

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.).

PHILO

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.

FLACCUS

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.

PHILO

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 belong-

^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.

FLACCUS

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).

(remainder of introduction omitted)

FLACCUS

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

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

FLACCUS, 3-5

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

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

FLACCUS, 5-9

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

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

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

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

point to some such meaning for the phrase. In *Spec. Leg.* i. 101 (of priests marrying) we have "he is a man *πολύ πρότερον* than a priest and therefore must feel the desire for mating." Here the idea may be that manhood is a wider thing than priesthood. In *De Mig.* 87, "there is no use in seeming to be so and so, unless you are it *πολύ 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 *πολύ πρότερον* by the holy laws. So also perhaps *Mos.* i. 162, *De Praem.* 88.

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

FLACCUS, 12-16

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

Deceived by these representations Tiberius unwittingly left behind him an implacable enemy to himself, his grandson, his family, Macro the intercessor and all mankind. For when Macro saw him straying from the regular way and letting his impulses range unbridled 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 of him at a distance he would talk in this strain to his companions, "Let us not smile, let us look downcast, for here comes the monitor, the stickler for straight speaking,^b who has begun to take charge as tutor of a grown man and an emperor, at this very time which has dismissed and set aside those who tutored him from his earliest years."

IV. So when Flaccus learnt that Macro too had

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

FLACCUS, 16-20

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

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

FLACCUS, 20-24

poring^a Lampo, an Isidorus, faction leader, busy intriguer, mischief contriver and a name which has gained special currency—state embroiler.^b All 21

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

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

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

FLACCUS, 24-28

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

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

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

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

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

FLACCUS, 32-35

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

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

FLACCUS, 35-39

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

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

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

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

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 madman 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.

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

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

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

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*.

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

It was by saying what he should leave unsaid and 51 leaving unsaid what he should say that Flaccus treated us in this iniquitous way. But what were the motives of those whose favour he was seeking? Was it that they really wished to honour the Emperor? Was there then any lack of temples in the city, so many parts of which are consecrated and give all that is needed for the installation of anything they wished? No, what we have described is an act of aggression 52 by bitterly hostile and crafty plotters in which the authors of the outrages would not appear to be acting unjustly and the sufferers could not oppose them with others to begin. But this is very forced (I am inclined to think that *μη* has dropped out as often in Philo, or that we should read *ἀναίτιους*); (4) assuming that *τοὺς αἰτίους* is right, what is meant by *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.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

FLACCUS, 60-64

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.

FLACCUS, 64-68

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FLACCUS, 76-79

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

One point in the deeds committed at this time I ⁸ mention only with hesitation, lest by being considered an insignificant matter it may detract from the magnitude of these horrors. Yet even if it is a small thing it is an evidence of no small malignancy. There are differences between the scourges used in the city, and these differences are regulated by the social standing of the persons to be beaten. The Egyptians actually are scourged with a different kind of lash and by a different set of people, the Alexandrians with a flat blade, and the persons who wield them also are Alexandrians. This custom was also ob- ⁷⁹ served in the case of our people by the predecessors of Flaccus and by Flaccus himself in his first years of office. For it is surely possible when inflicting

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

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

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

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

³ MSS. οὐδένα ἦν.

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).

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

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

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

FLACCUS, 90-94

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

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

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

FLACCUS, 94-96

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.

FLACCUS, 96-100

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

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

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

FLACCUS, 101-104

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

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

165, *De Conf.* 86, *De Dec.* 98. *καταστρατηγῆν* = "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 *καταστρατηγῆς 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.

FLACCUS, 104-108

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

FLACCUS, 109-112

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

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

FLACCUS, 112-115

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

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

FLACCUS, 115-119

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

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

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

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

FLACCUS, 124-126

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

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

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

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

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

^a See App. p. 535.

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

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

³ MSS. *διὰ*.

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

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

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

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

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, inventing 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 someone whom they wanted to gratify and that they had never themselves suffered any injury past mending nor had real knowledge of any offence^d committed 140 against the rest of the State. Then on deliberation the authorities decided to arrest some and ascertain the cause of so reckless and sudden an outburst of insanity. The persons arrested without being put to the question confessed the truth and also added the proofs supplied by the facts, the payment agreed upon, both what had already been given and what was to be given afterwards according to the promises; the persons chosen as ringleaders of the agitation to distribute the money, the place and occasion where and when the act of bribery had taken place. And 141 as everyone was naturally indignant and the city felt annoyed that the senselessness of some persons should also set its stamp^e upon her name, he decided to summon the most highly respectable part of the public on the morrow and set the dispensers of the

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

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

FLACCUS, 141-144

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.

FLACCUS, 144-149

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

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

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

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 seaboard 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 Lechaenum 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 relapses into his old disease (*ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ὑποτροπιάσας νόσον*) as in *De Mig.* 150. The only slight difficulty is that *καί*, which brings out that new misfortunes remind us of the old, besides the actual misery which they give, should come before *ὑποτροπ. ἀναγκ.* instead of after it. But I do not think that Philo is very particular where he places his *καί*.

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

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

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

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

FLACCUS, 161-165

front on either side of the road. His 161
escort brought him to the popular assembly of the
Andrians and exhibited him to them all, calling them
to witness to the arrival of the exile at the island.
Then having fulfilled their service they departed, 162
but Flaccus having no longer before his eyes any
familiar face felt his sufferings renewed thereby more
poignantly as his imaginations grew more vivid. And
gazing at the wide desolation around him, in the
midst of which he was isolated, it seemed to him
that a death by violence in his native land would
be the lighter evil, or rather in comparison with his
present plight a welcome boon. His wild gesticu-
lations^a were just like those of a madman. He
would often jump about, run up and down, clash his
hands together, smite his thighs, fling himself on
the ground and often cry out, " I am Flaccus, who 163
but now was governor of Alexandria, that great city,
or multitude of cities, ruler of the highly blest land
of Egypt, to whom so many thousands of inhabitants
paid regard, who had among his subjects great forces
of infantry, cavalry, naval, not a mere lot of counters
but all men of the best-proved excellence, who every
day when I proceeded forth went escorted by a host
of followers. But was this then a phantom, not the 164
truth? Was I asleep and dreamt the light-hearted-
ness of those days, saw but spectres moving in a void,
figments of a soul which recorded as we may suppose
things which had no existence as though they were?
Yes, I have been deluded. They were the shadow 165
of realities, not the realities themselves, a counterfeit
of clear vision, not the clear vision which exposes the
but does not necessarily imply that the violence has any special
outward expression. See further App. p. 538.

FLACCUS, 165-168

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

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

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

FLACCUS, 169-173

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

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

FLACCUS, 174-178

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

FLACCUS, 179-183

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

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

FLACCUS, 183-188

of release from business, of tranquillity and true liberty. He proposed also to change the title from 184 exile to residence abroad, "for," said he, "the banishment of such people is a sort of residence abroad where they have abundance of 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, particularly in distressing circumstances. He struck out from the road and raced away from them through the rough ground forgetting, perhaps, that Andros is not the mainland but an island in which speed is no use since it is enclosed by the sea. For there are only two possible alternatives, to go on farther and fall into the sea or to be caught on arriving at the very edge. And surely if we compare two evils it 187 were better to perish on the land than in the sea, since nature has assigned the land to men and all the creatures that dwell on it as the most appropriate place not only in their lifetime but at their death; it received them when they first came into existence, it should also receive them when they finally depart from life. The assassins never lost a moment 188

FLACCUS, 188-191

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

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