

Colson trans. (LCL)

INTRODUCTION TO IN FLACCUM

THE story told in this treatise ^a is as follows.

Flaccus, whose misgovernment and cruelty to the Jews and ultimate fate are here described, was appointed prefect of Alexandria and Egypt in or about A.D. 32 near the end of the principate of Tiberius. Philo tells us that he showed considerable ability and industry during his first five years of office. He remarks that he praises him to exhibit his villainy in a clearer light, and he might have added that his description goes to prove that his toleration of the abominable cruelty shown to the Jews by the Alexandrian populace was not due to weakness but to definite intention (1-7). He had stood well with Tiberius, but the accession of Gaius in 37 endangered his position, for he had been a partisan of Tiberius Gemellus, the rival candidate for the succession, had been concerned in the steps taken to prosecute Agrippina, Gaius's mother, and was friendly with Macro, who, though he had done much to protect Gaius from the distrust and dislike of Tiberius, soon

^a It is generally accepted that this is the second part of a work of which the first part has been lost. For (1) the opening words suggest that it follows on an account of the accusations brought against the Jews by Sejanus which are alluded to in *Legatio* 160; (2) the closing sentence "Flaccus also suffered" implies that the fate of some or other persecutor has been told; (3) a passage not to be found in the extant work, but stated to come from the *Flaccus*, is cited by St. John Damascene (see Prolegomena to Cohn-Reiter, vol. vi. pp. xlix f.).

fell into disfavour with Gaius and was put to death (8-15). This last event reduced Flaccus to despair, and it was at this point that according to Philo the anti-Semitic party in Alexandria, though they included some who at bottom were his enemies, approached him and suggested that if he would give them his support they and the city as a whole would stand by him to protect him against the hostility of the Emperor (16-24). All this may be partially or even wholly true, but it is compatible with the view held by some, who have more right to pronounce an opinion than I, that behind it lies a movement on the part of the Jews to enlarge to full citizenship the special privileges which they had as a *πολίτευμα*, and that it was this which roused the Greeks to take action and enlist Flaccus's support.^a

Philo represents Flaccus as only gradually throwing his lot in with them and exhibiting his hostility to the Jews (24). The climax came when Herod Agrippa, recently appointed by Gaius to the kingship of his uncle Philip's tetrarchy, visited Alexandria on his way to his kingdom, and the Alexandrians deeply resenting this exaltation of a Jew and (though Philo does not tell us this) further exasperated by the enthusiasm with which the Jews welcomed their compatriot,^b staged an insulting mockery by bringing the lunatic Carabas into the Gymnasium and greeting him with royal honours. Philo does not accuse Flaccus of taking an active part in this, and, indeed, admits that in public he behaved to Agrippa with courtesy and friendliness, but charges him with abetting it in as much as he took no steps to suppress the demonstration or punish the offenders (25-40).

^a See note to § 54, App. p. 534.

^b See note to § 30.

The Alexandrians, presumably aware that they might compromise themselves by insulting Gaius's favourite, then proceeded to a step which would naturally be gratifying to the Emperor. They desecrated the synagogues by setting up images of Gaius in them. We are told very little about this in this treatise.^a Philo enlarges upon the consequences it entailed, on the danger of such a movement extending beyond Alexandria, and on its futility because the desecrated synagogues would cease to exist as synagogues and the Jews would be unable to pay the homage which they were accustomed to pay by dedicating them in honour of the Emperor or installing such emblems as had been lawfully installed in them in the past (41-52).^b He passes on to a second wrong, a certain proclamation issued by Flaccus. This which is vaguely described as denouncing the Jews as foreigners and aliens may be fairly connected with the eviction from four of the five "letters" or quarters of the city which is mentioned in the same section (53-54).^c Then comes a third wrong. He permitted the mob not merely to evict the householders but to plunder their houses, and one consequence of the evictions was that the Jews were unable to carry on their businesses. In fact, a regular

^a In the *Legatio* 132 ff. we hear a good deal more. There the desecration seems to follow the pogrom, not precede it, as here, and we are told that there was a wholesale destruction and burning of the synagogues. It is only where the density of the Jewish inhabitants resisted this that the images were installed, though one would have thought that this might have been prevented more easily than the other.

^b Cf. *Legatio* 133, where the destruction of the synagogues is said to have involved the destruction of many shields and inscriptions of this sort.

^c See note to § 54, App. p. 534.

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pogrom ensued and its brutalities are described in lurid terms. The items selected are somewhat different from those of the *Legatio* but the story is substantially the same (54-72). One point on which Philo dwells with considerable length is the treatment of the Jewish senators. Apparently these as a body were accused of some offences and, though only about half of the members were arrested, they were cruelly flogged. In particular some of them had lost all their property in the sack, and though Flaccus had already been informed of this they were scourged none the less (73-77). A further indignity was the instruments used. Alexandrian citizens were scourged with blades, and hitherto Alexandrian Jews had had the same privilege, but on this occasion there were substituted the scourges used on the Egyptians (78-80). Further, apparently all this took place on or about the Emperor's birthday, which was usually considered an occasion for mercy, but on this occasion brutal treatment of Jews was actually made part of the birthday celebrations (81-85).

The next outrage seems far less serious. The Jews or some of them were accused of having stocks of arms. Their houses were searched and according to Philo none were found, in marked contrast to the huge number taken when a similar investigation had been held of the Egyptians. His indignation seems overdone,^a and, indeed, the only specific complaint he makes is that the modesty of the women was offended by a military investigation of their intimate belongings.

^a If the Jews, as stated in *Legatio* 134, effectively resisted in some cases the attacks upon the synagogues, they must have had weapons of some kind, and though these may not have been of the kinds enumerated in § 90, the suspicion that they were such was natural.

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ings, and in connexion with this he mentions other ill-treatment which the women had received in the pogrom (86-96).

The last item in the list of Flaccus's crimes is that he suppressed the resolution of congratulation which the Jewish senate had passed at Gaius's accession and which he had promised to transmit to the Emperor. The Jews suspecting that he had not sent it on had consulted Agrippa when he visited Alexandria and received from him an undertaking which they believed^a that he had carried out (97-103).

So much for Flaccus's offences. We pass on to his punishment. The story of his arrest with a detailed account of the circumstances and of the exultation felt by the Jews, is related with all the vividness of which Philo is a master. We note that this occurred during the Feast of Tabernacles, not much more than a month after the birthday of the emperor and that his journey to Rome, during which he suffered from stormy weather, was at the beginning of winter (104-125). We do not know exactly what he was charged with, but are told that Isidorus and Lampo, who were mentioned earlier as leaders of the faction which urged him to secure his position by persecuting the Jews, now appeared as his accusers (126-127). And here Philo interrupts his narrative to tell us something about these two. His tirade against Lampo amounts to a charge that as secretary to the prefect acting as judge he persistently perverted justice, though we also incidentally learn that he had been for a time in serious trouble under Tiberius (128-134). As to Isidorus, we have a lengthy account of an incident belonging to the early days of Flaccus's prefectship.

^a *ὡς ἀκούομεν*. Does this imply some uncertainty?

Flaccus had originally shown him considerable favour. When he became less cordial Isidorus took umbrage and organized a gathering of his touts, who brought baseless slanders against Flaccus here represented as behaving with moderation and good sense. A meeting to which the respectable part of the people were summoned brought the whole city together full of indignation against the slanderers and sympathy with the governor. Isidorus was completely exposed and had to flee from the city (135-145). He must have reappeared and, surprising as it seems, must, if Philo's account is true, have persuaded Flaccus that he was a friend on whose advice he could rely. What charges he and Lampo brought against Flaccus we are not told, but a trial was held in which Flaccus was condemned, his property confiscated and himself sentenced to deportation (146-150).

From this point the story proceeds straightforwardly to the end. We are given an account of his journey to Andros and his miserable plight after his arrival, interspersed with speeches and soliloquies in which he laments his fall and acknowledges that his punishment is just. Whether this last represents his feeling may be doubted. We have not and probably Philo had not any means of judging. The end came when Gaius, who is said to have come to the conclusion that the life of the deported was too mild a punishment for him, determined to have him executed. The treatise closes with a description of the way in which this was carried out, followed by the assertion that the fate of Flaccus shows that God still watches over the Jews (151-191).

The Flaccus has considerable literary merits. The narrative, particularly in the last forty sections, is

exceedingly vivid. It is also, no doubt, historically valuable in so far as it gives a substantially true account of events of which we know very little from other sources. How far it is good history, in the sense of giving a reliable account of the motives and feelings of the actors in the story, I leave to those more competent than myself to assess. Also it is a powerful embodiment of that profound conviction that the nation is under the special Providence of God which has been the life and soul of Judaism throughout the centuries. This conviction naturally entails a belief that the enemies of Judaism are the enemies of God and their punishment a divine visitation. But this belief has its evil side, which seems to me to be very strongly exhibited in this treatise. In § 117 the Jews are represented as saying "We do not rejoice at the punishment of an enemy because we have been taught by the Holy Laws to have human sympathy." This is easily said but not so easily done, and if Philo believed that he himself had learnt this lesson I think he deceived himself. He gloats over the misery of Flaccus in his fall, exile, and death, with a vindictiveness which I feel to be repulsive. While, as I have said in the preface, none of the treatises in this volume have any great value nor would probably have survived but for the high esteem given to his main work, this is the only one which those who admire the beauty and spirituality so often shown both in the Commentary and Exposition might well wish to have been left unwritten.

* See also the conclusion to the *De Prasmitis*.

ΕΙΣ ΦΛΑΚΚΟΝ

[517] I. Δεύτερος μετὰ Σηιανὸν Φλάκκος Ἀουίλλιος
¹ διαδέχεται τὴν κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιβουλὴν, σὺμπαν μὲν ἀδικῆσαι τὸ ἔθνος ὥσπερ ἐκέλευσεν ἄντικρυς οὐ δυνηθεῖς—ἐλάττους γὰρ εἶχε τὰς εἰς τοῦτ' ἀφορμὰς—, ἐφ' ὅσους δ' ἐφθάνεν, ἀθρόους ἀνηκέστοις περιέπειρε κακοῖς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μέρει δόξας ἐπιτίθεσθαι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐξέτεωεν ἐπι-
 ῶν τοὺς πανταχοῦ πάντας διὰ τέχνης τὸ πλεόν ἢ δυνάμει· οἷς γὰρ ἰσχύς οὐ πρόσεστι τῶν τὰς φύ-
 σεως τυραννικῶν, πανουργίας τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς κατ-
 2 ορθοῦσιν. ὁ Φλάκκος οὖν οὗτος ἐν τοῖς ἑταίροις κριθεῖς 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 ἐξεγενικῶν δειγμάτων· πυκνὸς τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ συνεχῆς καὶ ὄξυς νοῆσαι καὶ τὰ βουλευθέντα πρᾶξαι καὶ προχειρότατος εἰπῆν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ λεγομένου τὸ ἡσυχάζομενον αἰσθῆσθαι. παντά-
 3 πασιν οὖν ὀλίγω 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

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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 outright 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.

Αὐτὸς Ἰβήρου
 ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς
 τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς
 τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς
 τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς

πραγματειῶν ἐθαῶ γίνεται· πολίτροποι δ' εἰσὶ καὶ ποικίλοι, μολὶς τοῖς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας τὸ ἔργον ἐπιτήδευμα πεποιημένους γνωρίζομεναι. περιττὸς ὄχλος ἦσαν οἱ γραμματεῖς, ἥδη πρὸς πάντα μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα φθάνοντος αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐμπειρίας, ὡς μὴ μόνον ὑπερβαλεῖν ἀλλὰ χάριν ἀκριβείας ἀντὶ γνωρίμου διδάσκαλον γενενηθῆσθαι τῶν τέως ὑφηγη-
 4 τῶν. καὶ ὅσα μὲν περὶ λογισμῶν καὶ τὴν τῶν προσοδοσυμμένων κατώρθου διοίκησιν, εἰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γε δεῦγμα καὶ ψυχῆς ἐπέφαιναν ἡγεμονικῆς, ἀ δὲ λαμπροτέραν καὶ βασιλικὴν ἐδήλου φύσιν, μετὰ πλείονος παρη-
 [518] σίας ἐπεδείκνυτο· οἷον σεμνότερον ἦγεν αὐτόν— ἄρχοντι δὲ λυσιτελέστατον ὁ τύφος—, ἐδίκαζε τὰ μεγάλα μετὰ τῶν ἐν τέλει, τοὺς ὑπεραύχους καθήρει, μυγάδων καὶ συγκελῦδων ἀνθρώπων ὄχλον ἐκώλυνεν ἐπισυνίστασθαι· τὰς τε ἑταιρείας καὶ συνόδους, αἱ αἰεὶ ἐπὶ προφάσει θυσιῶν εἰσιτῶντο τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπαρουνοῦσαι, διέλυε τοῖς ἀφηνιά-
 5 ζουσι ἐμβριθῶς καὶ εὐτόνως προσφερόμενος. εἴτ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀνέπλησεν εὐνο-
 μίας, ἐν μέρει πάλιν ταῖς στρατιωτικαῖς δυνάμεσιν ἐφήδρευεν ἐκτάττων, συγκροτῶν, γυμνάζων πεζοῦς,

^a Cf. § 133.

^b *παρησία* 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 Jos.* 46, where the adulterer ἐπαρουνοῖ 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 ἐφέδρευω. 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^d established good order throughout the city and the country he began to turn his attention to supporting^e the armed forces. He set them in array,^f 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 ἀπορῶς ἐφέδρευε παρά 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."

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 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 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 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 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.

ἰππεύς, τοὺς τῆς κούφης ὀπίσσεως, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἵνα μὴ τὰς μισθοφορὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφαιροῦμενοι πρὸς ληστείας καὶ ἀρπαγὰς αὐτοὺς ἀλείψωσι, πάλιν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον, ἵνα μηδὲν ἕξω τῶν κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν περιεργάζηται μεμνημένος, ὅτι τέτακται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην διαφυλάττειν.

6 II. Ἴσως δ' ἂν τις εἴποι· "σὺ δ', ὦ οὗτος, ἐγκωμῶς ἀνθρώπου κατηγορεῖν ἔγκλημα μὲν οὐδὲν διεξήλθες, μακροὺς δ' ἐπαίνους συνείρεις· μὴ ἄρα παραπαίεις καὶ μέμνησας;" —οὐ μέμνησας, ὦ οὗτος, οὐδ' ἡλίθιος τίς εἰμι, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι πράγματος 7 ἀκολουθίαν ἰδεῖν. ἐπαινῶ τὸν Φλάκκον, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ προσῆκεν ἐχθρὸν ἐγκωμιάζειν, ἀλλ' ἵνα αὐτοῦ τὴν μοχθηρίαν ἀριδιηλοτέραν παραστήσω· τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοοῖα τοῦ κρείττονος διαμαρτάνοντι συγγνώμη δίδοται, ὁ δ' ἐξ ἐπιστήμης ἀδικῶν ἀπολογίαν οὐκ ἔχει προεαλωκῶς ἐν τῷ τοῦ συν- 8 εἰδότης δικαστηρίῳ. III. ἔξαετιαν γὰρ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν λαβὼν πέντε μὲν ἔτη τὰ πρῶτα, ζῶντος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, τὴν τε εἰρήνην διεφύλαξε καὶ οὕτως εὐτόνως καὶ ἔρρωμένως ἀφηγήσατο, ὡς 9 τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ πάντας ὑπερβαλεῖν. τῷ δ' ὑστάτῳ, Τιβερίου μὲν τελευτήσαντος, Γαίου δ' ἀποδειχθέντος αὐτοκράτορος, ὑφίεναι καὶ χαλῶν ἤρξατο τὰ πάντα εἴτε διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ Τιβερίῳ βαρύτατον πένθος —δῆλος γὰρ ἦν ὡς ἐπ' οἰκειοτάτῳ περιπαθῶν ἐκ 10 τε τῆς συνεχοῦς κατηφείας καὶ τῆς τῶν δακρῶν φορᾶς, ἃ καθάπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἀπαύστως ἐξεχέιτο

^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

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

10 καὶ μέχρι μὲν τινος ἐτ' ἀντέχε μὴ κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς μεθιέμενος τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντήληψιν. ὡς δ' ἤκουσε τὸν Τιβερίου μὲν υἱὸν [519] κοινὸν δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀναρεθέντα | Γαίου κελύσαντος, ἀλέκτω πληγείς συμφορᾷ καταβαλῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀχανῆς ἔκειτο, τῆς διανοίας πολὺ πρότερον 11 ἀπειρηκίας καὶ παρεμμένης αὐτῷ. ζῶντος μὲν γὰρ τοῦ μειρακίου τὰ ζώπυρα τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας οὐκ ἀπεγίνωσκεν, ἀποθανόντος δὲ συντεθνήναι καὶ τὰς οικείας ἐλπίδας ἔδοξεν, εἰ καὶ μικρὰ τις ἀπέλειπετο αὐρα βοθηθείας, ἢ πρὸς Μάκρωνα φιλία τὰ σύμπαντα παρὰ Γαῖω κατ' ἀρχὰς δυνθέντα καὶ πλείστην μοῖραν ὡς λόγος εἰσενεγκάμενον αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ εἶναι μᾶλλον πρὸς 12 το σωθῆναι, πολλάκις μὲν ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι

¹ The translation is based on the suggestion that some such phrase as ὧν εἶτε has fallen out. The simplest emendation perhaps would be to change καὶ το 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?

² For this use of γνήσιος see note on *Quod Omn. Prob.* 87. ³ Tiberius Gemellus. For him and other historical points in these sections see App. p. 531.

⁴ The statement seems hardly consistent with what has been said just before. A better sense can be got if τοῦ 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 actual² 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,³ 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 before⁴ 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.⁵ 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 τοῦ 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 Mag.* 87, "there is no use in seeming to be so and so, unless you are it τοῦ 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 τοῦ πρότερον by the holy laws. So also perhaps *Mos.* i. 162, *De Praem.* 88.

⁵ On Macro see *Legatio* 82-81, 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 νιωνῷ φόβον—ἐδεδίει γάρ, μὴ παρανάλωμα γένηται τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ—, πολλὰ δὲ τοῦ Μάρκωνος τὰς ὑπονοίας ὑπέξαιρουμένου καὶ τὸν Γάιον ἐπεινοῦντος ὡς ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀπόνηρον καὶ κοινωρικὸν καὶ τοῦ ἀνειμιου μάλιστα ἠτήτημένον, ὡς ἡ μόνῃ ἀν ἐβελήσαι παραχωρήσαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἢ πάντως 13 τὰ πρωτεία.

ὑφ' ὧν ἀπατηθεὶς ἔλαθεν ἀσπονδὸν ἐχθρὸν ἑαυτῷ καὶ νιωνῷ καὶ γένει καὶ παρακλήτῳ Μάρκωνι καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καταλιπὼν. ἐπειδὴ γάρ ὁ Μάρκων ὄρων αὐτὸν ἐκδιαιτώμενον καὶ ἀχαλίνους ταῖς ὀρμαῖς, ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν τύχη καὶ ὡς ἂν τύχη, χρώμενον ἐνουθέτει καὶ παρηγόρει νομίζων ἐκείνον εἶναι Γάιον τόν, ἦνικ' ἐτ' ἔζη Τιβέριος, ἐπεικεῖ καὶ πειθαρχικόν, ὁ κακοδαίμων εὐνοίας περιττῆς ἔδωκε τὰς ἀνωτάτω δίκας πανοίκιος αὐτῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις συναναρθεῖς 15 ὡς περιττὸν ἄχθος καὶ παρενόχλημα. καὶ γὰρ ὅποτε πόρρωθεν αὐτὸν ἀφικνούμενον ἴδοι, τοιαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς συνόντας διεξίηι. “ μὴ μειδιῶμεν, κατηφῶμεν· ὁ νοβετητῆς παραγίνεται, ὁ αὐθέκαστος, ὁ ἀνδρὸς τελείου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος ἀρξάμενος νῦν εἶναι παιδαγωγός, ὅτε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ὁ καιρὸς ἀπῆλασε καὶ διέξευξεν.” 16 IV. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν καὶ τοῦτον ἔγνω προσαναηρη-

^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 14 Macro saw him straying from the regular way and letting his impulses range unbridled anywhither 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 15 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 16

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

μέμον ὁ Φλάκκος, τὴν λοιπὴν ἐλπίδα κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ἀπεγνώκει καὶ οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων οἷός τε ἦν ἐξασθενῶν 17 καὶ διαρρέων τὴν γνώμην. ὅταν δ' ὁ ἄρχων ἀπογνῶ τὸ δύνασθαι κρατεῦν, ἀνάγκη τοὺς ὑπηκόους εὐθὺς ἀφηνιάζειν καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐκ μικρῶν καὶ τῶν τυχόντων πεφυκότας ἀνερεθίζεσθαι. ἐν οἷς τὸ Αἴγυπτιακὸν τὰ πρωτεῖα φέρεται διὰ βραχυτάτου 18 σπινθῆρος εἰωθὸς ἐκφυσᾶν στάσεις μεγάλας. ἐν ἀιμηχάνοις δὲ καὶ ἀπόροις γεγονὼς ἐσφάδαζε καὶ τὰ πρὸ μικροῦ πάντα¹ ἠλλαξεν 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 ἐχθροὺς ἐσπένδετο καὶ 19 συμβούλοις περὶ πάντων ἐχρήτο. οἱ δ'—ἐγκότως γὰρ εἶχον—τὸ κατηλλάχθαι δοκεῖν λόγῳ μόνον ἐπιμορφάσαντες, ἔργοις δὲ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἀσύμβατα μνησικακοῦντες καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ καθυποκρινόμενοι γησίαν φιλίαν ὄλον αὐτὸν συναρπάζουσι. καὶ γίνεται ὁ μὲν ἄρχων ὑπήκοος, οἱ δ' ὑπήκοοι ἡγεμόνες, εἰστηγούμενοι μὲν ἀλυσιτελεστάτας γνώμας, εὐθὺς δὲ ταύτας ἐπισφραγίζόμενοι. βεβαιωταὶ 20 γὰρ ὧν ἐβουλεύσαντο πάντων ἐγίνοντο κωφὸν ὡς ἐπὶ σκητῆς προσωπέειον ἔνεκα προσχρήματος 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,² a paper-

² Dionysius's name does not recur again in this treatise, but see App. p. 532, on him as well as on Isidorus and Lampo.

τοκύφωνες, Ἰσίδωροι στασιάρχαι, φιλοπράγμονες, κακῶν εὔρεται, παραξίπóλιδες· τοῦτο γὰρ κεκρά-
21 τηκέ πως τούνομα. συναξάμενοι πάντες

οἳτοι βούλευμα βουλεύουσι κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀργαλειώτατον καὶ τῷ Φλάκκῳ προσελθόντες ἰδίᾳ

22 φασίν· “ ἔρρει μὲν σοι τὰ ἀπὸ Τιβερίου Νέρωνος τοῦ παιδός, ἔρρει δὲ καὶ ἡ μετ’ ἐκεῖνον ἐλπὶς, ὁ ἑταῖρός σου Μάκρων, αἴσια δ’ οὐκ ἔστι σοι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατούντος· δεῖ δὴ παράκλητον ἡμᾶς εὔρεῖν

23 δυνατώτατον, ὅψ’ οὐ Γάιος ἐξευμενισθήσεται. ὁ δὲ παράκλητος ἡ πόλις Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐστίν, ἣν τετίμηκε μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅπας ὁ Σεβαστὸς οἶκος, διαφερόντως δ’ ὁ νῦν ἡμῶν δεσπότης. παρα-

κλητεύσει δὲ τυχουσά τινος παρὰ σοῦ δωρεᾶς· μείζον δ’ ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲν αὐτῇ παρέξεις ἢ τοὺς

24 Ἰουδαίους ἐκδούς καὶ προέμενος.” ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀφείλων ἀπώσασθαι καὶ δυσχερᾶναι τοὺς λέγοντας ὡς νεωτεροποιούς καὶ κωνοὺς πολεμίου συνεπι-

γράφεται τοῖς λεχθείσι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀδηλοτέρας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς μὴτ’ ἴσον παρέχων καὶ κωνὸν ἀκροατὴν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς θάτερον ἀποκλίνων μέρος, μὴτ’ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἰσθηγορίαν διδούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅποτε προσίοι τις τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἀποστρεφόμενος καὶ τὸ δυσέντευκτον ἐπιτηδεύων

⁶ 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*

poring⁶ Lampo, an Isidorus, faction leader, busy intriguer, mischief contriver and a name which has gained special currency—state embroiler.⁷ 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. K 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.

⁷ This epithet is again applied to Isidorus in § 137.

ἐπὶ μόνων τούτων· αἰθῆς 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 Ἀγρίππᾳ τῷ Ἡρόδου βασιλέως υἱῶν δίδωσι βασιλείαν [521] | τῆς παππάως λήξεως τρίτην μοῖραν, ἣν Φίλιππος τετράρχης θείος ὦν αὐτῷ πρὸς πατρός ἐκαρπούτο.

26 μέλλοντι δ' ἀπαίρειν συνεβούλευσεν ὁ Γάιος τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ Βρεντεσίου μέχρι Συρίας πλοῦν μακρὸν ὄντα καὶ καματηρὸν παραιτήσασθαι, χρῆσθαι δ' ἐπιτόμῳ τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀναμέναντι τῷ διὰ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας· τὰς τε γὰρ ἐκείθεν ὀλκάδας ταχυ- ναυτεῖν ἔφασκε καὶ ἐμπειροτάτους εἶναι κυβερνήτας, οἱ καθάπερ ἀθλητὰς ἵππους ἠνιοχοῦσιν ἀπλαγῇ παρέχοντες τὸν ἐπ' εὐθείας δρόμον. ὁ δὲ πει- θαρκεῖ ὡς δεσπότη τῆς αἵμα καὶ τὰ δοκούντα συμ- 27 φέρειν παραγγέλλοντι. καταβὰς δ' εἰς Δικαι- ἀρχεῖαν καὶ ναῦς ὑφόρμους Ἀλεξανδρίδας ἰδὼν εὐτρεπεῖς πρὸς ἀναγωγὴν, ἐπιβὰς μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων, εὐπλοία χρησάμενος, ὀλίγαις ὑστερον ἡμέραις ἀνεπιφάτως καὶ ἀφωράτως κατάργεται, κελεύσας τοὺς κυβερνήταις—περὶ γὰρ δέλιγν ὦραν ὁ Φάρος ἀναφαίνεται—τὰ μὲν ἰστία συνάγειν, ἔξω δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν μὴ μακρὰν ἀφισταμένους θαλαττεύειν ἄχρι τοῦ βαθείαν ἐσπέραν ἐπιγενέσθαι καὶ νυκτὸς τοῖς λιμέσι προσσχεῖν, ἢ ἀποβὰς ἤδη τετραμμένων (ἀπάντων) πρὸς ὑπνον, μηδενὸς ὀρώντος, ἀφίκηται 28 πρὸς τὸν ξενόδοχον. ὁ μὲν δὴ μετὰ τοσαύτης αἰδοῦς ἐπεδήμησε βουλόμενος εἶ πως οἶόν τε ἦν,

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 Dicearchia,^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

^a For Agrippa see App. p. 532.

^b Puteoli.

ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει λαθὼν ὑπέξελεθῆν. οὐ γὰρ κατὰ θεῖαν ἀφῆκτο τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπιδημικῶς αὐτῇ πρότερον, ἦνίκα τὸν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης πλοῦν ἐστέλλετο πρὸς Τιβέριον, ἀλλ' ὁδῶ χρησόμενος ἐπιτόμῳ τῆς οἰκαδε ἀφίξεως. οἱ δ' ὑπὸ

φθόρου 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 ἡσχαλλον ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενῆσθαι τῆ βασιλεύᾳ Ἰουδαίων οὐχ ἦττον, ἢ εἰ αὐτός τις

³⁰ ἕκαστος βασιλείαν προγονικὴν ἀφῆρητο. καὶ τὸν ἄθλον Φλάκκον πάλιν οἱ συνόντες ἀνιρέθιζον εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνάγοντες καὶ προκαλούμενοι² φθόρον,

“ σὴ κατάλυσις ἐστὶ ” φάσκοντες “ ἢ ἐπιδημία τούτου· μείζονα τιμῆς καὶ εὐδοξίας ὄγκον ἢ σὺ περιβέβληται· πάντα εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστρέφει τὴν δορυφόρον τῶν σωματοφυλάκων στρατιῶν ὀρώντας ἐπαργύροις καὶ ἐπιχρύσοις ὄπλοις διακεκοσμημένην.

³¹ ἔδει γὰρ ἦκειν εἰς ἐπικράτειαν ἐτέρου δυνάμενον πλῶ χρησάμενον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀσφαλῶς παραπειμθῆναι; καὶ γὰρ εἰ Γάιος ἐπέτρεπε, μάλλον δ' ἠνάγκαζεν, ἐχρῆν ἐκλιπαρήσαντα παρατήσασθαι τὴν ἐνθάδε ἀφίξιν, ἵνα μὴ παρευμερηθεῖς ὁ τῆς ³² χώρας ἠγεμὼν ἀδοξῆ. ταῦτα ἀκούων ἔτι μάλλον

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

² mss. προσκαλούμενοι.

³ 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 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 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.” Was it right for him to come to another ruler's domain when a fair wind 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

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 = ἐπὶ πλοῦ. See examples in L. & S. revised, e.g. πλοῦς ἡμῶν γίγνεται, and the same phrase as here πλῶ χρησασθαι Thuc. iii. 3. 5. Cf. also ἐπὶ πλοῦ χρησάμενος § 97 above.

ἢ πρότερον ᾧδει καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ φανερωῖ τὸν ἐταῖρον καὶ φίλον καθυπεκρίνετο διὰ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πέμψαντος φόβον, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐξηλοτύπει καὶ ἐξελάλει τὸ μῖσος [532] καὶ πλαγίως | αὐτὸν ὕβριζεν, ἐπειδήπερ ἄντικρυς 33 οὐκ ἐθάρρει. τῷ γὰρ ἀργοῦντι καὶ σχολάζοντι τῆς πόλεως ὄχλῳ—πλήθος δ' ἐστὶν ἐπιτετηδευκὸς γλωσσαλίαν καὶ ἐνευκαιροῦν διαβολαῖς καὶ βλασφημίαις—ἐπιτρέπει κακῆγορεῖν τὸν βασιλέα εἴτε ἀρξάμενος δι' ἑαυτοῦ τῶν λοιδωριῶν εἴτε προτρεψάμενος καὶ ἐναγαγὼν αὐτὸς διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τὰ 34 τοιαῦτα εἰωθότων. οἱ δ' ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενοι διημέρευον ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ χλευάζοντες τὸν βασιλέα καὶ σκώμματα συνείροντες· πῆ δὲ καὶ ποιηταῖς μίμων καὶ γελοίων διδασκάλοις χρώμενοι τὴν ἐν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς εὐφύϊαν ἐπεδείκνυντο, βραδείς μὲν ὄντες τὰ καλὰ παιδεύεσθαι, τὰ δ' ἐναντία 35 μαθηάνειν οἰζύτατοι καὶ προχειρότατοι. διὰ τί γὰρ οὐκ ἠγανάκτησεν, οὐκ ἀπήγαγεν, οὐκ ἐπέπληξε τῆς ἀυθάδους βλασφημίας; εἰ δὲ μὴ βασιλεὺς ἦν, ἀλλὰ τις τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας, οὐκ ὄφειλε προνομίαν τινὰ καὶ τιμὴν ἔχειν; ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' εἰσὶ πίστεις ἐναργεῖς τοῦ συναίτιον γεγενῆσθαι τῶν βλασφημιῶν Φλάκκον· ὁ γὰρ ἐπιπλήττειν ἢ τὸ πανύστατον ἐπέχεν ἂν δυνηθεὶς εἰ μὴ κεκώλυκε, δηλὸς ἦν ἐφίεις καὶ ἐπιτρέπων αὐτὸς. πρὸς ὅτι δ' ἂν ὄχλος ἀσύντακτος ἀφορμὴν λάβῃ τῶν

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

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 instructors⁶ 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.

ἀμαρτημάτων, οὐχ ἴσταται, μέτεισι δ' ἀφ' ἐτέρων εἰς ἕτερα προσεπέεργαζόμενος αἰεί τι νεώτερον.

36 VI. Ἦν τις μεμνηὸς ὄνομα Καραβᾶς οὐ τὴν ἀγρίαν καὶ θηριώδη μανίαν—ἀσκηptos¹ γὰρ αὐτὴ γέ καὶ τοῖς ἔχουσι καὶ τοῖς πλησιάζουσιν—, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀνεμνήνην καὶ μαλακωτέραν. οὗτος διημέρευε καὶ διενυκτέρευε γυμνὸς ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς οὕτε θάλαπτος οὕτε κρυμὸν ἐκτρεπόμενος, ἄθυρμα νηπίων καὶ

37 μειρακίων σχολαζόντων. συνελάσαντες τὸν ἄθλιον ἄχρι τοῦ γυμνασίου καὶ στήσαντες μετέωρον, ἵνα καθορῶτο πρὸς πάντων, βύβλον μὲν εὐρύναντες ἀντὶ διαδήματος ἐπιτιθέασιν αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ, χαμαισπρωτῶ δὲ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα περιβάλλουσιν

ἀντὶ χλαμύδος, ἀντὶ δὲ σκίπτρου βραχύ τι παπύρου τμήμα τῆς ἐγχωρίου καθ' ὁδὸν ἐρριμμένον ἰδῶν 38 τις ἀναδίδωσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡς ἐν θεατρικοῖς μίμοις τὰ παράστημα τῆς βασιλείας ἀνειλήθει καὶ διεκεκόσμητο εἰς βασιλέα, νεανίαί ράβδους ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέροντες ἀντὶ λογχοφόρων ἐκατέρωθεν εἰστήκεσαν μιμούμενοι δορυφόρους. εἴθ' ἕτεροι προσήεσαν, οἱ μὲν ὡς ἀσπασόμενοι, οἱ δὲ ὡς δικασόμενοι, οἱ δ' ὡς ἐντευζόμενοι περὶ κοινῶν

39 πραγμάτων. εἶπ' ἐκ τοῦ περιεστῶτος ἐν κύκλῳ πλήθους ἐξήχει βοή τις ἄτοπος Μάριν ἀποκαλουμένων—οὕτως δέ φασι τὸν κύριον ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ Σύροις—. ἤδεσαν 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 ἀσκηptos, which Mangey adopts and translates "improvisus." I think that another suggestion ἀσκηπης (better in the equivalent form ἀσκέπαστος) 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 "undefensible" and therefore "dangerous," which seems to be what we want here. But we have no knowledge of any such development. Box very tentatively suggests ἀσκητος = "insufferable."

[523] Σύρον καὶ Συρίας μεγάλην | ἀποτομὴν ἔχοντα,
 40 ἧς ἔβασίλευε. ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούων, μέλλον δὲ ὄραν
 ὁ Φλάκκος, δεόντως ἂν καὶ τὸν μεμνηνὸτα συλλαβὼν
 καὶ καθείρξας, ἵνα μὴ παρέχη 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 ὑβρίζουν, οὐ
 μόνον οὐκ ἐπέπληξεν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπίσχεϊν ἠξίωσεν
 ἄδειαν καὶ ἐκεχευρίαν διδοὺς τοῖς ἐθελοκακοῦσι καὶ
 ἐβελέχθρως ἔχουσι, προσποιούμενος ἃ τε ἑώρα μὴ
 41 ὄραν καὶ ὧν ἤκουε μὴ ἀκούειν. ὅπερ συναισθό-
 μενος ὁ ὄχλος—οὐχ ὁ καθεστῶς καὶ δημοτικός,
 ἀλλ' ὁ πάντα θορύβου καὶ παραχῆς εἰωθὼς ἀναπι-
 πλάναι διὰ φιλοπραγμοσύνην καὶ ζῆλον ἀβιώτου
 βίου καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἔθους ἀργίαν καὶ σχολήν, πρᾶγμα
 ἐπίβουλον—συρρυνέντες εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐξ ἑωθινῶ
 Φλάκκου ἤδη τιμῶν ἀθλίων ἐωρημένοι, 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
 42 πραχθὲν εἰσηγούμενοι παρανόμημα. καὶ τοῦτ'
 εἰδότες—ὀξύτατοι γὰρ τὴν μοχθηρίαν εἰσὶ—κατα-
 σοφίζονται τὸ Καίσαρος ὄνομα προκάλυμμα ποιη-
 σάμενοι, ᾧ προσάπτειν τι τῶν ἑπαυτίων 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 οὐκίτορας ἔχει διπτούς, ἡμᾶς τε καὶ τούτους, καὶ πᾶσα Αἴγυπτος, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀποδέουσι μυριάδων ἑκατὸν οἱ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρῆαν καὶ τὴν χώραν Ἰουδαῖοι κατοικοῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Λιβύην καταβαθμοῦ μέχρι τῶν ὀρίων Αἰθιοπίας, καὶ ὡς ἡ πέτρα κατὰ πάντων ἐστὶ καὶ ὡς οὐ λυσιτελεῖς ἔβη πατέρα κινεῖν, ἀμελήσας ἀπάντων ἐπιτρέπει ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀνάθειαν, μυρία καὶ πάντα προσηγητικὰ δυνάμενος ἢ ὡς ἄρχων κελεύειν ἢ συμβουλευεῖν ὡς φίλος.

44 VII. Ὁ δέ—συνχειροῦργει γὰρ ἕκαστα τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων—καὶ ἀπὸ μείζονος ἐξουσίας ἀναρριπίζειν καινοτέρας αἰεὶ κακῶν προσθήκας τὴν στάσιν ἡξίου καὶ τό γ' ἐφ' αὐτὸν ἦκον μέρος ἅπασαν ὀλίγου δεῖν φάναι τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμφυλίῳ 45 πολέμων ἐπλήρωσεν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀδελφόν, ὅτι ἡ περὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν προσηυχῶν φήμη λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας διαδοθήσεται μὲν εὐθύς εἰς τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ νομούς, δραμεῖται [524] δ' ἀπὸ μὲν Αἰγύπτου πρὸς ἀνατολὰς καὶ ἔθνη τὰ ἑῷα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ὑποτανίου καὶ Μαρείας, αἱ Λιβύης εἰσὶν ἀρχαί, πρὸς δυσμᾶς καὶ ἔθνη τὰ ἑσπέρια. Ἰουδαίους γὰρ χώρα μία διὰ πολυανθρωπίας οὐ χωρεῖ. ἡς αἰτίας ἕνεκα τὰς πλείστας καὶ 46 εὐδαιμονεστάτας τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ καὶ Ἀσίᾳ κατὰ τε νήσους καὶ ἡπείρους ἐκνέμονται μητρόπολιν μὲν

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 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 ὀρίων. 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.

^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

τὴν ἱερόπολιν ἠγούμενοι, καθ' ἣν ἰδρυται ὁ τοῦ
 ὑψίστου θεοῦ νεὸς ἅγιος, ὃς δ' ἔλαχον ἐκ πατέρων
 καὶ πάππων καὶ προπάππων καὶ τῶν ἔτι ἄνω
 προγόνων οἰκεῖν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας νομίζοντες, ἐν
 αἷς ἐγεννήθησαν καὶ ἐτρέφθησαν· εἰς ἐνίας δὲ καὶ
 κτιζομένας εὐθύς ἦλθον ἀποικίαν στείλαμένοι, τοῖς
 47 κτίσταις χαρίζόμενοι. καὶ δέος ἦν, μὴ οἱ πανταχοῦ
 τὴν ἀφορμὴν ἐκέθειεν λαβόντες ἐπηρεάζωσι τοῖς
 πολίταις αὐτῶν Ἰουδαίοις εἰς τὰς προσευχὰς καὶ
 48 τὰ πάτρια νεωτερίζοντες. οἱ δέ—οὐ γὰρ ἔμελλον
 ἄχρη παντὸς ἡσυχάζειν καίτοι πεφυκότες εὖ πρὸς
 εἰρήνην, οὐ μόνον ὅτι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις οἱ
 περὶ τῶν ἐθῶν ἀγῶνες καὶ τοὺς περὶ ψυχῆς κινδύ-
 νους ὑπερβάλλουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ μόνον τῶν ὑψ'
 ἦλθον ἅμα ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἀπεστεροῦντο τὴν εἰς
 τοὺς εὐεργέτας εὐσέβειαν, ὃ μυρίων θανάτων
 ἐτετίμητο ἄν—οὐκ ἔχοντες ἱερούς περιβόλους, οἷς
 ἐνδιαθήσονται τὸ εὐχάριστον,¹ καὶ τοῖς ἐναντιου-
 μένοις εἶπον ἄν· “λελήθατε ἑαυτοὺς οὐ πραστι-
 θέντες τοῖς κυρίοις τιμῆν, ἀλλ' ἀφαιρούμενοι, οὐκ
 εἰδότες ὡς τοῖς πανταχοῦ 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 Act.* 75, and the verb to which οἱ δὲ is subject is ἐμελλον. 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

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.

δοσιότητός εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαὶ ἐπιδήλως, ὧν ἡμῶν ἀναρρεθειῶν τίς ἕτερος ἀπολείπεται τόπος ἢ 50 τρόπος τιμῆς; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐφιέντων¹ τῶν ἔθων 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 βεβαιῶν, τί μικρόν ἢ μέγα πλημμελοῦμεν οὐκ οἶδα. πλὴν εἰ μὴ ψέγειν τις ἐθελήσειε τὸ μὴ γνώμη ἐκουσίῳ παρανομεῖν τὰς ἐκδικαιήσεις τῶν ἔθων οὐ φυλαξα-
μένους, αἱ, κἂν ἀφ' ἐτέρων ἄρξωνται, τελευτῶσι 51 πολλὰ 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; ἀρὰ γε τὴν τῶν τιμῶν ἐθελόντων; εἴτα σπάνις ἦν ἱερῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, ἧς τὰ πλείεστα καὶ ἀναγκαϊότατα μέρη 52 τεπεμένιστα, πρὸς ἀνάθεσιν ὧν ἐβούλοντο; τὴν μὲν οὖν τῶν φιλαπεχθιμόνων καὶ μετὰ τέχνης ἐπιβουλεούτων ὄρμην ἐφάμεν, δι' ἣν οἱ μὲν ἐπηρεά-
[525] ζοντες | οὐ δόξουσιν ἀδικεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἐπηρεαζομένοις

¹ MSS. ἀφιέντων or ἀφθεντων.

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

^b The sentence πλὴν . . . ἀρτίους is very difficult, for (1) πλὴν 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 defec- tion" (though what this alludes to is not clear); (3) τοῖς ἀρτίους must mean those who are responsible by having allowed the

Philo limits Jews' identification with their place of residence as a "homeland" with their showing proper reverence to the revered household

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 μὴ has dropped out as often in Philo, or that we should read ἀναρτίους); (⁴) assuming that τοῖς ἀρτίους is right, what is meant by τελευτῶσι . . . 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 ἀσφαλές ἐναντιοῦσθαι. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς γενναῖοι, τιμὴ καταλύειν νόμους, ἔθνη πάτρια κινεῖν, ἐπιηρέαζεν τοῖς συνοικοῦσι, διδάσκειν καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι ὁμοφροσύνης ἀλογεῖν.

53 VIII. Ἐπειδὴ τοῖωνν ἢ κατὰ τῶν νόμων πείρα εὐδοεῖν ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ τὰς προσευχὰς ἀρπάζαντι καὶ μηδὲ τούνομα ὑπολιπομένῳ, πάλιν ἐφ' ἕτερον ἔτρεπετο, τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας πολιτείας ἀναίρεσιν, ἢ ἀποκοπέντων οὖς μόνους ἐφόρμει ὁ ἡμέτερος βίος ἔθων τε πατρίων καὶ μετουσίας πολιτικῶν δικαίων τὰς ἐσχάτας ὑπομένωμεν συμφορὰς οὐδενὸς

54 ἐπειληγμένοι πείσματος εἰς ἀσφάλειαν. ὀλίγαις γάρ ὑστερον ἡμέραις τίθησι πρόγραμμα, δι' οὗ ξένους καὶ ἐπὶ γλυδας ἡμῶς ἀπεκάλει μηδὲ λόγου μεταδούς, ἀλλ' ἀκρίτως καταδικάζων. οὐ τί ἂν εἶη τυραννίδος ἐπάγγελμα μείζον; αὐτὸς γενόμενος τὰ πάντα, κατήγορος, ἐχθρός, μάρτυς, δικαστής, κολαστής, εἴτα δυοὶ τοῖς προτέροις καὶ τρίτον προσέθηκεν ἐφείς ὡς ἐν ἀλώσει τοῖς ἐθέλουσι 55 πορθεῖν Ἰουδαίους. οἱ δὲ λαβόντες ἄδειαν τί πράττουσι; πέντε μοῖραι τῆς πόλεως εἰσι, ἐπώνυμοι τῶν πρώτων στοιχείων τῆς ἐγγραμμάτου φωνῆς. τούτων δύο¹ Ἰουδαϊκαὶ 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 ἐνὸς μοῖραν

¹ MSS. ἐν δυοῖν.

⁶ 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.⁶ 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 sacking of a city. Having secured this immunity what did 55 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,⁷ 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.

⁷ Or perhaps "because most of the inhabitants are Jews," i. e. there are also Gentiles.

56 βραχυτάτην. οἱ δὲ ἐξεχέοντο διὰ τὸ πλήθος εἰς αἰγιαλοὺς καὶ κοπρίας καὶ μνήματα πάντων στέρομενοι 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 Δρουσιλλῆ πένθος ἀναρρήξαντες ὅσα εἶδον—πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν—ἐξεφόρησαν καὶ διὰ μέσης ἀγορᾶς ἐκόμιζον ὡς οἰκείους τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις καταχρῶμενοι. τῆς δ' ἄρπαγῆς ἡ ἀπραξία κακὸν ἦν βαρύτερον, τὰς μὲν ἐνθήκας ἀπολωλεκότων τῶν ποριστῶν, μηδενὸς δὲ ἐωμένου, μὴ γεωργοῦ, μὴ ναυκλήρου, μὴ ἐμπόρου, μὴ τεχνίτου, τὰ συνήθη πραγματεύεσθαι, ὡς διχόθεν κατεσκευάσθαι πείναι, ἕκ τε τῆς ἄρπαγῆς, ἐξουσίων μὴ ἡμέρα γενομένων καὶ περισσευλημένων τὰ ἴδια, κακὸν μὴ δεδυνῆσθαι πορίζειν ἐκ τῶν συνήθων ἐπιτηδευμάτων.

[526] 58 IX. | Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν εἰ καὶ ἀφόρητα, ἀλλ' οὖν τοῖς αὐθις πεπραγμένοις συγκρινόμενα οἰστά. πείναι γὰρ χαλεπὸν μὲν, καὶ μάλασθ' ὅταν κατασκευάζηται πρὸς ἔχθρῶν, ἔλαττον δὲ τῆς εἰς τὰ σώματα ὕβρεως, καὶ ἡ βραχυτάτη. τοὺς δ' ἡμέτερος διὰ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ὧν ἔπαθον οὐδ' ἂν εἴποι τις ὕβριν ἢ αἰκίαν ἐνδεδέχθαι κυρίως χρώμενος τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ προσήσων οἰκείων ἂν ἀπορῆσαι διὰ μέγεθος κεκανουρημένης ὠμότητος, ὡς τὰ τῶν πολέμῳ μὲν κρατησάντων, ἐκ φύσεως δ' ἀσπόνδων εἰς τοὺς ἐαλωκότας, συγκρινόμενα

* 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 so numerous that they poured out over beaches, dughills 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 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 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 sufferings 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 ἀρπάζουσιν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ πλήθος αἰχμαλώτων σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ κινδυνεύσαντες, εἴπερ ἠττήθησαν, ἀποβαλεῖν τὰ οἰκεία. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μυρίους, ὧν λύτρα κατατιθέασι συγγενεῖς ἢ φίλοι, μεβένται τῶν δορυαλώτων, ἴσως μὲν ἀκαμπεῖς ὄντες πρὸς ἔλεον, ἠττώμενοι δὲ φιλαργυρίας. ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο; φαίη τις ἂν· τοῖς γὰρ εὖ πάσχουσιν ἀδιαφορεῖ τῆς 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 ἐχθρῶν καὶ πρὸς νεκροὺς ἀποτείνοντες ὑπόσπονδα τὰ σώματα δίδόντες 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 καθ' ἅπερ τειχίρεις ἐν κύκλῳ περικαθημένων ἐχθρῶν γεγονότες, ἀπορία καὶ σπάνει δεινῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων πιεζόμενοι καὶ γύναια καὶ τέκνα ὄρωντες ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς παραπολλύμενα λιμῷ χειροποιήτω—

63 πάντα γὰρ τᾶλλα εὐθηνίας καὶ εὐετηρίας μεστὰ ἦν, τοῦ μὲν ποταμοῦ ταῖς πλημμύραις τὰς ἀρούρας πλουσίως λυμνάσαντος, τῆς δὲ πεδιάδος, ὅση πυροφόρος, ἀφθονώτατον ὑπ' εὐγονίας τὸν τοῦ μενοῖ 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 αἰτήσοντες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ φρονήματος
 εὐγενούς τὴν μεταιτῶν τύχην ὡς δουλοπρεπῆ καὶ
 ἀνελεύθερον ἐκτρεπόμενοι προῆλθον εἰς ἀγορὰν
 οὐδενὸς ἐτέρου χάριν ἢ τοῦ πριάσθαι τοῖς τε
 66 οἰκείοις καὶ ἑαυτοῖς τροφάς, οἱ δυστυχεῖς. εὐθὺς
 γὰρ συναρπασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν ὀχλοκρατίαν
 ἐπιτεχισάντων δολοφονοῦνται καὶ συρομένοι καὶ
 πατούμενοι διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης ἐξαναλώθησαν,
 οὐδενὸς ὑπολειφθέντος μέρους, ὃ δυνήσεται κοινω-

68 νῆσαι ταφῆς. μυρίους μέντοι καὶ ἄλλους πολυ-
 τρόποις κακῶν ιδέαις ἐπιτετηδευμέναις εἰς χυλεπὴν
 ὤμότητα κατεργάσαντο καὶ διέφθειραν οἱ λελυτ-

[527] τηκότες ὑπὲρ ἀγριότητος | εἰς θηρίων φύσιν· τοὺς
 γὰρ ὅπῃ τύχοι φανέντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἢ κατέλειπον
 ἢ ξύλοις κατέκοπτον οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰ καιριώτατα
 μέρη τὰς πληγὰς φέροντες, ἵνα μὴ θάπτον τελευ-

67 τήσαντες θάπτον καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀδυνῶν ἀντιλήψιν
 ἀπόθωνται. τῇ δὲ τῶν συμφορῶν ἀδείῃ¹ καὶ
 ἐκεχειρίᾳ τινὲς ἐπιανεανευόμενοι, τῶν ἀμβλυτέρων
 ὅπλων ἀλογήσαντες, ἀνελάμβανον τὰ πάντων ἀνυ-

68 σιμώτατα, πῦρ καὶ σιδηρον, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ξίφεσιν
 καὶ ἀνέλιον, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ πῦρ διέφθειραν. ἦδη δὲ
 καὶ γενεὰς ὅλας, ἀνδρας 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 ἰλῆς ἀπορήσειαν, φρύγανα συλ-
 λέγοντες καπνῶ τὸ πλεόν ἢ πῦρ διέφθειρον,
 οἰκτρότερον καὶ ἐπιμηκέστερον ὄλεθρον τοῖς δει-
 λαίοις τεχνάζοντες, ὧν τὰ σώματα ἡμίφλεκτα

¹ MSS. ἀδικία ἢ 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. 67
 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 ἀναμίξῃ ἔκειτο, χαλεπή και ὀδυνηροτάτη θέα. εἰ δὲ και οἱ παραληφθέντες ἐπὶ φρυγανισμὸν ἐβράδυνον, ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων σκευῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς ἐνεπέμψασαν τοὺς δεσπότης τὰ μὲν πολυτελεῖ νοσφιζόμενοι, τὰ δὲ μὴ πᾶν χρῆσιμα συγκαταφλέγοντες, οἷς ἀντὶ ξύλων εἰκαίαν ἔχρωντο. πολλοὺς δὲ και ζῶντας τῶν ποδοῦν τὸν ἕτερον ἐκδήσαντες κατὰ τὸ σφυρὸν εἴλκον ἅμα και κατηλόων ἐναλλόμενοι θάνατον ὤμωσταν ἐπινοήσαντες· και τελευτησάντων, οὐδὲν ἦπτον ἀτελεύτητα μηριῶντες βαρυτέρας αἰκίας τοῖς σώμασιν ἐπέφερον, διὰ πάντων ὀλίγου δέω φάναι τῶν τῆς πόλεως στενωπῶν κατασύροντες, ἕως ὃ νεκρὸς δοράς, σάρκας, ἵνας ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἐδάφων ἀνωμαλίας και τραχύτητος περιβρυφθεῖς, και τῶν ἠνωμένων μερῶν τῆς συμφυῖας διαστάντων και διασπαρέντων ἀλλαχόσε 72 ἄλλων, ἐδαπανήθη. και οἱ μὲν ταῦτα δρώντες ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς θεατρικοῖς μίμοις καθυπεκρίνοντο τοὺς πάσχοντας· τῶν δ' ὡς ἀληθῶς πεπονθότων φίλοι και συγγενεῖς, ὅτι μόνον ταῖς τῶν προσηκόντων συμφοραῖς συνήλγησαν, ἀπήγγοντο, ἐμαστιγοῦντο, ἐτροχίζοντο, και μετὰ πάσας τὰς αἰκίας, ὅσας ἐδύνατο χωρῆσαι τὰ σώματα αὐτοῖς, ἢ τελευταία και ἔφεδρος τιμωρία σταυρῶν 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 ἐταῖρον και φίλον καθπεκ., 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 καθπεκ. τὴν σώφρονα, *ibid.* 166 Joseph to his brothers καθπεκ. τὸν δυσχεραίνοντα. So also in this treatise with similar verbs ἐπιφάσκων τὸν πλοῦσιον § 130 and προσποιούμενος τὸν ἠδόμενον § 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 X. Πάντα δὲ διορύξας καὶ τοιχωρυχίας ὁ Φλάκκος καὶ μηδὲν μέρος τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀμέτοχον ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς ἀνωτάτω καταλιπὼν ἐπενόησεν ἔκτοπὸν τῆς ἀνωτάτω κατελιπὼν ἐπενόησεν 73

74 λουργός, ὁ καινῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐπίθεσιν, ὁ μεγαλύτερας γερουσίας, ἦν ὁ σωτήρ καὶ εὐεργέτης Σεβαστὸς ἐπιμελησομένην τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν εἰλετο 74

[528] μετὰ τὴν τοῦ γενάρχου | τελευτῆν διὰ τῶν πρὸς Μάξιμον ἐντολῶν μέλλοντα πάλιν [ἀπ'] Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτροπεύειν, ὁκτώ καὶ τριάκοντα συλλαβῶν τοὺς εὐρεθέντας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις εὐθὺς μὲν δῆσαι κελεύει, καὶ στείλας καλὴν πομπὴν διὰ μέσης ἀγορᾶς πρεσβύτας δεσμίου ἐξηγκωνισμένους, τοὺς μὲν ἱμάσι, τοὺς δὲ σιδηραῖς ἀλύσειν, εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσάγει—θέαν οἰκτίστην 75 καὶ ἀλλοτριωτάτην τῷ καιρῷ—καὶ στάντας ἀντικρὺ ἐχθρῶν καθεζομένων πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν αἰσχύνῃς προστάττει πάντας περιδυσθέντας αἰκισθῆναι μάστιξιν, αἷς ἔθος τοὺς κακούργων ποιηροτάτους προηλακί- ζεσθαι, ὡς ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν τοὺς μὲν φορᾶδην ἐκκομισθέντας αὐτίκα τελευτήσασιν, τοὺς δὲ νοσήσαντας ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν σωτηρίας 76 ἔλθεῖν.

ἥς ἐπιβουλῆς τὸ μέγεθος ἐξελή- λεγκται μὲν καὶ δι' ἐτέρων, οὐχ ἦπτον δὲ καὶ διὰ

^a The term γενόρχης elsewhere applied by Philo to founders and heads of the nation (Abraham, the three Patriarchs, and the Seventy Elders) here apparently = the technical word ἐνάρχης (*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 ἐπιβουλῆς may be either the pogrom in general or the treatment of the thirty-eight just described.

τοῦ μέλλοντος λέγεσθαι σαφέστερον ἐπιδεικθήσεται. τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γερουσίας τρεῖς ἄνδρες, Εὐδοσος καὶ Τρύφων καὶ Ἄνδρων, ἐγγεγένητο ἐξούσιοι, πάνθ' ὅσα εἶχον ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις διαρπασθέντες ἐφόδωμι, οὓς οὐκ ἠγνόησε ταῦτα πεπονθότας· ἐδηλώθη γὰρ αὐτῷ μεταπεμφαμένῳ πρότερον τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἄρχοντας ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἐπὶ καταλαγαῖς ταῖς πρὸς 77 τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν. καὶ ὁμως εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς (τού)-τους στερομένους τῶν ἰδίων ἐν ὄψει τῶν ἀρπασάντων ἔτυπεν, ἢ οἱ μὲν ὑπομένωσι διττὰς συμφορὰς, πενίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ὕβριν, οἱ δὲ διττὴν ἡδονήν, ἀλλότριόν τε καρπούμενοι πλοῦτον καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀφαιρεθέντων ἀτιμίας εἰς κόρον ἀπολαύοντες.

78 Ἐχων τι τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων εἶπεν ἐπαμφοτερίζω, μὴ ἄρα εὐτελεῖς εἶναι νομισθὲν ἐκλόση τὰ μεγέθη τῶν τοσοῦτων· ἔστι δ' εἰ καὶ μικρόν, ἀλλ' οὐ μικρὰς δεῖγμα κακονοίας. τῶν μαστίγων εἰσὶ διαφοραὶ διακεκρυμμένα κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὰ τῶν τύπτεσθαι μελλόντων ἀξιώματα· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Αἰγυπτίους ἐτέρας 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

they will be shown still more clearly by the following statement. Three members of the Senate, Euodius, Trypho and Andro, had become penitents, 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 observed 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.

^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

γάρ, ἔστι καὶ ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ βραχύ τι τῶν εἰς ἐπιτιμίαν
 εὐρεῖν καὶ ἐν ὕβρει παραφερόμενόν τι τῶν εἰς τὸ
 ἀνύβριστον, ὅταν τις αὐτὰς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐφ' τὰς
 φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξετάξῃσθαι, μὴ προστιθεὶς
 οἰκοθεν ἐπίβουλον πάθος, ὃ πάνθ' ὅσα παρα-
 μέμικται τῆς ἐπιεικεστέραις ιδέαις ὑφαιρεῖ καὶ
 80 διοικίζει. πῶς οὖν οὐ παγγάλεπον, τῶν ἰδιωτῶν
 Ἀλεξανδρέων Ἰουδαίων ταῖς ἐλευθεριωτέραις καὶ
 πολιτικωτέραις μάστιξι τετυπημένων, εἴ ποτε
 ἔδοξαν πλῆγῶν ἀξία ἐργάσασθαι, τοὺς ἀρχοντας,
 [529] | τὴν γερουσίαν,¹ οἳ καὶ γήρωι καὶ τιμῆς εἰσιν
 ἐπώνυμοι, κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἔλαττον τῶν
 ὑπηκόων ἐνέγκασθαι, καθάπερ Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς
 ἀφανεστάτους καὶ ἐνόχους τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀδικη-
 81 μασιν; ἐὼ λέγειν ὅτι, εἰ καὶ μυρία ἦσαν
 ἡμαρτηκότες, ὠφέλιε τὸν καιρὸν αἰδεσθεῖς τὰς
 τιμωρίας ὑπερθέσθαι· τοῖς γὰρ ὀρθῶς πολιτενο-
 μένοις τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ μὴ προσποιουμένοις
 τιμῶν ἀλλ' ὄντως τιμῶσι τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἔθος ἐστὶ
 μηδένα κολάζειν τῶν κατακρίτων, ἀχρὶς ἂν αἱ
 ἐπιφανεῖς² γενέθλοιο καὶ πανηγύρεις αὐται τῶν
 82 ἐπιφανῶν Σεβαστῶν διεξέλθωσιν. ὃ δ' ἐν αὐταῖς
 παρηγόμει καὶ ἐτιμωρεῖτο τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικούντας,
 οὓς ἐνῆν³ ἀθίσι, εἶπερ ἐβούλετο, κολάζειν. ἀλλ'
 ἔσπευδε καὶ κατήπειγεν ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἐναντίον
 ὄχλον ἀρεσκείας, ταύτη νομίμων ἐξοικειώσασθαι
 83 μᾶλλον αὐτὸν εἰς ἄπερ διανοεῖτο. ἦδη 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,⁶ 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

⁶ Apparently the birthday of Gaius himself (Aug. 31st). Cf. *ἀτοκράτορος* § 83.

⁸ mss. οὐδένα ἦν.

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

84

ὁ δ' οὐ τετελευτηκότας ἐπὶ σταυρῶν καθαιρεῖν, ζῶντας δ' ἀνασκολοπιζέσθαι προσέταπεν, οἷς ἀμνηστίαν ἐπ' ὀλίγον, οὐ τὴν εἰς ἅπαν, ὁ καιρὸς ἐδίδου πρὸς ὑπέρθεσιν τιμωρίας, οὐκ ἄφεισιν παντελῆ. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰργάζετο μετὰ τὸ πληγαῖς αἰκίσασθαι ἐν μέσῳ τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ σιγῇ δῆρῳ βασανίσαι. καὶ ἡ θέα διενενέμητο· τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα τῶν θεαμάτων ἄχρι τρίτης ἢ τετάρτης ὥρας ἐξ ἑωθινῶν ταῦτα ἦν· Ἰουδαῖοι μαστιγοῦμενοι, κρεμάμενοι, τροχιζόμενοι, κατακιζόμενοι,¹ διὰ μέσης τῆς ὀρχήστρας ἀπαγόμενοι τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ· τὰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν καλὴν ταύτην ἐπίδειξιν ὀρχησταὶ καὶ μῦμοι καὶ αἰληταὶ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα σκηνικῶν ἀθύρματα ἀγώνων.

86 XI. Καὶ τί ταῦτα μηκύνω; δευτέρα γὰρ ἐπινοεῖται πόρθησις, βουλομένου καὶ τὸ στρατευόμενον πλήθος ἡμῶν ἐπιτειχίσαι ξένου συκοφαντήματος εὐρέσει. τὸ δὲ συκοφάντημα ἦν, ὡς τῶν Ἰουδαίων πανοπλίας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐχόντων. μεταπεμφάμενος οὖν ἑκατόνταρχον ᾧ μάλιστ' ἐπίστευε, Κάστον ὄνομα, κελεύει παραλαβόντα τῆς ὑπηκόου τάξεως ἑαυτῷ τοὺς εὐτολμοτάτους στρατιώτας

¹ MSS. καταδακίζόμενοι.

* This elliptical phrase is principally cited from Herodotus, κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ i. 109, συλλαβῶν δὲ σφεας ἔδρασε τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ iii. 119, and so with κατέδρασαν 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).

ἐπισπεύειν καὶ ἄνευ προρρήσεως ἐπεισιόντα ταῖς
 τῶν Ἰουδαίων οἰκίας ἐρευνᾶν, μή τις ὄπλων
 87 ἐναπόκειται παρασκευή. | καὶ ὁ μὲν συντείνως
 [530] ἔθει τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐργασόμενος. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπί-
 νοιαν οὐκ εἰδότες ἀχανεῖς τὸ πρῶτον εἰστήκεσαν
 ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως, γυναίων καὶ τέκνων αὐτοῖς ἐμπλε-
 κομένων καὶ ῥεομένων δάκρυσι διὰ τὸν ἐπ' αἰχμα-
 λώτοις φόβον. ὁ γὰρ λοιπὸν τῆς πορθήσεως, τοῦτ'
 88 αἰεὶ προσεδόκων. ὡς δ' ἤκουσαν παρά τινος τῶν
 ἐρευνήτων. " ποῦ ταμνεύεσθε τὰ ὄπλα; " μικρὸν
 ἀνέπνευσαν καὶ πάντα καὶ τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἀναπετά-
 89 σαντες ἐπεδείκνυντο, τῇ μὲν ἠδόμενοι, τῇ δὲ
 στένοντες, ἠδόμενοι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ διελεγχθήσεσθαι
 τὸ συκοφάντημα ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, δυσχεραίνοντες δέ,
 ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν αἱ τηλικαῦται διαβολαὶ κατ' αὐτῶν
 προπιστεύονται συντιθέμεναι πρὸς ἔχθρῶν, ἔπειτα
 δ', ὅτι γυναῖα κατάκλειστα μηδὲ τὴν αἰλειον
 προερχόμενα καὶ θαλαμειόμεναι παρθένοι, δι' αἰδῶ
 τὰς ἀνδρῶν ὄψεις καὶ τῶν οικειοτάτων ἐκτρεπό-
 90 μεναι, τότε οὐ μόνον ἀσυνήθεσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιω-
 τικὸν δέος ἐπανατενομένοις ἐμφανεῖς ἐγένοντο.
 γενομένης δ' ὅμως ἀκριβοῦς ἐρείνης ὅσον πληθὸς
 ἀμυντηρίων ὄπλων εὐρέθη! κράνη, θώρακες, ἀσ-
 πίδες, ἐγχειρίδια, κοντοί, παντευχία σωρηδὸν
 προεκομίζοντο, καὶ ἐν μέρει τὰ ἐκρηβόλα, παλτοί,

¹ Wendland suggests πόσον, but see note c.

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

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

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 investigation, 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 (μέσσιον = θαλαμειόμενα 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.
^a ὅσον exclamatory may be kept as more expressive than πόσον, cf. *e.g. Rep.* 450 ἄ οἶον . . . εἰργάσασθε! ὅσον λόγον . . . κινεῖτε!

σφειδόναι, τόξα, βέλη! τούτων ἀπλῶς οὐδέν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν δίαιταν ὀψαρτυτῶν 91 αὐτάρκη μαχαιρίδια. ἕξ οὐ καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸν βίον εὐθὺς εὐκολία διεφαίνετο πολυτέλειαν καὶ τὸ ἀβροδιαίτον μὴ προσιεμένων, ἀ πέφυκε γενναῦ 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 τουτί τὸ ἔργον, [ἀλλ'] ἦν τότε ἰδεῖν στόλον μὲν πολὺν νεῶν καταπεπλευκότα καὶ ἐνορμούντα τοῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ λιμέσι, γέμοντα παντοίων ὄπλων, ἀχθοφόρα δ' ὑποζύγια παμπληθῆ συνδεδεμένων δοράτων φορημῆδον ἀφ' ἑκατέρας πλευρᾶς εἰς τὸ ἰσόρροπον, τὰς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πάσας σχεδὸν ἀρμαμάξας μεστὰς πανοπλιῶν, αἱ στοιχηθὸν ὑπὸ μίαν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν σύνταξιν ἐν κόσμῳ προήσαν· τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν λιμένων καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ὀπλοθήκης, εἰς ἣν ἔδει κατατεθῆναι τὰ ὄπλα, δέκα 93 σταδίων που διάστημα σύμπαν ἔχον. τὰς τῶν

ταῦτα παρασκευασαμένων οἰκίας ἀξίων ἦν ἐρευνασθαι· πρὸς γὰρ νεωτερισμὸν ὑποπτοὶ πολλὰ ἀποστάντες ἦσαν, καὶ ἔδει κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν ἱερῶν ἀγῶνων τριετηρίδας ἀγειν κωνὰς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συγκομιδῆς ὄπλων τοὺς προεστῶτας, ἐν ἡ μὴ κατασκευάζεσθαι φθάνωσιν ἢ ἀντὶ πολλῶν ὀλίγα, 94 καιρὸν οὐκ ἔχοντες εἰς ἀναχώρησιν.¹ ἡμᾶς δὲ τί [531] τοιούτον ἔδει παθεῖν; | τότε 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 insulence 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 *ἀναχώνεσις* ("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 εἰρημικοὶ πάνων
 ἐνομίσθημεν; τὰ δ' ἐπιτηδεύματα, οἷς καθ' ἐκά-
 στην ἡμέραν χρώμεθα, οὐκ ἀνεπιλήπτα, οὐ συντέ-
 νοντα πρὸς εὐνομίαν πόλεως καὶ εὐστάθειαν; εἴ
 γε μὴν εἶχον ὄπλα Ἰουδαῖοι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὑπὲρ
 τετρακοσίας ἀφηρέθησαν οἰκίας, ἐξ ὧν μετα-
 νάσται ἐγένοντο, φυγαδευθέντες πρὸς τῶν τὰς
 οὐσίας ἀρπασάντων.¹ 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 ἐπίβουλή τῆς ἀποτομίας
 Φλάκκου καὶ τῶν ὄχλων, 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 συκοφαντού-
 μεναι 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 ἡμέτεροι, προσ-
 ἔταπτον οἱ ἀντὶ θεατῶν τύραννοι καὶ δεσπότηαι
 γεγονότες κρέα χοίρεια δίδοναι 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 ἐπι-
δεινὸν προσυπομείνανσαι ἀπελύοντο· αἱ δ' ἐγκρατέ-
στεραι βασιανισταῖς παρεδίδοντο πρὸς αἰκίας ἀνη-
κέστους, ὅπερ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν αὐτὰς σαφειστάτη
πίστις ἐστί.

97 XII. Πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις οὐ δι' ἑαυτοῦ μόνον
ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐζήτηει καὶ
ἐπενόει κακοῦν ἡμᾶς. τιμᾶς γάρ, ὅσας οἷόν τε
ἦν καὶ ἐπέτρεπον οἱ νόμοι, πάσας Γαῖω ψηφισά-
μενοι καὶ ἐπιτελέσαντες ἔργοις ἀνέδομεν τὸ ψήφισμα
αὐτῷ, δεηθέντες, ἐπειδὴ πρεσβείαν αἰτησαμένους
οὐκ ἂν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἵνα διαπέμψηται δι' αὐτοῦ.
98 ἀναγνοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι
πολλάκις τῇ κεφαλῇ συνεπινεύσας, ὑπομειδίων καὶ
γεγανωμένους ἢ προσποιούμενος τὸν ἠδόμενον,
"ἀποδέχομαι πάντας ὑμᾶς" ἔφη "τῆς εὐσεβείας
καὶ πέμψω, καθάπερ αἰτείσθε, ἢ πρεσβευτοῦ τάξω
ἐκπλήσω, ἢ αἰσθηταὶ Γαῖος τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐχαρι-
99 στίας. μαρτυρήσω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὅσα σύνοδα τῷ
πλήθει τῶν εἰς κοσμιότητα καὶ εἰς εὐπείθειαν
προστιθεῖς οὐδὲν ἢ γὰρ ἀλήθεια ἀνταρκέστατος
100 ἔπαινος." ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι γεγηθότες
εὐχαριστοῦμεν, ὡς ἦδη ταῖς ἐλπίσι παρανεγνω-
σμένου Γαῖω τοῦ ψηφίσματος. καὶ γὰρ ἦν εἰκός,
ἐπειδὴ πάνθ' ὅσα διὰ τῶν ὑπάρχων πέμπεται μετὰ
[532] σπουδῆς | ἀνυπέρθετον ἔχει τὴν παρ' ἡγεμονίᾳ

¹ mss. ἡμῶν or ὑμῶν.

^o 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

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. "To 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 *σθένειδα* is not uncommon.

101 διάγνωσιν. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ χαιρεν φράσας οἷς δι-
 ενόηθημεν, οἷς εἶπεν, οἷς ὠμολόγησε, τὸ ψήφισμα
 παρ' ἐαυτῷ παρακατέσχεν, ἵνα μόνοι τῶν ὑφ'
 ἡλίου ἀνθρώπων ἐχθροὶ νομισθῶμεν. ταυτ' οὐ
 διηρυπτηκῶτος ἦν ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ περισκεκμημένου
 τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιβουλήν, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατ' ἀπόνοιαν
 αὐτοσχεδιάζοντος ἀκαίρῳ φορᾷ καὶ παραγωγῇ τινὲ
 102 λογισμοῦ; θεὸς δ' ὡς ἔουκεν, ᾧ μέλει

τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων, τοὺς θῶπας αὐτοῦ
 λόγους καὶ κεκοιμημένους ἐπὶ φενακισμῷ καὶ τὸ
 τῆς ἐκνόμου διανοίας βουλευτήριον, ἐν ᾧ κατ-
 εστρατήγει, προβαλλόμενος, λαβῶν οἶκτον ἡμῶν,
 ἀφορμὴν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐμπαρέσχε τοῦ μὴ ψευ-

103 σθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος. Ἀγρίππας γὰρ ἐπιδημήσας
 ὁ βασιλεὺς διηγησαμένους ἡμῖν τὴν ἐκ Φλάκκου
 γενομένην ἐπιβουλήν ἐπανορθοῦται τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ
 ὑποσχόμενος τὸ ψήφισμα διαπέμψεσθαι λαβῶν ὡς
 ἀκούομεν ἔπεμψεν, ἀπολογησάμενος καὶ περὶ τοῦ
 χρόνου, ὡς οὐκ ὀψέ μαθόντων εὐσεβεῖν εἰς τὸν
 εὐεργέτην οἶκον, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν σπουδασάντων,
 104 ἐπιηρεία δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος τὴν καίριον ἐπίδειξιν
 κατ' αὐτοῦ ἢ ὑπέρμαχος μὲν καὶ παραστάτης
 ἀδικουμένων τιμωρὸς δ' ἀνοσίων καὶ ἔργων καὶ
 ἀνθρώπων δίκη. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καινοτάτην

1 MSS. ἐπίνοιαν.

^a Or perhaps "perusal," for *διαγνωσκω* is sometimes used for *διαναγνωσκω*. Perhaps indeed read *διανέγνωσιν*, which Mangey suggested and Box adopts.

^b Literally "in the council chamber (or council) of his lawless mind," cf. *De Vit. Const.* 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- 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 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 Alexandria 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 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. *κατασπαγγέν* = "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 *κατασπαγγεῖς 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.

105 ὑπέμεινεν ὕβριν καὶ συμφορὰν οὐδενὶ τῶν πάλαι
 γενομένην ὑπάρχων, ἀφ' οὗ οὐδὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁ
 Σεβαστὸς οἶκος ἀνήφατο γῆς καὶ θαλάττης.
 ἔνοι γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ
 πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος τῶν διεπόντων τὰς ἐπι-
 κρατείας, τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προστασίαν εἰς
 δυναστείαν καὶ τυραννίδα μεταρροσάμενοι, τὰς
 χώρας ἐπέπλησαν κακῶν ἀνηκέστων δωροδοκίας,
 ἀρπαγῆς, καταδικαίας, τῶν μηδὲν ἡμωρηκότων
 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 ἤθουν, καὶ μάλισθ'
 106 ὅποτε πρεσβεύσαντο αἱ ἀδικηθεῖσαι πόλεις. τότε
 γὰρ κοινὸς παρέχοντες ἑαυτοὺς δικαστάς, ἐξ ἴσου
 καὶ τῶν κατηγορῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπολογουμένων
 ἀκροώμενοι, μηδενὸς ἀκρίτου προκαταγινώσκων
 ἀξιούντες, 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'
 ἐμπροθέσμῳ προὔπηγτησεν ἡ μισοσπότηρος δίκη
 ταῖς ἀμέτροις ὑπερβολαῖς ὧν ἡδίκηει καὶ παρηγόμεναι
 δυσχεράνασα.

[533] XIII. | Γίνεται δ' ὁ τρόπος αὐτῷ τῆς συλλήψεως
 108 τοιόσδε. ὑπέλαβεν ἤδη τὸν Γάιον περὶ ὧν ὑποπτος
 ἦν ἐξευμενίσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἐπιστολιμαίους γράμμασιν,
 ἃ κολακείας ἦν ὑπέρμεστα, τὰ δὲ ἐν οἷς δημιουργῶν
 πολλὰκις ἐθεράπευε λόγους θῶπας καὶ μακρὰς
 ῥήσεις 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 inno-
 cent 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 en-
 comium, partly again by the high esteem in which

109 μέρει τῆς πόλεως. ἔλαθε δ' αὐτὸν ἀπατῶν· ἀβέβαιοι γὰρ αἱ τῶν πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλπιδες, εἰκαζόντων μὲν τὰ χρηστότερα, τὰ δὲ παλίμψημα καὶ ὧν ἄξιοι τυγχάνειν εἰσι πασχόντων. πέμπεται μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας Βάσσος ἑκατοντάρχης ὑπὸ Γαίου χειροτονηθεὶς μετὰ τῆς τάξεως τῶν 110 στρατιωτῶν, ἧς ἀφηγείτο. σκάφους δ' ἐπιβάς τῶν μάλιστα ταχυναντούντων ὀλέγαις ἡμέραις πρὸς τοῖς λιμέσι γίνεται τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας κατὰ τὴν Φάρον νῆσον περὶ δελίην ἐσπέραν καὶ κελεύει τῷ κυβερνήτῃ μέγρις ἡλίου καταδύσεως ἕξω θαλαττεύειν, τεχνάζων τὸ ἀνεπίφαντον ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ προαισθόμενον Φλάκκον καὶ βουλευσάμενόν τι νέω- 111 τερον ἀπρακτον αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν ἐργάσασθαι. γενομένης δ' ἐσπέρας, ἣ μὲν ναὺς προσέσχεν, ὃ δὲ Βάσσος μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἀποβὰς προήει, μήτε γνωρίζων τινὰ μήτε γνωριζόμενος ὑπὸ του, στρατιώτην δὲ τινα τῶν ἐν τοῖς τετραδίοις φυλάκων καθ' ὁδὸν εὐρῶν κελεύει δεικνύει τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ στρατάρχου· τούτῳ γὰρ ἐβούλετο τὸ ἀπόρρητον ἀνευγκεῖν, ἵνα, κἂν δέη πολυχειρίας, ἔχῃ τὸν 112 συναγωνιούμενον. πυθόμενος δ' αὐτὸν ἐστιῶσθαι παρὰ τινι σὺν Φλάκκῳ, μῆδὲν τάχους ἀνείς συνέτεινεν ἄχρι τῆς τοῦ κεκληκότος οἰκίας—Στεφανίων ἦν τῶν τοῦ Τιβηρίου Καίσαρος ἀπελευθέρων, παρ' ᾧ κατήγοντο—καὶ μικρὸν ἀποθεὺν ὑποστέλλας ἐκπέμπει τινὰ τῶν ἰδίων κατασκευόμενον 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 outside till sunset, his scheme being to avoid observation, so that Flaccus might not get knowledge of it beforehand 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 sentries,^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

^{a, b} 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
 ἐνός τινος τῶν παρατυγχανόντων οἰκείτης, ἅπαντα
 μετ' ἀκριβείας περιαιρήσας, ἐπανελθὼν ἐμίγησε
 113 τῷ Βάσσῳ. γινούς δὲ τὸ περὶ τὰς εἰσόδους ἀφύ-
 λακτον καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸν Φλάκκον ὀλιγότητα—
 μόλις γὰρ δέκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν διακονικῶν
 ἀνδραπόδων ἐπηκολυθήκει—σύνθημα δοὺς τοῖς
 περὶ αὐτὸν εἰσέδραμεν ἐξαιφνης, καὶ τῶν στρατιω-
 τῶν οἱ μὲν παρὰ τὸ συμπόσιον ἐπιστάντες ὑπέζω-
 σμένοι τὰ ξίφη κυκλοῦσιν αὐτὸν οὐ προῖδόμενον·
 ἐτύγχανε γὰρ καὶ πρόπασιν τινι διδούς καὶ φιλο-
 114 φρονούμενος τοὺς παρόντας. εἰς μέσον δὲ τοῦ
 Βάσσου παρελθόντος, ἰδὼν εὐθὺς ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως
 ἀχανῆς 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 παραντικά μελλήσει ὑπομένειν·
 δεινὸς γὰρ ὁ νοῦς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν χρόνῳ μακρῷ
 γινόμενα πάνθ' ἅμα ἰδεῖν καὶ πάντων ἀθρόων¹
 115 ἀκούσαι. τῶν μὲν | ὄν συνδειπνούντων ἕκαστος
 ἀναστὰς ὑπὸ δέους ἐπεφρίκει καὶ ἐπεπήγει, μὴ τις
 ὄρισται καὶ τοῦ συνεστιαθῆναι δίκη· φεύγει γὰρ
 οὐτ' ἀσφαλὲς 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.

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 house-
 hold 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^a 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 ἐργασασμένου.

116 XIV. Τοῦτο καινότατον ὑπέμενε Φλάκκος ἐν χώρα, ἧς ἀφηγέτο, πολεμίου τρόπον ζωηρηθεὶς ἐνεκά μοι δοκῶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οὓς ἄρδην ἀφανίσαι διεγνώκει λιμοδοξῶν. ἐναργῆς δὲ πίστις καὶ ὁ χρόνος τῆς συλλήψεως· ἐορτὴ μὲν γάρ ἦν πάνδημος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τὴν μετοπωρινὴν ἰσημεριναν,

117 ἐν ἣ διαγένεω Ἰουδαίους ἔθος ἐν σκηναῖς. οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν ἐν ἐορτῇ συνόλωσ ἀπετελείτο, τῶν μὲν ἀρχόντων ἔτι καθεργαμένων 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 ὑπέμενε, οὐ μετρίως καταφούντων. τὰ γὰρ ἀνιαρὰ διπλασιάζεσθαι φιλεῖ μάλα ἐν ἐορταῖς τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις ἐορτάζειν, στερῆσει τε ἰλαρὰς εὐθυμίας, ἣν πανήγυρις ἐπιζητεῖ, καὶ μετουσίᾳ λύπης, ὅφ' ἧς ἐξετραχηλίζοντο, μηδὲν ἄκος τῶν τοσοῦτων κακοπραγιῶν ἀνευρεῖν δυνάμενοι.

119 σφόδρα δ' ἔχουσιw ὀδυνηρῶς καὶ πεπιεσμένοις ἄχθει βαριτάτῃ—συνελήντο δ' ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, ἅτε νυκτὸς ἐπεχούσης—ἦκόν τινες ἀπαγγέλλοντες τὴν γενομένην σύλληψιν. οἱ δ' ἀπόπειραν εἶναι νομίσαντες, οὐκ ἀλήθειαν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῷ κατακερτομείσθαι καὶ ἐνεδρευέσθαι δοκεῖν ὀδυνῶντο.

^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.

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 117 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 118 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 119 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.

^c 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 ἀντεξελανόντων, τῷ
 τοῦ πράγματος ἀήθει κινήτερες τινὲς προήλθον
 ἐκ τῶν οἰκῶν κατὰ πίστιν τοῦ συμπεβηκότος.
 121 ἐφαίνετο γὰρ εἰναί τι νεώτερον. ὡς δ' ἴσθοντο
 τὴν ἀπαγωγὴν καὶ τὸν Φλάκκον ἐντὸς ἀρκῶν ἦδη
 γεγεννημένον, προτείνοντες τὰς χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν
 ὕμνου καὶ παιᾶνας ἐξ-ἤρχον εἰς τὸν ἔφορον θεῶν
 τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, "οὐκ ἐφηδόμεθα,"
 λέγοντες, "ὦ δέσποτα, τιμωρίας ἐχθροῦ, δеди-
 δαγμένοι πρὸς τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἀνθρωποπαθεῖν.
 ἀλλὰ σοὶ δικαίως εὐχαριστοῦμεν οἴκτον καὶ ἔλεον
 ἡμῶν λαβόντι καὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς καὶ ἐπαλλήλους |
 [535] κακώσεις ἐπικουφίσαντι." πάννηχοι δὲ διατελέ-
 122 σαντες ἐν ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἔψῃ διὰ
 πυλῶν ἐκχυθέντες ἐπὶ τοὺς πλησίον αἰγιαλοὺς
 ἀφικνουῦνται—τὰς γὰρ προσευχὰς ἀφήρητο—κὰν
 τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ στάντες ἀνεβόησαν ὁμοθυμαδόν.
 123 "γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, ἀέρα τε καὶ οὐρανόν, τὰ μέρη
 τοῦ παντὸς καὶ σύμπαντα τὸν κόσμον, ὧ μέγιστε
 βασιλεῦ θνητῶν καὶ ἀθανάτων, παρακαλέσοντες
 εἰς εὐχαριστίαν τὴν σὴν ἦκομεν, οἷς μόνους ἐν-
 δαιτώμεθα, τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα δημιουργεῖται πρὸς
 ἀνθρώπων ἐηλαμένοι καὶ στερόμενοι πόλεως καὶ
 τῶν ἐν πόλει δημοσίων καὶ ἰδιωτικῶν περιβόλων,
 ἀπόλυδες καὶ ἀνέστιοι μόνου 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

But when a tumult arose in the city and the night-
 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
 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
 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
 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 Act.* 29.

124 ἐπιβουλῆς ἀρχοντος γενόμενοι. χρηστὰς ὑπογράφεις ἡμῖν ἐλπιδας καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν λειπομένων ἐπανορθώσεως, ἥδη ταῖς ἡμετέραις λιταῖς ἀρξάμενος συνεπινεύειν, εἴ γε τὸν κοινὸν ἔχθρον τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ συμφορῶν ὑφηγητήν καὶ διδάσκαλον μέγα πνέοντα καὶ οἰθήντα διὰ ταῦτα εὐδοκμήσειν ἐξαίφνης καθεύλες, οὐ πορρωτάτω γενόμενος, ἢν' αἰσθόμενοι δι' ἀκοῆς οἱ κακῶς πεπονθότες ἀμβλύτερον ἠσθώσω, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς οὕτως, μόνον οὐκ ἐν ὄψει τῶν ἡδικημένων, πρὸς τρανότεραν φαντασίαν τῆς ἐν βραχεῖ καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας ἐπεξόδου."

125 XV. Τρίτον δ' ἔτι πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένους καίκενδ' μοι δοκεῖ θεῖα προνοία συμβῆναι. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀναχθεῖς ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος—ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐν θαλάττῃ φοβερῶν ἀπολαῦσαι τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ παντὸς ἀσεβημάτων ἀναπλήσαντα—μυρία πονηθεῖς μόνις ἦλθεν εἰς Ἴταλίαν, εὐθὺς ἐκδέχονται τὰς ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατηγορίας δύο τῶν ἐχθίστων, Ἰσίδωρος 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 ἔνεκα τοῦ θαρρεῖν τοῖς δικαίοις, ἀλλ', ὁ δὴ μέγιστον ἦν, ὅτι τὸν πρῦταν 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 unhoped-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 *δινατωτέρα* and marks the contrast to *ισόρροπον*, "so far from being equal it is more powerful with a lot to spare." See note on *De Vit.* Cont. 63.

127 *έώρων άσπονδον αὐτῷ, μέλλοντα σχῆμα μὲν ὑποδέεσθαι δικαστοῦ, προνοία τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀκρίτου τινὸς προκαταγνώσκειν, ἔργον δ' ἐπιδείκνυσθαι δυσμενοῦς, πρὸ κατηγορίας καὶ ἀπολογίας ἤδη τῇ ψυχῇ κατεργνωκότος καὶ τὰς ἀνωτάτω τιμωρίας ὠρικότος ἐπ' αὐτῷ. χαλεπὸν δ' οὐδὲν οὕτως, ὡς ὑπ' ἐλαττόνων κρείττους καὶ πρὸς ὑπῆκόων ἀρχοντάς ποτε γενομένους κατηγορεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ δεσπότης ὑπ' οἰκοτρίβων ἢ ἀργυρωνήτων.*

128 XVI. ἤν, ὡς ἔοικε, τοῦτο κουφότερον κακὸν συγκρινόμενον ἐτέρῳ μείζονι. οὐ γὰρ ἀπλῆν τνα τάξιν ἔχοντες ὑπῆκόων αἰφνίδιον ἐπιέβητο ταῖς κατηγορίας | ἐπαποδυσάμενοι καὶ συμφρονήσαντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πλείστον χρόνον τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ἣν ἐπετρόπευσε τῆς χώρας ἐκ πάντων οὗτοι μάλιστ' αὐτῷ δι' ἀπεχθείας ἐνεγένητο. Λάμπων μὲν ἀσεβείας τῆς εἰς Τιβέριον

129 *Καίσαρα δίκην σχῶν καὶ ἐπὶ διετίαν τριβομένου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπειρηκώς. ὑπερθέσεις γὰρ καὶ ἀναβολὰς ὁ δικαστῆς ἐθελοκακῶν ἐσκήπτετο βουλόμενος, κἂν ἀποφύγη τὸ ἔγκλημα, τὸν γοῦν περὶ μέλλοντος ἀδήλου φόβον πρὸς μήκιστον χρόνον ἐπικρεμάσας αὐτῷ ζωὴν ὀδυνηρότεραν θανάτου παρασχέιν. εἰθ' ὕστερον καὶ ὅτε νικᾶν ἔδοξεν, εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν ἐπηρεασθῆναι ἔφασκεν—ἠναγκάσθη γὰρ γυμνασιαρχεῖν—, ἥτοι τῷ γλίσχος καὶ ἀνελεύθερος εἶναι περὶ τὰς δαπάνας, προφασιζόμενος τὸ μὴ κεκτῆσθαι πρὸς τοσαύτην ἀφθονίαν ἀναλωμάτων ἰκανὴν οὐσίαν, ἣ τῷ ὄντι μὴ κεκτῆμένος,*

¹ mss. ἀθλον (also ἄβολον 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 accused 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 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 postponements 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 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.² The excuse may be due to meanness and illiberality in spending his money, or it may be that

² See App. p. 535.

ἀλλὰ πρὶν μὲν εἰς ἀπόπειραν ἐλθεῖν ἐπιφάσκων τὸν
πάνυ πλούσιον, ἐν δὲ τῇ δοκιμασίᾳ μὴ φανεῖς ἄγαν
πολυχρήματος ἄνθρωπος, ὅσα ἐκτίησατο σχεδὸν
131 ἅπαντα ἐξ ἀδικημάτων περιποιησάμενος· προσ-
εστὼς γὰρ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, ὅποτε δικάζοιεν,¹ ὑπ-
εμνηματίζετο τὰς δίκας εἰσάγων ὡς ἔχων τάξιν.²
εἶτα τὰ μὲν ἀπήλειφεν ἢ παρήει ἐκόν, 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 ἀγνυρολογῶν ὁ γραμματο-
132 κύφων· ὃν πολλὰκις ὁ δῆμος ἅπας ὁμοθυμαδὸν
εὐθυβόλως καὶ εὐσκόπως καλαμοσφάκτην ἐξε-
κήρυξεν, οἷς ἔγραφε μυρίους [καὶ] ἀνελόντα καὶ
ζῶντας ἀθλιωτέρους τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἀπεργασά-
μενον, οἱ δὲ δυνάμενοι νικᾶν καὶ περιουσιάζειν ἦρταν
καὶ πενίαν ἀδικωτάτην ὑπέμεναν, ὠνησαμένων
ἀμφοτέρα τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρὰ τοῦ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας
133 οὐσίας ἐπενωρίζοντος καὶ πιπράσκοιτος. ἀμύ-
χανον μὲν γὰρ ἦν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοσαύτης χάρας
ἐπιτροπεύοντας, αἰεὶ καινοτέρων ἐπεισερόντων ἰδιω-
τικῶν τε καὶ δημοσίων πραγμάτων, ἀπάντων
μεινῆσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ δικάζοντας μόνον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ λογισμοὺς τῶν προσόδων καὶ δασμῶν λαμ-
βάνοντας, ὧν ἡ ἐξέτασις τὸν πλεῖονα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ
134 χρόνον ἀνήλισκεν. ὁ δὲ φυλάττεν ἐπιτραπέις τὴν

¹ MSS. δικάζοντο.

² This can hardly give the required sense, and even with the addition of *τοῖανδε* (as in A) is rather otiose. Mangey suggested *ὡς ἔχοιεν τάξιν* ("as they came in order"). The suggestion *εἰσαγωγῆως* for *εἰσάγων* *ὡς* 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 some-
times insert statements which had not been made,
sometimes, too, tamper with the documents by re-
modelling 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 pur-
chased 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 per-
petual flood of new cases private and public, particu-
larly 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 ὀσιωτάτας γνώμας, ἐνεπορεύετο τὴν λήθην τῶν δικαστῶν, τοὺς μὲν νικᾶν ὀφείλοντας γράφων ἐν ἡττημένοις, τοὺς δ' ἠττᾶσθαι μετὰ τὸν ἐπάραιτον μισθὸν ἢ κυριώτερον εἰπεῖν τὸ μίσθωμα ἐν νεικηκόσῳ.

[537] XVII. | Ὁ μὲν δὴ Λάμπων τοιοῦτος ὢν ἐφεί-
135 στήκει κατήγορος, ὁ δ' Ἰσίδωρος οὐκ ἀποδέων τὴν μοχθηρίαν, ἀνθρωπος ὀχλικός, δημοκόπος, παρὰ-
τειν καὶ συγχέειν πράγματα μεμελετηκώς, ἐχθρὸς εἰρήνῃ καὶ εὐσταθείᾳ, στάσεις καὶ θορύβους κατα-
σκευάσαι μὲν οὐκ ὄντας, γενομένους δὲ συγκροτῆσαι καὶ συναυξῆσαι δεινός, ὄχλον ἀσύντακτον καὶ πεφορημένον ἐκ μιγάδων καὶ συγκλύδων ἡρμοσμένον περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐσπουδακώς, ὃς εἰς μοίρας καθάπερ τινὰς συμμορίας διανέμῃται.

136 θίασσι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἰσι πολυάνθρωποι, ὧν κατάρχει τῆς κοινωνίας οὐδὲν ἕγιός, ἀλλ' ἄκρατος καὶ μέθῃ καὶ παροιναίαι καὶ ἡ τούτων ἔκγονος ὕβρις·
137 σύνοδοι καὶ κλῖναι προσονομάζονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγύρων. ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς θιάσοις ἢ τοῖς πλείστοις ὁ Ἰσίδωρος τὰ πρωτεῖα φέρεται καὶ λέγεται ὁ συμποσίαρχος,¹ ὁ κλιναρχῆς, ὁ παραξίπολις. εἴτα ὅταν τι βουλευθῆ διαπραξασθαι 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.

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 courtier, 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 seditious carousing and their offspring, wantonness. "Synods" and "divans" 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.

εὐωβότας, οἱ τὰς καταβοήσεις ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς
 πιπράσκουσι τοῖς ἔχουσι ὠητικῶς, παρακελεύει
 139 συνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον. οἱ δὲ πληρώσαντες
 αὐτὸ τοῦ Φλάκκου ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως κατη-
 γόρου, ἀγέννητα πλάττοντες ἐγκλήματα καὶ ψευδεῖς
 ῥήσεις δι' ἀναπαίστων καὶ μακρᾶς συνείροντες, ὡς
 καταπεπληχθῆναι μὴ μόνον Φλάκκον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
 ἄλλους ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ καί, ὅπερ ἦν, συμβαλεῖν,
 ὅτι πάντως ἐστὶ τις ᾧ χαρίζονται, μὴτ' αὐτοὶ τι
 πεπονθότες ἀνήκεστον μῆτε τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν εὖ
 140 εἶδότες πλημμεληθεῖσαν. ἔπειτα βουλευομένοις
 ἔδοξε συλλαβεῖν τινὰ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀκρίτου
 καὶ αἰφνιδίου μανίας καὶ λύττης πυνθάνεσθαι. οἱ
 δὲ συλληφθέντες ἀνεβασάνων ὁμολογοῦσι τάληθές,
 ἅμα καὶ τὰς διὰ τῶν ἔργων πίστει ἐφαρμύζοντες,
 τὸν διομολογηθέντα μισθόν, τὸν ἤδη δεδομένον,
 τὸν καθ' ὑποσχέσεις ὑστερον δοθησόμενον, τοὺς
 ἐπὶ τὴν διανομὴν αἰρεθέντας ὡς ἂν ἡγεμόνας τῆς
 στάσεως, τὸν τόπον, τὸν καιρὸν, ἐν ᾧ γέγονεν ἡ
 141 δωροδοκία. πάντων δ', ὡς εἰκός, ἀγανακτούντων
 καὶ τῆς πόλεως χαλεπῶς φερούσης ἐπὶ τῷ
 τὴν ἐνίων ἀγνωμοσύνην προαναμαρτάσθαι τοῦτομ'
 αὐτῆς, ἔδοξε τὸ καθαρώτατον τοῦ δήμου μετα-
 πεμφαμένῳ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ 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 (*s.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 deliberation¹⁴⁰
 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.

^b The subject of the infinitive is probably *τοῦνομι'*, not *ἀγνωμοσύνη*, 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 διαβληθείς. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ [538] τῆς παραγγελίας | οὐχ οἱ ἐν τέλει μόνον ἦκον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ σύμπασα πόλις, ἕξω τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀπι- 142 ελέγχεσθαι μέρους ἐπὶ τῷ μεμισθοδοτησθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπηρετήσαντες τὴν καλὴν ταύτην ὑπηρεσίαν ἀναβιβασθέντες, ἵνα μετέωροι καὶ ἐμφανεῖς εἶεν καὶ γνωρίζουντο πρὸς πάντων, ἤλεγχον 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 "ἡμῶν ἀφθονία τοσαύτη; πένητές ἐσμὲν καὶ μόλις τοῦφήμερον εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα πορίζειν δυνάμεθα. τί δὲ καὶ δεῖνόν ἐπεπόνθειμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, ὡς βιασθῆναι μνησικακεῖν; ἀλλ' ὁ πάντων αἴτιος καὶ δημιουργὸς ἐκεῖνος, ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐφ' ἐπράττουσι βασκαί- 144 γων καὶ εὐνόμῳ καταστάσει πολέμιος." ἃ γνωρίζοντες οἱ παρατυγχάνοντες—τύποι γάρ τινες ἦσαν ἀρδηλοὶ καὶ χαρακτῆρες τὰ λεγόμενα τῆς τοῦ κατηγορουμένου προαιρέσεως—ἀνεβόων, οἱ μὲν ἀτιμοῦν, οἱ δὲ φυγαδεύειν, οἱ δ' αἶφειν· πλείους δ' ἦσαν οὗτοι· πρὸς οὓς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι μετεβέλλοντο, ὡς ἅπαντας ὁμοθυμαδὸν μιᾶ φωνῇ κεκραγένας, κτείνειν τὸν κοινὸν λυμεῶνα, τὸν ἀφ' οὗ παρήλθε

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 διακρίνω

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^a 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 ἄνθρωπον εἶσαντα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἕνεκα τοῦ συνειδότος
 ἀπεδίδρασκε σύλληψιν εὐλαβηθεῖς· ὁ δὲ Φλάκκος
 οὐδὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιειργάζετο, νομίσας ἐκποδῶν
 ἐκουσίῳ γνώμῃ γεγονότος ἀστασίαστα καὶ ἀνερί-
 θευτα τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶσεσθαι.

146 XVIII. Ταῦτ' ἐμήκυνα, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παλαιῶν
 ἀπομνημονεύειν ἀδικημάτων, ἀλλὰ τεθαιμακῶς 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 ὡς τὸ πρὸς ὁμολογουμένων ἐχθρῶν.
 147 ὁ δ' οὐ κατηγορήθη μόνον, ἀρχων πρὸς ὑπηκόων
 καὶ ὑπὸ δυσμενῶν ἀεὶ γενομένων ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ
 κύριος ὢν τῆς ἐκατέρου ζωῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος
 ἤλίσκετο, διπλοῦν ἐκδεχόμενος κακόν, τὸ μεθ'
 ἤττης γελᾶσθαι πρὸς ἐχθρῶν ἐφροδομένων, ὁ καὶ
 θανάτου χεῖρόν ἐστι τοῖς εὐφρονοῦσιν.

148 εἰτὰ τις εὐφορία γίνεται κακοπραγιῶν αὐτῷ· τῆς
 τε γὰρ οὐσίας ἀπάσης εὐθὺς ἐξίσταται, ἣν τε παρὰ
 γονέων ἐκληρονόμησε καὶ ἣν αὐτὸς ἐκτήσατο,
 φιλόκοσμος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα γεγονώς. οὐ γὰρ ὡς
 [539] | ἐνίων πολυχρημάτων ὁ πλουῦτος ἀργὸς ἦν ὕλη,
 πάντα δ' ἐξητασμένα πρὸς τὸ περιέργον, ἐκπώματα,
 ἐσθῆτες, στρωμναί, ἔπιπλα, 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 ἀπταιστον ἐν τῷ χρεώδει 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 con-
 duct 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 con-
 demned, suffering thereby a mighty twofold blow in
 that his fall was coupled with the laughter of gloat-
 ing 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

ὡν γὰρ ἦσαν ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι, διέφερον, ὡς ἡ
 πρῶτοι νομίζεσθαι τῶν τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδευόντων ἡ
 150 μηδεὶν δεύτεροι 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 οὐτως ἐλακκοῖσι
 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 ἀνθυπη-
 152 λάξατο Γύαρων Ἄνδρον ἐγγυτάτω κειμένην. εἰτ'
 ἐστέλλετο τὴν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἄχρι Βρετεσίου πάλιν
 ὁδόν, ἣν καὶ πρὸ ὀλίγων ἐτῶν ἐστέλατο, καθ' ὃν
 καιρὸν κεχειροτόνητο τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς ὀμόρου
 Λιβύης ἐπίτροπος, ἔν' αἱ τότε θεασάμεναι πόλεις
 αὐτὸν μέγα πνέοντα καὶ τὸν ὄγκον τῆς εὐτυχίας
 ἐπιδεικνύμενον πάλιν θεάσωνται μεστὸν ἀτιμίας.
 153 ὁ δὲ δακτυλοδεικτούμενος καὶ ὄνειδιζόμενος τῆς
 ἀθρόας μεταβολῆς πιέζεται βαρυντέρας ἀνίας, αἰεὶ
 καινουμένης¹ καὶ ζωπυρουμένης αὐτῷ τῆς συμφορᾶς
 νεωτέρων (κακῶν) προσθήκαις, ἃ καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς

¹ mss. καινουμένης.

^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 per-
 formed 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 acces-
 sion 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.

νόσους ὑποτροπιάζεν ἀναγκάζει¹ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχαίων κακοπραγιῶν ὑπομνήσεις, αἱ τέως ἔδοξαν ἡμαυρῶσθαι.

154 XIX. Περαιωσάμενος δὲ τὸν Ἴόνιον κόλπον ἔπλει τὴν ἄχρι Κορίνθου θάλατταν, ταῖς παράλοις τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων θέα γινόμενος κατὰ πύστωι τῆς αἰφνιδίου μεταβολῆς· ὅποτε γὰρ ἀποβαίη τῆς νεώς, συνέθεον οἱ μὲν μοχθηροὶ τὰς φύσεις ἐθελοκακοῦντες, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι συναλγίσοντες, οἷς 155 ἔθος ταῖς ἐτέρων τύχαις σωφρονίζεσθαι. διελθὼν δ' ἀπὸ Λεχαιῶν τὸν Ἰσθμὸν εἰς τὴν ἀντιπέραν θάλατταν καὶ καταβάς εἰς Κεγχρεάς, τὸ Κορίνθιον ἐπίνειον, ἀναγκάζεται πρὸς τῶν φυλάκων ἀναχώρησιν οὐδ' ἠντιναοῦν ἐνδιδόντων εὐθὺς ἐπιβάς [540] βραχείας ὀλκάδος | ἀνάγεσθαι καὶ πνεύματος ἐναντίου καταπραγιέντος μυρία ταλαιπωρηθεῖς μόλις 156 ἄχρι τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατασύρεται. λήξαντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, παραμεψάμενος τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἄχρι τῆς Σουνιάδος ἄκρας τὰς ἐξῆς λοιπὸν ἐπεραιούτο νήσους, τὴν Ἐλένην, τὴν Κίαν, τὴν Κύθρον, τὰς ἄλλας ὅσαι κείνται στοιχηθδὸν ἐξῆς μέχρι τῆς ἐφ' ἣν τελευταίαν ἐλθεῖν ἔδει, τὴν Ἀνδρίων.

157 ἣν πόρρωθεν ἰδὼν ὁ κακοδαίμων δακρῶν τινὰ 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 ὑ. ν. ὑποτροπιάζω is a medical term which can be applied to the

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 Lechaem 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 Peiraeus. 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 lapses into his old disease (ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ ὑποτροπιάσει 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. ἀνεγκ. instead of after it. But I do not think that Philo is very particular where he places his καὶ.

^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 Peiraeus."

φορὰν ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἐξέχει κατὰ τῶν παρειῶν
καὶ τὰ στέρνα πλήξας, πικρότατα ἀνομιώξας,
" ἄνδρες," εἶπεν, " οἱ φύλακές μου καὶ προπομποί,
καλὴν γε χώραν Ἄνδρον, οὐκ εὐτυχῆ νῆσον, τῆς
158 εὐδαίμονος Ἰταλίας ἀνθυπαλλάττομαι, Φλάκκος, ὃ
γεννηθεὶς μὲν καὶ τραφεὶς καὶ παιδευθεὶς ἐν τῇ
ἡγεμονίδι Ῥώμῃ, συμφοιτητῆς δὲ καὶ συμβιωτῆς
γενόμενος τῶν θυγατρίδων τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, κριθεὶς
δὲ τῶν πρώτων φίλων παρὰ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι καὶ
τὸ μέγιστον αὐτοῦ τῶν κτημάτων, Αἴγυπτον, ἐπὶ
159 ἐξαετίαν ἐπιτραπέεις. τίς ἢ τοσαύτη μεταβολή;
νῦξ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, καθάπερ ἐκλείψεως γενομένης, τὸν
ἐμὸν ἐπέσχηκε βίον. τὴν νησιδα ταύτην τί φῶ;
πότερον φυγαδευτήριον ἐμὸν ἢ πατρίδα καινὴν,¹
ὑπόδρομον καὶ καταφυγὴν ἀτυχῆ; τάφος ἂν εἴη
τὸ κυριώτατον αὐτῆς ὄνομα. στέλλομαι γὰρ ὃ
κακοδαίμων ἐγὼ πρόπον τινα νεκροφορῶν ἐμαντὸν
ὥσπερ εἰς ἡρίον· ἢ γὰρ ταῖς ἀνίας τὴν ἄλλαν ζωὴν
ἀπορρήξω ἢ, κἂν ἐπιβιώωαι δινηθῶ, τὸν μακρὸν
160 καὶ σὺν αἰσθήσει θάνατον ἐκδέξομαι." καὶ ὃ μὲν
τοιαῦτα ἀπωδύρετο. τῆς δὲ νεὼς τῷ λιμένι προσ-
σχούσης, ἀπέβαινε πᾶς εἰς τοῦδαφος νεύων, ὥσπερ
οἱ θλιβόμενοι πρὸς ἄχθους βαρυτάτου, τὸν αὐχένα
ταῖς συμφοραῖς πιεζόμενος, οὐδ' ὅσον ἀνακίψαι
σθένων ἢ μὴ τολμῶν διὰ τοῦς συναπτόντας καὶ
τοῦς ἐπὶ θέαν ἤκοντας, οἱ παρ' ἐκάτερα τῆς ὁδοῦ

¹ MSS. καινήν.

^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 1xx 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 προειστήκεσαν. οἱ δὲ παραπέμψαντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀγαγόντες τῶν Ἀνδρίων ἐπεδείξαντο πᾶσι, μάρτυρας ποιούμενοι τῆς εἰς τὴν νῆσον ἀφίξεως τοῦ φυγάδος. καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν διακονίαν ἐκλήσαντες ἀπήσαν· τῷ δὲ Φλάκκῳ μηδεμίαν ὄψιν οἰκίαν ἔτι θεωμένῳ τὸ πάθος ἐκαινοῦτο τρανότερον φαντασίαις ἐναργεστέραις· καὶ τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ κατανοοῦντι πολλὴν ἔρημίαν, ἧς μέσος ἀπειλήπητο, κουφότερον ἔδοκει κακὸν ἢ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι βίαιος ἀναίρεσις, μᾶλλον δὲ συγκρίσει [541] τῶν παρόντων ἀσπαστὸν ἀγαθόν. | οὕτως ἐσφάδαζεν, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν μεμνησμένων διαφέρειν· ἐπίδη πολλάκις ἄνω κάτω διαθέν, τὰς χεῖρας συνεκρότει, τοὺς μηρούς ἔπαιε, κατέβαλεν εἰς τοῦδαφος ἑαυτὸν, 163 ἐξεφώνει πολλάκις· " ἐγὼ Φλάκκος εἰμί, ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως ἢ πολυπόλεως Ἀλεξάνδρειας ἴγεμὼν, ὁ τῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτης χώρας ἐπίτροπος Αἰγύπτου, εἰς δὲ ἐπέστρεφον αἱ τοσαῦται μυριάδες τῶν οἰκητόρων, ὁ δυνάμεις πολλὰς πεζὰς καὶ ἵππικὰς καὶ ναυτικὰς οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἄλλως ἄλλ' ὅσον δοκμώτατον ἐν ὑπηκόοις ἔχων, ὁ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις ὑπὸ μυρίων ὄσων 164 παραπεμπόμενος. ἀλλὰ μὴ φάσμα ταῦτ' ἦν, οὐκ ἀλήθεια; καὶ κοιμώμενος ὄναρ εἶδον τὴν τότε εὐθυμίαν, εἶδωλα κατὰ κενὸν βαινόντα, πλάσματα ψυχῆς ἴσως ἀναγραφούσης τὰ μὴ ὑπάρχοντα ὡς 165 ὄντα; διηπάτημαι· σικὰ πραγμάτων ἄρ' ἦσαν, οὐκ πράγματα, μίμησις ἐναργείας, οὐκ ἐνάργεια τρα-

^a Or "so violent was his emotion." That is to say σφαιδάζειν in Philo nearly always suggests strong mental emotion, 390

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 gesticulations^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-heartedness 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.

cf. Philo

νοσα τὸ ψεύδος. ὡς γὰρ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὄνειροις φανέντων οὐδὲν περιαναστάντες εὐρίσκομεν, ἀλλ' οἴχεται πάντα ἀθρόα διαπτάντα, οὕτως καὶ τὰ λαμπρὰ ἐκέῖνα, οἷς ποτε ἐνωμίλησα, ἐσβέσθη βραχυτάτη καιροῦ ῥοπήῃ."

166 XX. Τοιούτοις αἰεὶ κατεπαλαίετο λογισμοῖς καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐξετραχλίζετο· τὰς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν συνόδους ἀποδιδράσκων διὰ τὴν παρακολουθοῦσαν αἰσχύνην οὐτ' εἰς λιμένα κατῆει οὐτ' εἰς ἀγορὰν προελθεῖν ὑπέμενεν, ἀλλ' οἱκοι συγκλεισάμενος ἐφέλενε, μηδὲ τὴν αἴλειον ὑπερβαίνειν θαρρῶν.

167 ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ περὶ βαθὴν ὄρθρον, ἔτι τῶν ἄλλων ἐν εὐναῖς ὄντων, μηδενὶ φανείς τὸ παράπαν ἔξω τείχους προΐη καὶ δημέρευεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας, ἐκτρέπόμενος εἰ πού τις ὑπαντήσεν ἔμελλε, καὶ ταῖς ἐναύλοις μνήμαις τῶν κακοπραγιῶν διακραϊόμενος καὶ διεσθιόμενος τὴν ψυχὴν, ὁ δεῖλαιος, νυκτὸς εἰσῆει βαθείας, εὐχόμενος διὰ τὰς ἀμέτρους καὶ ἀτελευτήτους ἀδημονίας ἐσπέραν μὲν πρῶτα γενέσθαι, πεφρικῶς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὰς ἀλλοκότους φαντασίας, ὅποτε τύχοι καταδαρθῶν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἔω πάλιν ἐσπέραν· ὁ γὰρ περὶ αὐτὸν ζόφος ἦναντιοῦτο τοῖς φαιδροῖς ἅπασιν. ὀλίγοις δ' ὑπερῶν μισὶ βραχὺ τι γήδιον πριάμενος ἐν αὐτῷ πολλὰ διέτριβε μονούμενος καὶ τὸν οἶκεῖον ἐπι-

^a So perhaps simply, though the examples of ῥοπή = "moment" without qualification are principally from the Ixx. Otherwise more exactly "by a momentary change in what time brings," i.e. in fortune. Cf. *καμῶν 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 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, 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 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 δὲ ποτε
 [542] καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ὥσπερ οἱ | κορυβαντιῶνες
 ἔθρους γενόμενος, ἐκ τῆς ἐπαύλεως ἔξω προελθὼν
 καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἀνατείνας εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀσ-
 170 τέρας, τὸν ἐν κόσμῳ κόσμον ὄντως ἰδὼν, ἀναβοή-
 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 προαγωνιστῆ σοι καὶ ὑπερμάχῳ χρῆσθαι, δόξης
 ὑγιούς διαμαρτάνουσι. σαφῆς δ' ἐγὼ πίστις· ὅσα
 171 γὰρ κατεμάτην τῶν Ἰουδαίων, αὐτὸς πέποιθα. τὰς
 οὐσίας ἀρπαζομένον περιέidon ἐκεχειρίαν τοῖς λεη-
 λατοῦσι διδοῦς· ἀφηρέθη διὰ τοῦτο τὰ πατρώα καὶ
 μητρώα καὶ ὅσα ἐν μέρει χάριτος καὶ δωρεῆς
 ἔλαβον ἢ ὅσα ἄλλα καθ' ἑτέρας ιδέας ἐκτησάμην.
 172 ὠνεΐδισά ποτε ἀτιμίαν καὶ ξενιτείαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτί-
 μοις οὗσι κατοίκους, ἢ ἠσθῶσιν οἱ ἀντίπαλοι,
 πλήθος ἀσύτακτον καὶ πεφορημένον, ὑφ' οὗ κολα-
 κευόμενος ὁ δυστυχῆς ἠπατώμην· διὰ τοῦτο ἠτί-
 μωμαι καὶ φυγὰς ἐξ ἀπάσης ἐληλαμένος τῆς
 173 οἰκουμένης ἐνταυθοῖ συγκέκλεισμαι. παράγων εἰς
 τὸ θέατρον ἐνίους ἐν ὄψει τῶν ἐχθίστων αἰκίζεσθαι
 προσέτατον ἀδίκως· τοιγαροῦν ἐγὼ δικάως οὐκ
 εἰς θέατρον ἐν ἡμίαν πόλιν ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχάταις
 ὕβρει παρήχθην αἰκισθεὶς πρὸ τοῦ σώματος τὴν
 ἀθλίαν ψυχὴν, ἀλλ' ἐπόμπευσα διὰ μὲν πάσης
 Ἰταλίας ἄχρι Βρεντεσίου, διὰ δὲ πάσης Πελο-
 πονήσου μέχρι Κορίνθου, διὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ

* 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 Act.* 4.

174 τῶν νήσων ἄχρισ Ἄνδρου, τῆς ἐμῆς εἰρκτῆς. καὶ
 πέπεισμαι σαφῶς, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὄρος οὗτος τῶν
 ἐμῶν κακοπραγιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐφεδρεύουσιν ἕτεραι πρὸς
 ἐκπλήρωσιν ἀντίροπον ὧν εἰργασάμην. ἀνεῖλον
 τινες καὶ ἀναίρεθεῖσι πρὸς ἑτέρων οὐκ ἐπεξήλθον.
 κατελεύσθησάν τινες καὶ ζῶντες οἱ μὲν ἐνεπήρ-
 σθησαν, οἱ δὲ διὰ μέσης κατεσύρησαν ἀγορῶς, ἕως
 175 ὅλα τὰ σώματα αὐτοῖς ἔδαπανήθη. τούτων οἶδ'
 ὅτι ἀναμένουσί με αἱ Πουναί, καὶ οἱ ἀλάστορες
 ὡσπερ ἐπὶ βαλβίσιν ἐστᾶσιν ἡδῆ καὶ φονῶντες
 ἔγκεινται, καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, μᾶλλον δὲ
 ὦραν, προαποθνήσκω πολλοὺς θανάτους ὑπομένων
 176 ἀνθ' ἑνὸς τοῦ τελευταίου." πολλὰκίς δὲ ἔδει-
 ματοῦτο καὶ διεπτόητο καὶ φρίκη μὲν τὰ μέλη καὶ
 μέρη τοῦ σώματος κατεσεῖετο, φόβω δ' ὑπότρομον
 εἶχε τὴν ψυχὴν ἄσθματι καὶ παλιμῶ τνασσομένην,
 ἅτε τοῦ μόνου παρηγορεῖν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἐκ
 φύσεως δυναμένου στερόμενος, χρηστῆς ἐλπίδος.
 177 ὄρνις αἴσιος οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ προουφαίνετο. πάντες
 δυσσιώγιστοι, κληιδόνες παλιμφήμιοι, ἐπίπονος ἐγ-
 ρήγοροις, περιδεῆς ὕπνος, ἡ μόνωσις θηριώδης.
 ἀλλ' ἤδιστον αὐτῷ τὸ ἀγελαῖον; ἀηδέστατον αἰ |
 [548] κατὰ πόλιν διατριβαί· ἀσφαλὲς ὄνειδος ἢ κατ' ἀγρὸν
 178 ἐρημία; σφαλερόν, ἀδυσώπητον. ὁ ἡρέμα προσιῶν
 ὕποπτος. "βουλεύεται τι" φησὶ "κατ' ἐμοῦ· ὁ
 θᾶπτον βαδίζων οὐ πρὸς ἕτερον τι σπεύδων
 ἔοικεν, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ διώκει". ὁ ἡδὺς ἐνεδρεύει, ὁ παρ-
 ρησιαστῆς καταφρονεῖ· σιτία μοι καὶ ποτὰ καθάπερ
 179 τοῖς θρέμμασιν ἐπὶ σφαγὴν δίδοται. μέχρι τίνος ὁ

¹ This sentence is punctuated differently in other editions
 ὁ ἡρέμα προσιῶν ὑποπτος. "βουλεύεται τι" φησὶ "κατ' ἐμοῦ ὁ
 θᾶπτον βαδίζων οὐ πρὸς ἕτερον 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-
 solatg 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 ἐπιτηρείας δαίμονος οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντός μοι τὴν ἀθλίαν ζωὴν συντόμως ἀπορρήξαι διὰ τινος ὑπερβολᾶς ἀνηκέστων κακῶν, ἃ κατ' ἐμοῦ θησαυρίζομενος χαρίζεται τοῖς δολοφονηθεῖσι."

180 XXI. Τοιαῦτα ἀναπολῶν καὶ σφαδάζων ἐκαραδόκει τῆς εἰμαρμένης τὸ πέρας· καὶ τοῦ μὲν αἰσυνεχεῖς ὀδύνας τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνεκύκων καὶ ἀνέστρεφον. Γάιος δὲ τὴν φύσιν ὠμόθυμος ὦν καὶ ἀκόρεστος ἐν ταῖς τιμωρίας οὐχ ὥσπερ ἔνοι μεθίετο τοὺς ἀπαξ κολασθέντας, ἀλλ' ἀτελεύτητα μνηνῶν αἰεὶ τινα καινὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐμεγαλοῦργει συμφορὰν· τὸν δὲ Φλάκκον καὶ διαφερόντως ἤχθαι-
181 ρεν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ὁμωνύμους ἀλλοτριώσει τῆς κλήσεως ὑποβλέπεσθαι. καὶ πολλάκις αὐτὸν μετάνοια εἰσῆγει, διότι κατέγνω φυγῆν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ θάνατον, καὶ τὸν παράκλητον αἰδούμενος ὅμως ἤτιατο Λεπίδον, ὥστ'¹ ἐκέλευσεν ἀπηγόρευσε φόβῳ τῆς καθ' αὐτοῦ τιμωρίας· ἐδεδίει γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, μὴ παρὰ αὐτὸς ἄλλω γενόμενος κουφοτέρας δίκης βαρυτέραν αὐτὸς ἐνδέξῃται. μηδενὸς οὖν ἔτι τι τῶν εἰς παραίτησιν λέγειν θαρροῦντος, ἀμειλίκτους καὶ ἀφέστοις ἐχρήτο ταῖς ὀργαῖς, αἰ, χρόνῳ δέον ἀμαυροῦσθαι, παρεθίγοντο μᾶλλον καθάπερ αἰ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ὑποτροπιάζουσαι νόσοι· τῶν γὰρ προτέρων εἰσὶν ἀργαλειώτεροι. φασὶν οὖν, ὅτι νύκτωρ ποτὲ διαγρυνπῶν εἰς ἔνοιαν ἦλθε τῶν ἐν τέλει φυγάδων, ὀνόματι μὲν ὑποπτευομένων ἀτυχεῖν, βίον

¹ MSS. ὡς.

^o Or perhaps "desisted from pleading."

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 treacherously 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 confusion. 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 ἐλευθερον ὄντως
 184 περιπεποιημένων. μετετίθει δὲ καὶ τὴν κλήσιν
 ἀποδημίαν προσαγορεύων. "ἀποδημία γάρ τις
 ἐστὶν" ἔφασκεν "ἢ τῶν τοιούτων ἔλασις ἐχόντων
 ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ σὺν ἀπραγμοσύνῃ καὶ
 εὐσταθείᾳ ζῆν δυναμένων· οὗς ἄτοπον εἶναι τρυφᾶν
 ἀπολαύοντας εἰρήνης, βίον καρπουμένουσ φιλόσο-
 185 φον." εἶτα προστάπτει τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ
 ὦν πλείστος ὁ λόγος ἀναιρεθῆναι, γραφὴν δούς
 ὀνομάτων, ἧς ἠγέτο Φλάκκος. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκον εἰς
 "Ἄνδρον οἷς κτείνειν διείρητο, Φλάκκος μὲν ἐτύγ-
 χανεν ἀγρόθεν εἰς ἄστυ παραγινόμενος, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ
 [544] λιμένος ὑπηγίαζον, | καὶ πόρρωθεν ἀντιπροεῖδον
 186 ἀλλήλους. ὄθεν συναισθόμενος ἐφ' ὃ σπεύδουσι—
 μαντικώτατον γὰρ ἢ ἐκάστου ψυχῆ, καὶ μάλιστα
 τῶν ἐν κακοπραγίαις—ἐκτραπόμενος τῆς ὁδοῦ διὰ
 τραχείας ἔθει φεύγων, ἐπιλελησμένος ἴσως, ὅτι
 νῆσος ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠπειρός ἐστιν, ἐν ἧ τί ὄφελος
 ὠκυτότης, περικλειούσης θαλάττης; ἀνάγκη γὰρ
 δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ προσωτέρω χωροῦντα κατὰ τοῦ
 πελάγους ἐνεχθῆναι ἢ συλληθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ
 187 πέρας ἦκοντα. βέλτιον ἄρ' ἐν συγκρίσει κακῶν ἢ
 κατὰ γῆν τῆς ἐν πελάγει φθορά, ἐπειδήπερ ἀνθρώ-
 ποὶ καὶ πᾶσι χερσαίοις οἰκειότατον ἢ φύσις χωρίων
 ἀπένειμε γῆν, οὐ μόνον ζῶσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθανού-
 σιν, ἐν ἢ αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν πρώττην ὑποδέχεται γένεσιν
 188 καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βίου τελευταίαν ἀνάλυσιν. οἱ δ'

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 ban-
 ishment of such people is a sort of residence abroad
 where they have abundance of necessaries 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, par-
 ticularly 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 exist-
 ence, it should also receive them when they finally
 depart from life. The assassins never lost a moment 188

ἀπνευστί διώκοντες καταλαμβάνουσι· καὶ οἱ μὲν
 εὐθὺς ὠρυττον βόθρον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς βίαν εἰλικον
 ἀφηνιάζοντα καὶ κεκραγόντα καὶ διαπαλαίοντα· ὧν
 χάριν καὶ σύμπαν κατεγρώθη τὸ σῶμα καθάπερ τὰ
 189 θηρία ταῖς πληγαῖς ἐπιτρέχων. ἐμπλεκόμενος γὰρ
 καὶ τῶν κτεινόντων ἐλλαμβανόμενος, νῦν μὲν ἐπι-
 φέρειν τὰ ξίφη κωλυομένων, ἐγκαρσίου δὲ πληγὰς
 καταφερόντων, αἴτιος ἐγένετο βαρυτέρων ἑαυτῷ
 συμφορῶν· διατμηθεὶς δὲ καὶ διακοπεῖς χεῖρας,
 βάσεις, κεφαλὴν, στέρνα, πλευράς, ὡς ἱερείου τρώ-
 πον κρευρογρηθῆναι, ἔκειτο, τῆς δίκης σφαγὰς
 ἰσαρίθμους τοῖς φόνοις τῶν ἐκνόμως ἀναιρεθέντων
 Ἰουδαίων ἐνὶ σώματι βουληθείσης ἐργάσασθαι.
 190 καὶ ὁ μὲν τόπος ἅπας αἵματι κατερρέετο διὰ
 πλειόνων φλεβῶν, αἱ κατὰ μέρος διεκόπησαν,
 κρουνηδὸν ἐκχεομένῳ¹. συρομένου δ' εἰς τὸν ὀρω-
 ρυγμένον βόθρον τοῦ νεκροῦ τὰ πλείιστα μέρη
 διελύετο, τῶν νεύρων κατεσχισμένων, οἷς ἡ κοινω-
 191 νία συνεδέετο πᾶσα τοῦ σώματος. τοιαῦτα καὶ
 Φλάκκος ἔπαθε γενόμενος ἀψευδεστάτη πίστις τοῦ
 μὴ ἀπεστερῆσθαι τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐπικουρίας
 τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ.

¹ MSS. ἐκχεομένων.

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 down-
 wards 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 indubit-
 able 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.

PHILO

IN TEN VOLUMES
(AND TWO SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUMES)

IX

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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