀπολογησάμενος καὶ περὶ τοῦ
 χρόνου, ὡς οὐκ ὀψέ μαθόντων εὐσεβεῖν εἰς τὸν
 εὐεργέτην οἶκον, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν σπουδασάντων,
 ἐπηρεΐα δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος τὴν καίριον ἐπίδειξιν
- 104 **ἀφαιρεθέντων.** ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἤρξατο κονίεσθαι
 κατ' αὐτοῦ ἡ ὑπέρμαχος μὲν καὶ παραστάτις
 ἀδικουμένων τιμωρὸς δ' ἀνοσίων καὶ ἔργων καὶ
 ἀνθρώπων δίκη. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καινοτάτην

¹ MSS. ἐπίνοιαν.

^a Or perhaps "perusal," for διαγιγνώσκω is sometimes used for διαναγιγνώσκω. Perhaps indeed read διανάγνωσιν, which Mangey suggested and Box adopts.

^b Literally "in the council chamber (or council) of his lawless mind," cf. *De Vit. Cont.* 27. The figure it may be noted is a common one in Philo, cf. *Quod Det.* 40, *De Ebr.*

cision^a by the head. But Flaccus, dismissing all con- 101
sideration for our intentions and his own words and
agreements, detained the decree in his own possession
so that it might be supposed that we alone among
men who dwell under the sun were hostile. Do not
these actions show long unsleeping vigilance and
careful preparation of the insidious attack against
us and that it was not improvised in a fit of insanity,
in an ill-timed outburst due to some perversion of the
reason?

But God, it is clear, who takes 102
care for human affairs, rejected his flattering words
so elegantly framed to cajole and the treacherous
counsels against us debated in his lawless mind^b and
in His compassion before long provided us with
grounds for thinking that our hopes would not be
disappointed. For when King Agrippa visited Alex- 103
andria and we told him of Flaccus's malignant action,
he rectified the matter, promised us that he would
have the decree transmitted and took it and as we
understand sent it, apologizing also for the delay and
stating that we had not been slow to learn the duty
of piety to the house of our benefactors; on the
contrary we had been eager to show it from the first
but had been deprived of the chance of proving it in
good time by the spite of the Governor. At this 104
point justice, the champion and defender of the
wronged, the avenger of unholy men and deeds,
began to enter the lists against him. For in the

165, *De Conf.* 86, *De Dec.* 98. *καταστρατηγείν* = "to overcome by cunning or treachery" is here used absolutely by Philo, as also in *Legatio* 25, and perhaps *De Dec.* 141. In *De Dec.* 91 we have *καταστρατηγείς τὸν ὄρκον* of making the oath which the judges have sworn of none effect. All the other examples cited by Stephanus have an accusative or genitive following.

ὑπέμεινεν ὕβριν καὶ συμφορὰν οὐδενὶ τῶν πάλαι
γενομένην ὑπάρχων, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁ
Σεβαστὸς οἶκος ἀνήψατο γῆς καὶ θαλάττης.

- 105 ἔνιοι γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ
πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος τῶν διεπόντων τὰς ἐπι-
κρατείας, τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν εἰς
δυναστείαν καὶ τυραννίδα μεθαρμοσάμενοι, τὰς
χώρας ἐνέπλησαν κακῶν ἀνηκέστων δωροδοκίαις,
ἀρπαγαῖς, καταδίκαις, τῶν μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότων
ἐλάσσει καὶ φυγαῖς, τῶν δυνατῶν ἀκρίτοις ἀναι-
ρέσειν· οὓς μετὰ τὸν ὀρισθέντα χρόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς
ἐπανελθόντας εἰς Ῥώμην οἱ αὐτοκράτορες λόγον
καὶ εὐθύνας τῶν πεπραγμένων ἤτουν, καὶ μάλισθ'
- 106 ὁπότε πρεσβεύσαιντο αἱ ἀδικηθεῖσαι πόλεις. τότε
γὰρ κοινούς παρέχοντες ἑαυτοὺς δικαστάς, ἐξ ἴσου
καὶ τῶν κατηγορῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπολογουμένων
ἀκροώμενοι, μηδενὸς ἀκρίτου προκαταγινώσκειν
ἀξιοῦντες, ἐβράβευον οὔτε πρὸς ἔχθραν οὔτε πρὸς
χάριν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν τῆς ἀληθείας τὰ δόξαντα
- 107 εἶναι δίκαια. Φλάκκῳ δ' οὐ μετὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀλλ'
ἐμπροθέσμῳς προϋπήντησεν ἡ μισοπόνηρος δίκη
ταῖς ἀμέτροις ὑπερβολαῖς ὧν ἡδίκηει καὶ παρηνόμει
δυσχεράνασα.

[533]
108 XIII. | Γίνεται δ' ὁ τρόπος αὐτῷ τῆς συλλήψεως
τοιόσδε. ὑπέλαβεν ἤδη τὸν Γάιον περὶ ὧν ὑποπτος
ἦν ἐξευμενίσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἐπιστολιμαίοις γράμμασιν,
ἃ κολακείας ἦν ὑπέρμεστα, τὰ δὲ ἐν οἷς δημηγορῶν
πολλάκις ἐθεράπευε λόγους θῶπας καὶ μακρὰς
ρήσεις πεπλασμένων ἐγκωμίων συνείρων, τὰ δὲ
καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα εὐδοκιμεῖν παρὰ τῷ πλείστῳ

first place he was subjected to an unprecedented indignity and disaster such as had not befallen any of the viceroys in the past since the Augustan House assumed the sovereignty of land and sea.

Some, indeed, of those who held governorships in the 105 time of Tiberius and his father Caesar, had perverted their office of guardian and protector into domination and tyranny and had spread hopeless misery through their territories with their venality, robbery, unjust sentences, expulsion and banishment of quite innocent people, and execution of magnates without trial. But these people on their return to Rome, after the termination of their time of office, had been required by the emperor to render an account and submit to scrutiny of their doings, particularly when the aggrieved cities sent ambassadors. For on these 106 occasions the emperors showed themselves impartial judges; they listened equally to both the accuser and the defender, making it a rule to condemn no one offhand without a trial, and awarded what they thought to be just, influenced neither by hostility nor favour but by what actually was the truth. Flaccus, on the other hand, not after his time of office, 107 but in advance of the regular date, was encountered by justice, who hates evil and was indignant at the boundless excesses of his unjust and lawless actions.

XIII. The manner of his arrest was as follows. He 108 supposed that Gaius had been by now propitiated as to the matters on which he was under suspicion, partly through his written dispatches, which overflowed with flattery, partly through the obsequiousness of his public harangues, in which he span together fawning words and long screeds of insincere encomium, partly again by the high esteem in which

- 109 μέρει τῆς πόλεως. ἔλαθε δ' αὐτὸν ἀπατῶν· ἀβέβαιοι γὰρ αἱ τῶν πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλπίδες, εἰκαζόντων μὲν τὰ χρηστότερα, τὰ δὲ παλίμφημα καὶ ὧν ἄξιοι τυγχάνειν εἰσὶ πασχόντων. πέμπεται μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας Βάσσος ἑκατοντάρχης ὑπὸ Γαῖου χειροτονηθεὶς μετὰ τῆς τάξεως τῶν
- 110 στρατιωτῶν, ἧς ἀφηγεῖτο. σκάφους δ' ἐπιβὰς τῶν μάλιστα ταχυναντούντων ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πρὸς τοῖς λιμέσι γίνεται τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ τὴν Φάρον νῆσον περὶ δειλὴν ἑσπέραν καὶ κελεύει τῷ κυβερνήτῃ μέχρις ἡλίου καταδύσεως ἔξω θαλαττεύειν, τεχνάζων τὸ ἀνεπίφαντον ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ προαισθόμενον Φλάκκον καὶ βουλευσάμενόν τι νεώτερον ἄπρακτον αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν ἐργάσασθαι.
- 111 γενομένης δ' ἑσπέρας, ἥ μὲν ναῦς προσέσχεν, ὃ δὲ Βάσσος μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἀποβάς προΐει, μήτε γνωρίζων τινὰ μήτε γνωριζόμενος ὑπὸ του, στρατιώτην δέ τινα τῶν ἐν τοῖς τετραδίοις φυλάκων καθ' ὁδὸν εὐρὼν κελεύει δεικνύναι τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ στρατάρχου· τούτῳ γὰρ ἐβούλετο τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἀνενεγκεῖν, ἵνα, κὰν δέῃ πολυχειρίας, ἔχῃ τὸν
- 112 συναγωνιούμενον. πυθόμενος δ' αὐτὸν ἐστιᾶσθαι παρά τινι σὺν Φλάκκῳ, μηδὲν τάχους ἀνιείς συνέτεινεν ἄχρι τῆς τοῦ κεκληκότος οἰκίας—Στεφανίων ἦν τῶν τοῦ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρων, παρ' ᾧ κατήγοντο—καὶ μικρὸν ἄποθεν ὑποστείλας ἐκπέμπει τινὰ τῶν ἰδίων κατασκεψόμενον εἰς ἀκόλουθον ἀσκήσας, σόφισμα τοῦ μηδένα

^a Cf. § 92. It is somewhat surprising to find another and evidently different Bassus. But the name is too common to justify any suspicion of its genuineness here or there.

^b More literally "the sentries arrayed in quaternions,"

he was held by the chief part of the city. But he 109
 little knew that he was deceiving himself, for the
 hopes of the wicked are without foundation. Their
 prognostications are favourable but their experiences
 fraught with evil omens are what they deserve. A
 centurion named Bassus^a was sent from Italy by
 Gaius's appointment with the company of soldiers
 which he commanded. Having embarked on one of 110
 the swiftest sailing ships he arrived in a few days at
 the harbours of Alexandria, off the island of Pharos, in
 the late afternoon and bade the pilot wait at sea out-
 side till sunset, his scheme being to avoid observation,
 so that Flaccus might not get knowledge of it before-
 hand and by planning some act of violence, make his
 mission unsuccessful. When it was evening the ship 111
 was brought to land and Bassus disembarking with
 his men went forward without recognizing or being
 recognized by anyone. And finding on the way a
 soldier belonging to the quaternions acting as sen-
 tries,^b he ordered him to show him the house of the
 military commander. For he wished to communicate
 his secret instructions to him so that if a strong force
 was required he might have someone to support him
 in the contest. And learning that the commander 112
 as well as Flaccus was feasting with someone, he
 hurried with unabated speed to the house of the
 giver of the feast, by name Stephanio, one of the
 freedmen of Tiberius Caesar. It was in his house
 that the two were being entertained, and Bassus
 keeping in the background a little way off sent on one
 of his men to reconnoitre attired as an attendant,
 hoping by this artifice to maintain secrecy. The

i.e. the night was divided into four watches and each watch
 was served by four soldiers. For "quaternions" *cf.* Acts xii. 4.

- συναισθέσθαι. παρελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ὡς
 ἑνὸς τινος τῶν παρατυγχανόντων οἰκέτης, ἅπαντα
 μετ' ἀκριβείας περιαθρήσας, ἐπανελθὼν ἐμήνυσσε
 113 τῷ Βάσσῳ. γνούς δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς εἰσόδους ἀφύ-
 λακτον καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸν Φλάκκον ὀλιγότητα—
 μόλις γὰρ δέκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν διακονικῶν
 ἀνδραπόδων ἐπηκολουθήκει—σύνθημα δοὺς τοῖς
 περὶ αὐτὸν εἰσέδραμεν ἐξαίφνης, καὶ τῶν στρατιω-
 τῶν οἱ μὲν παρὰ τὸ συμπόσιον ἐπιστάντες ὑπεζω-
 σμένοι τὰ ξίφη κυκλοῦσιν αὐτὸν οὐ προῖδόμενον·
 ἐτύγχανε γὰρ καὶ πρόποσιν τινι διδοὺς καὶ φιλο-
 114 φρονούμενος τοὺς παρόντας. εἰς μέσον δὲ τοῦ
 Βάσσου παρελθόντος, ἰδὼν εὐθύς ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως
 ἄχανῃς γίνεται καὶ βουλόμενος ἀναστῆναι, τὴν ἐν
 κύκλῳ φρουρὰν θεασάμενος, ἔγνω καὶ πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι,
 τί βούλεται Γάιος ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τί προστέτακται
 τοῖς ἤκουσι καὶ τί παραντίκα μελλήσει ὑπομένειν·
 δεινὸς γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν χρόνῳ μακρῷ
 γινόμενα πάνθ' ἅμα ἰδεῖν καὶ πάντων ἀθρόων¹
 115 ἀκοῦσαι. τῶν μὲν | οὖν συνδειπνούντων ἕκαστος
 [534] ἀναστὰς ὑπὸ δέους ἐπεφρίκει καὶ ἐπεπήγει, μή τις
 ὥρισται καὶ τοῦ συνεστιαθῆναι δίκη· φεύγειν γὰρ
 οὐτ' ἀσφαλές ἦν οὐτ' ἄλλως ἐνεδέχετο, προκατ-
 εχομένων τῶν εἰσόδων. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν
 τοῦ Βάσσου κελεύσαντος ἀπάγεται, τελευταίαν
 ταύτην ἀνάλυσιν ἐκ συμποσίου ποιησάμενος· ἔδει
 γὰρ ἀφ' ἐστίας ἄρξασθαι τὴν δίκην κατὰ τοῦ

¹ MSS. ἄθροον.

FLACCUS, 112-115

soldier made his way into the dining-hall in the guise of a servant of one or other of the visitors and having taken a careful look all round returned with his information to Bassus. He, learning the unguarded 113 condition of the entrances and the scantiness of Flaccus's retinue, for barely ten or fifteen of his household slaves had accompanied him, gave the signal to his companions and rushed in suddenly. Some of the soldiers taking their stand along the dining-hall, with swords in their girdles, surrounded Flaccus before he saw them, since he was drinking the health of some particular person and toasting^a the company. But 114 when Bassus came forward into the middle of the room he saw him and was at once struck speechless with consternation. He wished to rise but when he surveyed the guard around him, he knew even before he heard it what Gaius wanted to do with him and what orders had been given to the newcomers and what would be his fate in the immediate future. For the mind has a marvellous power of seeing all at once and hearing altogether the successive events which will cover a long space of time. As for his fellow- 115 guests, each of them rose shuddering and petrified with fear lest their presence in his company at the feast was a crime destined for punishment. For it was unsafe to fly and, moreover, impossible, since the entrances had been occupied in advance. Flaccus himself at Bassus's orders, was led away by the soldiers. Thus it was from a convivial gathering that he made his final departure, for it was only right that a hospitable hearth should be the scene where justice

^a According to the lexicons, φιλοφρονεῖσθαι merely means "making himself agreeable to them"; but the context seems to need some specific action which diverted his attention.

μυρίους ἀνεστίους οἴκους οὐδὲν ἡδικηκότων ἀνθρώπων ἐργασαμένου.

- 116 XIV. Τοῦτο καινότατον ὑπέμεινε Φλάκκος ἐν χώρα, ἧς ἀφηγεῖτο, πολεμίου τρόπον ζωγρηθεὶς ἐνεκά μοι δοκῶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οὓς ἄρδην ἀφανίσαι διεγνώκει λιμοδοξῶν. ἐναργῆς δὲ πίστις καὶ ὁ χρόνος τῆς συλλήψεως· ἑορτὴ μὲν γὰρ ἦν πάνδημος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τὴν μετοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν,
- 117 ἐν ᾗ διάγειν Ἰουδαίους ἔθος ἐν σκηναῖς. οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν ἐν ἑορτῇ συνόλως ἀπετελεῖτο, τῶν μὲν ἀρχόντων ἔτι καθειργμένων μετὰ τὰς ἀνηκέστους καὶ ἀφορήτους αἰκίας καὶ ὕβρεις, τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτῶν τὰς τε ἐκείνων συμφορὰς ἅπαντος τοῦ ἔθνους κοινὰς νομιζόντων καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξαιρέτοις, ἃς ἰδίᾳ
- 118 ἕκαστος ὑπέμεινεν, οὐ μετρίως κατηφούντων. τὰ γὰρ ἀνιὰρὰ διπλασιάζεσθαι φιλεῖ μάλιστα ἐν ἑορταῖς τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις ἑορτάζειν, στερήσει τε ἱλαρὰς εὐθυμίας, ἣν πανήγυρις ἐπιζητεῖ, καὶ μετουσία λύπης, ὑφ' ἧς ἐξετραχηλίζοντο, μηδὲν ἄκος τῶν τοσούτων κακοπραγιῶν ἀνευρεῖν δυνάμενοι.
- 119 σφόδρα δ' ἔχουσιν ὀδυνηρῶς καὶ πεπιεσμένοις ἄχθει βαρυτάτῳ—συνείληντο δ' ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, ἅτε νυκτὸς ἐπεχούσης—ἡκόν τινες ἀπαγγέλλοντες τὴν γενομένην σύλληψιν. οἱ δ' ἀπόπειραν εἶναι νομίσαντες, οὐκ ἀλήθειαν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῷ κατακερτομεῖσθαι καὶ ἐνεδρεύεσθαι δοκεῖν ὠδυνῶντο.

^a Philo means that providence shows itself by sending deliverance just when things are darkest. The festal season, particularly as its chief characteristic, the living in booths, could not be observed, brought their misery to a climax.

^b Note the imperfect with its sudden change from the general to the particular.

FLACCUS, 115-119

first fell on one who had destroyed numberless hearths and homes of persons that had done no wrong.

XIV. Such was the unprecedented blow which fell 116 upon Flaccus, carried off like a prisoner in war in the country which he was governing. It was caused, I am convinced, by his treatment of the Jews, whom in his craving for aggrandisement he had resolved to exterminate utterly. We have a clear proof of this also in the time of his arrest,^a for the Jews were holding then the national feast of the autumn equinox, in which it is the custom of the Jews to live in tents. But nothing at all of the festal proceedings 117 was being carried out. The rulers after suffering deadly and intolerable injuries and outrages were still in prison and their misfortunes were regarded by the commoners as shared by the whole nation, while the special sufferings which each of them experienced individually made them extremely depressed. For 118 painful sensations are apt to double themselves most especially at feast time in persons who are unable to observe the feast, both because they are deprived of the cheerful gaiety which the festal gathering demands and also because they communicate to each other their sorrow—sorrow which in this case^b laid them prostrate through their powerlessness to find any remedy for their great miseries. They were 119 in this very painful condition oppressed by an overwhelming burden when there came to them while crowded in their houses, because night was falling,^c some messengers who announced the arrest that had been made. They supposed that it was no true story but something fabricated to try them and were still more pained at what seemed a mockery and a snare.

^a Or perhaps "was in possession," *i.e.* "had fallen."

- 120 θορύβου δ' ὄντος κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῶν νυκτο-
φυλάκων ἄνω κάτω διαθεόντων καὶ τινων ἱππέων
εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
τάχει συντόνῳ μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀντεξελαυνόντων, τῷ
τοῦ πράγματος ἀήθει κινηθέντες τινὲς προῆλθον
ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν κατὰ πύστιν τοῦ συμβεβηκότος·
- 121 ἐφαίνετο γὰρ εἶναί τι νεώτερον. ὥς δ' ᾗσθοντο
τὴν ἀπαγωγὴν καὶ τὸν Φλάκκον ἐντὸς ἀρκύων ἤδη
γεγεννημένον, προτείνοντες τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν
ὑμνοῦν καὶ παιᾶνας ἐξῆρχον εἰς τὸν ἔφορον θεὸν
τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, “οὐκ ἐφηδόμεθα,”
λέγοντες, “ὦ δέσποτα, τιμωρίαις ἐχθροῦ, δεδι-
δαγμένοι πρὸς τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἀνθρωποπαθεῖν·
ἀλλὰ σοὶ δικαίως εὐχαριστοῦμεν οἶκτον καὶ ἔλεον
ἡμῶν λαβόντι καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς καὶ ἐπαλλήλους |
[535] κακώσεις ἐπικουφίσαντι.” πάννυχοι δὲ διατελέ-
122 σαντες ἐν ὑμνοῖς καὶ ᾠδαῖς καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἑῷ διὰ
πυλῶν ἐκχυθέντες ἐπὶ τοὺς πλησίον αἰγιαλοὺς
ἀφικνοῦνται—τὰς γὰρ προσευχὰς ἀφήρηντο—καὶ
τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ στάντες ἀνεβόησαν ὁμοθυμαδόν·
- 123 “γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, αἶρα τε καὶ οὐρανόν, τὰ μέρη
τοῦ παντός καὶ σύμπαντα τὸν κόσμον, ὦ μέγιστε
βασιλεῦ θνητῶν καὶ ἀθανάτων, παρακαλέσοντες
εἰς εὐχαριστίαν τὴν σὴν ἤκομεν, οἷς μόνοις ἐν-
διδαιτώμεθα, τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα δημιουργεῖται πρὸς
ἀνθρώπων ἐληλαμένοι καὶ στερόμενοι πόλεως καὶ
τῶν ἐν πόλει δημοσίων καὶ ἰδιωτικῶν περιβόλων,
ἀπόλιδες καὶ ἀνέστιοι μόνοι τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίου ἐξ

^a This is the classification natural to the ordinary man, who speaks of what he sees around him, rather than the scientific “four elements.” So of the translators of the LXX
368

But when a tumult arose in the city and the night- 120
 watch were running up and down and horsemen
 busily riding backwards and forwards at full speed
 to and from the camp, some of them, stirred by so
 unusual an event, advanced from their houses to get
 information of what had occurred. For it was clear
 that there was some upheaval. And when they 121
 learnt of the arrest and that Flaccus was now within
 the toils, with hands outstretched to heaven they
 sang hymns and led songs of triumph to God who
 watches over human affairs. "We do not rejoice,
 O Lord," they said, "at the punishment meted to
 an enemy, for we have been taught by the holy laws
 to have human sympathy. But we justly give thanks
 to Thee because Thou has taken pity and compassion
 on us and relieved our unbroken and ceaseless
 afflictions." All night long they continued to sing 122
 hymns and songs of praise and at dawn pouring out
 through the gates, they made their way to the parts
 of the beach near at hand, since their meeting-houses
 had been taken from them, and standing in the most
 open space cried aloud with one accord "Most 123
 Mighty King of mortals and immortals, we have come
 here to call on earth and sea, and air and heaven,^a
 into which the universe is partitioned, and on the
 whole world, to give Thee thanks. They are our only
 habitation, expelled as we are from all that men have
 wrought, robbed of our city and the buildings within
 its walls, public and private, alone of all men under
 the sun bereft of home and country through the malig-
 in *Mos.* ii. 37, where these same four as here are called τὰ μέρη
 τῆς φύσεως (where μέρη should not have been translated
 "elements"). Cf. also *Mos.* i. 113 and *De Som.* i. 15, though
 in the last the phrase ἐξ ὧν συνέστηκε instead of μέρη is nearer
 to the scientific conception. See also on *De Aet.* 29.

124 ἐπιβουλῆς ἄρχοντος γενόμενοι. χρηστὰς ὑπογράφεις ἡμῖν ἐλπίδας καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν λειπομένων ἐπανορθώσεως, ἥδη ταῖς ἡμετέραις λιταῖς ἀρξάμενος συνεπινεύειν, εἴ γε τὸν κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ συμφορῶν ὑφηγητὴν καὶ διδάσκαλον μέγα πνέοντα καὶ οἰηθέντα διὰ ταῦτα εὐδοκιμήσειν ἐξαίφνης καθεῖλες, οὐ πορρωτάτω γενόμενον, ἢ αἰσθόμενοι δι' ἀκοῆς οἱ κακῶς πεπονθότες ἀμβλύτερον ἡσθῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς οὕτωςί, μόνον οὐκ ἐν ὄψει τῶν ἡδικημένων, πρὸς τρανότεραν φαντασίαν τῆς ἐν βραχεὶ καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας ἐπεξόδου."

125 XV. Τρίτον δ' ἔτι πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις κακεῖνό μοι δοκεῖ θεία προνοία συμβῆναι. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀναχθεὶς ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος—ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐν θαλάττῃ φοβερῶν ἀπολαῦσαι τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ παντὸς ἀσεβημάτων ἀναπλήσαντα—μυρία πονηθεὶς μόλις ἦλθεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, εὐθύς ἐκδέχονται τὰς ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατηγορίας δύο τῶν ἐχθίστων, Ἰσίδωρος
126 τε καὶ Λάμπων, οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ μὲν τάξιν εἶχον ὑπηκόων δεσπότην καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτήρα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνακαλοῦντες, νυνὶ δ' ἀντιδίκων οὐκ ἰσόρροπον ἀλλὰ δυνατωτέραν ἰσχὺν ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος ἐπιδεικνυμένων, οὐ μόνον ἕνεκα τοῦ θαρρεῖν τοῖς δικαίοις, ἀλλ', ὃ δὴ μέγιστον ἦν, ὅτι τὸν πρῦτανιν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ἐχθρὸν

^a Or perhaps "wilt restore what is in an inferior condition" or "fallen behind," a sense which *λείπομαι* sometimes has.

^b On the common phrase (*cf.* § 152) signifying sometimes pride and sometimes influence see note on *De Virt.* 171.

^c See further on these two App. p. 532.

nancy of a governor. Thou givest also a glimpse of 124
cheering hopes that Thou wilt amend what remains
for amendment,^a in that Thou hast already begun to
assent to our prayers. For the common enemy of
the nation, under whose leadership and by whose
instruction these misfortunes have befallen it, who
in his windy pride ^b thought that they would promote
him to honour, Thou hast suddenly brought low ; and
that not when he was afar off, so that they whom he
ill-treated would hear it by report and have less keen
pleasure, but just here close at hand almost before
the eyes of the wronged to give them a clearer picture
of the swift and un hoped-for visitation."

XV. Besides the two circumstances which I have 125
mentioned there is a third which seems to me to have
been brought about by divine providence. He had
started on his voyage in early winter and endured
a multitude of hardships, tasting of the terrors of
the sea also, a just fate for one who had filled the
elements of the universe with his impious deeds.
When with difficulty he arrived in Italy the charges
against him were taken up by two of his worst enemies,
Isidorus and Lampo.^c It was not long since these 126
men had ranked as his subjects and hailed him as
their master and benefactor and saviour and the like.
But now they appeared to plead against him with
a strength which was not a mere match for his but
vastly more powerful.^d For not merely had they
confidence in the justice of their case but their most
important advantage was that they saw that he who
presided over human affairs was his mortal enemy,

^a Here ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος intensifies δυνατωτέραν and marks the contrast to ἰσόρροπον, "so far from being equal it is more powerful with a lot to spare." See note on *De Vit. Cont.* 63.

- ἐώρων ἄσπονδον αὐτῷ, μέλλοντα σχῆμα μὲν
 ὑποδύεσθαι δικαστοῦ, προνοία τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν
 ἀκρίτου τινὸς προκαταγινώσκειν, ἔργον δ' ἐπι-
 δείκνυσθαι δυσμενοῦς, πρὸ κατηγορίας καὶ ἀπο-
 λογίας ἤδη τῇ ψυχῇ κατεγνωκότος καὶ τὰς ἀνωτάτω
 127 τιμωρίας ὠρικότος ἐπ' αὐτῷ. χαλεπὸν δ' οὐδὲν
 οὕτως, ὥς ὑπ' ἐλαττόνων κρείττους καὶ πρὸς
 ὑπηκόων ἄρχοντάς ποτε γενομένους κατηγορεῖσθαι,
 ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ δεσπότας ὑπ' οἰκοτρίβων ἢ
 ἀργυρωνήτων.
- 128 XVI. Ἄλλ' ἦν, ὥς ἔοικε, τοῦτο κουφότερον
 κακὸν συγκρινόμενον ἐτέρῳ μείζονι. οὐ γὰρ
 ἀπλὴν τινα τάξιν ἔχοντες ὑπηκόων αἰφνίδιον ἐπ-
 [536] ἔθεντο ταῖς κατηγορίαις | ἐπαποδυσάμενοι καὶ
 συμφρονήσαντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πλείστον χρόνον
 τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ἦν ἐπετρόπευσε τῆς χώρας ἐκ
 πάντων οὗτοι μάλιστ' αὐτῷ δι' ἀπεχθείας ἐγεγέ-
 νηντο. Λάμπων μὲν ἀσεβείας τῆς εἰς Τιβέριον
 Καίσαρα δίκην σχὼν καὶ ἐπὶ διετίαν τριβομένου
 129 τοῦ πράγματος ἀπειρηκώς. ὑπερθέσεις γὰρ καὶ
 ἀναβολὰς ὁ δικαστὴς ἐθελοκακῶν ἐσκήπτετο βου-
 λόμενος, καὶ ἀποφύγη τὸ ἔγκλημα, τὸν γοῦν περὶ
 μέλλοντος ἀδήλου¹ φόβον πρὸς μήκιστον χρόνον
 ἐπικρεμάσας αὐτῷ ζωὴν ὀδυνηροτέραν θανάτου
 130 παρασχεῖν. εἶθ' ὕστερον καὶ ὅτε νικᾷν ἔδοξεν,
 εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν ἐπηρεασθῆναι ἔφασκεν—ἠναγκάσθη
 γὰρ γυμνασιαρχεῖν—, ἥτοι τῷ γλίσχρος καὶ ἀνελεύ-
 θερος εἶναι περὶ τὰς δαπάνας, προφασιζόμενος τὸ
 μὴ κεκτῆσθαι πρὸς τοσαύτην ἀφθονίαν ἀναλω-
 μάτων ἱκανὴν οὐσίαν, ἢ τῷ ὄντι μὴ κεκτημένος,

¹ MSS. ἀδηλον (also ἄδολον and ἄδικον).

who would assume, indeed, the guise of a judge to save himself from appearing to condemn anyone by anticipation and without trial, but in his actions would be revealed as an enemy, who forestalled the accusation and defence by condemning him already in his soul and had fixed his punishment at the uttermost. And no lot is so hard as for superiors to be ac- 127
cused by inferiors and rulers by their former subjects; as well might masters be accused by the slaves whom they have bred in their house or purchased with their money.

XVI. But this as we shall see was a lighter evil 128
compared with another still greater. For they were not simply in the position of subjects who suddenly attacked him and by mutual agreement addressed themselves to accusing him. On the contrary, throughout the greater part of his time of governorship of the country, they were above all others his bitterest enemies. Lampo had been put on his trial for impiety to Tiberius Caesar and as the trial had dragged on for two years he had broken down under it. For the ill-will of his judge had concocted post- 129
ponements and delays, as he wished, even if he was acquitted on the charge, to keep hanging over him for as long as possible the fear of the uncertain future, and so render his life more painful than death. Afterwards when he appeared to have won his case 130
he declared that he was the victim of an outrageous attack upon his property. For he was forced to act as gymnasiarch and protested that he had not sufficient means to meet the great expenses of the office.^a The excuse may be due to meanness and illiberality in spending his money, or it may be that

^a See App. p. 535.

- ἀλλὰ πρὶν μὲν εἰς ἀπόπειραν ἐλθεῖν ἐπιφάσκων τὸν
 πάνυ πλούσιον, ἐν δὲ τῇ δοκιμασίᾳ μὴ φανείς ἄγαν
 πολυχρήματος ἄνθρωπος, ὅσα ἐκτήσατο σχεδὸν
 131 ἅπαντα ἐξ ἀδικημάτων περιποιησάμενος· προσ-
 εστὼς γὰρ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, ὅποτε δικάζοιεν,¹ ὑπ-
 εμνηματίζετο τὰς δίκας εἰσάγων ὥς ἔχων τάξιν,²
 εἶτα τὰ μὲν ἀπήλειπεν ἢ παρήει ἐκὼν, τὰ δ' οὐ
 λεχθέντα προσενέταπτεν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ὑψηλ-
 λάττετο μεταποιῶν καὶ μετατιθεῖς καὶ στρέφων
 ἄνω κάτω τὰ γράμματα, κατὰ συλλαβήν, μᾶλλον δὲ
 καὶ κεραίαν ἐκάστην ἀργυρολογῶν ὁ γραμματο-
 132 κύφων· ὃν πολλάκις ὁ δῆμος ἅπας ὁμοθυμαδὸν
 εὐθυβόλως καὶ εὐσκόπως καλαμοσφάκτην ἐξε-
 κήρυξεν, οἷς ἔγραφε μυρίους [καὶ] ἀνελόντα καὶ
 ζώντας ἀθλιωτέρους τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἀπεργασά-
 μενον, οἱ δυνάμενοι νικᾶν καὶ περιουσιάζειν ἦτταν
 καὶ πενίαν ἀδικωτάτην ὑπέμειναν, ὠνησαμένων
 ἀμφοτέρω τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρὰ τοῦ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας
 133 οὐσίας ἐπευωνίζοντος καὶ πιπράσκοντος. ἀμή-
 χανον μὲν γὰρ ἦν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοσαύτης χώρας
 ἐπιτροπεύοντας, αἰεὶ³ καινότερων ἐπείσρεόντων ἰδιω-
 τικῶν τε καὶ δημοσίων πραγμάτων, ἀπάντων
 μεμνήσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ δικάζοντας μόνον, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ λογισμοὺς τῶν προσόδων καὶ δασμῶν λαμ-
 βάνοντας, ὧν ἡ ἐξέτασις τὸν πλείονα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ
 134 χρόνον ἀνῆλθισκεν. ὁ δὲ φυλάττειν ἐπιτραπείς τήν

¹ MSS. δικάζοντο.

² This can hardly give the required sense, and even with the addition of τοιανδε (as in A) is rather otiose. Mangey suggested ὥς ἔχοιεν τάξιν ("as they came in order"). The suggestion εἰσαγάγεως for εἰσάγων ὥς made by Mr. Box in *Class. Quarterly* 1935 seems admirable, if it can be fitted in with the functions here described. On this see App. p. 536.

he really had not the means, and though before the test he had pretended to be quite rich he was shown under examination to be not very wealthy, owning in fact hardly anything beyond the proceeds of his iniquitous deeds.^a For he stood beside the governors 131 when they were giving judgement, and took the minutes of the cases which he introduced in virtue of this position. He would then expunge some of the evidence or deliberately pass it over and sometimes insert statements which had not been made, sometimes, too, tamper with the documents by remodelling and rearranging them and turning them upside-down, while he picked up money at every syllable, or rather at every jot and tittle, like the paper-porer that he was. Frequently the whole 132 people, truly and appropriately, denounced him as a pen-murderer, whose writings had done multitudes to death and made more miserable than the dead multitudes of the living, who, when they might have won their case and enjoyed abundance, had suffered a defeat and poverty utterly undeserved, both purchased by their enemies from this cheapjack and vendor of other people's property. For it was im- 133 possible that the governors who had the management of so large a territory should keep in mind the perpetual flood of new cases private and public, particularly as they not only acted as judges but received the calculations of revenues and tributes, the scrutiny of which took up the greater part of the year. But 134 Lampo, who was commissioned to guard the most

^a Philo means that his attempt to avoid the office was discreditable on either supposition. Either he was rich and mean or if he was not rich he had pretended to be rich.

ἀναγκαιοτάτην παρακαταθήκην, τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁσιωτάτας γνώμας, ἐνεπορεύετο τὴν λήθην τῶν δικαστῶν, τοὺς μὲν νικᾶν ὀφείλοντας γράφων ἐν ἡττημένοις, τοὺς δ' ἡττᾶσθαι μετὰ τὸν ἐπάρατον μισθὸν ἢ κυριώτερον εἰπεῖν τὸ μίσθωμα ἐν νενικηκόσιν.

[537]

135

XVII. | Ὁ μὲν δὲ Λάμπων τοιοῦτος ὢν ἐφειστήκει κατήγορος, ὁ δ' Ἰσίδωρος οὐκ ἀποδέων τὴν μοχθηρίαν, ἄνθρωπος ὀχλικός, δημοκόπος, ταραττειν καὶ συγχέειν πράγματα μεμελετηκώς, ἐχθρὸς εἰρήνῃ καὶ εὐσταθείᾳ, στάσεις καὶ θορύβους κατασκευάσαι μὲν οὐκ ὄντας, γενομένους δὲ συγκροτῆσαι καὶ συναυξῆσαι δεινός, ὄχλον ἀσύντακτον καὶ πεφορημένον ἐκ μιγᾶδων καὶ συγκλύδων ἡρμοσμένον περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐσπουδακώς, ὃς εἰς μοίρας καθάπερ τινὰς συμμορίας διανενέμῃται.

136

θίασοι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἰσὶ πολυάνθρωποι, ὧν κατάρχει τῆς κοινωνίας οὐδὲν ὑγιές, ἀλλ' ἄκρατος καὶ μέθη καὶ παροινίαι καὶ ἡ τούτων ἔκγονος ὕβρις· σύνοδοι καὶ κλῖναι προσονομάζονται ὑπὸ τῶν

137

ἐγχωρίων. ἐν ᾧπασιν τοῖς θιάσοις ἢ τοῖς πλείστοις ὁ Ἰσίδωρος τὰ πρωτεῖα φέρεται καὶ λέγεται ὁ συμποσίαρχος,¹ ὁ κλινάρχης, ὁ ταραξίπολις. εἴτα ὅταν τι βουλευθῇ διαπράξασθαι τῶν ἀλυσιτελῶν, ἀφ' ἐνὸς συνθήματος ἀθρόως συνέρχονται καὶ τὸ

138

κελευσθὲν λέγουσι καὶ δρῶσι. καὶ ποτε τῷ Φλάκκῳ δυσχεράνας, ὅτι δόξας παρ' αὐτῷ τις εἶναι κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως αὐθις ἐσπουδάζετο, μισθοδοτήσας τοὺς ἀλειφοβίους καὶ φωνασκεῖν

¹ MSS. ποσίαρχος.

FLACCUS, 134-138

vital trust, justice and the verdicts based with all sanctity on justice, traded on the short memory of the judges and recorded defeat for those who should have had victory and for those who should have been defeated a victory in return for the accursed fee, better described as hire, which he received.

XVII. Such was the Lampo who appeared against 135 Flaccus as an accuser. And with him was Isidorus nothing behind him in villainy, a mob courter, popularity hunter, practised in producing disturbance and confusion, a foe to peace and tranquillity, an adept at creating factions and tumults where they do not exist and organizing and fostering them when made, ever at pains to keep in contact with him an irregular and unstable horde of promiscuous, ill-assorted people, divided up into sections, or what might be called syndicates.

In the city there are clubs 136 with a large membership, whose fellowship is founded on no sound principle but on strong liquor and drunkenness and sottish carousing and their offspring, wantonness. "Synods" and "divans"^a are the particular names given to them by the people of the country. In all or most of the 137 clubs Isidorus held the first place and was called the feast ruler or divan master and state embroiderer. Then when he wished to get some worthless project carried out, a single call brought them together in a body and they said and did what they were bidden. And at one time being annoyed with Flaccus, because, 138 whereas at first he seemed to be regarded by him as a person of some importance, he afterwards found himself no longer in the same favour, he hired the

^a As to whether this term implies a religious association or merely one for banqueting, see App. p. 536.

- εἰωθότας, οἱ τὰς καταβολήσεις ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς
 πιπράσκουσι τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὠνητικῶς, παρακελεύει
 139 συνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον. οἱ δὲ πληρώσαντες
 αὐτὸ τοῦ Φλάκκου ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως κατη-
 γόρουν, ἀγένητα πλάττοντες ἐγκλήματα καὶ ψευδεῖς
 ῥήσεις δι' ἀναπαίστων καὶ μακρὰς συνείροντες, ὡς
 καταπεπληχθαι μὴ μόνον Φλάκκον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
 ἄλλους ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ καί, ὅπερ ἦν, συμβαλεῖν,
 ὅτι πάντως ἐστὶ τις ᾧ χαρίζονται, μήτ' αὐτοὶ τι
 πεπονθότες ἀνήκεστον μήτε τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν εὖ
 140 εἰδότες πλημμεληθεῖσαν. ἔπειτα βουλευομένοις
 ἔδοξε συλλαβεῖν τινὰ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀκρίτου
 καὶ αἰφνιδίουμανίας καὶ λύττης πυνθάνεσθαι. οἱ
 δὲ συλληφθέντες ἄνευ βασάνων ὁμολογοῦσι τὰληθές,
 ἅμα καὶ τὰς διὰ τῶν ἔργων πίστεις ἐφαρμόζοντες,
 τὸν διομολογηθέντα μισθόν, τὸν ἤδη δεδομένον,
 τὸν καθ' ὑποσχέσεις ὕστερον δοθησόμενον, τοὺς
 ἐπὶ τὴν διανομὴν αἰρεθέντας ὡς ἂν ἡγεμόνας τῆς
 στάσεως, τὸν τόπον, τὸν καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ γέγονεν ἡ
 141 δωροδοκία. πάντων δ', ὡς εἰκός, ἀγανακτούντων
 καὶ τῆς πόλεως χαλεπῶς φερούσης ἐπὶ τῷ
 τὴν ἐνίων ἀγνωμοσύνην προσαναμάττεσθαι τοῦνομ'
 αὐτῆς, ἔδοξε τὸ καθαρώτατον τοῦ δήμου μετα-
 πεμφαμένῳ¹ τῇ ὕστεραία παραγαγεῖν τοὺς τὸν

¹ MSS. μεταπεμφόμενον.

^a Or "touts" (Box). See App. p. 537.

^b The word *φωνασκεῖν*, which properly means "exercising" (rather than as L. & S. "training") the voice, does not seem to carry in itself any unfavourable sense. It is applied by Demosthenes to Aeschines in several places (*e.g.* *De Cor.* 308 and *De Fal. Leg.* 336), but that Aeschines had a fine voice is recognized. Cf. also Plato, *Legg.* 665 f.

^c Or possibly literally "in anapaests." See App. p. 537.

beggarly lot^a who regularly served him as vocalists,^b
 the people who sell their yells as in a market to
 willing purchasers, and ordered them to come to the
 gymnasium. They filled the building and launched 139
 accusations against Flaccus with no foundation, in-
 venting against him things which had never happened
 and spinning long lying screeds of ribald doggerel,^c so
 that not only Flaccus but everyone else was utterly
 astonished at so unexpected an onset and conjectured,
 as indeed was the case, that there was surely some-
 one whom they wanted to gratify and that they
 had never themselves suffered any injury past mend-
 ing nor had real knowledge of any offence^d committed
 against the rest of the State. Then on deliberation 140
 the authorities decided to arrest some and ascertain
 the cause of so reckless and sudden an outburst of
 insanity. The persons arrested without being put
 to the question confessed the truth and also added
 the proofs supplied by the facts, the payment agreed
 upon, both what had already been given and what
 was to be given afterwards according to the promises;
 the persons chosen as ringleaders of the agitation to
 distribute the money, the place and occasion where
 and when the act of bribery had taken place. And 141
 as everyone was naturally indignant and the city felt
 annoyed that the senselessness of some persons
 should also set its stamp^e upon her name, he decided
 to summon the most highly respectable part of the
 public on the morrow and set the dispensers of the

^a Or perhaps "knew well that no offence," etc., though in that case the second *μήτε* is wrongly used.

^e The subject of the infinitive is probably *τοῦνομ'*, not *ἀγνωμοσύνην*, but see App. p. 538. The point of *προσ-* is perhaps that the loss of reputation was an addition to the actual inconvenience caused by the uproar.

μισθὸν ἐπινείμαντας, ἵνα καὶ τὸν Ἰσίδωρον ἀπελέγξῃ καὶ ἀπολογήσῃται περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ πολιτείας ὡς ἀδίκως διαβληθεῖς. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ [538] τῆς παραγγελίας | οὐχ οἱ ἐν τέλει μόνον ἦκον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ σύμπασα πόλις, ἔξω τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀπ- 142 ελέγχεσθαι μέρους ἐπὶ τῷ μεμισθοδοτῆσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπηρετήσαντες τὴν καλὴν ταύτην ὑπηρεσίαν ἀναβιβασθέντες, ἵνα μετέωροι καὶ ἐμφανεῖς εἶεν καὶ γνωρίζοντο πρὸς πάντων, ἡλεγχον τὸν Ἰσίδωρον ὡς αἴτιον τῶν θορύβων καὶ τῶν βλασφημιῶν τῶν εἰς Φλάκκον γενομένων, οὐκ ὀλίγῳ πλήθει παρασχόντα καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ οἶνον δι' 143 αὐτόν.¹ “ἐπεὶ πόθεν” ἔφασκον “ἡμῖν ἀφθονία τοσαύτη; πένητές ἐσμεν καὶ μόλις τοῦφήμερον εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα πορίζειν δυνάμεθα. τί δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐπεπόνθειμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ὡς βιασθῆναι μνησικακεῖν; ἀλλ’ ὁ πάντων αἴτιος καὶ δημιουργὸς ἐκεῖνος, αἰεὶ τοῖς εὖ πράττουσι βασκαί- 144 ων καὶ εὐνόμῳ καταστάσει πολέμιος.” ἃ γνωρίζοντες οἱ παρατυγχάνοντες—τύποι γάρ τινες ἦσαν ἀρίδηλοι καὶ χαρακτῆρες τὰ λεγόμενα τῆς τοῦ κατηγορουμένου προαιρέσεως—ἀνεβίων, οἱ μὲν ἀτιμοῦν, οἱ δὲ φυγαδεύειν, οἱ δ’ αἶρειν· πλείους δ’ ἦσαν οὗτοι· πρὸς οὓς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι μετεβάλλοντο, ὡς ἅπαντας ὁμοθυμαδὸν μιᾷ φωνῇ κεκραγένοι, κτείνειν τὸν κοινὸν λυμεῶνα, τὸν ἀφ’ οὗ παρῆλθε

¹ So three mss. of the four. But the sense “on account of him,” i.e. Flaccus, is very poor, and I have translated the reading of S δι’ αὐτῶν. A possible alternative would be παρασχόντες (αὐτόν = Isidorus).

^a Something like this must be the meaning of διακύπτω

payment before them so that he might both expose Isidorus and defend his own administration against the aspersions unjustly cast upon him. But on hearing the summons there came not only persons in high position but the whole city except that part whose acceptance of payment was to be exposed. And those who had served in this glorious capacity, being set on a platform so that in this conspicuous elevation they might be recognized by all, gave proof that Isidorus was responsible for the tumults and slanders against Flaccus and had employed them to supply both money and wine to no small number of people. "Whence," they asked, "could we have had all this money to squander? We are poor people scarcely able to provide the daily wage needed to purchase absolute necessities. What terrible grievance had we suffered from the governor that we should be compelled to cherish a grudge against him? No! The author and creator of all these things is that Isidorus ever envious of the prosperous and the foe of law-abiding tranquillity." The audience, recognizing the truth of this, since the statement clearly represented and indicated the motives and intention of the accused, shouted out some for disfranchisement, some for banishment, some for death. These last were the majority and the rest came over and joined them so that they all cried out with one heart and voice, "Slay the ruiner of all alike, who ever since he came to the front and wormed his way" into state

here and it is a fairly natural development from the original meaning of "stoop through." But there is little authority for such a development, at any rate in Philo. He uses the word at least fourteen times, but never except here in any other sense than to look or peer into, suggesting minute examination.

- καὶ διέκυψεν ἐπὶ τὰ κοινά, μηδὲν μέρος τῆς πόλεως
 145 ἄνοσον ἔασαντα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔνεκα τοῦ συνειδότος
 ἀπεδίδρασκε σύλληψιν εὐλαβηθείς· ὁ δὲ Φλάκκος
 οὐδὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιειργάζετο, νομίσας ἐκποδὼν
 ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ γεγονότος ἀστασίαστα καὶ ἀνερί-
 θευτα τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔσεσθαι.
- 146 XVIII. Ταῦτ' ἐμήκυνα, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παλαιῶν
 ἀπομνημονεύειν ἀδικημάτων, ἀλλὰ τεθαυμακῶς τὴν
 ἔφορον τῶν ἀνθρωπείων δίκην, ὅτι οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 γενόμενοι δυσμενεῖς αὐτῷ καὶ οἷς ἐκ πάντων ἀπηχ-
 θάνετο καὶ ἐκληρώσαντο τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατηγορίαν
 εἰς ἀνίας ὑπερβολήν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἐστὶ δεινὸν τὸ
 ἐγκαλεῖσθαι ὥς τὸ πρὸς ὁμολογουμένων ἐχθρῶν.
- 147 ὁ δ' οὐ κατηγορήθη μόνον, ἀρχῶν πρὸς ὑπηκόων
 καὶ ὑπὸ δυσμενῶν ἀεὶ γενομένων ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ
 κύριος ὢν τῆς ἐκατέρου ζωῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος
 ἡλίσκετο, διπλοῦν ἐκδεχόμενος κακόν, τὸ μεθ'
 ἡττης γελαῖσθαι πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἐφηδομένων, ὃ καὶ
 θανάτου χεῖρόν ἐστι τοῖς εὖ φρονούσιν.
- 148 εἰτά τις εὐφορία γίνεται κακοπραγιῶν αὐτῷ· τῆς
 τε γὰρ οὐσίας ἀπάσης εὐθὺς ἐξίσταται, ἣν τε παρὰ
 γονέων ἐκληρονόμησε καὶ ἦν αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο,
 φιλόκοσμος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα γεγονώς. οὐ γὰρ ὥς
 [539] ἐνίων πολυχρημάτων ὁ πλοῦτος ἀργὸς ἦν ὕλη,
 πάντα δ' ἐξητασμένα πρὸς τὸ περιεργον, ἐκπώματα,
 ἐσθῆτες, στρωμαί, ἑπιπλα, τᾶλλα ὅσα οἰκίας κό-
 149 σμος, ἔκλογα πάντα· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡ οἰκετικὴ
 θεραπεία, ἀριστίνδην ἐπικριθεῖσα κατὰ τε τὰς τῶν
 σωμάτων εὐμορφίας ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐεξίας καὶ κατὰ
 τὸ ἄπταιστον ἐν τῷ χρειώδει τῶν ὑπηρεσιῶν· ἐφ'

affairs, has let no part of the city remain untainted." Fearing arrest, Isidorus fled conscious-stricken, but 145 Flaccus took no trouble about him, thinking that, since he was out of the way by his own freewill, the life of the city could now go on undisturbed by faction and intrigue.

XVIII. I have described these events at length, 146 not in order to recall long-past iniquities but to extol the justice which watches over human affairs, because, to those who had been hostile to him from the first and of all his foes the most bitter it also fell to conduct his arraignment and so magnify his afflictions to the uttermost. For arraignment is not by itself so grievous as when it is brought by admitted foes. Not only was he accused, a ruler by his subjects, a 147 potentate who but now had the life of both in his hands by inveterate enemies, but he was also condemned, suffering thereby a mighty twofold blow in that his fall was coupled with the laughter of gloating enemies, which to men of good sense is worse even than death.

Then there came to 148 him a rich harvest of misfortunes. He was at once deprived of all his property, both what he inherited from his parents and what he acquired himself. For his taste for things ornamental was quite exceptional. Wealth was not with him as it is with some rich men inert matter, but everything had been carefully selected for its elaborate workmanship, his cups, clothes, coverlets, utensils and all the other ornaments of the house, all were of the choicest: besides these 149 the staff of household slaves had been picked as the best for comeliness of form and fine condition and the faultless way in which they ministered to the needs of their master. For whatever tasks they were

- ὧν γὰρ ἦσαν ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι, διέφερον, ὥς ἢ
 πρῶτοι νομίζεσθαι τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδευόντων ἢ
 150 μηδενὸς δεῦτεροι τὸ παράπαν. ἐναργῆς δὲ πίστις
 τὸ μυρίων δημοπράτων γενομένων οὐσιῶν, αἱ τῶν
 κατακρίτων ἦσαν, μόνην τὴν τοῦ Φλάκκου ταμει-
 θῆναι τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, δίχα τινῶν ὀλίγων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 μὴ παραβιβασθῆναι τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς οὕτως ἐαλωκόσι
 151 τεθέντα νόμον. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀφαίρεσιν τῆς οὐσίας
 κατέγνωστο αὐτοῦ φυγή, καὶ ἐξ ἀπάσης μὲν ἡλαύ-
 νετο τῆς ἡπείρου—τὸ δ' ἐστὶ μείζον καὶ ἄμεινον
 τμήμα τῆς οἰκουμένης—, ἐξ ἀπάσης δὲ νήσου τῶν
 εὐδαιμόνων. ἐμέλλησε γὰρ εἰς τὴν λυπροτάτην
 τῶν ἐν Αἰγαίῳ—Γύαρα καλεῖται—διώκεσθαι, μὴ
 παρακλήτῳ χρησάμενος Λεπίδῳ, δι' ὃν ἀνθυπηλ-
 152 λάξατο Γυάρων Ἄνδρον ἐγγυτάτῳ κειμένην. εἴτ'
 ἐστέλλετο τὴν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἄχρι Βρεντεσίου πάλιν
 ὁδόν, ἣν καὶ πρὸ ὀλίγων ἐτῶν ἐστείλατο, καθ' ὃν
 καιρὸν κεχειροτόνητο τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς ὁμόρου
 Λιβύης ἐπίτροπος, ἵν' αἱ τότε θεασάμεναι πόλεις
 αὐτὸν μέγα πνέοντα καὶ τὸν ὄγκον τῆς εὐτυχίας
 ἐπιδεικνύμενον πάλιν θεάσωνται μεστὸν ἀτιμίας.
 153 ὁ δὲ δακτυλοδεικτούμενος καὶ ὄνειδιζόμενος τῆς
 ἀθροῆς μεταβολῆς πιέζεται βαρυντέrais ἀνίαις, αἰ
 καινουμένης¹ καὶ ζωπυρουμένης αὐτῷ τῆς συμφορᾶς
 νεωτέρων <κακῶν> προσθήκαις, ἃ καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς

¹ MSS. κινουμένης.

^a For Gyara or Gyaros as the proverbial place for “deportatio” see Mayor’s note on Juv. i. 73 “aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum.”

^b Or perhaps “and reproached for the complete (or overwhelming) change.” My only objections to this are that I do not know what authority there is for this genitive after ὄνειδίζω, and the “complete change” is hardly a matter for

severally appointed to do they excelled in, so that they were held to stand either first among those who performed the same functions or certainly second to none. A clear proof of this is that while a vast number of 150 properties belonging to condemned persons were sold by public auction, that of Flaccus alone was reserved for the emperor, a few articles only being excepted so as not to run counter to the law enacted about persons convicted on these grounds. And when his 151 property had been taken from him he was sentenced to banishment and expelled not only from the whole continent, which is the larger and better section of the habitable world, but also from every one of the islands in which life can prosper. For he was to be exiled to the most miserable of the Aegean islands, called Gyara,^a had he not found an intercessor in Lepidus who enabled him to exchange Gyara for Andros, the island which lies nearest to it. He then again 152 travelled along the road from Rome to Brundisium which he had travelled a few years before at the time when he had been appointed a governor of Egypt and its neighbour Libya, so that the cities which then beheld him puffed with pride, parading the grandeur of his good fortune, might once more behold him covered with dishonour instead. As fingers pointed 153 at him and reproaches poured upon him he was oppressed by the heavier afflictions caused by the change which had overwhelmed him,^b for his misery was ever being renewed and rekindled by the accession of fresh troubles which also forcibly brought back, reproaches, which I should suppose were pointed against real or supposed misdeeds. If the translation is right the meaning is that the finger-pointing and reproaches affected him comparatively little, because the sense of ruin occupied his mind.

νόσοις ὑποτροπιάζειν ἀναγκάζει¹ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων κακοπραγιῶν ὑπομνήσεις, αἱ τέως ἔδοξαν ἡμαυρῶσθαι.

- 154 XIX. Περαιωσάμενος δὲ τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον ἔπλει τὴν ἄχρι Κορίνθου θάλατταν, ταῖς παράλοις τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων θέα γινόμενος κατὰ πύστιν τῆς αἰφνιδίου μεταβολῆς· ὁπότε γὰρ ἀποβαίῃ τῆς νεώς, συνέθεον οἱ μὲν μοχθηροὶ τὰς φύσεις ἐθελοκακοῦντες, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι συναλγήσοντες, οἷς
155 ἔθος ταῖς ἐτέρων τύχαις σωφρονίζεσθαι. διελθὼν δ' ἀπὸ Λεχαίου τὸν Ἰσθμὸν εἰς τὴν ἀντιπέραν θάλατταν καὶ καταβὰς εἰς Κεγχρεάς, τὸ Κορίνθιον ἐπίνειον, ἀναγκάζεται πρὸς τῶν φυλάκων ἀναχώρησιν οὐδ' ἡντιναοῦν ἐνδιδόντων εὐθύς ἐπιβὰς
[540] βραχείας ὀλκάδος | ἀνάγεσθαι καὶ πνεύματος ἐναντίου καταρραγέντος μυρία ταλαιπωρηθεῖς μόλις
156 ἄχρι τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατασύρεται. λήξαντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, παραμειψάμενος τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄχρι τῆς Σουνιάδος ἄκρας τὰς ἐξῆς λοιπὸν ἐπεραιουῖτο νήσους, τὴν Ἑλένην, τὴν Κίαν, τὴν Κύθον, τὰς ἄλλας ὅσαι κεῖνται στοιχηδὸν ἐξῆς μέχρι τῆς ἐφ' ἣν τελευταίαν ἐλθεῖν ἔδει, τὴν Ἀνδρίων.
157 ἣν πόρρωθεν ἰδὼν ὁ κακοδαίμων δακρύων τινὰ

¹ Mangey suggested ὑποτροπιαζούσας ἀνάγει which Box has adopted. See note a.

^a Literally "which force the recollections to recur." The whole sentence is rather vague and wordy, but I see little or no difficulty in the text, whereas Mangey's would give a difficult order in ἐν ταῖς νόσοις ὑποτροπ. for ἐν ταῖς ὕ. ν. ὑποτροπιάζω is a medical term which can be applied to the
386

like symptoms recurring in sickness, recollections of past mishaps which seemed for a while to have been dulled.^a

XIX. Having passed through the Ionian Gulf he sailed upon the sea which extends to Corinth, a spectacle to the Peloponnesian cities on the sea-board when they heard of his sudden change of fortune. For whenever he disembarked the people flocked thither, the baser natures out of malice, the rest, whose way is to find lessons of wisdom in the fate of others, to sympathize. And crossing the Isthmus from Lechaëum to the opposite coast and coming down to Cenchreae, the port of Corinth, he was forced by his guards, who refused him any kind of intermission, to embark at once on a small merchant vessel and put to sea, where under the violence of a contrary wind he suffered a thousand discomforts and only with difficulty arrived storm-tossed^b at the Peiræus. When the tempest ceased he coasted along Attica to Cape Sunium and then continued his journey along the series of islands, namely Helene, Cia, Cythnus and the rest, which lie in a row one after the other, to that which was to be the end of his journey, the island of the Andrians.

When he saw it afar off the miserable man let a stream of tears pour

disease which recurs as in § 182, to the things (*i.e.* symptoms) which recur in diseases as here, and to the patient who relapses into his old disease (*ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ὑποτροπιάσας νόσον*) as in *De Mig.* 150. The only slight difficulty is that *καὶ*, which brings out that new misfortunes remind us of the old, besides the actual misery which they give, should come before *ὑποτροπ.* *ἀναγκ.* instead of after it. But I do not think that Philo is very particular where he places his *καί*.

^b Lit. "kept being swept down," a phrase which would naturally suggest a rapid passage, the reverse of *μόλις*. Here "was swept about till he reached Peiræus."

φορὰν ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἐξέχει κατὰ τῶν παρειῶν
 καὶ τὰ στέρνα πλήξας, πικρότατα ἀνοιμώξας,
 “ ἄνδρες,” εἶπεν, “ οἱ φύλακές μου καὶ προπομποί,
 καλὴν γε χώραν Ἄνδρον, οὐκ εὐτυχῇ νήσον, τῆς
 158 εὐδαίμονος Ἰταλίας ἀνθυπαλλάττομαι, Φλάκκος, ὁ
 γεννηθεὶς μὲν καὶ τραφεὶς καὶ παιδευθεὶς ἐν τῇ
 ἡγεμονίδι Ῥώμῃ, συμφοιτητῆς δὲ καὶ συμβιωτῆς
 γενόμενος τῶν θυγατριδῶν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, κριθεὶς
 δὲ τῶν πρώτων φίλων παρὰ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι καὶ
 τὸ μέγιστον αὐτοῦ τῶν κτημάτων, Αἴγυπτον, ἐπὶ
 159 ἑξαετίαν ἐπιτραπεῖς. τίς ἢ τοσαύτη μεταβολή;
 νῦν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, καθάπερ ἐκλείψεως γενομένης, τὸν
 ἐμὸν ἐπέσχηκε βίον. τὴν νησίδα ταύτην τί φῶ;
 πότερον φυγαδευτήριον ἐμὸν ἢ πατρίδα καινὴν,¹
 ὑπόδρομον καὶ καταφυγὴν ἀτυχῇ; τάφος ἂν εἴη
 τὸ κυριώτατον αὐτῆς ὄνομα. στέλλομαι γὰρ ὁ
 κακοδαίμων ἐγὼ τρόπον τινὰ νεκροφορῶν ἐμαυτὸν
 ὥσπερ εἰς ἡρίον· ἢ γὰρ ταῖς ἀνίαις τὴν ἀθλίαν ζωὴν
 ἀπορρήξω ἢ, κἂν ἐπιβιῶναι δυνηθῶ, τὸν μακρὸν
 160 καὶ σὺν αἰσθήσει θάνατον ἐκδέξομαι.” καὶ ὁ μὲν
 τοιαῦτα ἀπωδύρετο. τῆς δὲ νεῶς τῷ λιμένι προσ-
 σχούσης, ἀπέβαινε πᾶς εἰς τοῦδαφος νεύων, ὥσπερ
 οἱ θλιβόμενοι πρὸς ἄχθους βαρυτάτου, τὸν αὐχένα
 ταῖς συμφοραῖς πιεζόμενος, οὐδ’ ὅσον ἀνακῦσαι
 σθένων ἢ μὴ τολμῶν διὰ τοὺς συναντῶντας καὶ
 τοὺς ἐπὶ θέαν ἦκοντας, οἱ παρ’ ἑκάτερα τῆς ὁδοῦ

¹ MSS. *κενήν*.

^a “Sons of daughters,” i.e. the sons of Julia by her second husband M. Agrippa. These were C. Caesar, L. Caesar and Agrippa Postumus, all of whom died young. As the eldest would have been 58 at the time of Flaccus’s banishment,

down his cheeks as from a fountain and smiting his breast with bitter wailing cried "Oh my guards and escort, it is for this fine land of Andros, this unblest island that I exchange happy Italy, I, Flaccus, 158 who was born and reared and educated in sovereign Rome, the school-mate and familiar associate of the grandsons^a of Augustus, chosen at the court of Tiberius to be among his foremost friends, entrusted for six years with the charge of Egypt the greatest of his possessions? This great reversal what does it 159 mean? A night in daytime as in an eclipse has taken possession of my life. This petty island what shall I call it? My home of exile,^b or a new fatherland, a hapless haven and refuge? A tomb would be its truest name, for as I journey in my misery it is as though I were bearing the corpse that is myself to a sepulchre. For either through my afflictions I shall break the thread of my miserable life, or even, if I am able to survive die a long drawn-out death in which consciousness still lives." In such wise did 160 he lament and when the ship put in at the haven he got out with his whole body bowing down to the ground, as people do under the pressure of an exceedingly heavy load, his neck over-weighted with his misfortunes, lacking either the strength even to lift his head, or else the courage to face those who met him and came to gaze at him as they stood in

and the youngest 50, we get a hint of Flaccus's age which is not, I think, found elsewhere.

^b So perhaps rather than "city of refuge," and so avoid the tautology with *καταφυγήν*. Elsewhere Philo uses the word only in reproducing the LXX of Num. xxxv. 12, etc., for the "Cities of Refuge." But in dealing with *φυγή* he passes very easily from refuge to banishment, and the Cities themselves are regarded as places of exile in *De Fug.* 100 f.

- 161 προεισηγήκεσαν. οἱ δὲ παραπέμψαντες
αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀγαγόντες τῶν Ανδρίων
ἐπεδείξαντο πᾶσι, μάρτυρας ποιούμενοι τῆς εἰς τὴν
162 νῆσον ἀφίξεως τοῦ φυγάδος. καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν
διακονίαν ἐκπλήσαντες ἀπήεσαν· τῷ δὲ Φλάκκῳ
μηδεμίαν ὄψιν οἰκείαν ἔτι θεωμένῳ τὸ πάθος
ἐκαινοῦτο τρανότερον φαντασίαις ἐναργεστέραις·
καὶ τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ κατανοοῦντι πολλὴν ἐρημίαν, ἥς
μέσος ἀπειλήπτο, κουφότερον ἐδόκει κακὸν ἢ ἐν
τῇ πατρίδι βίαιος ἀναίρεσις, μᾶλλον δὲ συγκρίσει
[541] τῶν παρόντων ἀσπαστὸν ἀγαθόν. | οὕτως ἐσφάδα-
ζεν, ὥς μηδὲν τῶν μεμνηνόντων διαφέρειν· ἐπήδα
πολλάκις ἄνω κάτω διαθέων, τὰς χεῖρας συνεκρότει,
τοὺς μηροὺς ἔπαιε, κατέβαλεν εἰς τοῦδαφος ἑαυτόν,
163 ἐξεφώνει πολλάκις· “ ἐγὼ Φλάκκος εἰμί, ὁ πρὸ
μικροῦ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως ἢ πολυπόλεως Ἀλεξ-
ανδρείας ἡγεμὼν, ὁ τῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτης χώρας
ἐπίτροπος Αἰγύπτου, εἰς ὃν ἐπέστρεφον αἱ τοσαῦται
μυριάδες τῶν οἰκητόρων, ὁ δυνάμεις πολλὰς πεζὰς
καὶ ἵππικὰς καὶ ναυτικὰς οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἄλλως ἀλλ’
ὅσον δοκιμώτατον ἐν ὑπηκόοις ἔχων, ὁ καθ’ ἐκά-
στην ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις ὑπὸ μυρίων ὅσων
164 παραπεμπόμενος. ἀλλὰ μὴ φάσμα ταῦτ’ ἦν, οὐκ
ἀλήθεια; καὶ κοιμώμενος ὄναρ εἶδον τὴν τότε
εὐθυμίαν, εἶδωλα κατὰ κενοῦ βαίνοντα, πλάσματα
ψυχῆς ἴσως ἀναγραφούσης τὰ μὴ ὑπάρχοντα ὡς
165 ὄντα; διηπάτημαι· σκιὰ πραγμάτων ἄρ’ ἦσαν, οὐ
πράγματα, μίμησις ἐναργείας, οὐκ ἐνάργεια τρα-

^a Or “so violent was his emotion.” That is to say σφα-
δάζω in Philo nearly always suggests strong mental emotion,
390

FLACCUS, 161-165

front on either side of the road. His 161
escort brought him to the popular assembly of the
Andrians and exhibited him to them all, calling them
to witness to the arrival of the exile at the island.
Then having fulfilled their service they departed, 162
but Flaccus having no longer before his eyes any
familiar face felt his sufferings renewed thereby more
poignantly as his imaginations grew more vivid. And
gazing at the wide desolation around him, in the
midst of which he was isolated, it seemed to him
that a death by violence in his native land would
be the lighter evil, or rather in comparison with his
present plight a welcome boon. His wild gesticu-
lations^a were just like those of a madman. He
would often jump about, run up and down, clash his
hands together, smite his thighs, fling himself on
the ground and often cry out, "I am Flaccus, who 163
but now was governor of Alexandria, that great city,
or multitude of cities, ruler of the highly blest land
of Egypt, to whom so many thousands of inhabitants
paid regard, who had among his subjects great forces
of infantry, cavalry, naval, not a mere lot of counters
but all men of the best-proved excellence, who every
day when I proceeded forth went escorted by a host
of followers. But was this then a phantom, not the 164
truth? Was I asleep and dreamt the light-hearted-
ness of those days, saw but spectres moving in a void,
figments of a soul which recorded as we may suppose
things which had no existence as though they were?
Yes, I have been deluded. They were the shadow 165
of realities, not the realities themselves, a counterfeit
of clear vision, not the clear vision which exposes the

but does not necessarily imply that the violence has any special
outward expression. See further App. p. 538.

νουςα τὸ ψεῦδος. ὥς γὰρ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀνείροις φανέντων οὐδὲν περιαναστάντες εὐρίσκομεν, ἀλλ' οἴχεται πάντα ἄθροα διαπτάντα, οὕτως καὶ τὰ λαμπρὰ ἐκείνα, οἷς ποτε ἐνωμίλησα, ἐσβέσθη βραχυτάτῃ καιροῦ ῥοπῇ."

- 166 XX. Τοιούτοις αἰὲ κατεπαλαίετο λογισμοῖς καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐξετραχλίζετο· τὰς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν συνόδους ἀποδιδράσκων διὰ τὴν παρακολουθοῦσαν αἰσχύνην οὐτ' εἰς λιμένα κατῆι οὐτ' εἰς ἀγορὰν προελθεῖν ὑπέμενεν, ἀλλ' οἴκοι συγκλεισάμενος ἐφώλενε, μηδὲ τὴν αὐλειον ὑπερβαίνειν θαρρῶν.
- 167 ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ περὶ βαθὺν ὄρθρον, ἔτι τῶν ἄλλων ἐν εὐναῖς ὄντων, μηδενὶ φανείς τὸ παράπαν ἔξω τείχους προῆι καὶ διημέρευεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας, ἐκτρεπόμενος. εἴ πού τις ὑπαντήσῃεν ἔμελλε, καὶ ταῖς ἐναύλοις μνήμαις τῶν κακοπραγιῶν διακναιόμενος καὶ διεσθιόμενος τὴν ψυχὴν, ὁ δεῖλαιος, νυκτὸς εἰσῆι βαθείας, εὐχόμενος διὰ τὰς ἀμέτρους καὶ ἀτελευτήτους ἀδημονίας ἐσπέραν μὲν πρῶταν γενέσθαι, πεφρικὼς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὰς ἄλλοκότους φαντασίας, ὅποτε τύχοι καταδαρθῶν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἔω πάλιν ἐσπέραν· ὁ γὰρ περὶ αὐτὸν ζόφος ἦναν-
- 168 τιούτο τοῖς παιδοῖς ἅπασιν. ὀλίγοις δ' ὕστερον μῆσὶ βραχὺ τι γῆδιον πριάμενος ἐν αὐτῷ πολλὰ διέτριβε μονούμενος καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐπι-

^a So perhaps simply, though the examples of ῥοπῇ = "moment" without qualification are principally from the LXX. Otherwise more exactly "by a momentary change in what time brings," i.e. in fortune. Cf. *καιρῶν ὀξείαις μεταβολαῖς De Post.* 113.

falsehood to the light. For just as when we wake up we find nothing of what we saw in our dreams, but all are gone and have taken flight together, so, too, that brightness which surrounded my life has been quenched in one short moment of time." ^a

XX. Such were the thoughts which held him ever 166
firmly in their grip and so to speak flung him prostrate
to the ground. He shunned meeting with people
in large numbers because of the sense of shame which
accompanied him. He did not go down to the
harbour nor bring himself to enter the market but
shut himself at home and there lay hidden not having
even the courage to pass the threshold. Sometimes, 167
too, in the dark hours of the morning when everyone
else was still in bed he would come out without a soul
seeing him and advance outside the wall and spend
the day in the solitude, turning aside if anyone was
about to meet him, his soul lacerated, poor wretch,
and devoured by the vivid memories of his calamities.
Then when the night had quite closed in he
would go indoors, praying in his endless and boundless
sorrow that the evening might be morning, so much
did he dread the darkness and the weird visions which
it gave him, if he chanced to fall asleep. So in the
morning again he prayed for evening, for to the gloom
that surrounded him everything bright was repugnant.^b A few months later he 168
bought a small piece of ground and spent much of
his time there in solitude, bewailing with tears and

^b Clearly a reminiscence of the curse in Deut. xxviii. 67
"In the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were even!
and at even thou shalt say, Would God it were morning!"
See note on *De Praem.* 151, where as here Philo takes the
words which follow "for the sight of thine eyes which thou
shalt see" to refer to the awful dreams seen by the accursed.

- 169 στένων καὶ κατακλαίων δαίμονα. λέγεται δέ ποτε
 [542] καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ὥσπερ οἱ | κορυβαντιῶντες
 ἔνθους γενόμενος, ἐκ τῆς ἐπαύλεως ἔξω προελθὼν
 καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἀνατείνας εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀσ-
 τέρας, τὸν ἐν κόσμῳ κόσμον ὄντως ἰδὼν, ἀναβοή-
 170 σαι· “ βασιλεῦ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ ἄρα τοῦ
 τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἀμελῶς ἔχεις, οὐδ’ ἐπιψεύ-
 δονται τὴν ἐκ σοῦ πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ’ ὅσοι φασὶν αὐτοὺς
 μὴ προαγωνιστῇ σοι καὶ ὑπερμάχῳ χρῆσθαι, δόξης
 ὑγιοῦς διαμαρτάνουσι. σαφὴς δ’ ἐγὼ πίστις· ὅσα
 171 γὰρ κατεμάνην τῶν Ἰουδαίων, αὐτὸς πέπονθα. τὰς
 οὐσίας ἀρπαζομένων περιεῖδον ἐκεχειρίαν τοῖς λεη-
 λατοῦσι διδούς· ἀφηρέθην διὰ τοῦτο τὰ πατρῶα καὶ
 μητρῶα καὶ ὅσα ἐν μέρει χάριτος καὶ δωρεᾶς
 ἔλαβον ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα καθ’ ἐτέρας ἰδέας ἐκτησάμην.
 172 ὠνείδισά ποτε ἀτιμίαν καὶ ξενιτείαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτί-
 μοις οὖσι κατοίκους, ἵν’ ἡσθῶσιν οἱ ἀντίπαλοι,
 πλῆθος ἀσύντακτον καὶ πεφορημένον, ὑφ’ οὗ κολα-
 κευόμενος ὁ δυστυχὴς ἡπατώμην· διὰ τοῦτο ἡτί-
 μωμαι καὶ φυγὰς ἐξ ἀπάσης ἐληλαμένος τῆς
 173 οἰκουμένης ἐνταυθοῖ συγκέκλεισμαι. παράγων εἰς
 τὸ θέατρον ἐνίους ἐν ὄψεσι τῶν ἐχθίστων αἰκίζεσθαι
 προσέταττον ἀδίκως· τοιγαροῦν ἐγὼ δικαίως οὐκ
 εἰς θέατρον ἐν ἧ μίαν πόλιν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐσχάταις
 ὕβρεσι παρήχθην αἰκισθεὶς πρὸ τοῦ σώματος τὴν
 ἀθλίαν ψυχὴν, ἀλλ’ ἐπόμπευσα διὰ μὲν πάσης
 Ἰταλίας ἄχρι Βρεντεσίου, διὰ δὲ πάσης Πελο-
 ποννήσου μέχρι Κορίνθου, διὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ

^a Lit. “his peculiar fate.” οἰκεῖον seems pleonastic, but expresses, perhaps, the feeling of one who asks “Why should I in particular have this fate?” See however on *De Prov.* 8.

groans that such should be his fate.^a It is said that 169
 once about midnight he became possessed as in a
 Corybantic frenzy, and coming out of the shelter put
 up there turned his eyes to heaven and the stars,
 and beholding that veritable world within a world,^b
 lifted up his voice. "King of gods and men," he 170
 cried, "so then Thou dost not disregard the nation
 of the Jews, nor do they misreport Thy Providence,
 but all who say that they do not find in Thee a
 Champion and Defender, go astray from the true
 creed. I am a clear proof of this, for all the acts
 which I madly committed against the Jews I have
 suffered myself. I allowed them to be robbed 171
 of their possessions by giving free licence to the
 plunderers. For that I had taken from me my heri-
 tage from father and mother and all I received by
 way of benefactions and gifts and other possessions
 which do not fall under this head. I cast on them the 172
 slur that they were foreigners without civic rights,
 though they were inhabitants with full franchise,
 just to please their adversaries, a disorderly and
 unstable horde, whose flattery, to my sorrow, deceived
 me, and, therefore, I have lost my rights and have
 been driven in exile from all the habitable world
 to be shut up here. Some I marched into the theatre 173
 and ordered them to be maltreated before the eyes
 of their bitterest enemies unjustly, and, therefore,
 justly was I maltreated in my miserable soul rather
 than in my body, with the utmost contumely; I was not
 indeed marched into one theatre or one city but was
 paraded through all Italy to Brundisium and through
 all the Peloponnese to Corinth and past Attica and

^b The thought occurs also in *De Abr.* 159 and *De Praem.*
 41. Cf. *De Aet.* 4.

- 174 τῶν νήσων ἄχρις Ἀνδρου, τῆς ἐμῆς εἰρκτῆς. καὶ
 πέπεισμαι σαφῶς, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅρος οὗτος τῶν
 ἐμῶν κακοπραγιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐφεδρεύουσιν ἕτεραι πρὸς
 ἐκπλήρωσιν ἀντίρροπον ὧν εἰργασάμην. ἀνεῖλόν
 τινας καὶ ἀναιρεθεῖσι πρὸς ἑτέρων οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθον·
 κατελεύσθησάν τινες καὶ ζῶντες οἱ μὲν ἐνεπρή-
 σθησαν, οἱ δὲ διὰ μέσης κατεσύρησαν ἀγορᾶς, ἕως
 175 ὅλα τὰ σώματα αὐτοῖς ἔδαπανήθη. τούτων οἶδ'
 ὅτι ἀναμένουσί με αἱ Ποιναί, καὶ οἱ ἀλάστορες
 ὥσπερ ἐπὶ βαλβίσιν ἐστᾶσιν ἤδη καὶ φονῶντες
 ἔγκεινται, καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, μᾶλλον δὲ
 ὥραν, προαποθνήσκω πολλοὺς θανάτους ὑπομένων
 176 ἀνθ' ἑνὸς τοῦ τελευταίου." πολλάκις δὲ ἔδει-
 ματοῦτο καὶ διεπτόητο καὶ φρίκη μὲν τὰ μέλη καὶ
 μέρη τοῦ σώματος κατεσεῖετο, φόβῳ δ' ὑπότρομον
 εἶχε τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσθματι καὶ παλμῷ τινασσομένην,
 ἅτε τοῦ μόνου παρηγορεῖν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἐκ
 φύσεως δυναμένου στερόμενος, χρηστῆς ἐλπίδος.
 177 ὄρνις αἰσιος οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ προφαίνεται· πάντες
 δυσοιώνιστοι, κληδόνες παλίμφημοι, ἐπίπονος ἐγ-
 ρήγορσις, περιδεῆς ὕπνος, ἡ μόνωσις θηριώδης.
 ἀλλ' ἡδιστον αὐτῷ τὸ ἀγελαῖον; ἀηδέστατον αἱ |
 [543] κατὰ πόλιν διατριβαί· ἀσφαλὲς ὄνειδος ἢ κατ' ἀγρὸν
 ἐρημία; σφαλερόν, ἀδυσώπητον. ὁ ἡρέμα προσίων
 178 ὑποπτος· "βουλευεταί τι" φησὶ "κατ' ἐμοῦ· ὁ
 θᾶπτον βαδίζων οὐ πρὸς ἕτερόν τι σπεύδων
 ἔοικεν, ἀλλ' ἐμέ διώκει¹. ὁ ἡδὺς ἐνεδρεύει, ὁ παρ-
 ρησιαστῆς καταφρονεῖ· σιτία μοι καὶ ποτὰ καθάπερ
 179 τοῖς θρέμμασιν ἐπὶ σφαγὴν δίδονται. μέχρι τίνος ὁ

¹ This sentence is punctuated differently in other editions
 ὁ ἡρέμα προσίων ὑποπτος. "βουλευεταί τι" φησὶ "κατ' ἐμοῦ ὁ
 θᾶπτον βαδίζων· οὐ πρὸς ἕτερόν τι σπεύδων ἔοικε," κτλ.

the islands to Andros my prison. And I have a clear 174
conviction that this is not the limit of my misfortunes
but there are others in reserve to complete the sum
and counterbalance all that I did. I killed some and
when others killed them took no steps to punish the
murderers. Some were stoned, some while still alive
were burnt to death or dragged through the middle
of the market-place till nothing at all was left of
their bodies. That their avenging furies await me 175
I know full well. The ministers of punishment are
already as it were standing at the barriers and press
forward eager for my blood; every day or rather every
hour I die in anticipation and suffer many deaths
instead of the final one." He often became frightened 176
and scared and while the limbs and members of his
body shivered and shuddered, his soul shaken with
his pantings and palpitations quailed with dread.
For the one thing which is naturally capable of con-
soling human life, the comforter hope, he had lost.
No favourable omen was vouchsafed to him, only all 177
of evil omen, sinister sounds and voices, his waking
hours spent in weariness, his sleep full of terrors, his
solitude as the solitude of the beasts of the field.
Then was life in the crowd what he craved for most?
No, staying in a city was most hateful of all. Did
his lone rural life, a slur though it was, bring safety?
No, danger menacing with shameless insistence.
Someone approaches quietly, he suspects him:
"He is plotting something against me," he says. 178
"This one who comes walking fast surely has no
other purpose for his hurry than to pursue me. This
bland agreeable person is laying a snare. This frank
talker is showing his contempt. My food and drink
are given to me as to animals to keep them for the

σιδηροῦς πρὸς τοσαύτας ἀντέχω συμφοράς; οἶδ' ὅτι μαλακίζομαι πρὸς θάνατον, ἐξ ἐπηρείας δαίμονος οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντός μοι τὴν ἀθλίαν ζωὴν συντόμως ἀπορρηῆξαι διὰ τινος ὑπερβολὰς ἀνηκέστων κακῶν, ἃ κατ' ἐμοῦ θησαυριζόμενος χαρίζεται τοῖς δολοφονηθεῖσι."

- 180 XXI. Τοιαῦτα ἀναπολῶν καὶ σφαδάζων ἐκαρὰ δόκει τῆς εἰμαρμένης τὸ πέρας· καὶ τοῦ μὲν αἰσυνεχεῖς ὀδύναί τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνεκύκων καὶ ἀνέστρεφον. Γάιος δὲ τὴν φύσιν ὠμόθυμος ὢν καὶ ἀκόρεστος ἐν ταῖς τιμωρίαις οὐχ ὥσπερ ἔνιοι μεθίετο τοὺς ἅπαξ κολασθέντας, ἀλλ' ἀτελεύτητα μηνιῶν αἰεὶ τινα καινὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐμεγαλουργεῖ συμφορὰν· τὸν δὲ Φλάκκον καὶ διαφερόντως ἤχθαιρεν, ὥς καὶ τοὺς ὁμωνύμους ἀλλοτριώσει τῆς
- 181 κλήσεως ὑποβλέπεσθαι. καὶ πολλάκις αὐτὸν μετανοία εἰσῆει, διότι κατέγνω φυγὴν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ θάνατον, καὶ τὸν παράκλητον αἰδούμενος ὁμως ἡττιάτο Λέπιδον, ὥστ'¹ ἐκεῖνος ἀπηγόρευσε φόβῳ τῆς καθ' αὐτοῦ τιμωρίας· ἐδεδίει γάρ, ὥς εἰκός, μὴ παραίτιος ἄλλῳ γενόμενος κουφοτέρας δίκης βαρυτέραν αὐτὸς ἐνδέξῃται. μηδενὸς οὖν ἔτι τι τῶν εἰς παραίτησιν λέγειν θαρροῦντος, ἀμειλίκοις καὶ ἀφέτοις ἐχρήτο ταῖς ὀργαῖς, αἷ, χρόνῳ δέον ἀμαυροῦσθαι, παρεθίγοντο μᾶλλον καθάπερ αἱ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ὑποτροπιάζουσαι νόσοι· τῶν γὰρ προτέρων
- 183 εἰσὶν ἀργαλεώτεραι. φασὶν οὖν, ὅτι νύκτωρ ποτὲ διαγρυπνῶν εἰς ἔννοιαν ἦλθε τῶν ἐν τέλει φυγάδων, ὀνόματι μὲν ὑποπτευομένων ἀτυχεῖν, βίον

¹ MSS. ὥς.

^a Or perhaps "desisted from pleading."

FLACCUS, 179-183

slaughter. How long shall I steel my heart against 179
all these misfortunes? Yet I know that I do not
boldly face death. For my destiny in its malignancy
does not permit me to cut abruptly the thread of my
wretched life, because there is still a huge stock of
deadly ills which it treasures against me as boons
to those whom I treacherously murdered."

XXI. Such were the wild thoughts that he re- 180
volved as he waited anxiously for the fated end.
And continual pangs kept his soul reeling in con-
fusion. But Gaius, naturally ruthless and never
satisfied with the revenges he had taken, did not like
some others show clemency to those who had been
punished once, but always in his unceasing anger
was preparing some great new blow to inflict upon
them. He hated Flaccus especially, so much so that
in his dislike of his name he looked askance at all who
shared it with him. He was often seized with regret 181
that he had condemned him to exile instead of death
and censured his intercessor Lepidus, in spite of the
respect which he had for him, so that Lepidus was
prostrate^a with fear of finding himself punished. For
he naturally dreaded that by helping to lighten the
sentence of another he would himself incur one still
more severe. So as no one had any longer the courage 182
to plead for mercy Gaius allowed his fierce passions to
range unsoftened and unbridled, passions which were
not blunted, as they should be, by time, but grew
still more sharp-edged like relapses in bodily disease,
which are more severe than those which preceded
them. And so they say that one night as he lay awake 183
his thoughts turned upon the exiles of high rank,
how though nominally they were supposed to be
people in misfortune they had really secured a life

δ' ἀπράγμονα καὶ ἡσυχάζοντα καὶ ἐλεύθερον ὄντως
 184 περιπεποιημένων. μετετίθει δὲ καὶ τὴν κλήσιν
 ἀποδημίαν προσαγορεύων· “ἀποδημία γάρ τις
 ἐστίν” ἔφασκεν “ἢ τῶν τοιούτων ἔλασις ἐχόντων
 ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ σὺν ἀπραγμοσύνῃ καὶ
 εὐσταθείᾳ ζῆν δυναμένων· οὓς ἄτοπον εἶναι τρυφᾶν
 ἀπολαύοντας εἰρήνης, βίον καρπουμένους φιλόσο-
 185 φον.” εἶτα προστάττει τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ
 ὦν πλείστος ὁ λόγος ἀναιρεθῆναι, γραφὴν δούς
 ὀνομάτων, ἧς ἡγείτο Φλάκκος. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκον εἰς
 “Ἄνδρον οἷς κτείνειν διείρητο, Φλάκκος μὲν ἐτύγ-
 χανεν ἀγρόθεν εἰς ἄστὺ παραγινόμενος, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ
 [544] λιμένος ὑπηγντίζον, | καὶ πόρρωθεν ἀντιπροεῖδον
 186 ἀλλήλους. ὅθεν συναισθηόμενος ἐφ' ὃ σπεύδουσι—
 μαντικώτατον γὰρ ἢ ἐκάστου ψυχῇ, καὶ μάλιστα
 τῶν ἐν κακοπραγίαις—ἐκτραπόμενος τῆς ὁδοῦ διὰ
 τραχείας ἔθει φεύγων, ἐπιλελησμένος ἴσως, ὅτι
 νῆσος ἀλλ' οὐκ ἡπειρός ἐστίν, ἐν ἧ τί ὄφελος
 ὠκύτητος, περικλειούσης θαλάττης; ἀνάγκη γὰρ
 δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ προσωτέρω χωροῦντα κατὰ τοῦ
 πελάγους ἐνεχθῆναι ἢ συλληφθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ
 187 πέρας ἦκοντα. βέλτιον ἄρ' ἐν συγκρίσει κακῶν ἢ
 κατὰ γῆν τῆς ἐν πελάγει φθορά, ἐπειδήπερ ἀνθρώ-
 ποις καὶ πᾶσι χερσαίοις οἰκειότατον ἢ φύσις χωρίον
 ἀπένειμε γῆν, οὐ μόνον ζῶσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθανοῦ-
 σιν, ἢν' ἢ αὐτὴ καὶ τὴν πρώτην ὑποδέχεται γένεσιν
 188 καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βίου τελευταίαν ἀνάλυσιν. οἱ δ'
 400

FLACCUS, 183-188

of release from business, of tranquillity and true liberty. He proposed also to change the title from 184 exile to residence abroad, "for," said he, "the banishment of such people is a sort of residence abroad where they have abundance of necessities and can exist released from business and in general well-being and it is preposterous that they should luxuriate in the enjoyment of peace and the advantages of the philosopher's life." He then ordered that the 185 most distinguished and those who were held in the highest account should be put to death and gave a list of the names headed by that of Flaccus. When the persons appointed to execute him arrived at Andros, Flaccus happened to be passing from the country to the town, and the party from the harbour came forward to meet him. When they were at some 186 distance they saw him and he saw them and thence inferred the purpose which was urging them on. For the soul of every man is highly prophetic, particularly in distressing circumstances. He struck out from the road and raced away from them through the rough ground forgetting, perhaps, that Andros is not the mainland but an island in which speed is no use since it is enclosed by the sea. For there are only two possible alternatives, to go on farther and fall into the sea or to be caught on arriving at the very edge. And surely if we compare two evils it 187 were better to perish on the land than in the sea, since nature has assigned the land to men and all the creatures that dwell on it as the most appropriate place not only in their lifetime but at their death; it received them when they first came into existence, it should also receive them when they finally depart from life. The assassins never lost a moment 188

- ἀπνευστὶ διώκοντες καταλαμβάνουσι· καὶ οἱ μὲν
 εὐθὺς ὥρυττον βόθρον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς βίαν εἰλκον
 ἀφηνιάζοντα καὶ κεκραγότα καὶ διαπαλαίοντα· ὦν
 χάριν καὶ σύμπαν κατετρώθη τὸ σῶμα καθάπερ τὰ
 189 θηρία ταῖς πληγαῖς ἐπιτρέχων. ἐμπλεκόμενος γὰρ
 καὶ τῶν κτεινόντων ἐλλαμβανόμενος, νῦν μὲν ἐπι-
 φέρειν τὰ ξίφη κωλυομένων, ἐγκαρσίους δὲ πληγὰς
 καταφερόντων, αἷτιος ἐγένετο βαρυτέρων ἑαυτῷ
 συμφορῶν· διατμηθεὶς δὲ καὶ διακοπεὶς χεῖρας,
 βάσεις, κεφαλὴν, στέρνα, πλευράς, ὡς ἱερείου τρό-
 πον κρεουργηθῆναι, ἔκειτο, τῆς δίκης σφαγὰς
 ἰσαριθμούς τοῖς φόνοις τῶν ἐκνόμῳς ἀναιρεθέντων
 Ἰουδαίων ἐνὶ σώματι βουληθείσης ἐργάσασθαι.
 190 καὶ ὁ μὲν τόπος ἅπας αἵματι κατερρεῖτο διὰ
 πλειόνων φλεβῶν, αἱ κατὰ μέρος διεκόπησαν,
 κρουνηδὸν ἐκχεομένῳ¹ συρομένου δ' εἰς τὸν ὀρω-
 ρυγμένον βόθρον τοῦ νεκροῦ τὰ πλείστα μέρη
 διελύετο, τῶν νεύρων κατεσχισμένων, οἷς ἡ κοινω-
 191 νία συνεδεῖτο πᾶσα τοῦ σώματος. τοιαῦτα καὶ
 Φλάκκος ἔπαθε γενόμενος ἀψευδεστάτη πίστις τοῦ
 μὴ ἀπεστερηῆσθαι τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐπικουρίας
 τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ.

¹ MSS. ἐκχεομένων.

FLACCUS, 188-191

in pursuing him. When they caught him some of them at once dug a pit while others violently dragged him along, resisting and screaming and struggling hard, the result of which was that as wild beasts do, he ran upon the blows and had his whole body pierced with wounds. For, as he clutched hold 189 of the slaughterers and was so entangled in the scramble with them that they had no room to apply their swords directly but dealt their blows downwards and sideways, he caused himself to suffer more severely, and with hands, feet, head, breast and sides slashed and cut to bits, he lay carved like a sacrificial victim. For it was the will of justice that the butcheries which she wrought on his single body should be as numerous as the number of the Jews whom he unlawfully put to death. The whole place 190 was flooded with the blood which poured out like a fountain from the many veins which one after the other were severed, while as his corpse was dragged into the pit which had been dug, most of the parts fell asunder as the ligaments which bind the whole body together in one had been rent. Such was the 191 fate of Flaccus also,^a who thereby became an indubitable proof that the help which God can give was not withdrawn from the nation of the Jews.

^a *i.e.* as well as Sejanus? See Introd. p. 295 note *a*.