

Josephus, *Antiquities* 14.185-267:

Glimpses into Judean associations via diplomatic documents

(x. 1) ^b Caesar on arriving at Rome was ready to sail for Africa to make war on Scipio and Cato,^c when Hyrcanus sent to him with the request that he should confirm the treaty of friendship and alliance with him. And here it seems to me necessary to make public all the honours given our nation and the alliances made with them by the Romans and their emperors,^d in order that the other nations may not fail to recognize that both the kings of Asia and of Europe^e have held us in esteem and have admired our bravery and loyalty. Since many persons, how-

Josephus motives for citing Roman decrees favourable to the Jews.

^b On the authenticity, dates, etc., of the official documents quoted in the following chapter see works listed in Appendix J. Here it may suffice to remark that the order of the documents is confused and that the reading of many names is doubtful.

^c Preparations were made in the summer of 47 B.C. Caesar sailed for Africa early in October; for details of the campaign see T. Rice Holmes, *The Roman Republic*, iii. 534 ff.

^d αὐτοκράτορες = Lat. *imperatores*.

^e Meaning the Persian and Seleucid kings and Roman emperors. Although βασιλεύς is not generally applied to the Roman emperor before the second century A.D., Josephus twice speaks of the βασιλεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, in *B.J.* iii. 351 and iv. 596.

ever, out of enmity to us refuse to believe what has been written about us by Persians and Macedonians because these writings are not ^a found everywhere and are not deposited even in public places but are found only among us and some other barbarian peoples,^b while against the decrees of the Romans nothing can be said—for they are kept in the public places of the cities and are still to be found engraved on bronze tablets in the Capitol^c; and what is more, Julius Caesar made a bronze tablet for the Jews in Alexandria,^d declaring that they were citizens of Alexandria—from these same documents I will furnish proof of my statements. Accordingly I will now cite the decrees passed by the Senate and Julius Caesar concerning Hyrcanus and our nation.

(8) ^c "Julius Gaius,^d Praetor, Consul^e of the Romans, to the magistrates, council and people of Parium,^f greeting. The Jews in Delos and some of

Julius
Caesar to
the people
of Parium.

567. It probably belongs with the *senatus consultum* cited in §§ 207-211; *cf.* also §§ 220 ff.

^c Ritschl, followed by Mendelssohn and Viereck, dates the following document in 46 B.C.

^d The name is quite uncertain. For various conjectures see the critical note. Viereck favours Lange's conjecture "Publius Servilius Isauricus."

^e Lange, Viereck and others emend *στρατηγὸς ὑπατος* to *ἀνθύπατος* "proconsul," but the former is defended by Juster i. 142 n. 3.

^f Parium was on the coast of the Troad, east of the Hellespont. Schürer conjectures *Παρίων* "the people of Paros." The island of Paros is *c.* 10 miles S. of Delos, mentioned in the next sentence. Juster, i. 142 n. 4, defends the reading *Παριανῶν*, citing Haussouillier in *BCH* 8 (1884), 149 ff.

the neighbouring Jews, some of your^a envoys also being present, have appealed to me and declared that you are preventing them by statute from observing their national customs and sacred rites. Now it displeases me that such statutes should be made against our friends and allies and that they should be forbidden to live in accordance with their customs and to contribute money to common meals and sacred rites, for this they are not forbidden to do even in Rome. For example, Gaius Caesar, our consular praetor,^b by edict forbade religious societies to assemble in the city, but these people alone he did not forbid to do so or to collect contributions of money or to hold common meals.^c Similarly do I forbid other religious societies but permit these people alone to assemble and feast in accordance with their native customs and ordinances. And if you have made any statutes against our friends and allies, you will do well to revoke them because of their worthy deeds on our behalf and their goodwill toward us."

(9) After the death of Gaius,^d Marcus Antonius and Publius Dolabella, the consuls, convened the Senate and having introduced the envoys sent by Hyrcanus, discussed the requests they presented, and made a treaty of friendship with them. And the Senate voted to grant them everything they sought. I here-

Julius
Caesar's
policy con-
tinued after
his death.

^a Variant "our."

^b Conjectured for ms. "praetor (or "commander") and consul"; the Lat. has only "consul." These titles are strange, applied to Julius Caesar.

^c A similarly protective attitude toward the Jews is revealed in the decrees cited below, §§ 241-261. On Caesar's treatment of other religious groups in Rome see Suetonius, *Iul.* 42, 3, "cuncta collegia praeter antiquitus constituta distraxit."

^d March 15, 44 B.C.

with give the decree itself in order that the readers of this History may have before them a proof of these statements. It read as follows.

(10) "Decree of the Senate, copied from the Treasury, from the public tablets of the quaestors, Quintus Rutilius and Quintus Cornelius being quaestors of the city, second tablet, first column.^a Three days before the Ides of April,^b in the Temple of Concord, there being present at the writing Lucius Calpurnius Piso of the Menenian tribe, Servius Sulpicius^c Quintus of the Lemonian tribe, Gaius Caninius Rebilus of the Teretine tribe, Publius Tedetius,^d son of Lucius, of the Pollian tribe,^e Lucius Apulius, son of Lucius, of the Sergian tribe, Flavius, son of Lucius, of the Lemonian tribe, Publius Plautius, son of Publius, of the Papirian tribe, Marcus Gellius,^f son of Marcus, of the Maecian tribe, Lucius Erucius,^g son of Lucius, of the Steletinian tribe, Marcus Quintus Plancinus, son of Marcus, of the

Decree of the Roman Senate confirming Julius Caesar's decisions regarding the Jews.

^a Text emended; mss. "second tablet and from the first ones." Viereck's emendation is supported by the rescript of 73 B.C. to the magistrates of Oropus (*cf.* Viereck, p. 39), δέλτω πρώτη κηρώματι τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτω. κήρωμα = Lat. *cera* "column" or "page," *cf.* Horace, *Serm.* ii. 5. 51-54, Suetonius, *Nero* 17.

^b April 11, 44 B.C. This was the date of the registration of the *senatus consultum* enacted before Caesar's death, as stated below, § 222.

^c Conjectured for mss. "Papinius."

^d "Titius" is conjectured by Mendelssohn.

^e The variant omits "son of Lucius, of the Pollian tribe."

^f Conjectured for mss. "Sellius," "Asellius," etc. Gronovius conjectures "Aquilus."

^g "Raiscius" is conjectured by Mendelssohn.

¹⁶ Σερούκιος Ρ: 'Ραίσκιος Mendelssohn.

¹⁷ Ρ: Τηληγτίνα aut Τηλιτίνα rell.

Pollian tribe, and Publius Serrius.^a Publius Dolabella and Marcus Antonius, the consuls,^b made speeches.^c As for the decision rendered by Gaius Caesar, with the concurrence of the Senate, concerning the Jews, which there was not time to have registered in the Treasury, this matter we wish to be disposed of as the consuls Publius Dolabella and Marcus Antonius have decided, and that these decisions be recorded in tablets and brought to the quaestors of the city, and that they take care to have them inscribed on two-leaved tablets. They were dated the fifth day before the Ides of February^d in the Temple of Concord.^e The envoys from the high priest Hyrcanus were the following: Lysimachus, son of Pausanias, Alexander, son of Theodorus, Patroclus, son of Chaireas, and Jonathan, son of Onias.”

(11) One of these envoys Hyrcanus sent also to Dolabella, who was then governor of Asia,^f requesting him to exempt the Jews from military service and permit them to maintain their native customs and live in accordance with them. And this request he readily obtained; for Dolabella, on receiving the letter from Hyrcanus, without even taking counsel, sent to all (the officials) in Asia, and wrote to Ephesus,

Dolabella also grants privileges to the Jews of Asia.

^c *λόγους ἐποιήσαντο* = Lat. *verba fecerunt*, cf. Viereck, p. 36.

^d February 9, 44 B.C.

^e The Temple of Concord, however, was the place of registration, not of enactment, of the decree, cf. above, § 219 note *b*.

^f Dolabella was appointed governor of Syria (not of the province of Asia) in June, 44 B.C., and set out for Syria at the end of the year. On his way through Asia he killed Trebonius, governor of Asia, who had been one of Caesar's assassins. Soon after, in 43 B.C., Dolabella was blockaded in Laodicea by Cassius, and committed suicide.

the chief city of Asia, about the Jews. His letter read as follows.

(12) "In the presidency of Artemon, on the first day of the month of Lenaeon,^a Dolabella, Imperator, to the magistrates, council and people of Ephesus, greeting. Alexander, son of Theodorus, the envoy of Hyrcanus, son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, has explained to me that his co-religionists^b cannot undertake military service because they may not bear arms or march on the days of the Sabbath; nor can they obtain the native foods to which they are accustomed. I, therefore, like the governors before me, grant them exemption from military service and allow them to follow their native customs and to come together for sacred and holy rites in accordance with their law, and to make offerings for their sacrifices; and it is my wish that you write these instructions to the various cities."

Dolabella's letter to Ephesus.

(13) These, then, were the favours which Dolabella granted to our people when Hyrcanus sent an envoy to him. And Lucius Lentulus, the consul,^c declared. "Those Jews who are Roman citizens and observe Jewish rites and practise them in Ephesus, I^d released from military service before the tribunal on the twelfth day before the Kalends of October^e in consideration of their religious scruples, in the consulship of Lucius Lentulus and Gaius Marcellus. Those

Lentulus exempts Jewish citizens of Ephesus from military service.

by the Senate to recruit two legions in the province of Asia, *cf.* Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 4. His decree is cited by subordinate Roman officials in the cities of Asia, §§ 230-246.

^a Conjectured from Latin for *ms.* "he."

^e September 19, 49 B.C., but *Ἰουλιωβρίων* is probably a copyist's error for *Κουντιλίων*, which would give June 19th as in §§ 234, 237.

present were the legate Titus Ampius Balbus,^a son of Titus, of the Horatian tribe, Titus Tongius, son of Titus, of the Crustumian tribe, Quintus Caesius,^a son of Quintus, Titus Pompeius Longinus, son of Titus, the military tribune Gaius Servilius Bracchus, son of Gaius, of the Teretine tribe, Publius Clusius Gallus, son of Publius, of the Veturian^a tribe, Gaius Sentius, son of Gaius . . . son of . . . of the Sabatine tribe.”

“ Titus Ampius Balbus, son of Titus, legate and propraetor,^b to the magistrates, council and people of Ephesus, greeting. Lucius Lentulus, the consul, has at my petition exempted the Jews in Asia from military service. And on making the same request later of Fannius, the propraetor, and of Lucius Antonius,^c the proquaestor, I obtained my request; and it is my wish that you take care that no one shall molest them.”

(14) Decree of the Delians. “ In the archonship of Boeotus, on the twentieth day of the month of Thargelion,^d response of the magistrates. The legate Marcus Piso, when resident in our city, having been placed in charge of the recruiting of soldiers, summoned us and a considerable number of citizens, and ordered that if there were any Jews who were Roman

Decree of
the people
of Delos.

^a Name slightly emended.

^b = Lat. *legatus pro praetore*, cf. Magie, p. 9.

^c Identified by Reinach and Juster, i. 145, with Lucius Antonius, son of Marcus, mentioned below, § 235.

^d = May/June in the Roman calendar. The year is probably 49 B.C., cf. Juster, i. 146, vs. Mendelssohn and Haussoullier, *BCH* 8 (1884), 150, who place it in 43 B.C. Reinach conjectures that Delos at this time was attached to the Roman province of Asia.

citizens, no one should bother them about military service, inasmuch as the consul Lucius Cornelius Lentulus had exempted the Jews from military service in consideration of their religious scruples. We ^a must therefore obey the magistrate." Similar to this was the decree concerning us which the people of Sardis passed.^b

(15) "Gaius Fannius, son of Gaius, proconsular praetor,^c to the magistrates of Cos, greeting. I would have you know that envoys have come to me from the Jews, asking to have the decrees concerning them which were passed by the Senate. These decrees are herewith appended. It is my wish therefore that you take thought and care for these men in accordance with the decree of the Senate, in order that they may safely be brought through your country to their home."

Letter of
Gaius
Fannius to
the people
of Cos.

(16) ^d"Lucius Lentulus, consul, declares: 'In consideration of their religious scruples I have released those Jews who are Roman citizens and appeared to me to have and to practise Jewish rites in Ephesus. Dated the twelfth^e day before the Kalends of July.'"^f

Statement
of Lentulus
concerning
Jews of
Ephesus.

(17) ^g"Lucius Antonius, son of Marcus, proquaes-
tor and proprae-
tor, to the magistrates, council and
identified with the Fannius mentioned in § 230. For the various conjectures about the date of this document (ranging from 161 to 44 B.C.) see works listed in Appendix J.

Letter of
Lucius
Antonius
to Sardis.

^d This document seems to be a variant of that cited in §§ 228-229.

^e Variant "thirteenth."

^f Variant "October," *cf.* § 228 note *e*. The reading here adopted corresponds to June 19, 49 B.C.

^g This document seems to be an extension of the rights granted to the Jews of Ephesus by Lucius Lentulus, to include general religious toleration, *cf.* Juster i. 145.

people of Sardis, greeting. Jewish citizens of ours^a have come to me and pointed out that from the earliest times they have had an association of their own in accordance with their native laws and a place of their own,^b in which they decide their affairs and controversies with one another; and upon their request that it be permitted them to do these things, I decided that they might be maintained, and permitted them so to do."

(18) ^c " Marcus Publius, son of Spurius,^d and Marcus, son of Marcus, and Lucius, son of Publius,^e declared: ' We have gone to the proconsul^f Lentulus and informed him of the statement made by Dositheus, son of Cleopatrides, the Alexandrian, to the effect that, if it seemed proper to him, in consideration of their religious scruples he should exempt from military service those Jews who are Roman citizens and are accustomed to practise Jewish rites. And he^g did exempt them on the twelfth^h day before the Kalends of July.' "ⁱ

Petition to
Lentulus.

(19) " In the consulship of Lucius Lentulus and

Decree of

§§ 238-240 probably refer to the same decree of Lentulus as is cited in § 234.

^d Name slightly emended.

^e Others read, with one ms. and Lat., " Marcus Lucius, son of Marcus Publius." As Lucius and Publius are not *gentilicia* we should have to assume a corruption in the latter reading, as well as in the name " Marcus Publius, son of Spurius." Possibly, however, as Gronovius suggests *ap.* Hudson-Havercamp, these men were Roman plebeians and converts to Judaism; in that case the names Marcus Publius, Marcus Lucius might be genuine.

^f Reinach alters to " consul " as in § 234.

^g Variant " I."

^h Variant " thirteenth."

ⁱ Some mss. combine the variants " July " and " October." On the date see § 228 note *e*.

Gaius Marcellus. Present were the legate Titus Ampius^a Balbus, son of Titus, of the Horatian tribe, Titus Tongius of the Crustumian tribe, Quintus Caesius,^b son of Quintus, Titus Pompeius Longinus, son of Titus, of the Cornelian tribe, the military tribune Gaius Servilius Bracchus, son of Gaius, of the Teretine tribe, Publius Clusius Gallus, son of Publius, of the Veturian^a tribe, the military tribune Gaius Teutius, son of Gaius, of the Aemilian tribe, Sextus Atilius Serranus, son of Sextus, of the Aemilian tribe, Gaius Pompeius, son of Gaius, of the Sabatine tribe, Titus Ampius Menander, son of Titus, Publius Servilius Strabo, son of Publius, Lucius Paccius Capito, son of Lucius, of the Colline tribe, Aulus Furius^a Tertius, son of Aulus,^c Appius Menas. In their presence Lentulus announced the following decree. In consideration of their religious scruples I have released before the tribunal those Jews who are Roman citizens and are accustomed to observe Jewish rites in Ephesus.”

Lentulus exempting Jewish citizens of Ephesus from military service.

(20) “The magistrates of Laodicea to the proconsul Gaius Rabirius,^d son of Gaius, greeting. Sopatrus, the envoy of the high priest Hyrcanus,^e has delivered to us a letter from you, in which you have informed us that certain persons have come from Hyrcanus,

Letter of magistrates of Laodicea to Gaius Rabirius.

^c Variant “ Paulus.”

^d The readings “ proconsul ” for ms. “ consul ” and “ Rabirius ” for “ Rabellius ” are proposed by Homolle, *BCH* 6 (1882), 608-612, on the basis of an inscription found at Delos. Juster, i. 146 n. 7, suggests that the document is to be dated in 45 B.C.

^e Probably Hyrcanus II (see preceding note); but strong arguments have been advanced for the view that this document like the Pergamene decree below, §§ 247-255 (which mentions a Jewish envoy named Sosipater), is to be dated in the reign of Hyrcanus I; see works listed in Appendix J.

the high priest of the Jews, bringing documents concerning their nation,^a to the effect that it shall be lawful for them ^b to observe their Sabbaths and perform their other rites in accordance with their native laws, and that no one shall give orders to them, because they are our friends and allies, and that no one shall do them an injury in our province ^c; and as the people of Tralles ^d objected in your presence that they were dissatisfied with the decrees concerning them, you gave orders that they should be carried out, adding that you have been requested to write also to us about the matters concerning them. We, therefore, in obedience to your instructions, have accepted the letter delivered to us and have deposited it among our public archives; and to the other matters on which you have given us instructions we shall give such attention that no one shall incur blame."

(21) "Publius Servilius Galba,^e son of Publius, proconsul to the magistrates, council and people of Miletus,^f greeting. Prytanis, son of Hermas,^g a citizen of yours, came to me when I was holding court at Tralles and informed me that contrary to our ex-

Letter of
Publius
Servilius
Galba to
Miletus.

^b Variant "the Jews."

^c The province of Phrygia.

^d Probably Tralles in Caria, c. 75 miles W. of Laodicea. Both cities lay near the Maeander river.

^e The reading "Vatias" for "Galba" proposed by Bergmann, *Philologus* 2 (1847), p. 684, is adopted by many scholars, but rejected by Reinach and Juster i. 147 n. 1.

^f Juster, citing Haussoullier, *Milet*, p. 258, points out that under Roman rule Miletus had no assembly or civic autonomy before 46 B.C.

^g Wilhelm, *JOAI* 8 (1905), 242 (cited by Juster), proposes "son of Simos" on the basis of an inscription, probably 1st century B.C., found at Thera.

pressed wish you are attacking the Jews and forbid them to observe their Sabbaths, perform their native rites or manage their produce^a in accordance with their custom; and that he had announced this decree^b in accordance with the laws. I would therefore have you know that after hearing the arguments of the opposing sides, I have decided that the Jews are not to be forbidden to follow their customs."

(22) Decree of the people of Pergamum. "In the presidency of Cratippus,^c on the first of the month Daisios, a decree of the magistrates. As the Romans in pursuance of the practices of their ancestors have accepted dangerous risks for the common safety of all mankind and strive emulously to place their allies and friends in a state of happiness and lasting peace, the Jewish nation and their high priest Hyrcanus^d have sent as envoys to them Straton, son of Theodotus, Apollonius, son of Alexander,^e Aeneas, son of Antipater, Aristobulus, son of Amyntas, and Sosipater,^f son of Philip, worthy and excellent men, and have made representations concerning certain particular matters, whereupon the Senate passed a decree concerning the matters on which they spoke, to the effect

Decree of
Pergamum.

^a Exactly what priestly revenues (for Jerusalem) are meant is not clear; *καρπός* in the LXX sometimes means "first-fruits," but here it may include tithes, as Reinach suggests.

^b Text slightly uncertain.

^c A *prytanis* named Cratippus is mentioned in a Pergamene inscription to be dated 150-50 B.C., according to Juster, i. 134 n. 3, citing *Ath. Mitt.* 17 (1902), 126 and *JÖAI* 8 (1905), 238. See further note *a* on p. 582.

^d Hyrcanus I is meant.

^e An Apollonius, son of Alexander, is mentioned as an envoy of Hyrcanus I to Rome in *Ant.* xiii. 260.

^f Cf. § 241 note *e*.

that King Antiochus, son of Antiochus,^a shall do no injury to the Jews, the allies of the Romans; and that the fortresses, harbours, territory and whatever else he may have taken from them shall be restored to them^b; and that it shall be lawful^c for them to export goods from their harbours and that no king or people exporting goods from the territory of the Jews or from their harbours shall be untaxed except only Ptolemy, king of Alexandria,^d because he is our ally and friend; and that the garrison in Joppa shall be expelled, as they have requested. And one of our council, Lucius Pettius,^e a worthy and excellent man, has given orders that we shall take care that these things are done as the Senate has decreed, and that we shall see to the safe return of the envoys to their homes. We have also admitted Theodorus to the council and assembly, accepting from him the letter and the decree of the Senate; and after he had addressed us with great earnest-

^a Reinach suggests that Ptolemy IX Alexander is meant; he was called to Egypt from Cyprus by his mother Cleopatra III in 107 B.C. If the Pergamene decree is to be dated in the reign of Antiochus Sidetes (who died in 129 B.C.), Reinach's conjecture is impossible, and Ptolemy VII Euergetes II (Physcon) must be meant. On his friendly relations with Rome, cf. Diodorus xxxiii. 28 a; he says that Scipio Aemilianus and his colleagues visited Egypt (c. 135 B.C.) and Syria, τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς φιλίαν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνανεωσάμενοι.

^e F. Münzer in *PW* 19 (1938), 1381 suggests that in spite of the wording of the text L. Pettius may have been a member of a Commission of the Roman Senate or even a praetor in Rome. This would be more likely if we accepted Reinach's emendation of τῇ βουλῇ for τῆς βουλῆς, meaning that L. Pettius gave orders to the council of Pergamum, not that he was one of the council.

ness and pointed out the virtues and generosity of Hyrcanus and how he confers benefits upon all men generally, and in particular upon those who come to him, we deposited the documents in our public archives and passed a decree that we on our part, being allies of the Romans,^a would do everything possible on behalf of the Jews in accordance with the decree of the Senate.^b And when he delivered the letter to us, Theodorus also requested our magistrates to send a copy of the decree to Hyrcanus, as well as envoys who would inform him of the friendly interest of our people, and would urge him to preserve and increase his friendship with us and always^c be responsible for some act of good in the knowledge that he will receive a fitting recompense, and also remembering that in the time of Abraham, who was the father of all Hebrews, our ancestors were their friends, as we find in the public records."^d

(23) Decree of the people of Halicarnassus. "In the priesthood of Memnon,^e son of Aristides and, by adoption, of Euonymus,^f . . . of Anthesterion,^g the people passed the following decree on the motion

Decree of Halicarnassus.

^b Presumably by supporting the Jews against Antiochus, at least in theory. Possibly some practical support might have been given in the form of trade agreements.

^c "Always" is added conjecturally.

^d On the similar claim of kinship between the Jews and Spartans dating from the time of Abraham, see *Ant.* xii. 226 and works listed in Appendix F.

^e Wilhelm, *JÖAI* 8 (1905), 238-241 (cited by Juster i. 148 n. 3), proposes to read "Neon" on the bases of inscriptions (of unknown date) in *BCH* 4 (1880), 397 and 14 (1890), 102, 402.

^f Wilhelm, *loc. cit.*, emends to "Menollus."

^g February/March. The day of the month must have been given originally.

of Marcus Alexander.^a Whereas at all times we have had a deep regard for piety toward the Deity and holiness, and following the example of the people of Rome, who are benefactors of all mankind, and in conformity with what they have written to our city concerning their friendship and alliance with the Jews, to the effect that their sacred services to God and their customary festivals and religious gatherings shall be carried on, we have also decreed that those Jewish men and women who so wish may observe their Sabbaths and perform their sacred rites in accordance with the Jewish laws, and may build places of prayer^b near the sea,^c in accordance with their native custom. And if anyone, whether magistrate or private citizen, prevents them, he shall be liable to the following fine^d and owe it to the city."

(24) Decree of the people of Sardis.^e "The following decree was passed by the council and people on the motion of the magistrates. Whereas the Jewish citizens^f living in our city^g have continually received many great privileges from the people and have now come before the council and the people and have pleaded that as their laws and freedom have been

Decree of
Sardis.

Antonius to Sardis in § 235 (*cf.* § 232) is not clear, but the present document seems to be later.

^f W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*, p. 176 n. 1, remarks, "οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰουδαῖοι πολῖται is a contradiction in terms; the interpolation of πολῖται is self-evident." So also Reinach had earlier noted that πολῖται is "très embarrassant," and may be an error arising from the following πολλὰ or else mean πολῖται Ῥωμαῖοι. Conceivably, however, the members of a Jewish *politeuma* within the Hellenistic *polis* may have been called πολῖται (for ἰσοπολῖται). See further the appendix on the status of Jews in the Diaspora in the last volume of this translation.

^g One ms. adds "from the earliest times."

restored to them by the Roman Senate and people,^a they may, in accordance with their accepted customs, come together and have a communal life^b and adjudicate suits among themselves,^c and that a place be given them in which they may gather together with their wives and children and offer their ancestral prayers and sacrifices^d to God, it has therefore been decreed by the council and people that permission shall be given them to come together on stated days to do those things which are in accordance with their laws, and also that a place shall be set apart by the magistrates for them to build and inhabit,^e such as they may consider suitable for this purpose, and that the market-officials of the city shall be charged with the duty of having suitable food for them brought in."

(25) Decree of the people of Ephesus. "In the presidency of Menophilus, on the first of the month Artemision,^f the following decree was passed by the people on the motion of the magistrates, and was announced by Nicanor. Whereas the Jews in the city have petitioned the proconsul Marcus Junius

Decree of
Ephesus.

^b The variant omits "and have a communal life"; the reference is to the organization of the Jewish community (*politeuma*) in Sardis.

^c Variant "and that we shall not have legal disputes with them"—an inferior reading. The document cited in § 235 states that the Jews of Sardis have had their own courts "from the earliest times." In this document they are permitted to have a synagogue in addition.

^d "Sacrifices" (*θυσίας*) must here be used in the larger sense of "offerings."

^e Reinach assumes that a "ghetto" is meant, but *τόπον* here probably means a synagogue or communal building, *cf.* A. D. Nock in *HTR* 29 (1936), 46.

^f March 24th in the Roman calendar, according to Gardthausen, *Augustus*, i. 64, ii. 72 (cited by Juster i. 148 n. 10).

Brutus, son of Pontius,^a that they might observe their Sabbaths and do all those things which are in accordance with their native customs without interference from anyone, and the governor^b has granted this request, it has therefore been decreed by the council and^c people that as the matter is of concern to the Romans, no one shall be prevented from keeping the Sabbath days nor be fined for so doing, but they shall be permitted to do all those things which are in accordance with their own laws."

(26) Now there are many other such decrees, passed by the Senate and the Imperators^d of the Romans, relating to Hyrcanus^e and our nation, as well as resolutions of cities and rescripts of provincial governors^f in reply to letters on the subject of our rights, all of which those who will read our work without malice will find it possible to take on faith from the documents we have cited. For since we have furnished clear and visible proofs of our friendship with the Romans, indicating those decrees engraved on bronze pillars and tablets which remain to this day and will continue to remain in the Capitol, I have refrained from citing them all as being both superfluous and disagreeable; for I cannot suppose that anyone is so stupid that he will actually refuse to believe the statements about the friendliness of

Conclusion
of citations
from official
documents.

^c The variant omits "council and."

^d Such as Julius Caesar, Mark Antony and Dolabella.

^e Josephus must mean Hyrcanus II, although some of the decrees cited above probably date from the time of Hyrcanus I (*e.g.* §§ 247 ff.).

^f Chamonard translates, "d'actes des magistrats en réponse aux lettres des gouverneurs"; but *ἡγεμόσιν* is clearly dative of agent depending on the passive participle *ἀντιπεφωνημένα*. *ἡγεμόν* here = Lat. *praeses provinciae* (Magie, p. 85).

the Romans towards us, when they have demonstrated this in a good many decrees relating to us, or will not admit that we are making truthful statements on the basis of the examples we have given. And herein we have set forth our friendship and alliance with the Romans in those times.