

JOSEPHUS

- 158 κάλλιστον ὦν¹ ᾤετο παρέχων² ἐν τῷ διδόναι τὴν
 τοῦ τυχεῖν τῶν ὁμοίων ἐπιθυμίαν ἐδήλου. τό γε
 μὴν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἠλλοτριώται νόμῳ πρὸς πάντα
 τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ συνείθισται τὸ δίκαιον ἀντὶ τοῦ
 πρὸς δόξαν ἠγαπηκέσαι. διόπερ οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ κεχα-
 ρισμένον, ὅτι μὴ δυνατὸν εἰκόσιν ἢ ναοῖς ἢ τοιούτοις
 ἐπιτηδεύμασι κολακεύειν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ φιλό-
 159 τιμον. αἰτία μὲν αὕτη μοι δοκεῖ τῆς Ἡρώδου περὶ
 μὲν τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ συμβούλους ἀμαρτίας, περὶ δὲ
 τοὺς ἔξω καὶ μὴ προσήκοντας εὐεργεσίας.
 160 (vi. 1) Τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰουδαίους καὶ
 ὄσους ἢ πρὸς Κυρήνη³ Λιβύη κατέσχευεν, ἐκάκουεν αἱ
 πόλεις, τῶν μὲν πρότερον βασιλέων ἰσονομίαν αὐ-
 τοῖς παρεσχημένων, ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε δι' ἐπηρείας
 ἐχόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ χρημάτων
 ἱερῶν ἀφαίρεσιν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ καταβλάπτειν ἐν τοῖς
 161 ἐπὶ μέρους. πάσχοντες δὲ κακῶς καὶ πέρασ οὐδὲν
 εὐρίσκοντες τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπανθρωπίας, ἐπρε-
 σβεύσαντο πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ περὶ τούτων. ὁ δ'
 αὐτοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσοτέλειαν ἔδωκεν, γράψας τοῖς
 κατὰ τὰς ἐπαρχίας ὦν ὑπετάξαμεν τὰ ἀντίγραφα
 μαρτύρια τῆς διαθέσεως ἣν ἔσχον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἄνω-
 θεν οἱ κρατοῦντες.
 182 (2) "Καίσαρ Σεβαστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς δημαρχικῆς ἐξ-
 ουσίας" λέγει. ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων

¹ τὸ κάλλιστον ὦν] ὁ κάλλιστον con. Richards et Shutt.
² παρέχειν PW. ³ Niese: Κυρήνην codd. E.
⁴ post ἐξουσίας lacunam statuit Naber.

^a On Diaspora Judaism, Jewish privileges, and sacred

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what he believed to be the most excellent gift that he could give another he showed a desire to obtain similarly for himself. But, as it happens, the Jewish nation is by law opposed to all such things and is accustomed to admire righteousness rather than glory. It was therefore not in his good graces, because it found it impossible to flatter the king's ambition with statues or temples or such tokens. And this seems to me to have been the reason for Herod's bad treatment of his own people and his counsellors, and of his beneficence toward foreigners and those who were unattached to him.

(vi. 1) Now the Jews of Asia^a and those to be found in Cyrenaean Libya were being mistreated by the cities there, although the kings had formerly granted them equality of civic status (*isonomia*); and at this particular time the Greeks were persecuting them to the extent of taking their sacred monies away from them and doing them injury in their private concerns. And so, being mistreated and seeing no limit to the inhumanity of the Greeks, they sent envoys to Caesar about this state of affairs. And he granted them the same equality of taxation as before, and wrote to the provincial officials letters of which we subjoin copies as evidence of the (friendly) disposition which our former rulers had toward us.

(2)^b "Caesar [Augustus], Pontifex Maximus with tribunician power, decrees as follows. Since the Jewish nation has been found well disposed to the

monies, see Juster, i. 188 ff., 213-242, 377-385. Cf. § 27 note.

^b §§ 162-165. On the decrees (not given in chronological order by Josephus) cf. Reinhold, *Agrippa*, pp. 118-121; Bikerman, *Mélanges Isidore Lévy*, pp. 11-34; Juster, i. 149-151 notes; Viereck, pp. 91-116; Laqueur, p. 222.

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Asia) C
The Jews
Asia and
Cyrene
appeal to
Augustus

Augustus
decree in
favour of
the Jews of
Asia.

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εὐχάριστον εὐρέθη οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι καιρῷ
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ προγεγεννημένῳ, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ
 τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος, πρὸς τὸν
 163 δῆμον τὸν Ῥωμαίων, ὃ τε ἀρχιερεὺς αὐτῶν Ὑρκα-
 νός, ἔδοξέ μοι καὶ τῷ ἐμῷ συμβουλίῳ μετὰ ὀρκω-
 μοσίας, γνώμη δῆμου Ῥωμαίων¹ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους
χρησθαι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐθισμοῖς² κατὰ τὸν πατριον
αὐτῶν νόμον, καθὼς ἐχρῶντο ἐπὶ Ὑρκανοῦ ἀρχ-
 ιερέως θεοῦ ὑψίστου, τὰ τε ἱερά³ εἶναι ἐν ἀσυλία καὶ
 ἀναπέμπεσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ ἀποδίδοσθαι τοῖς
 ἀποδοχεύσιν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐγγύας τε μὴ⁴ ὁμο-
 λογεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν σάββασιν ἢ τῇ πρὸ αὐτῆς παρα-
 164 σκευῇ ἀπὸ ὥρας ἐνάτης. εἰάν δέ τις φωραθῆ
 κλέπτων τὰς ἱεράς βίβλους αὐτῶν ἢ τὰ ἱερά χρή-
 ματα ἔκ τε σαββατείου⁵ ἔκ τε ἀαρῶνος,⁶ εἶναι
 αὐτὸν ἱερόσυλον καὶ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἐνεχθῆναι εἰς τὸ
 165 δημόσιον τῶν Ῥωμαίων. τό τε ψήφισμα τὸ δοθέν
 μοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς εὐσεβείας ἧς ἔχω
 πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὑπὲρ Γαίου Μαρκίου
 Κηνσωρίνου, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ διάταγμα κελεύω ἀνα-
 τεθῆναι ἐν ἐπισημοτάτῳ τόπῳ τῷ γενηθέντι μοι ὑπὸ

¹ καὶ τῷ . . . Ῥωμαίων] et senatui cum sententia populi Romani Lat.

² θεσμοῖς PW.

³ ἱερά χρήματα ex Lat. con. Richards et Shutt.

⁴ μὴ om. P : μὴ ἀναγκάζεσθαι ex seqq. (§ 168) con. Niese.

⁵ σαββατείου P : σαββαθίου AM.

⁶ ἀαρῶνος (Hebraice) Reland : ἀνδρῶνος codd.

^a Cf. A. D. Nock, *HTR* 29 (1936), 66, add. ; Leszynsky (*Sadducees*, p. 94) sees here an influence of the Sadducean concept of Zadokite priest-kingship after Melchizedek ; cf. *Rosh. Hash.* 18b, *Assumpt. Mos.* vi. 1.

^b Friday (חַבֵּר עֲרֵב). According to Zeitlin in *JQR* 42 (1951-1952), 252 n. 3, "The Hellenized Jews did not use the

Roman people not only at the present time but also in time past, and especially in the time of my father the emperor Caesar, as has their high priest (Hyr- canus), it has been decided by me and my council under oath, with the consent of the Roman people, that the Jews may follow their own customs in accordance with the law of their fathers, just as they followed them in the time of Hyrcanus, high priest of the Most High God,^a and that their sacred monies shall be inviolable and may be sent up to Jerusalem and delivered to the treasurers in Jerusalem, and that they need not give bond (to appear in court) on the Sabbath or on the day of preparation for it (Sabbath Eve) after the ninth hour.^b And if anyone is caught stealing their sacred books or their sacred monies from a synagogue or an ark (of the Law),^c he shall be regarded as sacrilegious, and his property shall be confiscated to the public treasury of the Romans. As for the resolution which was offered by them in my honour concerning the piety which I show to all men, and on behalf of Gaius Marcius Censorinus,^d I order that it and the present edict^e be set up in the most conspicuous (part of the temple) assigned to me by the

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word παρασκευή but πρὸ σαββάτων, comp. *Ant.* 3. 10. 7 [=iii. 255]; *Judith* 8. 6; *II Macc.* 8. 26."

^c Reading the conjecture (cf. critical note). Text: a banquetting hall or lounge. On ἀνδρών cf. Krauss, *Syn. Alt.* 25; Nock, *op. cit.* pp. 47-48. Casanowicz, *JE* ii. 109, followed by Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols* iv. 116, suggests that 'arōn (ארון) was not used for a synagogue ark in rabbinic circles until the time of Maimonides.

^d Consul in 8 B.C., proconsul of Asia in (A.D. 2-3.) For references cf. *Magie*, p. 1581. Horace dedicated his eighth Ode of Book IV to him.

^e διάταγμα: cf. *Juster*, i. 161 n. 1. For Philo's account of the edict cf. *Leg. ad Gaium* 315 f.

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- τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν Ἀγκύρῃ.¹ ἐὰν δέ τις παραβῆ τι τῶν προειρημένων, δώσει δίκην οὐ μετρίαν.” ἐστηλογραφήθη ἐν τῷ Καίσαρος ναῶ.
- 166 (3) “Καῖσαρ Νωρβανῶ Φλάκκω χαίρειν. Ἰουδαῖοι ὅσοι ποτ’ οὖν εἰσίν, οἳ δι’ ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν εἰώθασιν χρήματά τε ἱερὰ φέροντες ἀναπέμπειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀκωλύτως τοῦτο ποιείτωσαν.” καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Καῖσαρ.
- 167 (4) Ἀγρίππας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. “Ἀγρίππας Ἐφεσίων ἀρχουσι βουλῇ δῆμῳ χαίρειν. τῶν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀναφερομένων ἱερῶν χρημάτων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ φυλακὴν βούλομαι τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ
- 168 Ἰουδαίους ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. τοὺς τε κλέπτοντας ἱερὰ χρήματα² τῶν Ἰουδαίων καταφεύγοντάς τε εἰς τὰς ἀσουλίας βούλομαι ἀποσπᾶσθαι καὶ παραδίδοσθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ᾧ δικαίῳ ἀποσπῶνται οἱ ἱερόσυλοι. ἔγραψα δὲ καὶ Σιλανῶ³ τῷ στρατηγῶ ἵνα σάββασιν μηδεὶς ἀναγκάζῃ Ἰουδαῖον ἐγγύας ὁμολογεῖν.”
- 169 (5) “Μάρκος Ἀγρίππας Κυρηναίων ἀρχουσιν βουλῇ δῆμῳ χαίρειν. οἱ ἐν Κυρήνῃ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤδη ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἔπεμψε πρὸς τὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ στρατηγὸν τότε ὄντα Φλάβιον⁴ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλ-

¹ Scaliger : ἀργυρῇ (-ῆ) codd. ² γράμματα P.

³ Σιλουανῶ AMW : Syllano Lat.

⁴ Φάβιον AM Lat.

^a Reading Scaliger's conjecture (see critical note). Ancyra was a city in Galatia, modern Ankara. For suggestions to read "Pergamum" here cf. Mommsen, *Res Gestae*, p. x.

^b Consul in 38 B.C., proconsul of Asia between 31 and 27 B.C.

federation (*koinon*) of Asia in Ancyra.^a If anyone transgresses any of the above ordinances, he shall suffer severe punishment." This was inscribed upon a pillar in the temple of Cæsar.

(3) "Caesar to Norbanus Flaccus, greeting.^b The Jews, however numerous they may be, who have been wont, according to their ancient custom, to bring sacred monies to send up to Jerusalem, may do this without interference." These were the edicts of Caesar. Proc
Agripp

(4) But Agrippa himself also wrote on behalf of the Jews in the following manner. "Agrippa to the magistrates, council and people of Ephesus, greeting. It is my will that the care and custody of the sacred monies belonging to the account of the temple in Jerusalem shall be given to the Jews in Asia in accordance with their ancestral customs. And if any men steal the sacred monies of the Jews and take refuge in places of asylum, it is my will that they be dragged away from them and turned over to the Jews under the same law by which temple-robbers are dragged away from asylum. I have also written to the praetor Silanus^c that no one shall compel the Jews to give bond (to appear in court) on the Sabbath." Agrippa's
order to
Ephesian
Eph
neg

(5) "Marcus Agrippa^d to the magistrates, council and people of Cyrene, greeting. The Jews in Cyrene, on whose behalf Augustus has already written to the former praetor of Libya, Flavius,^e and to the other Agrippa's
order to
Cyrenaea
Cyre

Cf. Magie, *loc. cit.* These decrees apparently were issued in 14 B.C.; *cf.* Reinhold, *Agrippa*, p. 120 n. 84.

^c Variant "Silvanus."

^d *Cf.* § 27 note.

^e Variant "Fabius" (preferred by Niese); the name is uncertain. *Cf.* Groag, *PW* vi. 1744; Reinhold, *Agrippa*, pp. 120 f.

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λους τοὺς τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπιμελουμένους, ἵνα ἀνεπι-
 κωλύτως ἀναπέμπηται τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα εἰς Ἱερο-
 170 σόλυμα, ὡς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς πάτριον, ἐνέτυχόν μοι νῦν
 ὡς ὑπὸ τινων συκοφαντῶν ἐπηρεάζονται καὶ ὡς ἐν
 προφάσει τελῶν μὴ ὀφειλομένων κωλύονται¹. οἷς
 ἀποκαθιστάνειν² κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον ἐνοχλου-
 μένοις, καὶ εἴ τινων ἱερὰ χρήματα ἀφῆρηται τῶν
 πόλεων,³ τοὺς εἰς ταῦτα ἀποκεκριμένους καὶ ταῦτα
 διορθώσασθαι τοῖς ἐκεῖ Ἰουδαίοις κελεύω.”

171 (6) “ Γάιος Νωρβανὸς Φλάκκος ἀνθύπατος Σαρ-
 διανῶν ἄρχουσι καὶ βουλῇ⁴ χαίρειν. Καῖσαρ μοι
 ἔγραψε κελεύων μὴ κωλύεσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὅσα⁵
 ἂν ὦσι κατὰ τὸ πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἔθος συναγαγόντας
 χρήματα ἀναπέμπειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ἔγραψα οὖν
 ὑμῖν, ἵν’ εἰδῆτε ὅτι Καῖσαρ καὶ γὰρ οὕτως θέλομεν
 γίνεσθαι.”

172 (7) Οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ Ἰούλιος Ἀντώνιος ἀνθ-
 ύπατος ἔγραψεν· “ Ἐφεσίων ἄρχουσιν βουλῇ δήμῳ
 χαίρειν. οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατοικοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι
 εἰδοῖς Φεβρουαρίοις δικαιοδοτοῦντί μοι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ
 ὑπέδειξαν Καίσαρα τὸν Σεβαστὸν καὶ Ἀγρίππαν
συγκεχωρηκέναι αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἰδίοις νόμοις
καὶ ἔθεσιν, ἀπαρχάς τε, ἃς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς

¹ κωλύοντο μὴ τὰ ἱερὰ ρέζειν con. Richards et Shutt.

² post ἀποκαθιστάνειν verba πάντα κελεύω vel sim. addere velit Niese.

³ πολιτῶν Lat.

⁴ καὶ βουλῇ om. PW : ἄρχουσι βουλῇ δήμῳ con. Niese.

⁵ Niese : ὅσοι codd.

^a Ordinarily each male Jew from the age of twenty was expected to contribute one-half shekel to the Temple at Jerusa-

officials of the province to the effect that the sacred monies may be sent up to Jerusalem^a without interference, as is their ancestral custom, now complain to me that they are being threatened by certain informers and prevented (from sending these monies) on the pretext of their owing taxes, which are in fact not owed. I therefore order that these monies be restored to the Jews, who are in no way to be molested, and if sacred monies have been taken away from any cities, the persons in charge of these matters shall see that amends are made to the Jews there.”

(6) “Gaius Norbanus Flaccus, proconsul, to the magistrates and council of Sardis, greeting. Caesar has written to me, ordering that the Jews shall not be prevented from collecting sums of money, however great they may be,^b in accordance with their ancestral custom, and sending them up to Jerusalem. I have therefore written to you in order that you may know that Caesar and I wish this to be done.”

(7) In no way differently did the proconsul Julius Antonius^c write. “To the magistrates, council and people of Ephesus, greeting. When I was administering justice in Ephesus on the Ides of February, the Jews dwelling in Asia pointed out to me that Caesar Augustus and Agrippa have permitted them to follow their own laws and customs, and to bring the offerings, which each of them makes of his own free will and out

lem. Cf. *Ant.* xviii. 312; Philo, *De Spec. Leg.* i. 76 f.; Juster, i. 377-388; on rabbinic sources, Schürer, ii. 245-254.

^b Conjectured by Niese; cf. critical note. Apparently he regards the ms. reading as an assimilation to § 166.

^c Son of Mark Antony and Fulvia; consul in 10 B.C. He was put to death in 2 B.C. for an intrigue with the emperor's daughter Julia. Horace dedicated his second Ode of Book IV to him. The confirmatory decree is dated in 4 B.C.

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Sard

Flaccus to the people of Sardis.

148

Julius Antonius the Ephesian

Eph

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- ιδίας προαιρέσεως εὐσεβείας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὸ
 θεῖον¹ . . . ἀνακομιδῆς συμπορευομένους ποιεῖν
 173 ἀνεμποδίστως. ἦτουν τε ὅπως καὶ ὁμοίως τοῖς
 ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Ἀγρίππα δοθείσιν τὴν ἐμὴν
 γνώμην βεβαιώσω. ὑμᾶς οὖν βούλομαι εἰδέναί ἐμέ²
 τοῖς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Ἀγρίππα βουλήμασι συν-
 επιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν κατὰ τὰ πά-
τρια χωρὶς ἐμποδισμοῦ.”
- 174 (8) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παρεθέμην ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἐπειδὴ
 μέλλουσιν αἱ τῶν ἡμετέρων πράξεων ἀναγραφῆαι τὸ
 πλεόν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἵεναι, δεικνὺς αὐτοῖς ὅτι
 πάσης τιμῆς ἄνωθεν ἐπιτυγχάνοντες οὐδὲν τῶν
πατρίων ἐκωλύθημεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων πράττειν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεργούμεθα τὰ τῆς θρησκείας ἔχοντες
 175 καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν θεὸν τιμῶν. ποιούμεθα δὲ πολλάκις
 αὐτῶν τὴν μνήμην ἐπιδιαλλάττων τὰ γένη, καὶ τὰς
 ἐμπεφυκυίας τοῖς ἀλογίστοις ἡμῶν τε κακείνων
 176 μίσους αἰτίας ὑπεξαιρούμενος. ἔθεσι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν
 ἔστιν γένος ὃ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ χρῆται, καὶ κατὰ πό-
 λεις ἔσθ' ὅπη πολλῆς ἐγγιγνομένης τῆς διαφορᾶς.
 177 τὸ δίκαιον δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁμοίως ἐπιτηδεύ-
 ουσι⁴ λυσιτελέστατον ὄν Ἕλλησὶ τε καὶ βαρβάροις,
 οὐ πλείστον οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν νόμοι λόγον ἔχοντες
 ἅπασιν ἡμᾶς, εἰ καθαρῶς ἐμμένομεν⁵ αὐτοῖς εὖνους
 178 καὶ φίλους ἀπεργάζονται. διὸ καὶ ταῦτα παρ'
 ἐκείνων ἡμῖν ἀπαιτητέον,⁶ ὡς⁷ δέον οὐκ ἐν τῇ δια-
 φορᾷ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων οἴεσθαι τὸ ἀλλότριον,⁸

¹ post θεῖον lacunam statuit Cocceji.

² ἐμέ Cocceji : ἐν codd.

³ συνεργοὺς μαθημάτων AMW : defendebamur Lat.

of piety toward the Deity, travelling together under escort (to Jerusalem) without being impeded in any way. And they asked that I confirm by my own decision the rights granted by Augustus and Agrippa. I therefore wish you to know that in agreement with the will of Augustus and Agrippa I permit them to live and act in accordance with their ancestral customs without interference."

(8)^a Now it was necessary for me to cite these decrees since this account of our history is chiefly meant to reach the Greeks in order to show them that in former times we were treated with all respect and were not prevented by our rulers from practising any of our ancestral customs but, on the contrary, even had their co-operation in preserving our religion and our way of honouring God. And if I frequently mention these decrees, it is to reconcile the other nations to us and to remove the causes for hatred which have taken root in thoughtless persons among us as well as among them. For there is no nation which always follows the same customs, and it also happens that there are great differences among cities. And it is most profitable for all men, Greeks and barbarians alike, to practise justice about which our laws are most concerned and, if we sincerely abide by them, they make us well disposed and friendly to all men. We therefore have a right to expect this same attitude from them, for one should not consider foreignness a matter of differences in practice but of whether

Josephus motives citing the Roman decrees.



^a On §§ 174-178 cf. Laqueur, pp. 221-223.

⁴ conieci: ἐπιτηδεύοντες codd.: studeatur Lat.: ἐπιτηδεύει ed. pr.: ἐπιτηδεύεται Cocceji.

⁵ ἐμμένοιμεν PW.

⁷ Niese: καὶ codd.

⁶ ἀπαντητέον con. Naber.

+ κείσθαι Richards et Shutt.

ἀλλ'¹ ἐν τῷ πρὸς καλοκαγαθίαν ἐπιτηδείως² ἔχειν·
τοῦτο γὰρ κοινὸν ἅπασι καὶ μόνον ἰκανὸν διασώζειν
τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον. ἐπάνειμι δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ
συνεχῆ τῆς ἱστορίας.

- 179 (vii. 1) Ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης πολλοῖς τοῖς ἀναλώ-
μασιν εἰς τε τὰς ἔξω χρείας³ καὶ τὰς⁴ ἐν τῇ βα-
σιλείᾳ χρώμενος, ἀκηκοὺς ἔτι τάχιον ὡς Ὑρκανὸς
ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς ἀνοίξας τὸν Δαυίδου τάφον
ἀργυρίου λάβοι τρισχίλια τάλαντα κειμένων πολὺ
πλείονων ἔτι καὶ δυναμένων εἰς ἅπαν ἐπαρκέσαι
ταῖς χορηγίαις, ἐκ πλείονος μὲν δι' ἐννοίας εἶχε τὴν
180 ἐπιχείρησιν, ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε νυκτὸς ἀνοίξας τὸν τά-
φον εἰσέρχεται πραγματευσάμενος ἤκιστα μὲν τῇ
πόλει φανερὸς εἶναι, παρειληφῶς δὲ τοὺς πιστοτά-
181 τούς τῶν φίλων. ἀποθέσιμα μὲν οὖν χρήματα,
καθάπερ Ὑρκανός, οὐχ εὔρεν, κόσμον δὲ χρυσοῦν⁵
καὶ κειμηλίων πολὺν,⁶ ὃν ἀνείλετο πάντα. σπουδῆν
δ' εἶχεν, ἐπιμελεστέραν ποιούμενος τὴν ἔρευναν, ἐν-
δοτέρω τε χωρεῖν καὶ καταγνύναι⁷ τὰς θήκας ἐν αἷς
ἦν τοῦ Δαυίδου καὶ τοῦ Σολομῶνος τὰ σώματα.
182 καὶ δύο μὲν αὐτῷ τῶν δορυφόρων διεφθάρησαν,
φλογὸς ἔνδοθεν εἰσιοῦσιν ἀπαντώσης, ὡς ἐλέγετο,
περίφοβος δ' αὐτὸς ἐξήει, καὶ τοῦ δέους⁸ ἰλαστήριον
μνημα λευκῆς πέτρας ἐπὶ τῷ στομίῳ κατεσκευά-
183 σατο πολυτελεστάτῃ δαπάνῃ. τούτου καὶ Νικόλαος
ὁ κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστοριογράφος μέμνηται τοῦ κατα-

¹ post ἀλλ' lacunam statuit Niese.

² ἀνεπιτηδείως con. Richards et Shutt.

³ χρείας add. Bekker.

⁴ τὰς . . . τὰς] τοὺς . . . τοὺς AM.

⁵ χρυσοῦ W.

there is a proper attitude to goodness. For this is common to all men and alone enables society to endure. But I must once more resume the course of my narrative.

(vii. 1) Now Herod, who had spent large sums of money both on external needs and on those of the realm and had heard even earlier that Hyrcanus, one of the kings before him, had opened David's tomb ^a and taken three thousand talents of silver from the much larger amount that was still stored there and was sufficient to pay for all his lavish gifts, for a long time had the idea of laying hands upon it. And so one night he opened the tomb and entered it, first taking precautions not to be seen by anyone in the city, but bringing along only the most trustworthy of his friends. Unlike Hyrcanus, however, he did not find money stored there but he did find many ornaments of gold and other valuable deposits, all of which he took away. He was intent upon making a more careful search, penetrating farther and breaking open ^b the coffins in which the bodies of David and Solomon lay. But as two of his bodyguards were destroyed, it is said, by a flame that met them as they entered, the king himself became frightened, and as a propitiation of the terror ^c he built at the entrance (of the tomb) a memorial of white marble, which was a huge expense. This structure is also mentioned by his contemporary,

^a During the siege of Jerusalem in 135/4 B.C. Cf. *Ant.* vii. 393; xiii. 249; *B.J.* i. 61.

^b Conjectured by Marcus. The received text (cf. critical note) may be rendered "and even to the coffins . . ."

^c Marcus would have preferred "of God."

⁶ κόσμον δὲ πολὺν κειμηλίων χρυσῶν E: ornatum vero et vasa aurea plura Lat.

⁷ conieci: κατὰ codd. E Lat.

⁸ Marcus θεοῦ.