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1 Since I have collected material for a memorable history of my visit to Eleazar the high priest of the Jews, and because you, Philocrates, as you lose no opportunity of reminding me, have set great store upon receiving an account of the motives and object of my mission, I have attempted to draw up a clear exposition of the matter for you, for I perceive that you possess a natural love of learning,

2 a quality which is the highest possession of man - to be constantly attempting 'to add to his stock of knowledge and acquirements' whether through the study of history or by actually participating in the events themselves. It is by this means, by taking up into itself the noblest elements, that the soul is established in purity, and having fixed its aim on piety, the noblest goal of all, it uses this as its infallible guide and so acquires a definite purpose.

3 It was my devotion to the pursuit of religious knowledge that led me to undertake περιέργως τὰ θεῖα κατανοεῖν, ἑαυτοὺς the embassy to the man I have mentioned, who was held in the highest esteem by his

1:1 'Αξιολόγου διηγήσεως, ὧ Φιλόκρατες, περὶ τῆς γενηθείσης ἡμῖν ἐντυχίας πρὸς 'Ελεάζαρον τὸν τῶν 'Ιουδαίων ἀρχιερέα συνεσταμένης, διὰ τὸ σὲ περὶ πολλοῦ πεποιῆσθαι, παρ' ἕκαστα ὑπομιμνήσκων, συνακοῦσαι περὶ ὧν ἀπεστάλημεν καὶ διὰ τί, πεπείραμαι σαφῶς ἐκθέσθαι σοι, κατειληφώς ην έχεις φιλομαθη διάθεσιν.

2 ὅπερ μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπω, προσμανθάνειν ἀεί τι καὶ προσλαμβάνειν, ήτοι κατά τὰς ἱστορίας, ἢ καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα πεπειραμένω. οὕτω γὰρ κατασκευάζεται ψυχῆς καθαρὰ διάθεσις, ἀναλαβοῦσα τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ πρὸς τὸ πάντων κυριώτατον νενευκυῖα τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀπλανεῖ κεχρημένη κανόνι διοικεῖ.

3 Τὴν προαίρεσιν ἔχοντες ἡμεῖς πρὸς τὸ ἐπεδώκαμεν εἰς τὸν προειρημένον ἄνδρα πρεσβείαν, καλοκαγαθία καὶ δόξη own citizens and by others both for his virtue $|_{\pi\rho o \tau \in \tau \iota \mu \eta \mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu o \nu}$ ὑπό τε τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ

and his majesty and who had in his possession documents of the highest value to the Jews in his own country and in foreign lands for the interpretation of the divine law, for their laws are written on leather parchments in Jewish characters.

4 This embassy then I undertook with enthusiasm, having first of all found an opportunity of pleading with the king on behalf of the Jewish captives who had been transported from Judea to Egypt by the king's Ἰουδαίας ὑπὸ πατρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, father, when he first obtained possession of this city and conquered the land of Egypt. It is worthwhile that I should tell you this story, too,

5 since I am convinced that you, with your disposition towards holiness and your sympathy with men who are living in accordance with the holy law, will all the more readily listen to the account which I purpose to set forth, since you yourself have lately come to us from the island and are anxious to hear everything that tends to build up the soul.

6 On a former occasion, too I sent you a record of the facts which I thought worth relating about the Jewish race, - the record which I had obtained from the most learned high priests of the most learned land of Egypt.

7 As you are so eager to acquire the knowledge of those things which can benefit the mind, I feel it incumbent upon me to impart to you all the information in my power. I should feel the same duty towards all who possessed the same disposition but I feel it especially towards you since you have aspirations which are so noble, and since you are not only my brother in character no less

τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ κατακεκτημένον μεγίστην ὤφέλειαν τοῖς σὺν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τόπους πολίταις, πρὸς τὴν ἑρμηνείαν τοῦ θείου νόμου, διὰ τὸ γεγράφθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν διφθέραις έβραϊκοῖς γράμμασιν.

4 ἣν δὴ καὶ ἐποιησάμεθα ἡμεῖς σπουδῆ, λαβόντες καιρὸν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τῶν μετοικισθέντων εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐκ τῆς πρώτως κεκτημένου τήν τε πόλιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον παρειληφότος. Ἄξιόν έστι καὶ ταῦτά σοι δηλῶσαι.

5 πέπεισμαι γὰρ σε μᾶλλον ἔχοντα πρόσκλισιν πρὸς τὴν σεμνότητα καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων διάθεσιν τῶν κατὰ τὴν σεμνὴν νομοθεσίαν διεξαγόντων, περὶ ὧν προαιρούμεθα (δηλοῦν, ἀσμένως σε) ἀκούσεσθαι, προσφάτως παραγεγενημένον ἐκ τῆς νήσου πρὸς ήμεῖς, καὶ βουλόμενον συνακούειν ὅσα πρὸς ἐπισκευὴν ψυχῆς ὑπάρχει.

6 καὶ πρότερον δὲ διεπεμψάμην σοι περὶ ων ἐνόμιζον ἀξιομνημονεύτων εἶναι τὴν άναγραφήν, ήν μετελάβομεν παρά τῶν κατὰ τὴν λογιωτάτην Αἴγυπτον λογιωτάτην ἀρχιερέων περὶ τοῦ γένους τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

7 φιλομαθῶς γὰρ ἔχοντί σοι περὶ τῶν δυναμένων ώφελῆσαι διάνοιαν δέον ἐστὶ μεταδιδόναι, μάλιστα μὲν πᾶσι τοῖς όμοίοις, πολλῷ δὲ μᾶλλον σοὶ γνησίαν ἔχοντι τὴν αἵρεσιν, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὸ συγγενὲς ἀδελφῶ καθεστῶτι τὸν τρόπον, άλλὰ καὶ τῆ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ὁρμῆ τὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα ἡμῖν.

than in blood but are one with me as well in the pursuit of goodness.

8 For neither the pleasure derived from gold nor any other of the possessions which are prized by shallow minds confers the same benefit as the pursuit of culture and the study which we expend in securing it. But that I may not weary you by a too lengthy introduction, I will proceed at once to the substance of my narrative.

9 Demetrius of Phalerum, the president of the king's library, received vast sums of money, for the purpose of collecting together, as far as he possibly could, all the books in the world. By means of purchase and transcription, he carried out, to the best of his ability, the purpose of the king.

10 On one occasion when I was present he was asked, 'How many thousand books are there in the library?' and he replied, 'More than two hundred thousand, O king, and I shall make endeavour in the immediate future to gather together the remainder also, so that the total of five hundred thousand may be reached. I am told that the laws of the Jews are worth transcribing and deserve a place in your library.'

11 'What is to prevent you from doing this?' replied the king. 'Everything that is necessary has been placed at your disposal.' 'They need to be translated,' answered Demetrius, 'for in the country of the Jews they use a peculiar alphabet (just as the Egyptians, too, have a special form of letters) and speak a peculiar dialect. They are supposed to use the Syriac tongue, but this is not the case; their language is quite different.' And the king when he understood all the facts of the case ordered a letter to be written to the Jewish

8 χρυσοῦ γὰρ χάρις ἢ κατασκευή τις ἄλλη τῶν τετιμημένων παρὰ τοῖς κενοδόξοις ἀφέλεισαν οὐκ ἔχει τὴν αὐτήν, ὅσον ἡ παιδείας ἀγωγὴ καὶ ἡ περὶ τούτων φροντίς. ἵνα δὲ μὴ περὶ τῶν προλεγομένων μηκύνοντες ἀδόλεσχόν τι ποιῶμεν, ἐπὶ τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς διηγήσεως ἐπανήξομεν.

9 Κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως βιβλιοθήκης Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐχρηματίσθη πολλὰ διάφορα πρὸς τὸ συναγαγεῖν, εἰ δυνατόν, ἄπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην βιβλία καὶ ποιούμενος ἀγορασμοὺς καὶ μεταγραφὰς ἐπὶ τέλος ἤγαγεν, ὅσον ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως πρόθεσιν.

10 παρόντων οὖν ἡμῶν ἐρωτηθείς Πόσαι τινὲς μυριάδες τυγχάνουσι βιβλίων; εἶπεν Ύπὲρ τὰς εἴκοσι, βασιλεῦ σπουδάσω δ' ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πρὸς τὸ πληρωθῆναι πεντήκοντα μυριάδας τὰ λοιπά. προσήγγελται δέ μοι καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νόμιμα μεταγραφῆς ἄξια καὶ τῆς παρὰ σοὶ βιβλιοθήκης εἶναι.

11 Τί τὸ κωλῦον οὖν, εἶπεν, ἐστί σε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι; πάντα γὰρ ὑποτέτακταί σοι τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν.ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος εἶπεν Ἑρμηνείας προσδεῖται χαρακτῆρσι γὰρ ἰδίοις κατὰ Ἰουδαίων χρῶνται, καθάπερ Αἰγύπτιοι τῆ τῶν γραμμάτων θέσει, καθὸ καὶ φωνὴν ἰδίαν ἔχουσιν. ὑπολαμβάνονται Συριακῆ χρῆσθαι τὸ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἕτερος τρόπος.Μεταλαβὼν δὲ ἕκαστα ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπε γραφῆναι πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὅπως τὰ

High Priest that his purpose (which has already been described) might be accomplished.

12 Thinking that the time had come to press the demand, which I had often laid before Sosibius of Tarentum and Andreas, the chief of the bodyguard, for the emancipation of the Jews who had been transported from Judea by the king's father - for when by a combination of good fortune and courage he had brought his attack on the whole district of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia to a successful issue, in the process of terrorizing the country into subjection, he transported some of his foes and others he reduced to captivity. The number of those whom he transported from the country of the Jews to Egypt amounted to no less than a hundred thousand.

13 Of these he armed thirty thousand picked men and settled them in garrisons in the country districts. (And even before this time large numbers of Jews had come into Egypt with the Persian, and in an earlier period still others had been sent to Egypt to help Psammetichus in his campaign against the king of the Ethiopians. But these were nothing like so numerous as the captives whom Ptolemy the son of Lagus transported.)

14 As I have already said Ptolemy picked out the best of these, the men who were in the prime of life and distinguished for their courage, and armed them, but the great mass of the others, those who were too old or too young for this purpose, and the women too, he reduced to slavery, not that he wished to do this of his own free will, but he was compelled by his soldiers who claimed them as a reward for the services which they had rendered in war. Having, as has already been stated, obtained an opportunity for securing

προειρημένα τελείωσιν λάβη.

12 νομίσας δὲ ἐγὼ καιρὸν εἶναι περὶ ὧν πολλάκις ἠξιώκειν Σωσίβιόν τε τὸν Ταραντῖνον καὶ ἀνδρέαν, τοὺς ἀρχισωματοφύλακας, περὶ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως τῶν μετηγμένων ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως— ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐπελθὼν τὰ κατὰ κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην ἄπαντα, συγχρώμενος εὐημερία μετὰ ἀνδρείας, τοὺς μὲν μετώκιζεν, οὺς δὲ ἠχμαλώτιζε, φόβῳ πάντα ὑποχείρια ποιούμενος ἐν ὅσῳ καὶ πρὸς δέκα μυριάδας ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων χώρας εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετήγαγεν,

13 ἀφ' ὧν ώσεὶ τρεῖς μυριάδας καθοπλίσας ἀνδρῶν ἐκλεκτῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν κατώκισεν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις (ἤδη μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἱκανῶν εἰσεληλυθότων σὺν τῷ Πέρσῃ, καὶ πρὸ τούτων ἑτέρων συμμαχιῶν ἐξαπεσταλμένων πρὸς τὸν τῶν Αἰθιόπων βασιλέα μάχεσθαι σὺν Ψαμμιτίχῷ ἀλλ' οὐ τοσοῦτοι τῷ πλήθει παρεγενήθησαν, ὅσους Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τοῦ Λάγου μετήγαγε)·

14 καθὼς δὲ προείπομεν, ἐπιλέξας τοὺς ἀρίστους ταῖς ἡλικίαις καὶ ῥώμη διαφέροντας καθώπλισε, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν χύμα πρεσβυτέρων καὶ νεωτέρων, ἔτι δὲ γυναικῶν, εἴασεν εἰς τὴν οἰκετίαν, οὐχ οὕτως τῆ προαιρέσει κατὰ ψυχὴν ἔχων, ὡς κατακρατούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, δι' ὰς ἐπεποίηντο χρείας ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀγῶσιν—ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπεί τινα παρεύρεσιν εἰς τὴν ἀπόλυσιν αὐτῶν ἀπελάβομεν, καθὼς προδεδήλωται,

the following arguments.

15 'Let us not be so unreasonable as to allow our deeds to give the lie to our words. Since the law which we wish not only to transcribe but also to translate belongs to the whole Jewish race, what justification shall we be able to find for our embassy while such vast numbers of them remain in a state of slavery in your kingdom? In the perfection and wealth of your clemency release those who are held in such miserable bondage, since as I have been at pains to discover, the God who gave them their law is the God who maintains your kingdom.

16 They worship the same God - the Lord and Creator of the Universe, as all other men, θ εὸν οὖτοι σέβοντα, ὃν καὶ πάντες, ἡμεῖς as we ourselves, O king, though we call him by different names, such as Zeus or Dis. This name was very appropriately bestowed upon him by our first ancestors, in order to signify that He through whom all things are endowed with life and come into being, is necessarily the ruler and lord of the universe. Set all mankind an example of magnanimity by releasing those who are held in bondage.'

17 After a brief interval, while I was offering up an earnest prayer to God that He would so dispose the mind of the king that all the captives might be set at liberty - (for the human race, being the creation of God, is swayed and influenced by Him. Therefore with many divers prayers I called upon Him who ruleth the heart that the king might be constrained to grant my request.

18 For I had great hopes with regard to the salvation of the men since I was assured that God would grant a fulfillment of my prayer. For when men from pure motives plan some

their emancipation, I addressed the king with τοιούτοις έχρησάμεθα λόγοις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

> 15 μήποτε ἄλογον ἧ ἐλέγχεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων, ὧ βασιλεῦ. τῆς γὰρ νομοθεσίας κειμένης πᾶσι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ην ημεῖς οὐ μόνον μεταγράψαι έπινοοῦμεν, άλλὰ καὶ διερμηνεῦσαι, τίνα λόγον έξομεν πρὸς ἀποστολήν, ἐν οἰκετίαις ὑπαρχόντων ἐν τῆ σῆ βασιλεία πληθῶν ἱκανῶν; ἀλλὰ τελεία καὶ πλουσία ψυχῆ ἀπόλυσον τοὺς συνεχομένους ἐν ταλαιπωρίαις, κατευθύνοντάς σου τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ τεθεικότος αὐτοῖς θεοῦ τὸν νόμον, καθώς περιείργασμαι.

> 16 τὸν γὰρ πάντων ἐπόπτην καὶ κτίστην δέ, βασιλεῦ, προσονομάζοντες ἑτέρως Ζῆνα καὶ Δία· τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἀνοικείως οἱ πρῶτοι διεσήμαναν, δι' ὃν ζωοποιοῦνται τὰ πάντα καὶ γίνεται, τοῦτον ἀπάντων ήγεῖσθαί τε καὶ κυριεύειν. ὑπερηρκὼς δὲ σύμπαντας άνθρώπους τῆ λαμπρότητι τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπόλυσιν ποίησαι τῶν ἐνεχομένων ταῖς οἰκετίαις.

> 17 οὐδὲ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπισχών, καὶ ἡμῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐχομένων, τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ κατασκευάσαι πρὸς τὸ τοὺς ἄπαντας ἀπολυθῆναι (κτίσμα γὰρ ὂν θεοῦ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ μεταλλοιοῦται καὶ τρέπεται πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· διὸ πολλαχῶς καὶ ποικίλως ἐπεκαλούμην τὸν κυριεύοντα κατὰ καρδίαν, ίνα συναναγκασθῆ, καθώς ηξίουν, έπιτελέσαι.

> 18 μεγάλην γὰρ εἶχον ἐλπίδα, περὶ σωτηρίας ἀνθρώπων προτιθέμενος λόγον, δτι την ἐπιτέλειαν ὁ θεὸς ποιήσει τῶν άξιουμένων δ γὰρ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην καὶ

action in the interest of righteousness and the performance of noble deeds, Almighty God brings their efforts and purposes to a successful issue)

19 - the king raised his head and looking up at me with a cheerful countenance asked, 'How many thousands do you think they will number?' Andreas, who was standing near, replied, 'A little more than a hundred thousand.' 'It is a small boon indeed,' said the king, 'that Aristeas asks of us!' Then Sosibius and some others who were present said, 'Yes, but it will be a fit tribute to your magnanimity for you to offer the enfranchisement of these men as an act of devotion to the supreme God. You have been greatly honoured by Almighty God and exalted above all your forefathers in glory and it is only fitting that you should render to Him the greatest thank offering in your power.'

20 Extremely pleased with these arguments he gave orders that an addition should be made to the wages of the soldiers by the amount of the redemption money that twenty drachmae should be paid to the owners for every slave, that a public order should be issued and that registers of the captives should be attached to it. He showed the greatest enthusiasm in the business, for it was God who had brought our purpose to fulfilment in its entirety and constrained him to redeem not only those who had come into Egypt with the army of his father but any who had come before that time or had been subsequently brought into the kingdom. It was pointed out to him that the ransom money would exceed four hundred talents.

21 I think it will be useful to insert a copy of the decree, for in this way the magnanimity of the king, who was empowered by God to καλῶν ἔργων ἐπιμέλειαν ἐν ὁσιότητι νομίζουσιν ἄνθρωποι ποιεῖν, κατευθύνει τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς ὁ κυριεύων ἀπάντων θεός),

19 ὁ δὲ διανακύψας καὶ προσβλέψας ἱλαρῷ τῷ προσώπῷ Πόσας ὑπολαμβάνεις μυριάδας ἔσεσθαι; ἔφη. παρεστὼς δὲ ἀνδρέας ἀπεφήνατο Βραχεῖ πλεῖον μυριάδων δέκα. ὁ δέ, Μικρόν γε, εἶπεν, ἀριστέας ἡμᾶς ἀξιοῖ πρᾶγμα. Σωσίβιος δὲ καὶ τῶν παρόντων τινὲς τοῦτ' εἶπον Καὶ γὰρ ἄξιόν ἐστι τῆς σῆς μεγαλοψυχίας, ὅπως χαριστήριον ἀναθῆ τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ τὴν τούτων ἀπόλυσιν. μεγίστως γὰρ τετιμημένος ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος τὰ πάντα καὶ δεδοξασμένος ὑπὲρ τοὺς προγόνους, εἰ καὶ μέγιστα ποιήσεις χαριστήρια, καθῆκόν ἐστι σοι.

20 διαχυθεὶς δὲ εὖ μάλα τοῖς ὀψωνίοις εἶπε προσθεῖναι, καὶ σώματος ἑκάστου κομίζεσθαι δραχμὰς εἴκοσι, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐκθεῖναι πρόσταγμα, τὰς δὲ ἀπογραφὰς ποιεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτά, μεγαλείως χρησάμενος τῆ προθυμία, τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπιτελέσαντος ἡμῶν προαίρεσιν, καὶ συναναγκάσαντος αὐτὸν ἀπολυτρῶσαι μὴ μόνον τοὺς συνεληλυθότας τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τοῦ πατρός, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τινες προῆσαν, ἢ μετὰ ταῦτα παρεισήχθησαν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν. ὑπὲρ τὰ τετρακόσια τάλαντα τὴν δόσιν ἀπέφαινον εἶναι.

21 καὶ τοῦ προστάγματος δὲ τὸ ἀντίγραφον οὐκ ἄχρηστον οἴομαι κατακεχωρίσθαι. πολλῷ γὰρ ἡ

save such vast multitudes, will be made clearer and more manifest.

22 The decree of the king ran as follows: 'All who served in the army of our father in the campaign against Syria and Phoenicia and in the attack upon the country of the Jews and became possessed of Jewish captives and brought them back to the city of Alexandria and the land of Egypt or sold them to others -and in the same way any captives who were in our land before that time or were brought hither afterwards - all who possess such captives are required to set them at liberty at once, receiving twenty drachmae per head as ransom money. The soldiers will receive this money as a gift added to their wages, the others from the king's treasury.

23 We think that it was against our father's will and against all propriety that they should have been made captives and that the devastation of their land and the transportation of the Jews to Egypt was an act of military wantonness. The spoil which fell to the soldiers on the field of battle was all the booty which they should have claimed. To reduce the people to slavery in addition was an act of absolute injustice.

24 Wherefore since it is acknowledged that we are accustomed to render justice to all men and especially to those who are unfairly in a condition of servitude, and since we strive to deal fairly with all men according to the demands of justice and piety, we have decreed, in reference to the persons of the Jews who are in any condition of bondage in any part of our dominion, that those who possess them shall receive the stipulated sum δυτινοῦν τρόπον ἐν τῆ βασιλεία,

μεγαλομοιρία φανερωτέρα καὶ εὔδηλος ἔσται τοῦ βασιλέως, τοῦ θεοῦ κατισχύοντος αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σωτηρίαν γενέσθαι πλήθεσιν ίκανοῖς. 22 ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτο. Τοῦ βασιλέως προστάξαντος—'Όσοι τῶν συνεστρατευμένων τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς κατὰ Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην τόπους ἐπελθόντες τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων χώραν έγκρατεῖς ἐγένοντο σωμάτων Ἰουδαϊκῶν καὶ ταῦτα διακεκομίκασιν εἴς τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἢ καὶ πεπράκασιν ἑτέροις, όμοίως δὲ καὶ εἴ τινες προῆσαν ἢ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτά εἰσιν εἰσηγμένοι τῶν τοιούτων, ἀπολύειν παρὰ χρῆμα τοὺς ἔχοντας, κομιζομένους αὐτίκα ἑκάστου σώματος δραχμὰς εἴκοσι, τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας τῆ τῶν ὀψωνίων δόσει, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς τραπέζης.

23 νομίζομεν γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ήμῶν βούλησιν καὶ παρὰ τὸ καλῶς ἔχον ήχμαλωτεῦσθαι τούτους, διὰ δὲ τὴν στρατιωτικήν προπέτειαν τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν κατεφθάρθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν 'Ιουδαίων μεταγωγὴν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον γεγονέναι ίκανὴ γὰρ ἦν ἡ παρὰ τὸ πεδίον γεγονυῖα ἐκ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀφέλεια· διὸ παντελῶς ἀνεπιεικής ἐστι καὶ ἡ τῶν άνθρώπων καταδυναστεία.

24 πᾶσιν οὖν ἀνθρώποις τὸ δίκαιον ἀπονέμειν ὁμολογούμενοι, πολλῷ δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀλόγως καταδυναστευομένοις, καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ἐκζητοῦντες τὸ καλῶς ἔχον πρός τε τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὴν κατὰ πάντων εὐσέβειαν, προστετάχαμεν ὅσα τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἐστι σωμάτων έν οἰκετίαις {πανταχῆ} καθ'

of money and set them at liberty and that no man shall show any tardiness in discharging his obligations. Within three days after the publication of this decree, they must make lists of slaves for the officers appointed to carry out our will, and immediately produce the persons of the captives.

25 For we consider that it will be advantageous to us and to our affairs that the καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι τοῦτ' ἐπιτελεσθῆναι. matter should be brought to a conclusion. Any one who likes may give information about any who disobey the decree on condition that if the man is proved guilty he will become his slave; his property, however, will be handed over to the royal treasury.'

26 When the decree was brought to be read over to the king for his approval, it contained έπαναγνωσθῆ τῷ βασιλεῖ, τὰ ἄλλα πάντ' all the other provisions except the phrase 'any captives who were in the land before that time or were brought hither afterwards, and in his magnanimity and the largeness of his heart the king inserted this clause and gave orders that the grant of money required for the redemption should be deposited in full with the paymasters of the forces and the royal bankers, and

27 so the matter was decided and the decree ratified within seven days. The grant for the redemption amounted to more than six hundred and sixty talents; for many infants at the breast were emancipated together with their mothers. When the question was raised whether the sum of twenty talents was to be paid for these, the king ordered that it should εἰκοσαδραχμία δοθήσεται, καὶ τοῦτ' be done, and thus he carried out his decision in the most comprehensive way.

28 When this had been done, he ordered Demetrius to draw up a memorial with regard to the transcription of the Jewish books. For all affairs of state used to be

κομιζομένους τοὺς ἔχοντας τὸ προκείμενον κεφάλαιον ἀπολύειν, καὶ μηδένα κακοσχόλως περὶ τούτων μηδὲν οἰκονομεῖν τὰς δ' ἀπογραφὰς ἐν ἡμέραις τρισίν, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐκκεῖται τὸ πρόσταγμα, ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς καθεσταμένους περί τούτων, καταδεικνύντας εὐθὺ καὶ τὰ σώματα.

25 διειλήφαμεν γὰρ καὶ ἡμῖν συμφέρειν τὸν δὲ βουλόμενον προσαγγέλλειν περὶ τῶν ἀπειθησάντων, ἐφ' ὧ τοῦ φανέντος ἐνόχου τὴν κυρίαν ἕξειν· τὰ δὲ ὑπάρχοντα τῶν τοιούτων εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν άναληφθήσεται.

26 εἰσδοθέντος τοῦ προστάγματος, ὅπως ἔχοντος πλὴν τοῦ Καὶ εἴ τινες προῆσαν ἢ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσηγμένοι εἰσι τῶν τοιούτων, αὐτὸς τοῦτο ὁ βασιλεὺς προσέθηκε, μεγαλομοιρία καὶ μεγαλοψυχία χρησάμενος, ἐκέλευσέ τε τῶν διαφόρων δόσιν ἀθρόαν οὖσαν απομερίσαι τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τῶν ταγμάτων καὶ βασιλικοῖς τραπεζίταις.

27 οὕτω δοχθὲν ἐκεκύρωτο ἐν ἡμέραις έπτά πλεῖον δὲ ταλάντων έξακοσίων έξήκοντα ή δόσις ἐγεγόνει. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἐπιμαστιδίων τέκνων σὺν ταῖς μητράσιν έλευθεροῦντο.

προσανενεχθέντος εί καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ποιεῖν, ὁλοσχερῶς περὶ τοῦ δόξαντος ἄπαντ' ἐπιτελῶν.

28 'Ως δὲ κατεπράχθη ταῦτα, τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκέλευσεν εἰσδοῦναι περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν βιβλίων ἀναγραφῆς.

carried out by means of decrees and with the most painstaking accuracy by these Egyptian kings, and nothing was done in a slipshod or haphazard fashion. And so I have inserted copies of the memorial and the letters, the number of the presents sent and the nature of each, since every one of them excelled in magnificence and technical skill. The following is a copy of the memorial.

29 The Memorial of Demetrius to the great king. 'Since you have given me instructions, O king, that the books which are needed to complete your library should be collected together, and that those which are defective should be repaired, I have devoted myself with the utmost care to the fulfilment of your wishes, and I now have the following proposal to lay before you.

30 The books of the law of the Jews (with some few others) are absent from the library. They are written in the Hebrew characters and language and have been carelessly interpreted, and do not represent the original text as I am informed by those who know; for they have never had a king's care to protect them.

31 It is necessary that these should be made accurate for your library since the law which they contain, in as much as it is of divine origin, is full of wisdom and free from all blemish. For this reason literary men and poets and the mass of historical writers have held aloof from referring to these books and the men who have lived and are living in accordance with them, because their conception of life is so sacred and religious, as Hecataeus of Abdera says.

32 If it please you, O king, a letter shall be written to the High Priest in Jerusalem, asking him to send six elders out of every

πάντα γὰρ διὰ προσταγμάτων καὶ μεγάλης ἀσφαλείας τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τούτοις διωκεῖτο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπερριμμένως οὐδ' εἰκῆ. διόπερ καὶ τὸ τῆς εἰσδόσεως καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀντίγραφα κατακεχώρικα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἑκάστου κατασκευήν, διὰ τὸ μεγαλομοιρία καὶ τέχνη διαφέρειν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν. τῆς δὲ εἰσδόσεώς ἐστιν ἀντίγραφον τόδε·

29 Βασιλεῖ μεγάλω παρὰ Δημητρίου. προστάξαντός σου, βασιλεῦ, περὶ τῶν ἀπολιπόντων εἰς τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῆς βιβλιοθήκης βιβλίων, ὅπως ἐπισυναχθῆ, καὶ τὰ διαπεπτωκότα τύχη τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπισκευῆς, πεποιημένος οὐ παρέργως τὴν ἐν τούτοις ἐπιμέλειαν, προσαναφέρω σοι τάδε.

30 τοῦ νόμου τῶν Ἰουδαίων βιβλία σὺν ἐτέροις ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἀπολείπει· τυγχάνει γὰρ Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασι καὶ φωνῆ λεγόμενα, ἀμελέστερον δέ, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ὑπάρχει, σεσήμανται, καθὼς ὑπὸ τῶν εἰδότων προσαναφέρεται· προνοίας γὰρ βασιλικῆς οὐ τέτευχε.

31 δέον δέ ἐστι καὶ ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν παρά σοι διηκριβωμένα, διὰ τὸ καὶ φιλοσοφωτέραν εἶναι καὶ ἀκέραιον τὴν νομοθεσίαν ταύτην, ὡς ἂν οὖσαν θείαν. διὸ πόρρω γεγόνασιν οἵ τε συγγραφεῖς καὶ ποιηταὶ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἱστορικῶν πλῆθος τῆς ἐπιμνήσεως τῶν προειρημένων βιβλίων, καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὰ πεπολιτευμένων [καὶ πολιτευομένων] ἀνδρῶν, διὰ τὸ ἁγνήν τινα καὶ σεμνὴν εἶναι τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς θεωρίαν, ὥς φησιν Ἑκαταῖος ὁ ᾿Αβδηρίτης.

32 ἐὰν οὖν φαίνηται, βασιλεῦ, γραφήσεται πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις,

tribe - men who have lived the noblest life and are most skilled in their law - that we may find out the points in which the majority of them are in agreement, and so having obtained an accurate translation may place it in a conspicuous place in a manner worthy of the work itself and your purpose. May continual prosperity be yours!

33 When this memorial had been presented, the king ordered a letter to be written to Eleazar on the matter, giving also an account of the emancipation of the Jewish captives. And he gave fifty talents weight of gold and seventy talents of silver and a large quantity of precious stones to make bowls and vials and a table and libation cups. He also gave orders to those who had the custody of his coffers to allow the artificers to make a selection of any materials they might require for the purpose, and that a hundred talents in money should be sent to provide sacrifices for the temple and for other needs.

34 I shall give you a full account of the workmanship after I have set before you copies of the letters. The letter of the king ran as follows:

35 'King Ptolemy sends greeting and salutation to the High Priest Eleazar. Since there are many Jews settled in our realm who were carried off from Jerusalem by the Persians at the time of their power and many more who came with my father into Egypt as captives

36 - large numbers of these he placed in the army and paid them higher wages than usual, and when he had proved the loyalty of μισθοφορίαις, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς

ἀποστεῖλαι τοὺς μάλιστα καλῶς βεβιωκότας καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ὄντας ἄνδρας, ἐμπείρους τῶν κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἑαυτῶν, ἀφ' ἑκάστης φυλῆς ἕξ, ὅπως τὸ σύμφωνον ἐκ τῶν πλειόνων έξετάσαντες καὶ λαβόντες τὸ κατὰ τὴν έρμηνείαν ἀκριβές, ἀξίως καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς σῆς προαιρέσεως, θῶμεν εὐσήμως. εὐτύχει διὰ παντός. 33 Τῆς δὲ εἰσδόσεως ταύτης γενομένης, ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς γραφῆναι πρὸς τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον περὶ τούτων, σημάναντας καὶ τὴν γενομένην ἀπολύτρωσιν τῶν αίχμαλώτων. ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ εἰς κατασκευὴν κρατήρων τε καὶ φιαλῶν καὶ τραπέζης καὶ σπονδείων χρυσίου μὲν όλκῆς τάλαντα πεντήκοντα καὶ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα έβδομήκοντα καὶ λίθων ἱκανόν τι πληθος-ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς ρισκοφύλακας τοῖς τεχνίταις, ὧν ἂν προαιρῶνται, τὴν ἐκλογὴν διδόναι—καὶ νομίσματος εἰς θυσίας καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τάλαντα έκατόν.

34 δηλώσομεν δέ σοι περὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς, ώς ἂν τὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀντίγραφα διέλθωμεν. ἦν δὲ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιστολὴ τὸν τύπον ἔχουσα τοῦτον 35 Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Ἐλεαζάρω άρχιερεῖ χαίρειν καὶ ἐρρῶσθαι. ἐπεὶ συμβαίνει πλείονας τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὴν ήμετέραν χώραν κατωκίσθαι γενηθέντας άνασπάστους ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ὑπὸ Περσῶν, καθ' ὃν ἐπεκράτουν χρόνον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ συνεληλυθέναι τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον αἰχμαλώτους. 36 ἀφ' ὧν πλείονας εἰς τὸ στρατιωτικὸν

σύνταγμα κατεχώρισεν ἐπὶ μείζοσι

their leaders he built fortresses and placed them in their charge that the native Egyptians might be intimidated by them. And I, when I ascended the throne, adopted a kindly attitude towards all my subjects, and more particularly to those who were citizens of yours -

37 I have set at liberty more than a hundred thousand captives, paying their owners the appropriate market price for them, and if ever evil has been done to your people through the passions of the mob, I have made them reparation. The motive which prompted my action has been the desire to act piously and render unto the supreme God a thank offering for maintaining my kingdom in peace and great glory in all the world. Moreover those of your people who were in the prime of life I have drafted into my army, and those who were fit to be attached to my person and worthy of the confidence of the court, I have established in official positions.

38 Now since I am anxious to show my gratitude to these men and to the Jews throughout the world and to the generations yet to come, I have determined that your law shall be translated from the Hebrew tongue which is in use amongst you into the Greek language, that these books may be added to the other royal books in my library.

39 It will be a kindness on your part and a regard for my zeal if you will select six elders from each of your tribes, men of noble life and skilled in your law and able to interpret it, that in questions of dispute we may be able to discover the verdict in which the majority agree, for the investigation is of the highest possible importance. I hope to win great renown by the accomplishment of this

προόντας κρίνας πιστοὺς φρούρια κτίσας ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς, ὅπως τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔθνος φόβος [μὴ] ἔχῃ διὰ τούτων καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ παραλαβόντες τὴν βασιλείαν φιλανθρωπότερον ἀπαντῶμεν τοῖς πᾶσι, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς σοῖς πολίταις—

37 ὑπὲρ δέκα μυριάδας αἰχμαλώτων ἠλευθερώκαμεν, ἀποδόντες τοῖς κρατοῦσι τὴν κατ' ἀξίαν ἀργυρικὴν τιμήν, διορθούμενοι καὶ εἴ τι κακῶς ἐπράχθη διὰ τὰς τῶν ὅχλων ὁρμάς, διειληφότες εὐσεβῶς τοῦτο πρᾶξαι, καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ χαριστικὸν ἀνατιθέντες, ὃς ἡμῖν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ δόξῃ κρατίστῃ παρ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην διατετήρηκεν εἴς τε τὸ στράτευμα τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους ταῖς ἡλικίαις τετάχαμεν, τοὺς δὲ δυναμένους καὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς εἶναι, τῆς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν πίστεως ἀξίους, ἐπὶ χρειῶν καθεστάκαμεν.

38 βουλομένων δ' ήμῶν καὶ τούτοις χαρίζεσθαι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς μετέπειτα, προηρήμεθα τὸν νόμον ὑμῶν μεθερμηνευθῆναι γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐκ τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν λεγομένων Ἑβραϊκῶν γραμμάτων, ἵν' ὑπάρχῃ καὶ ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν ἐν βιβλιοθήκῃ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις βασιλικοῖς βιβλίοις.

39 καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας σπουδῆς ἀξίως ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας καλῶς βεβιωκότας πρεσβυτέρους, ἐμπειρίαν ἔχοντας τοῦ νόμου, καὶ δυνατοὺς ἑρμηνεῦσαι, ἀφ' ἑκάστης φυλῆς ἕξ, ὅπως ἐκ τῶν πλείονων τὸ σύμφωνον εὑρεθῆ, διὰ τὸ περὶ μειζόνων εἶναι τὴν σκέψιν. οἰόμεθα γὰρ ἐπιτελεσθέντος τούτου μεγάλην ἀποίσεσθαι δόξαν.

work.

40 I have sent Andreas, the chief of my bodyguard, and Aristeas - men whom I hold in high esteem - to lay the matter before you and present you with a hundred talents of silver, the firstfruits of my offering for the temple and the sacrifices and other religious rites. If you will write to me concerning your wishes in these matters, you will confer a great favour upon me and afford me a new pledge of friendship, for all your wishes shall be carried out as speedily as possible. Farewell.'

41 To this letter Eleazar replied appropriately as follows: 'Eleazar the High priest sends greetings to King Ptolemy his true friend. My highest wishes are for your welfare and the welfare of Queen Arsinoe your sister and vour children. I also am well.

42 I have received your letter and am greatly rejoiced by your purpose and your noble counsel. I summoned together the whole people and read it to them that they might know of your devotion to our God. I showed them too the cups which you sent, twenty of gold and thirty of silver, the five bowls and the table of dedication, and the hundred talents of silver for the offering of the sacrifices and providing the things of which the temple stands in need.

43 These gifts were brought to me by Andreas, one of your most honoured servants, and by Aristeas, both good men and ἄνδρες καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ παιδεία true, distinguished by their learning, and worthy in every way to be the representatives of your high principles and righteous purposes. These men imparted to me your message and received from me an answer in agreement with your letter.

40 ἀπεστάλκαμεν δὲ περὶ τούτων 'Ανδρέαν τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων καὶ ᾿Αριστέαν, τιμωμένους παρ' ἡμῖν, διαλεξομένους σοι καὶ κομίζοντας ἀπαρχὰς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν άναθημάτων καὶ εἰς θυσίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα άργυρίου τάλαντα έκατόν. γράφων δὲ καὶ σὺ πρὸς ἡμᾶς περὶ ὧν ἐὰν βούλη κεχαρισμένος ἔση, καὶ φιλίας ἄξιόν τι πράξεις, ώς ἐπιτελεσθησομένων τὴν ταχίστην περὶ ὧν ἂν αἱρῆ. ἔρρωσο.

41 Πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀντέγραψεν ἐνδεχομένως ὁ Ἐλεάζαρος ταῦτα· Ἐλεάζαρος ἀρχιερεὺς βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίω φίλω γνησίω χαίρειν. αὐτός τε ἔρρωσο καὶ ἡ βασίλισσα Ἀρσινόη, ἡ άδελφή, καὶ τὰ τέκνα, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι καὶ ώς βουλόμεθα, καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑγιαίνομεν. 42 λαβόντες τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολὴν μεγάλως έχάρημεν διὰ τὴν προαίρεσίν σου καὶ τὴν καλὴν βουλήν, καὶ συναγαγόντες τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος παρανέγνωμεν αὐτοῖς, ἵνα είδῶσιν ἣν ἔχεις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν εὐσέβειαν. ἐπεδείξαμεν δὲ καὶ τὰς φιάλας ας ἀπέστειλας, χρυσᾶς εἴκοσι καὶ ἀργυρᾶς τριάκοντα, κρατῆρας πέντε, καὶ τράπεζαν είς ἀνάθεσιν, καὶ είς προσαγωγὴν θυσιῶν καὶ εἰς ἐπισκευὰς ὧν ἂν δέηται τὸ ἱερὸν άργυρίου τάλαντα ἑκατόν,

43 περ ἐκόμισεν Ἀνδρέας τῶν τετιμημένων παρά σοὶ καὶ Αριστέας, διαφέροντες καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀγωγῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἄξιοι κατὰ πάντα οἱ καὶ μετέδωκαν ήμῖν τὰ παρὰ σοῦ, πρὸς ἃ καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀκηκόασιν ἁρμόζοντα τοῖς σοῖς γράμμασι.

44 I will consent to everything which is advantageous to you even though your request is very unusual. For you have bestowed upon our citizens great and never to be forgotten benefits in many (ways).

45 Immediately therefore I offered sacrifices on behalf of you, your sister, your children, and your friends, and all the people prayed that your plans might prosper continually, and that Almighty God might preserve your kingdom in peace with honour, and that the translation of the holy law might prove advantageous to you and be carried out successfully.

46 In the presence of all the people I selected six elders from each tribe, good men and true, and I have sent them to you with a copy of our law. It will be a kindness, O righteous king, if you will give instruction that as soon as the translation of the law is completed, the προστάξας, ώς ἂν ἡ μεταγραφὴ γένηται men shall be restored again to us in safety. Farewell.'

47 The following are the names of the elders: Of the first tribe, Joseph, Ezekiah, Zachariah, John, Ezekiah, Elisha. Of the second tribe, Judas, Simon, Samuel, Adaeus, Mattathias, Eschlemias. Of the third tribe, Nehemiah, Joseph, Theodosius, Baseas, Ornias, Dakis.

48 Of the fourth tribe, Jonathan, Abraeus, Elisha, Ananias, Chabrias.... Of the fifth tribe, Isaac, Jacob, Jesus, Sabbataeus, Simon, Levi. Of the sixth tribe, Judas, Joseph, Simon, Zacharias, Samuel, Selemias.

49 Of the seventh tribe, Sabbataeus, Zedekiah, Jacob, Isaac, Jesias, Natthaeus. Of the eighth tribe Theodosius, Jason, Jesus, Theodotus, John, Jonathan. Of the ninth

44 πάντα γὰρ ὅσα σοι συμφέρει, καὶ εἰ παρὰ φύσιν ἐστίν, ὑπακουσόμεθα τοῦτο γὰρ φιλίας καὶ ἀγαπήσεως σημεῖόν ἐστι. μεγάλα γὰρ καὶ σὺ καὶ ἀνεπίληστα τοὺς πολίτας ἡμῶν κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους εὐηργέτηκας.

45 εὐθέως οὖν προσηγάγομεν ὑπὲρ σοῦ θυσίας καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ ηὔξατο πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, ἵνα σοι γένηται καθὼς προαιρῆ διὰ παντός, καὶ διασώζη σοι τὴν βασιλείαν έν εἰρήνη μετὰ δόξης ὁ κυριεύων άπάντων θεός, καὶ ὅπως γένηταί σοι συμφερόντως καὶ μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ἡ τοῦ άγίου νόμου μεταγραφή.

46 παρόντων δὲ πάντων ἐπελέξαμεν ἄνδρας καλούς καὶ ἀγαθούς πρεσβυτέρους, ἀφ' ἑκάστης φυλῆς ἕξ, οὓς καὶ ἀπεστείλαμεν ἔχοντας τὸν νόμον. καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις, βασιλεῦ δίκαιε, τῶν βιβλίων, ἵνα πάλιν ἀποκατασταθῶσιν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλῶς οἱ ἄνδρες. ἔρρωσο.

47 Εἰσὶ δὲ πρώτης φυλῆς 'Ιώσηφος, 'Εζεκίας, Ζαχαρίας, 'Ιωάννης, 'Εζεκίας, 'Ελισσαῖος. δευτέρας· 'Ιούδας, Σίμων, Σομόηλος, 'Αδαῖος, Ματταθίας, 'Εσχλεμίας. τρίτης Νεεμίας, Ιώσηφος, Θεοδόσιος, Βασέας, 'Ορνίας, Δάκις.

48 τετάρτης: Ἰωνάθας, ᾿Αβαῖος, Ἐλισσαῖος, 'Ανανίας, Χαβρίας, [Χελκίας?]. πέμπτης· "Ισακος, Ἰάκωβος, Ἰησοῦς, Σαββαταῖος, Σίμων, Λευίς. ἕκτης 'Ιούδας, 'Ιώσηφος, Σίμων, Ζαχαρίας, Σομόηλος, Σελεμίας. 49 ἑβδόμης Σαββαταῖος, Σεδεκίας, 'Ιάκωβος, 'Ίσαχος, 'Ιησίας, Νατθαῖος. όγδόης Θεοδόσιος, Ίάσων, Ίησοῦς, Θεόδοτος, Ίωάννης, Ίωνάθας. ἐνάτης.

tribe, Theophilus, Abraham Arsamos, Jason, Endemias, Daniel.

50 Of the tenth tribe, Jeremiah, Eleazar, Zachariah, Baneas, Elisha, Dathaeus. Of the eleventh tribe, Samuel, Joseph, Judas, Jonathes, Chabu, Dositheus. Of the twelfth tribe, Isaelus, John, Theodosius, Arsamos, Abietes, Ezekiel. They were seventy-two in all.

51 Such was the answer which Eleazar and his friends gave to the king's letter. I will now proceed to redeem my promise and give a description of the works of art. They were wrought with exceptional skill, for the king spared no expense and personally superintended the workmen individually. They could not therefore scamp any part of the work or finish it off negligently. First of all I will give you a description of the table.

52 The king was anxious that this piece of work should be of exceptionally large dimensions, and he caused enquiries to be made of the Jews in the locality with regard to the size of the table already in the temple at Jerusalem.

53 And when they described the measurements, he proceeded to ask whether he might make a larger structure. And some of the priests and the other Jews replied that there was nothing to prevent him. And he said that he was anxious to make it five times the size, but he hesitated lest it should prove useless for the temple services.

54 He was desirous that his gift should not merely be stationed in the temple, for it would afford him much greater pleasure if the men whose duty it was to offer the fitting

Θεόφιλος, Ἄβραμος, Ἄρσαμος, Ἰάσων, Ἐνδεμίας, Δανίηλος.

50 δεκάτης 'Ιερεμίας, 'Ελεάζαρος, Ζαχαρίας, Βανέας, 'Ελισσαῖος, Δαθαῖος. ἐνδεκάτης Σαμούηλος, 'Ιώσηφος, 'Ιούδας, 'Ιωνάθης. Χαβεῦ, Δοσίθεος. δωδεκάτης 'Ισάηλος, 'Ιωάννης, Θεοδόσιος, "Αρσαμος, 'Αβιήτης, 'Εζεκῆλος. οἱ πάντες ἑβδομήκοντα δύο.

51 καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιστολὴν τοιαύτης ἐτύγχανεν ἀντιγραφῆς {ὑπὸ} τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον. Ὠς δὲ ἐπηγγειλάμην καὶ τὰ τῶν κατασκευασμάτων διασαφῆσαι, ποιήσω. πολυτεχνία γὰρ διαφέροντα συνετελέσθη, τοῦ βασιλέως πολλὴν ἐπίδοσιν ποιουμένου καὶ παρ' ἕκαστον ἐπιθεωροῦντος τοὺς τεχνίτας. διὸ παριδεῖν οὐδὲν ἠδύναντο οὐδὲ εἰκῆ συντελέσαι. πρῶτον δέ σοι τὰ περὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἐξηγήσομαι.

52 προεθυμεῖτο μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπέροπλόν τι ποιῆσαι τοῖς μέτροις τὸ κατασκεύασμα. προσέταξε δὲ πυθέσθαι τῶν ἀνὰ τὸν τόπον, πηλίκη τίς ἐστιν ἡ προοῦσα καὶ κειμένη κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις.

53 ώς δὲ ἀπεφήναντο τὰ μέτρα, προσεπηρώτησεν, εἰ κατασκευάσει μείζονα. τινὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔλεγον μηδὲν ἐπικωλύειν. ὁ δὲ εἶπε βούλεσθαι καὶ πενταπλῆν τοῖς μεγέθεσι ποιῆσαι, διστάζειν δὲ μήποτε ἄχρηστος γένηται πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας.

54 οὐ γὰρ αἱρεῖσθαι τὸ κεῖσθαι μόνον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ {τὰ} παρ' αὐτοῦ, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον χάριν ἕξειν, ἐὰν τὰς καθηκούσας sacrifices were able to do so appropriately on the table which he had made.

55 He did not suppose that it was owing to lack of gold that the former table had been made of small size, but there seems to have been, he said, some reason why it was made of this dimension. For had the order been given, there would have been no lack of means. Wherefore we must not transgress or go beyond the proper measure.

56 At the same time he ordered them to press into service all the manifold forms of art, for he was a man of the most lofty conceptions and nature had endowed him with a keen imagination which enabled him to picture the appearance which would be presented by the finished work. He gave orders too, that where there were no instructions laid down in the Jewish Scriptures, everything should be made as beautiful as possible. When such instructions were laid down, they were to be carried out to the letter.

57 They made the table two cubits long (one cubit broad) one and a half cubits high, fashioning it of pure solid gold. What I am describing was not thin gold laid over another foundation, but the whole structure was of massive gold welded together.

58 And they made a border of a hand's breadth round about it. And there was a wreath of wave-work, engraved in relief in the form of ropes marvelously wrought on its three sides. For it was triangular in shape

59 and the style of the work was exactly the same on each of the sides, so that whichever side they were turned, they presented the same appearance. Of the two sides under the border, the one which sloped down to the

λειτουργίας ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ κατεσκευασμένων οἶς καθῆκε ποιῶνται δεόντως.

55 οὐ γὰρ ἕνεκεν σπάνεως χρυσοῦ τὰ προσυντετελεσμένα βραχύμετρα καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ φαίνεται πρός τινα λόγον, εἶπεν, οὕτως συνεστηκέναι τοῖς μέτροις. ἔτι γὰρ ἐπιταγῆς οὔσης οὐθὲν ἂν ἐσάνιζε διόπερ οὐ παραβατέον οὐδὲ ὑπερθετέον τὰ καλῶς ἔχοντα.

56 τῆ μὲν οὖν ποικιλία τῶν τεχνῶν ἐκέλευσεν ὅτι μάλιστα χρήσασθαι, σεμνῶς ἄπαντα διανούμενος καὶ φύσιν ἔχων ἀγαθὴν εἰς τὸ συνιδεῖν πραγμάτων ἔμφασιν. ὅσα δ΄ ἂν ἦ ἄγραφα, πρὸς καλλονὴν ἐκέλευσε ποεῖν ὅσα δὲ διὰ γραπτῶν, μέτρα αὐτοῖς κατακολουθῆσαι.

57 Δύο γὰρ πήχεων τὸ μῆκος, τὸ δὲ ὕψος πήχεος καὶ ἡμίσους συνετέλουν, χρυσίου δοκίμου στερεὰν πάντοθεν τὴν ποίησιν ἐργασάμενοι, λέγω δὲ οὐ περί τι περιεπτυγμένου τοῦ χρυσοῦ, τὸν δὲ ἐλασμὸν αὐτὸν ἐπιδεδέσθαι.

58 στεφάνην δὲ ἐποίησαν παλαιστιαίαν κυκλόθεν τὰ δὲ κυμάτια στρεπτά, τὴν ἀναγλυφὴν ἔχοντα σχοινίδων ἔκτυπον, τῆ πορεία θαυμαστῶς ἔχουσαν ἐκ τῶν τριῶν μερῶν ἦν γὰρ τριγωνία.

59 καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον μέρος ἡ διατύπωσις τῆς ἐνεργείας τὴν αὐτὴν διάθεσιν εἶχεν, ὥστε, καθ' ὃ ἂν μέρος στρέφοιτο, τὴν πρόσοψιν εἶναι τὴν αὐτήν, κειμένου δὲ

table was a very beautiful piece of work, but it was the outer side which attracted the gaze of the spectator.

60 Now the upper edge of the two sides, being elevated, was sharp since, as we have said, the rim was three-sided, from whatever point of view one approached it. And there were layers of precious stones on it in the midst of the embossed cord-work, and they were interwoven with one another by an inimitable artistic device.

61 For the sake of security they were all fixed by golden needles which were inserted in perforations in the stones. At the sides they were clamped together by fastenings to hold them firm.

62 On the part of the border round the table which slanted upwards and met the eyes, there was wrought a pattern of eggs in precious stones, elaborately engraved by a continuous piece of fluted relief-work, closely connected together round the whole table.

63 And under the stones which had been arranged to represent eggs the artists made a crown containing all kinds of fruits, having at its top clusters of grapes and ears of corn, dates also and apples, and pomegranates and the like, conspicuously arranged. These fruits were wrought out of precious stones, of the same colour as the fruits themselves and they fastened them edgeways round all the sides of the table with a band of gold.

64 And after the crown of fruit had been put on, underneath there was inserted another pattern of eggs in precious stones, and other κατὰ τῆς στεφάνης τὸ μὲν εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν τράπεζαν ἀπόκλιμα τὴν διατύπωσιν ἔχειν τῆς ὡραιότητος, τὸ δὲ ἐκτὸς κλίμα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ προσάγοντος εἶναι θεωρίαν. 60 διὸ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν ὀξεῖαν εἶναι τῶν δύο κλιμάτων συνέβαινε, μετέωρον ἐπικειμένην, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, τριγώνου κατεσκευασμένου, καθ' ὃ ἂν μέρος

επικειμένην, ως προειρηκαμέν, τριγωνου κατεσκευασμένου, καθ' δ αν μέρος στρέφοιτο. λίθων τε πολυτελων έν αὐτω διαθέσεις ὑπῆρχον ἀνὰ μέσον των σχοινίδων έτερος παρὰ ἔτερον πλοκὴν εἶχον ἀμίμητον τῆ ποιήσει.

61 πάντες δ' ἦσαν διὰ τρημάτων κατειλημμένοι χρυσαῖς περόναις πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γωνιῶν αἱ κατακλεῖδες συνέσφιγγον πρὸς τὴν συνοχήν.

62 ἐκ πλαγίων δὲ κατὰ τὴν στεφάνην κυκλόθεν τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄνω πρόσοψιν ώοθεσία κατεσκεύαστο διάλιθος, ἐκτύπωσιν ἔχουσα προσοχῆς συνεχέσιν ἀναγλυφαῖς ῥαβδωταῖς, πυκνὴν ἐχούσαις τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα θέσιν περὶ ὅλην τὴν τράπεζαν.

63 ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἐκτύπωσιν τῶν λίθων τῆς φοθεσίας, στέφανον ἐποίησαν οἱ τεχνῖται πάγκαρπον, ἐν ὑπεροχῇ προδήλως ἔχοντα βοτρύων καὶ σταχύων, ἔτι δὲ φοινίκων καὶ μήλων ἐλαίας τε καὶ ῥοῶν καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων. τοὺς δὲ λίθους ἐργασάμενοι πρὸς τὴν τῶν προειρημένων καρπῶν διατύπωσιν, ἔχοντας ἑκάστου γένους τὴν χρόαν, ἀνέδησαν τῷ χρυσίῳ κύκλῳ περὶ ὅλην τὴν τῆς τραπέζης κατασκευὴν κατὰ κρόταφον.

64 μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ στεφάνου διάθεσιν, ὁμοίως κατὰ τὴν τῆς ώοθεσίας διασκευὴν κατεσκεύαστο, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς fluting and embossed work, that both sides of the table might be used, according to the wishes of the owners and for this reason the wave-work and the border were extended down to the feet of the table.

65 They made and fastened under the whole width of the table a massive plate four fingers thick, that the feet might be inserted into it, and clamped fast with linch-pins which fitted into sockets under the border, so that which ever side of the table people preferred, might be used. Thus it became manifestly clear that the work was intended to be used either way.

66 On the table itself they engraved a 'maeander,' having precious stones standing out in the middle of it, rubies and emeralds and an onyx too and many other kinds of stones which excel in beauty.

67 And next to the 'maeander' there was placed a wonderful piece of network, which made the centre of the table appear like a rhomboid in shape, and on it a crystal and amber, as it is called, had been wrought, which produced an incomparable impression on the beholders.

68 They made the feet of the table with heads like lilies, so that they seemed to be like lilies bending down beneath the table, and the parts which were visible represented leaves which stood upright.

69 The basis of the foot on the ground consisted of a ruby and measured a hand's breadth high all round. It had the appearance of a shoe and was eight fingers broad. Upon it the whole expanse of the foot rested.

ραβδώσεως καὶ διαγλυφῆς,
{διὰ} τὸ κατ' ἀμφότερα τὰ μέρη τὴν
τράπεζαν πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν πεποιῆσθαι,
καθ' ὃ ἂν μέρος αἴρωνται, ὥστε καὶ τὴν
τῶν κυμάτων θέσιν καὶ τὴν τῆς στεφάνης
εἶναι κατὰ τὸ τῶν ποδῶν μέρος.

65 ἔλασμα γὰρ ἐποίησαν καθ' ὅλου τοῦ πλάτους τῆς τραπέζης στερεὸν δακτύλων τεσσάρων, ώστε τοὺς πόδας ἐνίεσθαι εἰς τοῦτο, περόνας {σὺν} κατακλεῖσιν ἔχοντας ἐσφίγχθαι κατὰ τὴν στεφάνην, ἵνα, καθ' ὃ ὰν αἴρωνται μέρος, ἡ χρῆσις ἦ· τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ ἐπιφάνειαν θεωρεῖται άμφοτεροδεξίου τῆς κατασκευῆς οὔσης. 66 ἐπ' αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς τραπέζης μαίανδρον ἔκτυπον ἐποίησαν, ἐν ὑπεροχῆ λίθους ἔχοντα κατὰ μέσον πολυτελεῖς τῶν {πολυειδῶν}, ἀνθράκων τε καὶ σμαράγδων, ἔτι δὲ ὄνυχος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γενῶν τῶν διαφερόντων ἐν ὡραιότητι. 67 μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ μαιάνδρου διάθεσιν ἐπέκειτο σχιστὴ πλοκή, θαυμασίως έχουσα, ρομβωτην αποτελοῦσα την ανα μέσον θεωρίαν ἐφ' ή κρυστάλλου λίθος καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἤλεκτρον ἐντετύπωτο, αμίμητον θεωρίαν αποτελοῦν τοῖς θεωροῦσι.

68 τοὺς δὲ πόδας ἐποίησαν τὰς κεφαλίδας ἔχοντας κρινωτάς, ἀνάκλασιν κρίνων ὑπὸ τὴν τράπεζαν λαμβανόντων, τὰ δὲ τῆς ἐντὸς προσόψεως ὀρθὴν ἔχοντα τὴν πετάλωσιν.

69 ή δὲ ἐπ' ἐδάφους ἔρεισις τοῦ ποδὸς ἄνθρωπος λίθου πάντοθεν παλιστιαία, κρηπῖδος ἔχουσα τάξιν κατὰ τὴν πρόσοψιν, ὀκτὼ δὲ δακτύλων τὸ πλάτος ἔχουσα' ἐφ' ὃν ἐπίκειται τὸ πᾶν ἔλασμα

70 And they made the foot appear like ivy growing out of the stone, interwoven with acanthus and surrounded with a vine which encircled it with clusters of grapes, which were worked in stones, up to the top of the foot. All the four feet were made in the same style, and everything was wrought and fitted so skillfully, and such remarkable skill and knowledge were expended upon making it true to nature, that when the air was stirred by a breath of wind, movement was imparted to the leaves, and everything was fashioned to correspond with the actual reality which it represented.

71 And they made the top of the table in three parts like a triptychon, and they were so fitted and dovetailed together with spigots along the whole breadth of the work, that the meeting of the joints could not be seen or even discovered. The thickness of the table was not less than half a cubit, so that the whole work must have cost many talents.

72 For since the king did not wish to add to its size he expended on the details the same sum of money which would have been required if the table could have been of larger dimensions. And everything was completed in accordance with his plan, in a most wonderful and remarkable way, with inimitable art and incomparable beauty.

73 Of the mixing bowls, two were wrought (in gold), and from the base to the middle were engraved with relief work in the pattern of scales, and between the scales precious stones were inserted with great artistic skill.

τοῦ ποδός.

70 κατεσκεύασαν δὲ ἐκφύοντα κισσὸν ἀκάνθω πλεκόμενον ἐκ τοῦ λίθου, σὺν ἀμπέλω περιειλούμενον κυκλόθεν τῷ ποδὶ σὺν τοῖς βότρυσιν, οἱ λιθουργεῖς ἦσαν, μέχρι τῆς κεφαλῆς. ἡ δ' αὐτὴ διάθεσις ἦν τῶν τεσσάρων ποδῶν, πάντα ἐνεργῶς πεποιημένα καὶ προσηγμένα, τῆς ἐμπειρίας καὶ τέχνης τὰς ὑπεροχὰς ἀπαραλλάκτως ἔχοντα πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὥστε καὶ ῥιπίζοντος τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα πνεύματος κίνησιν ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὴν τῶν φύλλων θέσιν, πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας διάθεσιν τετυπωμένων ἁπάντων.

71 ἐποίησαν δὲ τριμερὲς τὸ στόμα τῆς τραπέζης, οἱονεὶ τρίπτυχον, πελεκίνοις συναρμοζόμενα γομφωτοῖς πρὸς ἑαυτὰ κατὰ τὸ πάχος τῆς κατασκευῆς, ἀθέατον καὶ ἀνεύρετον τὴν τῶν ὰρμῶν κατασκευάσαντες συμβολήν. ἡμιπηχίου δὲ οὐκ ἐλάσσονος ἦν τὸ πάχος τῆς ὅλης τραπέζης, ὥστε πολλῶν εἶναι ταλάντων τὴν ὅλην διασκευήν.

72 ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐ προἠρητο τοῖς μεγέθεσιν οὐδὲν προσθεῖναι ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅσον ἔδει δαπανηθῆναι κατασκευαζομένων μειζόνων, ταῦτα ἀποδέδωκε πλείονα καὶ κατὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐπετελέσθη θαυμασίως καὶ ἀξιολόγως ἔχοντα, καὶ ταῖς τέχναις ἀμίμητα, καὶ τῆ καλλονῆ διαπρεπῆ.

73 τῶν δὲ κρατήρων δύο μὲν ἦσαν {χρυσοῖ} τῆ κατασκευῆ, φολιδωτὴν ἔχοντες ἀπὸ τῆς βάσεως μέχρι τοῦ μέσου τὴν διασκευὴν τῆ πορείᾳ, καὶ τὴν τῶν λίθων ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν φολίδων σύνδεσιν πολυτέχνως ἔχοντες.

74 Then there was a 'maeander' a cubit in height, with its surface wrought out of precious stones of many colours, displaying great artistic effort and beauty. Upon this there was a mosaic, worked in the form of a rhombus, having a net-like appearance and reaching right up to the brim.

75 In the middle, small shields which were made of different precious stones, placed alternately and varying in kind, not less than four fingers broad enhanced the beauty of their appearance. On the top of the brim there was an ornament of lilies in bloom, and τοῦ σώματος κρίνων τύπωσις σὺν intertwining clusters of grapes were engraven all round.

76 Such then was the construction of the golden bowls, and they held more than two firkins each. The silver bowls had a smooth surface, and were wonderfully made as if they were intended for looking-glasses, so that everything which was brought near to them was reflected even more clearly than in mirrors.

77 But it is impossible to describe the real impression which these works of art produced upon the mind when they were finished. For, when these vessels had been completed and placed side by side, first a silver bowl and then a golden, then another silver, and then another golden, the appearance they presented is altogether indescribable, and those who came to see them were not able to tear themselves from the brilliant sight and entrancing spectacle.

78 The impressions produced by the spectacle were various in kind. When men looked at the golden vessels, and their minds made a complete survey of each detail of workmanship, their souls were thrilled with

74 εἶτα μαίανδρος ἐπέκειτο πηχυαῖος ύψει, τὴν δ' ἐκτύπωσιν ἐνυπῆρχε διὰ λιθώσεως ποικίλης, ἐμφαίνων σὺν ώραιότητι τὸ τῆς τέχνης φιλόπονον. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτο ῥάβδωσις, ἐφ' ἦ διαπλοκὴ ρόμβων, δικτυωτην ἔχουσα την πρόσοψιν έως ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα.

75 τὸ δ' ἀνὰ μέσον ἀσπιδίσκοι λίθων έτέρων παρ' έτέροις, τοῖς γένεσι παραλλαγὴν ἐχόντων, τετραδακτύλων οὐκ ἔλαττον, ἀνεπλήρουν τὸ τῆς καλλονῆς ἐναργές. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς στεφάνης άνθεμίσι καὶ βοτρύων σχοινιαὶ διάπλοκοι διετυποῦντο κυκλόθεν.

76 οἱ μὲν οὖν διὰ τοῦ χρυσοῦ τοιαύτην εἶχον τὴν κατασκευήν, χωροῦντες ὑπὲρ δύο μετρητάς οί δ' ἀργυροῖ λείαν εἶχον τὴν διασκευήν, ἔνοπτρον δὴ γεγονυῖαν πρὸς αὐτὸ τοῦτο θαυμασίως ἔχουσαν, ώστε πᾶν τὸ προσαχθὲν ἀπαυγάζεσθαι σαφέστερον μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς κατόπροις.

77 οὐκ ἐφικτὸν δ' ἐστὶν ἐξηγήσασθαι τὰ προσυντελεσθέντα πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἔμφασιν. ώς γὰρ ἐπετελέσθη, τεθέντων τῶν κατασκευασμάτων ἐτέρου παρ' ἕτερον –λέγω δὲ πρῶτον ἀργυροῦ κρατῆρος, εἶτα χρυσοῦ, πάλιν ἀργυροῦ καὶ χρυσοῦ παντελῶς ἀνεξήγητος ἐγένετο τῆς προσόψεως ή διάθεσις, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὴν θεωρίαν προσιόντων οὐ δυναμένων ἀφίστασθαι διὰ τὴν περιαύγειαν καὶ τὸ τῆς ὄψεως τερπνόν.

78 ποικίλη γὰρ ἦν ἡ τῆς ἐπιφανείας ένέργεια. προσορώντων γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ χρυσίου κατασκευήν, ψυχαγωγία τις ἦν μετὰ θαυμασμοῦ, συνεχῶς ἐφ' έκαστον ἐπιβαλλούσης τῆς διανοίας

wonder. Again when a man wished to direct his gaze to the silver vessels, as they stood before him, everything seemed to flash with light round about the place where he was standing, and afforded a still greater delight to the onlookers. So that it is really impossible to describe the artistic beauty of the works.

79 The golden vials they engraved in the centre with vine wreaths. And about the rims they wove a wreath of ivy and myrtle and olive in relief work and inserted precious stones in it. The other parts of the relief work they wrought in different patterns, since they made it a point of honour to complete everything in a way worthy of the majesty of the king.

80 In a word it may be said that neither in the king's treasury nor in any other, were there any works which equaled these in costliness or in artistic skill. For the king spent no little thought upon them, for he loved to gain glory for the excellence of his designs.

81 For oftentimes he would neglect his official business, and spend his time with the artists in his anxiety that they should complete everything in a manner worthy of the place to which the gifts were to be sent. So everything was carried out on a grand scale, in a manner worthy of the king who sent the gifts and of the high priest who was the ruler of the land.

82 There was no stint of precious stones, for not less than five thousand were used and they were all of large size. The most exceptional artistic skill was employed, so that the cost of the stones and the workmanship was five times as much as that of the gold.

83 I have given you this description of the

τεχνίτευμα. καὶ πάλιν ὅτε πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀργυρῶν προσβλέψαι τις θέσιν ἤθελεν, ἀπέλαμπε τὰ πάντα κυκλόθεν, ὡς ἄν τις ἕστηκε, καὶ διάχυσιν ἐποίει μείζονα τοῖς θεωμένοις ὥστε παντελῶς ἀνεξήγητον εἶναι τῶν ἐνηργημένων τὴν πολυτεχνίαν.

79 τὰς δὲ χρυσᾶς φιάλας διετόρευσαν στεφάνοις ἀμπέλου κατὰ μέσον, περὶ δὲ τὰ χείλη κισσοῦ τε καὶ μυρσίνης ἔτι δ' ἐλαίας ἀνέπλεξαν στέφανον ἔκτυπον, πολυτελεῖς ἐνέντες λίθους καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς δὲ πορείας διηλλαγμένως ἐπετέλεσαν, ἄπαντα φιλοτιμηθέντες εἰς ὑπεροχὴν δόξης τοῦ βασιλέως ποιῆσαι.

80 καθόλου γὰρ οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ὑπῆρχε ῥισκοφυλακίοις τοιαύτη κατασκευὴ τῆ πολυτελείᾳ καὶ τεχνουργίᾳ, οὔτ' ἔν τινι ἄλλῳ. πρόνοιαν γὰρ οὐ μικρὰν ἐποιεῖτο ὁ βασιλεύς, φιλοδοξῶν εἰς τὰ καλῶς ἔχοντα.

81 πολλάκις γὰρ τὸν δημόσιον χρηματισμὸν παρίει, τοῖς δὲ τεχνίταις παρήδρευεν ἐπιμελῶς, ἵνα καθηκόντως τῷ τόπῳ συντελέσωσιν, εἰς ὃν ἀπεστέλλετο τὰ τῶν ἔργων. διὸ πάντα σεμνῶς ἐγεγόνει, καὶ καταξίως τοῦ τε ἀποστέλλοντος βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ προστατοῦντος ἀρχιερέως τοῦ τόπου.

82 καὶ γὰρ τὸ τῶν λίθων πλῆθος ἄφθονον, καὶ μεγάλοι τοῖς μεγέθεσιν, οὐκ ἔλαττον πεντακισχιλίων καὶ ταῖς τέχναις κρατιστεύοντα πάντα, ὥστε πενταπλασίως τοῦ χρυσοῦ τιμιωτέραν εἶναι τὴν τῶν λίθων δόσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν τεχνῶν ἐνέργειαν.

83 Ύπολαμβάνων οὖν καὶ τούτων τὴν

presents because I thought it was necessary. The next point in the narrative is an account of our journey to Eleazar, but I will first of all give you a description of the whole country. When we arrived in the land of the Jews we saw the city situated in the middle of the whole of Judea on the top of a mountain of considerable altitude.

84 On the summit the temple had been built in all its splendour. It was surrounded by three walls more than seventy cubits high and in length and breadth corresponding to the structure of the edifice. All the buildings were characterized by a magnificence and costliness quite unprecedented.

85 It was obvious that no expense had been spared on the door and the fastenings, which connected it with the door-posts, and the stability of the lintel.

86 The style of the curtain too was thoroughly in proportion to that of the entrance. Its fabric owing to the draught of wind was in perpetual motion, and as this motion was communicated from the bottom and the curtain bulged out to its highest extent, it afforded a pleasant spectacle from which a man could scarcely tear himself away.

87 The construction of the altar was in keeping with the place itself and with the burnt offerings which were consumed by fire upon it, and the approach to it was on a similar scale. There was a gradual slope up to it, conveniently arranged for the purpose of decency, and the ministering priests were robed in linen garments, down to their ankles.

ἀναγραφὴν ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι, δεδήλωκά σοι. τὰ δ' ἑξῆς περιέχει τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ὁδὸν ἡμῖν γενομένην τὴν δὲ θέσιν τῆς ὅλης χώρας πρῶτον δηλώσω. Ὁς γὰρ παρεγενήθημεν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἐθεωροῦμεν τὴν πόλιν μέσην κειμένην τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίων ἐπ' ὄρους ὑψηλὴν ἔχοντος τὴν ἀνάτασιν.

84 ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κορυφῆς κατεσκεύαστο τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκπρεπῶς ἔχον' καὶ οἱ περίβολοι τρεῖς, ὑπὲρ ἑβδομήκοντα δὲ πήχεις τῷ μεγέθει, καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἀκόλουθον καὶ τὸ μῆκος τῆς κατὰ τὸν οἶκον διασκευῆς ὑπῆρχε, μεγαλομοιρία καὶ χορηγία κατὰ πάντα ὑπερβαλλούση διωκοδομημένων ἀπάντων.

85 καὶ τοῦ θυρώματος δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ συνδέσμων κατὰ τὰς φλιὰς καὶ τῆς τῶν ὑπερθύρων ἀσφαλείας ἔκδηλος ἦν ἡ τῶν χρημάτων γεγονυῖα ἀφειδὴς δαπάνη. 86 τοῦ τε καταπετάσματος ἡ διατύπωσις θυρώσει κατὰ πᾶν ὁμοιοτάτη ὑπῆρχε' καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ὑποδρομὴν ἀδιάλειπτον κίνησιν λαμβονούσης τῆς διυφῆς, διὰ τὸ ἀπ' ἐδάφους γινομένης τῆς ὑποδρομῆς {κατατείνειν} τὴν κόλπωσιν μέχρι τῆς ἄνω διατάσεως, ἡδεῖάν τινα καὶ δυσαπάλλακτον τὴν θεωρίαν ἔχοντος τοῦ πράγματος.

87 ή τε τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κατασκευὴ {συμμέτρως ἔχουσαν} πρὸς τὸν τόπον καὶ τὰ θύματα διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐξαναλούμενα τὴν διοικοδομὴν εἶχε, τῆς δ' ἀναβάσεως τῆς πρὸς αὐτό, πρὸς τὴν εὐκοσμίαν ἔχοντος τοῦ τόπου καθηκόντως τὸ κλίμα τῶν λειτουργούντων ἱερέων κεκαλυμμένων μέχρι τῶν σφυρῶν

88 The Temple faces the east and its back is toward the west. The whole of the floor is paved with stones and slopes down to the appointed places, that water may be conveyed to wash away the blood from the sacrifices, for many thousand beasts are sacrificed there on the feast days.

89 And there is an inexhaustible supply of water, because an abundant natural spring gushes up from within the temple area. There are moreover wonderful and indescribable cisterns underground, as they pointed out to me, at a distance of five furlongs all round the site of the temple, and each of them has countless pipes so that the different streams converge together.

90 And all these were fastened with lead at the bottom and at the sidewalls, and over them a great quantity of plaster had been spread, and every part of the work had been most carefully carried out. There are many openings for water at the base of the altar which are invisible to all except to those who are engaged in the ministration, so that all the blood of the sacrifices which is collected in great quantities is washed away in the twinkling of an eye.

91 Such is my opinion with regard to the character of the reservoirs and I will now show you how it was confirmed. They led me more than four furlongs outside the city and bade me peer down towards a certain spot and listen to the noise that was made by the meeting of the waters, so that the great size of the reservoirs became manifest to me, as has already been pointed out.

92 The ministration of the priests is in every

βυσσίνοις χιτῶσιν.

88 ὁ δὲ οἶκος βλέπει πρὸς ἔω, τὰ δ' ὀπίσθια αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἑσπέραν· τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἔδαφος λιθόστρωτον καθέστηκε καὶ κλίματα πρὸς τοὺς καθήκοντας τόπους ἔχει τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπιφορᾶς ἕνεκεν, ἣ γίνεται διὰ τὴν σμῆξιν τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν θυσιῶν αἱμάτων. πολλαὶ γὰρ μυριάδες κτηνῶν προσάγονται κατὰ τὰς τῶν ἑορτῶν ἡμέρας.

89 ὕδατος δὲ ἀνέκλειπτός ἐστι σύστασις, ώς ἂν καὶ πηγῆς ἔσωθεν πολυρρύτου φυσικῶς ἐπιρρεούσης, ἔτι δὲ θαυμασίων καὶ ἀδιηγήτων ὑποδοχείων ὑπαρχόντων ὑπὸ γῆν, καθὼς ἀπέφαινον πέντε σταδίων κυκλόθεν τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν καταβολῆς καὶ ἑκάστου τούτων σύριγγας ἀναρίθμους, καθ' ἕκαστον μέρος ἑαυτὰ συναπτόντων τῶν ῥευμάτων·

90 καὶ πάντα ταῦτα μεμολιβῶσθαι κατ' ἐδάφους καὶ τοῦ τοίχου' ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κεχύσθαι πολύ τι πλῆθος κονιάσεως, ἐνεργῶς γεγενημένων ἀπάντων. εἶναι δὲ πυκνὰ τὰ στόματα πρὸς τὴν βάσιν, ἀοράτως ἔχοντα τοῖς πᾶσι πλὴν αὐτοῖς οἷς ἐστιν ἡ λειτουργία, ὡς ῥοπῆ καὶ νεύματι πάντα καθαρίζεσθαι τὰ συναγόμενα παμπληθῆ τῶν θυμάτων αἵματα.

91 πεπεισμένος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν τῶν ὑποδοχείων κατασκευὴν δηλώσω καθὼς ἐπιστώθην. προήγαγον γὰρ πλέον σταδίων τεσσάρων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ πρός τινα τόπον ἐκέλευσαν κατακύψαντα συνακοῦσαι τοῦ γινομένου ψόφου τῆς ἀπαντήσεως τῶν ὑδάτων. ὥστε συμφανές μοι γεγονέναι τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀγγείων, καθὼς δεδήλωται.

92 τῶν δὲ ἱερέων ἡ λειτουργία κατὰ πᾶν

way unsurpassed both for its physical endurance and for its orderly and silent service. For they all work spontaneously, though it entails much painful exertion, and each one has a special task allotted to him. The service is carried on without interruption - some provide the wood, others the oil, others the fine wheat flour, others the spices; others again bring the pieces of flesh for the burnt offering, exhibiting a wonderful degree of strength.

93 For they take up with both hands the limbs of a calf, each of them weighing more than two talents, and throw them with each hand in a wonderful way on to the high place of the altar and never miss placing them on the proper spot. In the same way the pieces of the sheep and also of the goats are wonderful both for their weight and their fatness. For those, whose business it is, always select the beasts which are without blemish and specially fat, and thus the sacrifice which I have described, is carried out.

94 There is a special place set apart for them to rest in, where those who are relieved from duty sit. When this takes place, those who have already rested and are ready to assume their duties rise up spontaneously since there is no one to give orders with regard to the arrangement of the sacrifices.

95 The most complete silence reigns so that one might imagine that there was not a single person present, though there are actually seven hundred men engaged in the work, besides the vast number of those who are occupied in bringing up the sacrifices. Everything is carried out with reverence and in a way worthy of the great God.

96 We were greatly astonished, when we saw 96 μεγάλην δὲ ἔκπληξιν ἡμῖν παρέσχεν, Eleazar engaged in the ministration, at the

άνυπέρβλητός έστι τῆ ρώμη καὶ τῆ τῆς εὐκοσμίας καὶ σιγῆς διαθέσει. πάντες γὰρ αὐτοκελεύστως διαπονοῦσι πολλῆς γινομένης κακοπαθείας, καὶ ἑκάστω τὸ διατεταγμένον μέλει. καὶ ἀδιαλείπτως ύπηρετοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν τὴν ξυλείαν, οἱ δὲ ἔλαιον, οἱ δὲ σεμίδαλιν, οἱ δὲ τὰ τῶν άρωμάτων, ἕτεροι τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς όλοκαυτοῦντες, ἰσχύι διαφερόντως συγχρώμενοι.

93 διαλαβόντες γὰρ ἀμφοτέραις τῶν μόσχων τὰ σκέλη, πλεῖον ὄντα ταλάντων δύο σχεδὸν ἐκάστου, ἀναρρίπτουσιν έκατέραις θαυμασίως ὕψος ἱκανὸν καὶ οὐχ άμαρτάνουσι τῆς ἐπιθέσεως. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν προβάτων ἔτι δ' αἰγῶν τοῖς βάρεσι καὶ πιμελῆ θαυμασίως ἔχει. κατὰ πᾶν γὰρ ἐκλεγομένων οἶς ἐπιμελές ἐστιν αμώμητα καὶ τῆ παχύτητι διαφέροντα, τὸ προειρημένον ἐπιτελεῖται.

94 πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν τόπος αὐτοῖς έστὶν ἀποτεταγμένος, οὖ καθίζουσιν οἱ διαναπαυόμενοι. τούτου δὲ γινομένου, τῶν διαλελοιπότων ἐγείρονται πρόθυμοι, οὐδενὸς ἐπιτάσσοντος τὰ τῆς λειτουργίας.

95 ή τε πᾶσα σιγὴ καθέστηκεν, ὥστε ύπολαμβάνειν, μηθ' ένα ἄνθρωποι ἐν τῷ τόπω παρεῖναι, πρὸς τοὺς ἑπτακοσίους παρόντων τῶν λειτουργῶν—καὶ τῶν προσαγόντων δὲ τὰ θύματα πολύ τι πλῆθος—ἀλλὰ φόβω καὶ καὶ καταξίως μεγάλης θειότητος ἄπαντ' ἐπιτελεῖται.

ώς ἐθεασάμεθα τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ἐν τῆ

mode of his dress, and the majesty of his appearance, which was revealed in the robe which he wore and the precious stones upon his person. There were golden bells upon the garment which reached down to his feet, giving forth a peculiar kind of melody, and on both sides of them there were pomegranates with variegated flowers of a wonderful hue.

97 He was girded with a girdle of conspicuous beauty, woven in the most beautiful colours. On his breast he wore the oracle of God, as it is called, on which twelve stones, of different kinds, were inset, fastened together with gold, containing the names of the leaders of the tribes, according to their original order, each one flashing forth in an indescribable way its own particular colour.

98 On his head he wore a tiara, as it is called, and upon this in the middle of his forehead an inimitable turban, the royal diadem full of μίτραν, τὸ καθηγιασμένον βασίλειον glory with the name of God inscribed in sacred letters on a plate of gold . . . having been judged worthy to wear these emblems in the ministrations.

99 Their appearance created such awe and confusion of mind as to make one feel that one had come into the presence of a man who belonged to a different world. I am convinced that any one who takes part in the spectacle which I have described will be filled with astonishment and indescribable wonder and be profoundly affected in his mind at the thought of the sanctity which is attached to each detail of the service.

100 But in order that we might gain complete information, we ascended to the summit of the neighbouring citadel and looked around us. It is situated in a very lofty spot, and is fortified with many towers,

λειτουργία, τά τε τοῦ στολισμοῦ καὶ τῆς δόξης, ή συνίσταται διὰ τὴν ἔνδυσιν οὖ φορεῖ χιτῶνος καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν λίθων. χρυσοῖ γὰρ κώδωνες περὶ τὸν ποδήρη είσὶν αὐτοῦ, μέλους ἦχον ἀνιέντες ἰδιάζοντα· παρ' ἑκάτερον δὲ τούτων ἄνθεσι πεποικιλμένοι ροΐσκοι, τῆ χρόα θαυμασίως ἔχοντες.

97 κατέζωστο δὲ διαφόρω ζώνη διαπρεπεῖ, διυφασμένη καλλίστοις χρώμασιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ στήθους φορεῖ τὸ λεγόμενον λόγιον, έν ὧ συνεσφιγμένοι λίθοι δεκαδύο, διαλλάσσοντες τοῖς γένεσι, χρυσῷ κεκολλημένοι, τὰ τῶν φυλάρχων ὀνόματα κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διάταξιν γενηθεῖσαν, ἀπαυγάζοντες ἕκαστος ἀνεξήγητον τῆς ίδιότητος την φυσικην χρόαν.

98 ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχει τὴν λεγομένην κίδαριν, ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτης τὴν ἀμίμητον έκτυποῦν ἐπὶ πετάλω χρυσῷ γράμμασιν άγίοις ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, κατὰ μέσον τῶν όφρύων, δόξη πεπληρωμένον, ὁ κριθεὶς άξιος τούτων έν ταῖς λειτουργίαις.

99 ή δὲ συμφάνεια τούτων ἐμποιεῖ φόβον καὶ ταραχήν, ώστε νομίζειν εἰς ἕτερον έληλυθέναι έκτὸς τοῦ κόσμου καὶ διαβεβαιοῦμαι, πάντα

ἄνθρωπον προσελθόντα τῆ θεωρία τῶν προειρημένων εἰς ἔκπληξιν ἥξειν καὶ θαυμασμὸν ἀδιήγητον, μετατραπέντα τῆ διανοία διὰ τὴν περὶ ἕκαστον ἁγίαν κατασκευήν.

100 πρὸς γὰρ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν ἁπάντων ἐπὶ τὴν παρακειμένην ἄκραν τῆς πόλεως άναβάντες έθεωροῦμεν' ἡ κεῖται μὲν ἐν ύψηλοτάτω τόπω, πύργοις

which have been built up to the very top of immense stones, with the object, as we were informed, of guarding the temple precincts,

101 so that if there were an attack, or an insurrection or an onslaught of the enemy, no one would be able to force an entrance within the walls that surround the temple. On the towers of the citadel engines of war were placed and different kinds of machines, and the position was much higher than the circle of walls which I have mentioned.

102 The towers were guarded too by most trusty men who had given the utmost proof of their loyalty to their country. These men were never allowed to leave the citadel, except on feast days and then only in detachments. nor did they permit any stranger to enter it.

103 They were also very careful when any command came from the chief officer to admit any visitors to inspect the place, as our προκαθηγουμένου πρὸς θεωρίαν own experience taught us. They were very reluctant to admit us, - though we were but two unarmed men - to view the offering of the sacrifices.

104 And they asserted that they were bound by an oath when the trust was committed to them, for they had all sworn and were bound to carry out the oath sacredly to the letter, that though they were five hundred in number they would not permit more than five men to enter at one time. The citadel was the special protection of the temple and its founder had fortified it so strongly that it might efficiently protect it.

105 The size of the city is of moderate dimensions. It is about forty furlongs in circumference, as far as one could

έξησφαλισμένη πλείοσι, μέχρι κορυφῆς εὐμήκεσι λίθοις ἀνωκοδομημένων αὐτῶν, ώς μεταλαμβάνομεν, πρὸς φυλακὴν τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τόπων.

101 ἵνα, ἐὰν ἐπίθεσίς τις ἢ νεωτερισμὸς ἢ πολεμίων ἔφοδος γένηται, μηθεὶς δύνηται όδὸν εἰς τοὺς περιβόλους ποιήσασθαι τοὺς περὶ τὸν οἶκον· ἐπικειμένων καὶ όξυβελῶν ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων τῆς ἄκρας καὶ όργάνων ποικίλων, καὶ τοῦ τόπου κατὰ κορυφὴν ὄντος τῶν προειρημένων περιβόλων,

102 ώσανεὶ φυλασσομένων τῶν πύργων ύπὸ τῶν πιστοτάτων ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῆ πατρίδι μεγάλας ἀποδείξεις δεδωκότων. οίτινες οὐκ εἶχον ἐξουσίαν ἐξιέναι τῆς ἄκρας, εἰ μὴ ταῖς ἑορταῖς, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ μέρους, οὐδὲ εἰσοδεύειν εἴων οὐδένα.

103 μετὰ ἀκριβείας δὲ πολλῆς εἶχον, εἰ καί τις ἐπιταγὴ γένοιτο διὰ τοῦ εἰσδέξασθαί τινας οἶον καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς έγεγόνει. μόλις γὰρ ἀνόπλους ὄντας ἡμᾶς δύο παρεδέξαντο πρὸς τὸ κατανοῆσαι τὰ τῶν θυσιῶν.

104 ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ δι' ὅρκων πεπιστῶσθαι τὸ τοιοῦτον' τοὺς γὰρ πάντας όμωμοκέναι, κατ' ἀνάγκην {ἐπιτελουμένους} θείως τὸ κατὰ τὸν όρισμὸν πρᾶγμα, ὄντας πεντακοσίους μὴ παραδέξασθαι πλεῖον ἀνθρώπων πέντε κατὰ τὸ αὐτό τοῦ γὰρ ἱεροῦ τὴν πᾶσαν εἶναι φυλακὴν τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὸν καταβαλλόμενον αὐτὴν τὴν προφυλακὴν τῶν εἰημένων οὕτως ἠσφαλίσθαι.

105 τῆς δὲ πόλεώς ἐστι τὸ χύμα συμμέτρως ἔχον, οἶον τεσσαράκοντα conjecture. It has its towers arranged in the shape of a theatre, with thoroughfares leading between them now the cross roads of the lower towers are visible but those of the upper towers are more frequented. For the ground ascends, since the city is built upon a mountain. There are steps too which lead up to the cross roads,

106 and some people are always going up, and others down and they keep as far apart from each other as possible on the road because of those who are bound by the rules of purity, lest they should touch anything which is unlawful.

107 It was not without reason that the original founders of the city built it in due proportions, for they possessed clear insight with regard to what was required. For the country is extensive and beautiful. Some parts of it are level, especially the districts which belong to Samaria, as it is called, and which border on the land of the Idumeans, other parts are mountainous, especially (those which are contiguous to the land of Judea). The people therefore are bound to devote themselves to agriculture and the cultivation of the soil that by this means they may have a plentiful supply of crops. In this way cultivation of every kind is carried on and an abundant harvest reaped in the whole τῆ προειρημένη χώρα. of the aforesaid land.

108 The cities which are large and enjoy a corresponding prosperity are well-populated, but they neglect the country districts, since all men are inclined to a life of enjoyment, for every one has a natural tendency towards the pursuit of pleasure.

109 The same thing happened in Alexandria, 109 τοῦτο δὲ ἐγίνετο περὶ τὴν

σταδίων ὄντος τοῦ περιβόλου, καθόσον εἰκάσαι δυνατόν. ἔχει δὲ τὴν τῶν πύργων θέσιν θεατροειδῆ, καὶ φαινομένων διόδων -τῶν ὑποκειμένων, τῶν δ' ἐπάνωθεν— {εἰθισμένως}—, καὶ τὰς διὰ τούτων διεξόδους. ἀνάκλασιν γὰρ ἔχει τὰ τῶν τόπων, ώς ἂν ἐπ' ὄρους τῆς πόλεως ώκοδομημένης. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ διαβάθραι πρὸς τὰς διόδους.

106 οἱ μὲν γὰρ μετέωροι τὴν ὁδείαν, οἱ δ' ύπ' αὐτὰς ποιοῦνται, καὶ μάλιστα διεστηκότες τῆς ὁδείας, διὰ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς άγνείαις ὄντας, ὅπως μηδενὸς θιγγάνωσιν ὧν οὐ δέον ἐστίν.

107 οὐκ ἀλόγως δὲ τὴν πόλιν συμμετρία καθηκούση κατεσκεύασαν οί πρῶτοι, σοφῶς δὲ ἐπινοήσαντες. τῆς γὰρ χώρας πολλῆς οὔσης καὶ καλῆς, καί τινων μὲν πεδινῶν, τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σαμαρεῖτιν λεγομένην, καὶ τῶν συναπτόντων τῆ τῶν 'Ιδουμαίων χώρα, τινῶν δὲ ὀρεινῶν, τῶν {συναπτόντων τῆ τῶν Ἰουδαίων χώρα, χρὴ} πρὸς τὴν γεωργίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς γῆς γίνεσθαι συνεχῶς, ἵνα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὖτοι τὴν εὐκαρπίαν ἔχωσιν' οὖ καὶ γινομένου γεωργεῖται {πάντα μετὰ} δαψιλείας πολλῆς ἐν πάση

108 τῶν δὲ πόλεων ὅσαι μέγεθος ἔχουσι καὶ τὴν ἀκόλουθον εὐδαιμονίαν, ταύταις συμβέβηκεν εὐανδρεῖν, ἀμελεῖσθαι δὲ τῆς χώρας, πάντων ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ ψυχὴν ίλαροῦσθαι νενευκότων, καὶ τῆ κατασκευῆ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τὰς ήδονὰς εὐκαταφόρους εἶναι.

which excels all cities in size and prosperity. Country people by migrating from the rural districts and settling in the city brought agriculture into disrepute:

110 and so to prevent them from settling in the city, the king issued orders that they should not stay in it for more than twenty days. And in the same way he gave the judges written instructions, that if it was necessary to issue a summons against any one who lived in the country, the case must be settled within five days.

111 And since he considered the matter one of great importance, he appointed also legal officers for every district with their assistants, that the farmers and their advocates might not in the interests of business empty the granaries of the city, I mean, of the produce of husbandry.

112 I have permitted this digression because it was Eleazar who pointed out with great clearness the points which have been mentioned. For great is the energy which they expend on the tillage of the soil. For the land is thickly planted with multitudes of olive trees, with crops of corn and pulse, with vines too, and there is abundance of honey. Other kinds of fruit trees and dates do not count compared with these.

113 There are cattle of all kinds in great quantities and a rich pasturage for them. Wherefore they rightly recognize that the country districts need a large population, and the relations between the city and the villages are properly regulated.

114 A great quantity of spices and precious stones and gold is brought into the country by the Arabs. For the country is well adapted not only for agriculture but also for commerce, and the city is rich in the arts and

'Αλεξάνδρειαν ὑπερβάλλουσαν πάσας τῷ μεγέθει καὶ εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὰς πόλεις. οἱ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας εἰς αὐτὴν ἀποξενούμενοι καταμένοντες ἐφ' ἱκανὸν εἰς ἐλάττωσιν ἦγον τὰ τῆς ἐργασίας.

110 ὅθεν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἵνα μὴ καταμένωσι, προσέταξε μὴ πλέον εἴκοσιν ἡμερῶν παρεπιδημεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν χρειῶν ὁμοίως δι' ἐγγράπτων διαστολὰς ἔδωκεν, ἐὰν ἀναγκαῖον ਜ κατακαλέσαι, διακρίνειν ἐν ἡμέραις πέντε.

111 πρὸ πολλοῦ δὲ ποιούμενος καὶ χρηματιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τούτων ὑπηρέτας ἐπέταξε κατὰ νομούς, ὅπως μὴ πορισμὸν λαμβάνοντες οἱ γεωργοὶ καὶ προστάται τῆς πόλεως ἐλαττῶσι τὰ ταμιεῖα, λέγω δὲ τὰ τῆς γεωργίας πρόσφορα.

112 παρεξέβημεν δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τὸ καλῶς ἡμῖν τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον ὑποδεδειχέναι τὰ προειρημένα. μεγάλη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν γεωργουμένων φιλοπονία. καὶ γὰρ ἐλαϊκοῖς πλήθεσι σύνδενδρός ἐστι καὶ σιτικοῖς καρποῖς αὐτῶν ἡ χώρα καὶ ὀσπρίοις, ἔτι δὲ ἀμπέλῳ καὶ μέλιτι πολλῷ. τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀκροδρύων καὶ φοινίκων οὐδ' ἀριθμεῖται παρ' αὐτοῖς.

113 κτήνη τε πολλὰ παμμιγῆ, καὶ δαψιλὴς ἡ τούτων νομή· διὸ καλῶς ἔβλεψαν, ὅτι πολυανθρωπίας οἱ τόποι προσδέονται, καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν κωμῶν ἔθεντο κατὰ λόγον.

114 πολὺ δὲ πλῆθος καὶ τῶν ἀρωμάτων καὶ λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ χρυσοῦ παρακομίζεται διὰ τῶν ᾿Αράβων εἰς τὸν τόπον. ἐργάσιμος γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τὴν

lacks none of the merchandise which is brought across the sea.

115 It possesses, too, suitable and commodious harbours at Askalon, Joppa, and Gaza, as well as at Ptolemais which was founded by the King and holds a central position compared with the other places named, being not far distant from any of them. The country produces everything in abundance, since it is well watered in all directions and well protected from storms.

116 The river Jordan, as it is called, which never runs dry, flows through the land. Originally (the country) contained not less than 60 million acres - though afterwards the neighbouring peoples made incursions against it - and 600,000 men were settled upon it in farms of a hundred acres each. The έκατοντάρουροι. πληρούμενος δὲ ὁ river like the Nile rises in harvest-time and irrigates a large portion of the land.

117 Near the district belonging to the people of Ptolemais it issues into another river and this flows out into the sea. Other mountain torrents, as they are called, flow down into the plain and encompass the parts about Gaza and the district of Ashdod.

118 The country is encircled by a natural fence and is very difficult to attack and cannot be assailed by large forces, owing to the narrow passes, with their overhanging precipices and deep ravines, and the rugged character of the mountainous regions which surround all the land.

έμπορίαν έστὶ κατεσκευασμένη ή χώρα, καὶ πολύτεχνος ἡ πόλις, οὐ σπανίζει δὲ οὐδὲν τῶν διακομιζομένων διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης.

115 ἔχει γὰρ καὶ λιμένας εὐκαίρους χορηγοῦντας, τόν τε κατὰ τὴν ᾿Ασκαλῶνα καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Γάζαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαίδα τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως έκτισμένην. μέση δὲ κεῖται πρὸς τοὺς προειρημένους τόπους, οὐκ ἀπέχουσα τούτων πολύ. ἔχει δὲ πάντα δαψιλῆ κάθυγρος οὖσα πάντοθεν ἡ χώρα καὶ μεγάλην ἀσφάλειαν ἔχουσα.

116 περιρρεῖ δ' αὐτὴν ὁ λεγόμενος 'Ιορδάνης ποταμὸς ἀείρρους. {τῆς δὲ χώρας} οὐκ ἔλαττον ἑξακισχιλίων μυριάδων ἀρουρῶν κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον οὔσης (μετέπειτα δὲ οἱ γειτνιῶντες ἐπέβησαν αὐτῆς) ἑξήκοντα μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ἔγκληροι καθειστήκεισαν ποταμός, καθώς ὁ Νεῖλος, ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν θερισμὸν ἡμέραις, πολλὴν ἀρδεύει τῆς γῆς:

117 ὃς εἰς ἕτερον ποταμὸν ἐκβάλλει τὸ ρεῦμα κατὰ τὴν Πτολεμαίων χώραν, οὖτος δὲ ἔξεισιν εἰς θάλασσαν. ἄλλοι δὲ χειμάρροι λεγόμενοι κατίασι, περιλαμβάνοντες τὰ πρὸς τὴν Γάζαν μέρη καὶ τὴν Άζωτίων χώραν.

118 περιέχεται δὲ ἀσφαλείαις αὐτοφυέσι, δυσείσβολος οὖσα καὶ πλήθεσιν ἀπραγμάτευτος, διὰ τὸ στενὰς εἶναι τὰς παρόδους, κρημνῶν παρακειμένων καὶ φαράγγων βαθέων, ἔτι δὲ τραχείας οὔσης πάσης τῆς περιεχούσης πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν όρεινῆς.

119 We were told that from the neighbouring 119 ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν παρακειμένων

mountains of Arabia copper and iron were formerly obtained. This was stopped, however, at the time of the Persian rule, since the authorities of the time spread abroad a false report that the working of the mines was useless and expensive,

120 in order to prevent their country from being destroyed by the mining in these districts and possibly taken away from them owing to the Persian rule, since by the assistance of this false report they found an excuse for entering the district. I have now, my dear brother Philocrates, given you all the essential information upon this subject in brief form. I shall describe the work of translation in the sequel.

121 The High priest selected men of the finest character and the highest culture, such as one would expect from their noble parentage. They were men who had not only acquired proficiency in Jewish literature, but had studied most carefully that of the Greeks as well.

122 They were specially qualified therefore for serving on embassies and they undertook this duty whenever it was necessary. They possessed a great facility for conferences and the discussion of problems connected with the law. They espoused the middle course and this is always the best course to pursue. They abjured the rough and uncouth manner, but they were altogether above pride and never assumed an air of superiority over others, and in conversation they were ready to listen and give an appropriate answer to every question. And all of them carefully observed this rule and were anxious above everything else to excel each other in its

ὀρέων τῆς Ἀραβίας μέταλλα χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου συνίστασθαι πρότερον. ἐκλέλειπται δὲ ταῦτα, καθ' ὂν ἐπεκράτησαν Πέρσαι χρόνον, τῶν τότε προστατούντων ποιησαμένων διαβολήν, ὡς ἄχρηστος ἡ κατεργασία γίνεται καὶ πολυδάπανος,

120 ὅπως μὴ διὰ τὴν μεταλλείαν τῶν εἰρημένων συμβῆ καὶ τὴν χώραν καταφθείρεσθαι, καὶ σχεδὸν διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων δυναστείαν ἀλλοτριωθῆναι, παρεύρεσιν λαβόντων εἰς τοὺς τόπους εἰσόδου, διὰ τὸ τὴν διαβολὴν γεγονέναι ταύτην. Ὅσον οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτων ἔδει, κεφαλαιωδῶς σεσήμαγκά σοι, ὧ Φιλόκρατες ἀδελφέ· τὰ δὲ τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἑπομένως δηλώσομεν.

121 ἐπιλέξας γὰρ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄνδρας καὶ παιδεία διαφέροντας, ἄτε δὴ γονέων τετευχότας ἐνδόξων, οἵτινες οὐ μόνον τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν γραμμάτων ἕξιν περιεποίησαν αὑτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐφρόντισαν οὐ παρέργως κατακευῆς.

122 διὸ καὶ πρὸς τὰς πρεσβείας εὔθετοι καθεστήκεισαν, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπετέλουν ὅτε δέοι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὁμιλίας καὶ τὰς ἐπερωτήσεις τὰς διὰ τοῦ νόμου μεγάλην εὐφυίαν εἶχον, τὸ μέσον ἐζηλωκότες κατάστημα (τοῦτο γὰρ κάλλιστόν ἐστιν), ἀποτεθειμένοι τὸ τραχὺ καὶ βάρβαρον τῆς διανοίας, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ κατοίεσθαι καὶ νομίζειν ὑπερφρονεῖν ἑτέρους ὑπερβεβηκότες, τὴν δ' ὁμιλίαν καὶ τὸ συνακούειν καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἀποκρίνεσθαι δεόντως παραδεδεγμένοι, καὶ πάντες ταῦτα συντηροῦντες καὶ μᾶλλον ἐν τούτοις βουλόμενοι

observance and they were all of them worthy of their leader and of his virtue.

123 And one could observe how they loved Eleazar by their unwillingness to be torn away from him and how he loved them. For besides the letter which he wrote to the king concerning their safe return, he also earnestly besought Andreas to work for the same end and urged me, too, to assist to the best of my ability

124 and although we promised to give our best attention to the matter, he said that he was still greatly distressed, for he knew that the king out of the goodness of his nature considered it his highest privilege, whenever he heard of a man who was superior to his fellows in culture and wisdom, to summon him to his court.

125 For I have heard of a fine saying of his to the effect that by securing just and prudent men about his person he would secure the greatest protection for his kingdom, since such friends would unreservedly give him the most beneficial advice. And the men who were now being sent to him by Eleazar undoubtedly possessed these qualities.

126 And he frequently asserted upon oath that he would never let the men go if it were merely some private interest of his own that constituted the impelling motive - but it was for the common advantage of all the citizens that he was sending them.

127 For, he explained, the good life consists in the keeping of the enactments of the law, and this end is achieved much more by similar statements it was clear what his feelings towards them were.

ύπερφέρειν έτερος έτέρου, καὶ τοῦ καθηγουμένου πάντες ἄξιοι καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς.

123 νοῆσαι δ' ἦν, ὡς ἠγάπησαν τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον δυσαποσπάστως ἔχοντες, καὶ έκεῖνος αὐτούς χωρὶς καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα γεγραφέναι περί τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως αὐτῶν πολλὰ παρεκάλεσε τὸν 'Ανδρέαν ποιῆσαι, συναντιλαμβάνεσθαι παρακαλῶν, καθ' δ αν δυνώμεθα.

124 καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπαγγελλομένων {εὖ φροντίσειν} περὶ τούτων, ἔφη καὶ λίαν διαγωνιᾶν εἰδέναι γάρ, ὅτι φιλάγαθος ὢν ό βασιλεὺς πάντων μέγιστον ἡγεῖται τὸ μεταπέμπεσθαι, καθ' ὃν ἂν τόπον ονομασθή τις ἄνθρωπος διαφέρων άγωγή καὶ φρονήσει παρ' ἑτέρους.

125 μετείληφα γὰρ καλῶς αὐτὸν λέγειν, ότι περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔχων ἄνδρας δικαίους καὶ σώφρονας την μεγίστην ἂν φυλακην τῆς βασιλείας έξειν, συμβουλευόντων παρρησία πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τῶν φίλων. ὃ δη σύνεστι τοῖς ἀποστελλομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

126 καὶ δι' ὅρκων ἐπιστοῦτο, μὴ προΐεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, εἴ τις ἑτέρα χρεία πρὸς τὰ ἰδίαν αὐτῷ κατεπείγοι, πρὸς δὲ τὴν κοινην πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις ἑπανόρθωσιν έξαποστέλλειν αὐτούς.

127 τὸ γὰρ καλῶς ζῆν ἐν τῷ τὰ νόμιμα συντηρεῖν εἶναι· τοῦτο δὲ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι διὰ τῆς ἀκροάσεως πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τῆς hearing than by reading. From this and other αναγνώσεως, προτιθέμενος οὖν ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια φανερὸς ἦν τὴν διάθεσιν, δς ἦν πρὸς αὐτούς.

128 It is worthwhile to mention briefly the information which he gave in reply to our questions. For I suppose that most people feel ἡμῶν ἐπιζητηθέντα. νομίζω γὰρ τοὺς a curiosity with regard to some of the enactments in the law, especially those about meats and drinks and animals recognized as unclean.

129 When we asked why, since there is but one form of creation, some animals are regarded as unclean for eating, and others unclean even to the touch (for though the law is scrupulous on most points, it is specially scrupulous on such matters as these) he began his reply as follows:

130 'You observe,' he said, 'what an effect our $|_{130}$ Θεωρεῖς, ἔφη, τὰς ἀναστροφὰς καὶ τὰς modes of life and our associations produce upon us; by associating with the bad, men catch their depravities and become miserable throughout their life; but if they live with the wise and prudent, they find the means of escaping from ignorance and amending their lives.

131 Our Lawgiver first of all laid down the principles of piety and righteousness and inculcated them point by point, not merely by prohibitions but by the use of examples as well, demonstrating the injurious effects of sin and the punishments inflicted by God upon the guilty.

132 For he proved first of all that there is only one God and that his power is manifested throughout the universe, since every place is filled with his sovereignty and none of the things which are wrought in secret by men upon the earth escapes His knowledge. For all that a man does and all that is to come to pass in the future are manifest to Him.

133 Working out these truths carefully and

128 "Αξιον δὲ ἐπιμνησθῆναι {διὰ} βραχέων τῶν ὑποδειχθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ δι' πολλούς περιεργίαν ἔχων τινὰ τῶν ἐν τῆ νομοθεσία περί τε τῶν βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν καὶ τῶν νομιζομένων ἀκαθάρτων εἶναι κνωδάλων.

129 πυνθανομένων γὰρ ἡμῶν, διὰ τί, μιᾶς καταβολῆς οὔσης, τὰ μὲν ἀκάθαρτα νομίζεται πρὸς βρῶσιν, τὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν άφὴν (δεισιδαιμόνως γὰρ τὰ πλεῖστα τὴν νομοθεσίαν ἔχειν, ἐν δὲ τούτοις πάνυ δεισιδαιμόνως) πρὸς ταῦτα οὕτως ένήρξατο.

όμιλίας, οἷον ἐνεργάζονται πρᾶγμα, διότι κακοῖς ὁμιλήσαντες διαστροφὰς ἐπιλαμβάνουσιν ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ταλαίπωροι δι' όλου τοῦ ζῆν εἰσιν ἐὰν δὲ σοφοῖς καὶ φρονίμοις συζῶσιν, ἐξ ἀγνοίας έπανορθώσεως είς τὸν βίον ἔτυχον.

131 διαστειλάμενος οὖν τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης πρῶτον ὁ νομοθέτης ήμῶν, καὶ διδάξας ἕκαστα περὶ τούτων, οὐκ ἀπαγορευτικῶς μόνον ἀλλ' ένδεικτικῶς, καὶ τὰς βλάβας προδήλους καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γινομένας ἐπιπομπὰς τοῖς αἰτίοις—

132 προϋπέδειξε γὰρ πάντων πρῶτον, ὅτι μόνος ὁ θεός ἐστι, καὶ διὰ πάντων ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ φανερὰ γίνεται, πεπληρωμένου παντὸς τόπου τῆς δυναστείας, καὶ οὐθὲν αὐτὸν λανθάνει τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς γινομένων ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων κρυφίως, άλλ' ὅσα ποιεῖ τις αὐτῷ φανερὰ καθέστηκε, καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι—

133 ταῦτ' οὖν ἐξεργαζόμενος ἀκριβῶς καὶ

having made them plain he showed that even if a man should think of doing evil - to say nothing of actually effecting it, - he would not escape detection, for he made it clear that the power of God pervaded the whole of $\theta \epsilon \tilde{0} \delta v \alpha \tau \delta v \dot{\epsilon} v \delta \epsilon i \kappa v \dot{\nu} u \epsilon v \delta c$. the law.

134 Beginning from this starting point he went on to show that all mankind except ourselves believe in the existence of many gods, though they themselves are much more powerful than the beings whom they vainly worship.

135 For when they have made statues of stone and wood, they say that they are the images of those who have invented something useful for life and they worship them, though they have clear proof that they possess no feeling.

136 For it would be utterly foolish to suppose that any one became a god in virtue of his inventions. For the inventors simply took certain objects already created and by combining them together, showed that they possessed a fresh utility: they did not themselves create the substance of the thing, and so it is a vain and foolish thing for people to make gods of men like themselves.

137 For in our times there are many who are much more inventive and much more learned than the men of former days who have been deified, and yet they would never come to worship them. The makers and authors of these myths think that they are the wisest of the Greeks.

138 Why need we speak of other infatuated people, Egyptians and the like, who place their reliance upon wild beasts and most kinds of creeping things and cattle, and worship them, and offer sacrifices to them both while living and when dead?'

πρόδηλα θεὶς ἔδειξεν ὅτι, κἂν ἐννοηθῆ τις κακίαν ἐπιτελεῖν, οὐκ ἂν λάθοι, μὴ ὅτι καὶ πράξας, διὰ πάσης τῆς νομοθεσίας τὸ τοῦ

134 ποιησάμενος οὖν τὴν καταρχὴν ταύτην, καὶ δείξας ὅτι πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωποι πολλοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι νομίζουσιν, αὐτοὶ δυναμικώτεροι πολλῶ καθεστῶτες ὧν σέβονται ματαίως—

135 ἀγάλματα γὰρ ποιήσαντες ἐκ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, εἰκόνας φασὶν εἶναι τῶν έξευρόντων τι πρὸς τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῖς χρήσιμον, οἷς προσκυνοῦσι, παρὰ πόδας ἔχοντες τὴν ἀναισθησίαν.

136 εἴ τι γὰρ κατ' ἐκεῖνό τις {θεὸς εἴη}, κατὰ τὴν ἐξεύρεσιν, παντελῶς ἀνόητον τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῆ κτίσει λαβόντες τινὰ συνέθηκαν καὶ προσυπέδειξαν εὔχρηστα, τὴν κατασκευὴν αὐτῶν οὐ ποιήσαντες αὐτοί· διὸ κενὸν καὶ μάταιον τοὺς ὁμοίους ἀποθεοῦν.

137 καὶ γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν εὑρεματικώτεροι καὶ πολυμαθέστεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν πρίν εἰσι πολλοί, καὶ οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιεν αὐτοὺς προσκυνοῦντες. καὶ νομίζουσιν οί ταῦτα διαπλάσαντες καὶ μυθοποιήσαντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ σοφώτατοι καθεστάναι.

138 τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων πολυματαίων τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν, Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων, οἵτινες ἐπὶ θηρία καὶ τῶν έρπετῶν τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ κνωδάλων τὴν ἀπέρεισιν πεποίηνται, καὶ ταῦτα προσκυνοῦσι, καὶ θύουσι τούτοις καὶ ζῶσι καὶ τελευτήσασι:—

139 'Now our Lawgiver being a wise man and specially endowed by God to understand all things, took a comprehensive view of each particular detail, and fenced us round with impregnable ramparts and walls of iron, that we might not mingle at all with any of the other nations, but remain pure in body and soul, free from all vain imaginations, worshiping the one Almighty God above the whole creation.

140 Hence the leading Egyptian priests having looked carefully into many matters, and being cognizant with (our) affairs, call us "men of God." This is a title which does not belong to the rest of mankind but only to those who worship the true God. The rest are men not of God but of meats and drinks and clothing.

141 For their whole disposition leads them to find solace in these things. Among our people such things are reckoned of no account. but throughout their whole life their δυναστείας δι' όλου τοῦ ζῆν ἡ σκέψις main consideration is the sovereignty of God. $\alpha \mathring{v}_{\tau 0 \tilde{i} \zeta}$

142 Therefore lest we should be corrupted by $_{142}$ ὅπως οὖν μηθενὶ συναλισγούμενοι any abomination, or our lives be perverted by evil communications, he hedged us round on all sides by rules of purity, affecting alike what we eat, or drink, or touch, or hear, or see.

143 For though, speaking generally, all things are alike in their natural constitution, since they are all governed by one and the same power, yet there is a deep reason in each individual case why we abstain from the use of certain things and enjoy the common use of others. For the sake of illustration I will run over one or two points and explain them to you.

144 For you must not fall into the degrading idea that it was out of regard to mice and

139 συνθεωρήσας οὖν ἕκαστα σοφὸς ὢν ὁ νομοθέτης, ὑπὸ θεοῦ κατεσκευασμένος εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῶν ἀπάντων, περιέφραξεν ήμᾶς ἀδιακόποις χάραξι καὶ σιδηροῖς τείχεσιν, ὅπως μηθενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν έπιμισγώμεθα κατὰ μηδέν, άγνοὶ καθεστῶτες κατὰ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ ψυχήν, ἀπολελυμένοι ματαίων δοξῶν, τὸν μόνον θεὸν καὶ δυνατὸν σεβόμενοι παρ' ὅλην τὴν πᾶσαν κτίσιν.

140 ὅθεν οἱ Αἰγυπτίων καθηγεμόνες ίερεῖς, ἐγκεκυφότες εἰς πολλὰ καὶ μετεσχηκότες πραγμάτων, ἀνθρώπους θεοῦ προσονομάζουσιν ἡμᾶς δ τοῖς λοιποῖς οὐ πρόσεστιν, εἰ μή τις σέβεται τὸν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν θεόν, ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ἄνθρωποι βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν καὶ σκέπης.

141 ή γὰρ πᾶσα διάθεσις αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα καταφεύγει. τοῖς δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν οὐδενὶ ταῦτα λελόγισται, περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ

μηδ' όμιλοῦντες φαύλοις διαστροφάς λαμβάνωμεν, πάντοθεν ἡμᾶς περιέφραξεν άγνείαις καὶ διὰ βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν καὶ άφῶν καὶ ἀκοῆς καὶ ὁράσεως νομικῶς.

143 τὸ γὰρ καθόλου πάντα πρὸς τὸν φυσικὸν λόγον ὅμοια καθέστηκεν, ὑπὸ μιᾶς δυνάμεως οἰκονομούμενα, καὶ καθ' εν εκαστον έχει λόγον βαθύν, ἀφ' ὧν ἀπεχόμεθα κατὰ τὴν χρῆσιν, καὶ οἶς συγχρώμεθα. χάριν δὲ ὑποδείγματος ἕν ἢ δεύτερον ἐπιδραμών σοι σημανῶ.

144 Μὴ γὰρ εἰς τὸν καταπεπτωκότα λόγον ἔλθης, ὅτι μυῶν καὶ γαλῆς ἢ τῶν

weasels and other such things that Moses drew up his laws with such exceeding care. All these ordinances were made for the sake of righteousness to aid the quest for virtue and the perfecting of character.

145 For all the birds that we use are tame and distinguished by their cleanliness, feeding on various kinds of grain and pulse, such as for instance pigeons, turtle-doves, locusts, partridges, geese also, and all other birds of this class.

146 But the birds which are forbidden you will find to be wild and carnivorous, tyrannizing over the others by the strength which they possess, and cruelly obtaining food by preying on the tame birds enumerated above and not only so, but they seize lambs and kids, and injure human beings too, whether dead or alive,

a sign by means of them that those, for whom the legislation was ordained, must practice righteousness in their hearts and not tyrannize over any one in reliance upon their own strength nor rob them of anything, but steer their course of life in accordance with justice, just as the tame birds, already mentioned, consume the different kinds of pulse that grow upon the earth and do not tyrannize to the destruction of their own kindred.

148 Our legislator taught us therefore that it is by such methods as these that indications are given to the wise, that they must be just and effect nothing by violence, and refrain from tyrannizing over others in reliance upon their own strength.

149 For since it is considered unseemly even

τοιούτων χάριν περιεργίαν ποιούμενος ένομοθέτει ταῦτα Μωϋσῆς άλλὰ πρὸς άγνην ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ τρόπων ἐξαρτισμὸν δικαιοσύνης ένεκεν σεμνῶς πάντα άνατέτακται.

145 τῶν γὰρ πτηνῶν, οἶς χρώμεθα, πάντα ήμερα καθέστηκε καὶ διαφέρει καθαριότητι, πυροῖς καὶ ὀσπρίοις χρώμενα πρὸς τὴν τροφήν, οἶον περιστεραὶ τρυγόνες ἀττακοὶ πέρδικες ἔτι δὲ χῆνες καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα τοιαῦτα.

146 περὶ ὧν δὲ ἀπηγόρευται πτηνῶν, εύρήσεις ἄγριά τε καὶ σαρκοφάγα καὶ καταδυναστεύοντα τῆ περὶ ἑαυτὰ δυνάμει τὰ λοιπά, καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἔχοντα δαπάνησεν τῶν προειρημένων ἡμέρων μετὰ ἀδικίας οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄρνας καὶ ἐρίφους ἀναρπάζουσι, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δὲ ἀδικοῦσι νεκρούς τε καὶ ζῶντας.

147 and so by naming them unclean, he gave 147 παράσημον οὖν ἔθετο διὰ τούτων, άκάθαρτα προσονομάσας, ὅτι δέον ἐστι κατὰ ψυχήν, οἷς ἡ νομοθεσία διατέτακται, δικαιοσύνη συγχρῆσθαι καὶ μηδένα καταδυναστεύειν, πεποιθότας ἰσχύι τῆ καθ' έαυτούς, μηδὲ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι μηδέν, άλλ' ἐκ δικαίου τὰ τοῦ βίου κυβερνῷν, ὡς τὰ τῶν προειρημένων πτηνῶν ήμερα ζῷα τὰ φυόμενα τῶν ὀσπρίων ἐπὶ γῆς δαπανᾶ, καὶ οὐ καταδυναστεύει πρὸς τὴν ἐπαναίρεσιν τῶν συγγενικῶν.

> 148 διὰ τῶν τοιούτων οὖν παραδέδωκεν ὁ νομοθέτης σημειοῦσθαι τοῖς συνετοῖς, εἶναι δικαίους τε καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιτελεῖν βία, μηδὲ τῆ περὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἰσχύι πεποιθότας έτέρους καταδυναστεύειν.

149 ὅπου γὰρ οὐδ' ἄψασθαι καθῆκε τῶν

to touch such unclean animals, as have been mentioned, on account of their particular habits, ought we not to take every precaution δ iάθεσιν, πῶς οὐ φυλακτέον παντάπασι lest our own characters should be destroyed to the same extent?

150 Wherefore all the rules which he has laid down with regard to what is permitted in the case of these birds and other animals, he has enacted with the object of teaching us a moral lesson. For the division of the hoof and the separation of the claws are intended to teach us that we must discriminate between our individual actions with a view to the practice of virtue.

151 For the strength of our whole body and its activity depend upon our shoulders and limbs. Therefore he compels us to recognize that we must perform all our actions with discrimination according to the standard of righteousness - more especially because we have been distinctly separated from the rest of mankind.

152 For most other men defile themselves by promiscuous intercourse, thereby working great iniquity, and whole countries and cities pride themselves upon such vices. For they not only have intercourse with men but they defile their own mothers and even their daughters. But we have been kept separate from such sins.

in the aforementioned way are also characterized by the Lawgiver as possessing the gift of memory. For all animals "which are cloven-footed and chew the cud" represent to $|\sigma\alpha\phi\tilde{\omega}\zeta$ τοῖς νοοῦσιν ἐκτίθεται τὸ τῆς the initiated the symbol of memory.

else than the reminiscence of life and existence. For life is wont to be sustained by means of food

προειρημένων διὰ τὴν περὶ ἕκαστα τούς τρόπους είς τοῦτο κατακλασθῆναι;

150 πάντα οὖν τὰ τῆς συγχωρήσεως ἡμῖν έπὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν τροπολογῶν έκτέθειται. τὸ γὰρ διχηλεύειν καὶ διαστέλλειν όπλης ὄνυχας σημεῖόν ἐστι τοῦ διαστέλλειν ἕκαστα τῶν πράξεων ἐπὶ τὸ καλῶς ἔχον.

151 ή γὰρ ἰσχὺς τῶν ὅλων σωμάτων μετ' ένεργείας ἀπέρεισιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους ἔχει καὶ τὰ σκέλη. μετὰ διαστολῆς οὖν ἄπαντα ἐπιτελεῖν πρὸς δικαιοσύνην ἀναγκάζει τὸ σημειοῦσθαι διὰ τούτων ἔτι δὲ καὶ διότι παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους διεστάλμεθα.

152 οἱ γὰρ πλείονες τῶν λοιπῶν άνθρώπων έαυτοὺς μολύνουσιν έπιμισγόμενοι, συντελοῦντες μεγάλην άδικίαν, καὶ χῶραι καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι σεμνύνονται ἐπὶ τούτοις. οὐ μόνον γὰρ {προάγουσι} τοὺς ἄρσενας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τεκούσας ἔτι δὲ θυγατέρας μολύνουσιν. ήμεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων διεστάλμεθα.

153 And the people who have been separated 153 περὶ ὃν δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ προειρημένος τῆς διαστολής τρόπος, περί τοῦτον εἶναι καὶ τὸν τῆς μνήμης κεχαρακτήρικεν. πάντα γὰρ ὅσα διχηλεῖ καὶ μηρυκισμὸν ἀνάγει μνήμης.

154 For the act of chewing the cud is nothing |154>> ή γὰρ ἀναμηρύκησις οὐθὲν ἕτερον, άλλὰ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ συστάσεως ἐπιμνησις. τὸ γὰρ ζῆν διὰ τῆς τροφῆς συνεστάναι νομίζει.

155 wherefore he exhorts us in the Scripture also in these words: "Thou shalt surely remember the Lord that wrought in thee those great and wonderful things." For when they are properly conceived, they are manifestly great and glorious; first the construction of the body and the disposition of the food and the separation of each individual limb and,

156 far more, the organization of the senses, the operation and invisible movement of the mind, the rapidity of its particular actions and its discovery of the arts, display an infinite resourcefulness.

157 Wherefore he exhorts us to remember that the aforesaid parts are kept together by the divine power with consummate skill. For he has marked out every time and place that we may continually remember the God who rules and preserves (us).

158 For in the matter of meats and drinks he bids us first of all offer part as a sacrifice and then forthwith enjoy our meal. Moreover, upon our garments he has given us a symbol of remembrance, and in like manner he has ordered us to put the divine oracles upon our gates and doors as a remembrance of God.

159 And upon our hands, too, he expressly orders the symbol to be fastened, clearly showing that we ought to perform every act in righteousness, remembering (our own creation), and above all the fear of God.

160 He bids men also, when lying down to sleep and rising up again, to meditate upon the works of God, not only in word, but by observing distinctly the change and impression produced upon them, when they are going to sleep, and also their waking,

155 διὸ παρακελεύεται καὶ διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ὁ λέγων οὕτως μνεία μνησθήση κυρίου τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἔν σοι τὰ μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά. κατανοούμενα γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ ἔνδοξα φαίνεται πρῶτον μὲν ἡ σύμπηξις τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἡ τῆς τροφῆς διοίκησις καὶ ἡ περὶ ἕκαστον μέλος διαστολή·

156 πολλῷ δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ τῶν αἰσθήσεων διακόσμησις, διανοίας ἐνέργημα καὶ κίνησις ἀόρατος, ἥ τε ὀξύτης τοῦ πρὸς ἕκαστόν τι πράσσειν καὶ τεχνῶν εὕρεσις ἀπέραστον περιέχει τρόπον.

157 διὸ παρακελεύεται μνείαν ἔχειν, ὡς συντηρεῖται τὰ προειρημένα θεία δυνάμει σὺν κατασκευῆ. πάντα γὰρ χρόνον καὶ τόπον ὥρικε πρὸς τὸ διὰ παντὸς μνημονεύειν τοῦ κρατοῦντος θεοῦ καὶ συντηροῦντος.

158 καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν ἀπαρξαμένους εὐθέως τότε συγχρῆσθαι κελεύει. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐκ τῶν περιβολαίων παράσημον ἡμῖν μνείας δέδωκεν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ θυρῶν προστέταχε μὲν ἡμῖν τιθέναι τὰ λόγια, πρὸς τὸ μνείαν εἶναι θεοῦ·

159 καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν δὲ διαρρήδην τὸ σημεῖον κελεύει περιῆφθαι, σαφῶς ἀποδεικνὺς ὅτι πᾶσαν ἐνέργειαν μετὰ δικαιοσύνης ἐπιτελεῖν δεῖ, μνήμην ἔχοντας τῆς ἑαυτῶν κατασκευῆς, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὸν περὶ θεοῦ φόβον.

160 κελεύει δὲ καὶ κοιταζομένους καὶ διανισταμένους μελετᾶν τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ κατασκευάς, οὐ μόνον λόγω, ἀλλὰ διαλήψει θεωροῦντας τὴν κίνησιν καὶ ὑπόληψιν ἑαυτῶν, ὅταν εἰς ὕπνον

from one of these states to the other is.

161 The excellency of the analogy in regard to discrimination and memory has now been pointed out to you, according to our interpretation of "the cloven hoof and the chewing of the cud." For our laws have not been drawn up at random or in accordance with the first casual thought that occurred to the mind, but with a view to truth and the indication of right reason.

162 For by means of the directions which he gives with regard to meats and drinks and particular cases of touching, he bids us neither to do nor listen to anything, thoughtlessly nor to resort to injustice by the abuse of the power of reason.

163 In the case of the wild animals, too, the same principle may be discovered. For the character of the weasel and of mice and such animals as these, which are expressly mentioned, is destructive.

164 Mice defile and damage everything, not only for their own food but even to the extent of rendering absolutely useless to man whatever it falls in their way to damage.

165 The weasel class, too, is peculiar: for besides what has been said, it has a characteristic which is defiling: It conceives through the ears and brings forth through the ἄτων συλλαμβάνει, τεκνοποιεῖ δὲ τῶ mouth.

166 And it is for this reason that a like practice is declared unclean in men. For by embodying in speech all that they receive through the ears, they involve others in evils and work no ordinary impurity, being themselves altogether defiled by the pollution of impiety. And your king, as we are informed, does quite right in destroying such

how divine and incomprehensible the change ἔρχωνται, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν, ὡς θεία τίς ἐστι καὶ ἀκατάληπτος τούτων ἡ μετάθεσις.

> 161 Δέδεικται δέ σοι καὶ τὸ περισσὸν τῆς λογίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν διαστολὴν καὶ μνείαν, ώς έξεθέμεθα την διχηλίαν καὶ τὸν μηρυκισμόν. οὐ γὰρ εἰκῆ καὶ κατὰ τὸ έμπεσὸν εἰς ψυχὴν νενομοθέτηται, πρὸς δ' άλήθειαν καὶ σημείωσιν ὀρθοῦ λόγου.

> 162 διατάξας γὰρ ἐπὶ βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἁφὰς ἕκαστα, κελεύει μηθὲν εἰκῆ μήτε πράσσειν μήτε ἀκούειν, μήτε τῆ τοῦ λόγου δυναστεία συγχρωμένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀδικίαν τρέπεσθαι.

> 163 καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κνωδάλων δὲ ταὐτὸν ἔστιν εύρεῖν. κακοποιητικὸς γὰρ ὁ τρόπος έστὶ καὶ γαλῆς καὶ τῶν τούτοις ὁμοίων, **ὅσα διηγόρευται.**

164 πάντα γὰρ λυμαίνονται καὶ κακοποιοῦσι μύες, οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὴν έαυτῶν τροφήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ παντελῶς ἄχρηστον γίνεσθαι ἀνθρώπω, ὅ τι ἂν δή ποτ' οὖν ἐπιβάληται κακοποιεῖν.

165 τό τε τῆς γαλῆς γένος ἰδιάζον ἐστί· χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ προειρημένου ἔχει λυμαντικὸν κατάστημα· διὰ γὰρ τῶν στόματι.

166 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ τοιοῦτος τρόπος τῶν άνθρώπων ἀκάθαρτός ἐστιν· ὅσα γὰρ δι' άκοῆς λαβόντες, ταῦτα τῷ λόγω σωματοποιήσαντες, κακοῖς ἑτέρους ένεκύλισαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐπετέλεσαν, μιανθέντες αὐτοὶ παντάπασι τῷ τῆς ἀσεβείας μολυσμῷ. καλῶς δὲ ποιῶν ὁ

men.'

167 Then I said 'I suppose you mean the informers, for he constantly exposes them to tortures and to painful forms of death.' 'Yes,' he replied, 'these are the men I mean, for to watch for men's destruction is an unholy thing.

168 And our law forbids us to injure any one either by word or deed. My brief account of these matters ought to have convinced you, that all our regulations have been drawn up with a view to righteousness, and that nothing has been enacted in the Scripture thoughtlessly or without due reason, but its purpose is to enable us throughout our whole life and in all our actions to practice righteousness before all men, being mindful of Almighty God.

169 And so concerning meats and things unclean, creeping things, and wild beasts, the whole system aims at righteousness and righteous relationships between man and man.'

170 He seemed to me to have made a good defense on all the points; for in reference also to the calves and rams and goats which are offered, he said that it was necessary to take them from the herds and flocks, and sacrifice tame animals and offer nothing wild, that the offerers of the sacrifices might understand the symbolic meaning of the lawgiver and not be under the influence of an arrogant self-consciousness. For he, who offers a sacrifice makes an offering also of his own soul in all its moods.

to our discussion are worth narrating and on account of the sanctity and natural meaning

βασιλεύς ύμῶν τοὺς τοιούτους ἀναιρεῖ, καθώς μεταλαμβάνομεν.—

167 Έγὼ δ' εἶπα Τοὺς ἐμφανιστὰς οἴομαί σε λέγειν καὶ γὰρ αἰκίαις καὶ θανάτοις έπαλγέσιν αὐτοὺς περιβάλλει συνεχῶς.— Ὁ δέ Τούτους γὰρ καὶ λέγω· ἡ γὰρ ἐπαγρύπνησις ἀνθρώπων ἀπωλεία ἀνόσιος.

168 ὁ δὲ νόμος ἡμῖν κελεύει μήτε λόγω μήτε ἔργω μηδένα κακοποιεῖν. καὶ περὶ τούτων οὖν, ὅσον ἐπὶ βραχὺ {διεξῆλθον, προσυποδείξας} σοι διότι πάντα κεκανόνισται πρὸς δικαιοσύνην, καὶ οὐδὲν εἰκῆ κατατέτακται διὰ τῆς γραφῆς οὐδὲ μυθωδῶς, ἀλλ' ἵνα δι' ὅλου τοῦ ζῆν καὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἀσκῶμεν δικαιοσύνην πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, μεμνημένοι τοῦ δυναστεύοντος θεοῦ.

169 περὶ βρωτῶν οὖν καὶ τῶν ἀκαθάρτων έρπετῶν καὶ κνωδάλων καὶ πᾶς λόγος άνατείνει πρός δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν τῶν άνθρώπων συναναστροφήν δικαίαν.

170 Έμοὶ μὲν οὖν καλῶς ἐνόμιζε περὶ έκάστων ἀπολογεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν προσφερομένων έλεγε μόσχων τε καὶ κριῶν καὶ χιμάρων, ὅτι δεῖ ταῦτα ἐκ βουκολίων καὶ ποιμνίων λαμβάνοντας ήμερα θυσιάζειν, καὶ μηθὲν ἄγριον, ὅπως οί προσφέροντες τὰς θυσίας μηθὲν ύπερήφανον έαυτοῖς συνιστορῶσι, σημειώσει κεχρημένοι τοῦ διατάξαντος. τῆς γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς τοῦ παντὸς τρόπου τὴν προσφορὰν ποιεῖται ὁ τὴν θυσίαν προσάγων.

171 I think that these particulars with regard 171 καὶ περὶ τούτων οὖν νομίζω τὰ τῆς όμιλίας ἄξια λόγου καθεστάναι· διὸ τὴν σεμνότητα καὶ φυσικὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ

of the law, I have been induced to explain them to you clearly, Philocrates, because of your own devotion to learning.

172 And Eleazar, after offering the sacrifice, and selecting the envoys, and preparing many gifts for the king, despatched us on our journey in great security.

172 Ὁ δὲ Ἑλεάζαρος ποιησάμενος θυσί καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπιλέξας καὶ πολλὰ δί τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπιλέξας καὶ πολλὰ δί τῷ βασιλεῖ κατασκευάσας προέπεμψεν ἡμᾶς μετὰ ἀσφαλείας πολλῆς.

173 And when we reached Alexandria, the king, was at once informed of our arrival. On our admission to the palace, Andreas and I warmly greeted the king and handed over to him the letter written by Eleazar.

ΑΛΕζανορειαν, προσηγγελη τω βασιλεί περὶ τῆς ἀφίξεως ἡμῶν. {παρειμένοι} δ΄ εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν ἀνδρέας τε καὶ ἐγώ, φιλοφρόνως ἠσπασάμεθα τὸν βασιλέα και τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀποδεδώκαμεν τὰς παρὰ

174 The king was very anxious to meet the envoys, and gave orders that all the other officials should be dismissed and the envoys summoned to his presence at once.

175 Now this excited general surprise, for it is customary for those who come to seek an audience with the king on matters of importance to be admitted to his presence on the fifth day, while envoys from kings or very important cities with difficulty secure admission to the Court in thirty days - but these men he counted worthy of greater honour, since he held their master in such high esteem, and so he immediately dismissed those whose presence he regarded as superfluous and continued walking about until they came in and he was able to welcome them.

176 When they entered with the gifts which had been sent with them and the valuable parchments, on which the law was inscribed in gold in Jewish characters, for the parchment was wonderfully prepared and the connexion between the pages had been so effected as to be invisible, the king as soon

νόμου προῆγμαι διασαφῆσαί σοι, Φιλόκρατες, δι' ἣν ἔχεις φιλομάθειαν.

172 'Ο δὲ 'Ελεάζαρος ποιησάμενος θυσίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπιλέξας καὶ πολλὰ δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ κατασκευάσας προέπεμψεν ἡμᾶς μετὰ ἀσφαλείας πολλῆς.
173 ὡς δὲ παρεγενήθημεν εἰς 'Αλεξάνδρειαν, προσηγγέλη τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ τῆς ἀφίξεως ἡμῶν. {παρειμένοι} δ' εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν 'Ανδρέας τε καὶ ἐγώ, φιλοφρόνως ἠσπασάμεθα τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀποδεδώκαμεν τὰς παρὰ τοῦ 'Ελεαζάρου.

174 περὶ πολλοῦ δὲ ποιούμενος τοῖς ἀπεσταλμένοις ἀνδράσιν ἐντυχεῖν, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας ἀπολῦσαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν χρειῶν, καλεῖν δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

175 οὖ πᾶσι παραδόξου φανέντος—διὰ τὸ κατὰ ἔθος εἶναι, πεμπταίους εἰς πρόσωπον ἔρχεσθαι βασιλεῖ τοὺς περὶ χρήσιμον ἀφικνουμένους, τοὺς δὲ παρὰ βασιλέων ἢ πόλεων ἐν ὑπεροχαῖς μόλις ἐν τριάκοντα εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν παρίεσθαι—τοὺς δὲ ἥκοντας τιμῆς καταξιῶν μείζονος, καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν κρίνων τοῦ πέμψαντος, ἀπολύσας οὓς ἐνόμιζε περισσούς, ὑπέμενε περιπατῶν, ἕως ἂν παραγινομένους ἀσπάσηται.

176 παρελθόντων δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἀπεσταλμένοις δώροις καὶ ταῖς διαφόροις διφθέραις, ἐν αἷς ἡ νομοθεσία γεγραμμένη χρυσογραφία τοῖς Ἰουδαϊκοῖς γράμμασι, θαυμασίως {εἰργασμένου τοῦ ὑμένος}, καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα συμβολῆς ἀνεπαισθήτου

as he saw them began to ask them about the books.

177 And when they had taken the rolls out of their coverings and unfolded the pages, the king stood still for a long time and then making obeisance about seven times, he said: σχεδὸν ἑπτάκις εἶπεν Εὐχαριστοῦ μέν, 'I thank you, my friends, and I thank him that $|\mathring{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\varepsilon\zeta$, $\mathring{\nu}\mu\tilde{\imath}\nu$, $\tau\tilde{\omega}$ δ ' $\mathring{\alpha}\pi\sigma\sigma\tau\varepsilon\hat{\imath}\lambda\alpha\nu\tau$, $\mu\tilde{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\sigma\nu$, sent you still more, and most of all God, whose oracles these are.'

178 And when all, the envoys and the others who were present as well, shouted out at one μίαν φωνήν, τῶν τε παραγεγονόντων καὶ time and with one voice: 'God save the King!' he burst into tears of joy. For his exaltation of δακρῦσαι τῆ χαρᾳ πεπληρωμένος. ἡ γὰρ soul and the sense of the overwhelming honour which had been paid him compelled him to weep over his good fortune.

179 He commanded them to put the rolls back in their places and then after saluting the men, said: 'It was right, men of God, that I should first of all pay my reverence to the books for the sake of which I summoned you here and then, when I had done that, to extend the right-hand of friendship to you. It was for this reason that I did this first.

180 I have enacted that this day, on which you arrived, shall be kept as a great day and it will be celebrated annually throughout my life time. It happens also that it is the anniversary of my naval victory over Antigonus. Therefore I shall be glad to feast with you today.'

181 'Everything that you may have occasion to use', he said, 'shall be prepared (for you) in a befitting manner and for me also with you.' After they had expressed their delight, he gave orders that the best quarters near the citadel should be assigned to them, and that preparations should be made for the

κατεσκευασμένης, ώς εἶδεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἐπηρώτα περὶ τῶν βιβλίων.

177 ώς δὲ ἀπεκάλυψαν τὰ τῶν ένειλημάτων καὶ τοὺς ὑμένας ἀνείλιξαν, πολὺν ἐπιστὰς χρόνον καὶ προσκυνήσας μέγιστον δὲ τῷ θεῷ, οὖτινός ἐστι τὰ λόγια ταῦτα.

178 όμοθυμαδὸν δὲ πάντων εἰπόντων ὑπὸ τῶν συμπαρόντων, Εὖ βασιλεῦ, προήχθη τῆς ψυχῆς ἔντασις καὶ τὸ τῆς τιμῆς ύπερτεῖνον δακρύειν ἀναγκάζει κατὰ τὰς έπιτυχίας.

179 κελεύσας δὲ εἰς τάξιν ἀποδοῦναι τὰ τεύχη, τὸ τηνικαῦτα ἀσπασάμενος τοὺς ἄνδρας εἶπεν Δίκαιον ἦν, θεοσεβεῖς ἄνδρες, ὧν χάριν ὑμᾶς μετεπεμψάμην, έκείνοις πρῶτον σεβασμὸν ἀποδοῦναι, μετά ταῦτα τὴν δεξιὰν ὑμῖν προτεῖναι διὸ πεποίηκα τοῦτο πρῶτον.

180 μεγάλην δὲ τέθειμαι τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, ἐν ἡ παραγεγόνατε, καὶ κατ' ένιαυτὸν ἐπίσημος ἔσται πάντα τὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν χρόνον συντέτυχε γὰρ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν νίκην ἡμῖν προσπεπτωκέναι τῆς πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ναυμαχίας. διὸ καὶ δειπνῆσαι σήμερον μεθ' ὑμῶν βουλήσομαι.

181 πάντα {δ' ὑμῖν}, εἶπε, παρέσται καθηκόντως, οἷς συγχρήσησθε, κἀμοὶ μεθ' ύμῶν. τῶν δὲ ἀσμενισάντων ἐκέλευσε καταλύματα δοθῆναι τὰ κάλλιστα πλησίον τῆς ἄκρας αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸ συμπόσιον έτοιμάζειν.

banquet.

182 And Nicanor summoned the lord high steward, Dorotheus, who was the special officer appointed to look after the Jews, and commanded him to make the necessary preparation for each one. For this arrangement had been made by the king and it is an arrangement which you see maintained today. For as many cities (as) have (special) customs in the matter of drinking, eating, and reclining, have special officers appointed to look after their requirements. And whenever they come to visit the kings, preparations are made in accordance with their own customs, in order that there may be no discomfort to disturb the enjoyment of their visit. The same precaution was taken in the case of the Jewish envoys.

183 Now Dorotheus who was the patron appointed to look after Jewish guests was a very conscientious man. All the stores which were under his control and set apart for the reception of such guests, he brought out for the feast. He arranged the seats in two rows in accordance with the king's instructions. For he had ordered him to make half the men sit at his right hand and the rest behind him, in order that he might not withhold from them the highest possible honour.

184 When they had taken their seats he instructed Dorotheus to carry out everything in accordance with the customs which were in use amongst his Jewish guests. Therefore he dispensed with the services of the sacred heralds and the sacrificing priests and the others who were accustomed to offer the prayers, and called upon one of our number, Eleazar, the oldest of the Jewish priests, to offer prayer instead. And he rose up and made a remarkable prayer.

182 Ὁ δὲ ⟨ἀρχεδέατρος⟩ Νικάνωρ Δωρόθεον προσκαλεσάμενος, ὃς ⟨ἦν⟩ ἐπὶ τούτων ἀποτεταγμένος, ἐκέλευσε τὴν ἑτοιμασίαν εἰς ἕκαστον ἐπιτελεῖν. ἦν γὰρ οὕτω διατεταγμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέων, ἃ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁρᾳς ὅσαι γὰρ πόλεις εἰσίν, ⟨αὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς⟩ συγχρῶνται πρὸς τὰ ποτὰ καὶ βρωτὰ καὶ στρωμνάς, τοσοῦτοι καὶ προεστῶτες ἦσαν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐθισμοὺς οὕτως ἐσκευάζετο, ὅταν παραγένοιντο πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ἵνα κατὰ μηθὲν δυσχεραίνοντες ἱλαρῶς διεξάγωσιν ὁ καὶ περὶ τούτους ἐγεγόνει.

183 προσεχέστατος γὰρ ὢν ἄνθρωπος ὁ Δωρόθεος εἶχε τὴν τῶν τοιούτων προστασίαν. συνέστρωσε δὲ πάντα τὰ δι' αὐτοῦ χειριζόμενα, πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ὑποδοχὰς διαμεμερισμένα. διμερῆ τε ἐποίησε τὰ τῶν κλισμῶν, καθὼς προσέταξεν ὁ βασιλεύς τοὺς γὰρ ἡμίσεις ἐκέλευσεν ἀνὰ χεῖρα κατακλῖναι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς μετὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κλισίαν, οὐδὲν ἐλλιπὼν εἰς τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἄνδρας.

184 'Ως δὲ κατεκλίθησαν, ἐκέλευσε τῷ Δωροθέῳ τοῖς ἐθισμοῖς οἶς χρῶνται πάντες οἱ παραγινόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, οὕτως ἐπιτελεῖν. διὸ τοὺς ἱεροκήρυκας καὶ θύτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οἷς ἔθος ἦν τὰς κατευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι, παρητήσατο τῶν δὲ παραγεγονότων σὺν ἡμῖν Ἐλισσαῖον ὄντα τῶν ἱερῶν πρεσβύτερον ποιήσασθαι κατευχήν, ὃς ἀξιολόγως στὰς εἶπε

185 'May Almighty God enrich you, O king with all the good things which He has made and may He grant you and your wife and your children and your comrades the continual possession of them as long as you live!'

186 At these words a loud and joyous applause broke out which lasted for a considerable time, and then they turned to the enjoyment of the banquet which had been prepared. All the arrangements for service at table were carried out in accordance with the injunction of Dorotheus. Among the attendants were the royal pages and others who held places of honour at the king's court.

187 Taking an opportunity afforded by a pause in the banquet the king asked the envoy who sat in the seat of honour (for they were arranged according to seniority), How he could keep his kingdom unimpaired to the βασιλείαν μέχρι τέλους ἄπταιστον ἔχων end?

188 After pondering for a moment he replied, 'You could best establish its security if you were to imitate the unceasing benignity of God. For if you exhibit clemency and inflict mild punishments upon those who deserve them in accordance with their deserts, you will turn them from evil and lead them to repentance.'

189 The king praised the answer and then asked the next man, How he could do everything for the best in all his actions? And he replied, 'If a man maintains a just bearing towards all, he will always act rightly on every occasion, remembering that every thought is known to God. If you take the fear of God as your starting-point, you will never miss the goal.

190 The king complimented this man, too, upon his answer and asked another, How he

185 Πληρώσαι σε, βασιλεῦ, πάντων τῶν άγαθῶν ὧν ἔκτισεν ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεός. καὶ δώη σοι ταῦτ' ἔχειν καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις καὶ τοῖς ὁμονοοῦσι πάντα ἀνέκλειπτα τὸν τῆς ζωῆς χρόνον.

186 Εἰπόνοτος δὲ ταῦτα τούτου κατερράγη κρότος μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ χαρᾶς εὐφροσύνου πλείονα χρόνον καὶ τὸ τηνικαῦτα πρὸς τὸ τέρπεσθαι διὰ τῶν ήτοιμασμένων ἐτράπησαν, τῶν λειτουργιῶν ἁπασῶν διὰ τῆς τοῦ Δωροθέου συντάξεως ἐπιτελουμένων ἐν οἷς καὶ βασιλικοὶ παῖδες ἦσαν, καὶ τῶν τιμωμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως.

187 Ότε δὲ καιρὸν ἔλαβεν ἐκ διαστήματος, ήρώτησε τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν πρώτην ανάκλισιν (ἦσαν γὰρ καθ' ἡλικίαν τὴν ἀνάπτωσιν πεποιημένοι) Πῶς ἂν τὴν διατελοῖ:

188 βραχὺ δὲ ἐπισχὼν εἶπεν Οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα διευθύνοις, μιμούμενος τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ παντὸς ἐπιεικές. μακροθυμία γὰρ χρώμενος, καὶ βλιμάζων τοὺς ἀξίους έπιεικέστερον, καθώς είσιν ἄξιοι, μετατιθείς ἐκ τῆς κακίας καὶ εἰς μετάνοιαν ἄξεις.

189 Ἐπαινέσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν έχόμενον ἠρώτα Πῶς ἂν ἕκαστα πράττοι; ό δὲ ἀπεκρίθη Τὸ δίκαιον εἰ πρὸς ἄπαντας διατηροῖ, ἑαυτῷ καλῶς τὰ ἕκαστα πράξει, διαλαμβάνων ὅτι πᾶν ἐννόημα σαφές ἐστι θεῶ· καταρχὴν δὲ θείου φόβου λαμβάνων έν ούδενὶ διαπίπτοις.

190 Καὶ τοῦτον δὲ εὖ μάλα παραδεξάμενος έτερον ἐπηρώτα Πῶς ἂν ὁμοίους ἑαυτῷ

could have friends like-minded with himself? He replied, 'If they see you studying the interests of the multitudes over whom you rule; you will do well to observe how God bestows his benefits on the human race, providing for them health and food and all other things in due season.'

191 After expressing his agreement with the reply, the king asked the next guest, How in giving audiences and passing judgments he could gain the praise even of those who failed to win their suit? And he said, 'If you are fair in speech to all alike and never act insolently nor tyrannically in your treatment of offenders.

192 And you will do this if you watch the method by which God acts. The petitions of the worthy are always fulfilled, while those who fail to obtain an answer to their prayers are informed by means of dreams or events of what was harmful in their requests and that God does not smite them according to their sins or the greatness of His strength, but acts with forbearance towards them.'

193 The king praised the man warmly for his answer and asked the next in order, How he could be invincible in military affairs? And he replied, 'If he did not trust entirely to his multitudes or his warlike forces, but called upon God continually to bring his enterprises $|\delta$ υνάμεσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν θεὸν ἐπικαλοῖτο διὰ to a successful issue, while he himself discharged all his duties in the spirit of iustice.'

194 Welcoming this answer, he asked another how he might become an object of dread to his enemies. And he replied, 'If while maintaining a vast supply of arms and forces he remembered that these things were powerless to achieve a permanent and

έχοι τοὺς φίλους; κἀκεῖνος εἶπεν Εἰ θεωροίησαν πολλήν σε πρόνοιαν ποιούμενον ὧν ἄρχεις ὄχλων σὺ δὲ τοῦτο πράξεις ἐπιβλέπων ὡς ὁ θεὸς εὐεργετεῖ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, ὁ ὑγείαν αὐτοῖς καὶ τροφήν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κατὰ καιρὸν παρασκευάζων ἅπαντα.

191 Συνεπιμαρτυρήσας δὲ τούτῷ τὸν έχόμενον ἠρώτα Πῶς ἂν ἐν τοῖς χρηματισμοῖς καὶ διακρίσεσιν εὐφημίας {τυγχάνοι} καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποτυγχανόντων; ό δὲ εἶπεν Εἰ πᾶσιν ἴσος γένοιο τῷ λόγω, καὶ μηδὲν ὑπερηφάνως μηδὲ τῆ περὶ σεαυτὸν ἰσχύι πράσσοις κατὰ τῶν άμαρτανόντων.

192 τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσεις τὴν διάταξιν βλέπων τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· τὰ γὰρ ίκετευόμενα συντελεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀξίοις, τοῖς δὲ ἀποτυγχανόυσιν ἢ δι' ὀνείρων ἢ πράξεων σημαίνεσθαι τὸ βλαβερὸν αὐτοῖς, οὐ κατὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας οὐδὲ {κατὰ} τὴν μεγαλωσύνην τῆς ἰσχύος τύπτοντος αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἐπιεικεία χρωμένου τοῦ θεοῦ.

193 Εὖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον κατεπαινέσας ἠρώτα τὸν ἑξῆς Πῶς ὢν ἐν ταῖς πολεμικαῖς χρείαις ἀήττητος εἴη; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν Εἰ μὴ πεποιθώς ὑπάρχοι τοῖς ὄχλοις μηδὲ ταῖς πάντων, ἵνα τὰς ἐπιβολὰς αὐτῷ κατευθύνη δικαίως διεξάγοντι πάντα.

194 'Αποδεξάμενος δὲ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν έτερον ἠρώτα Πῶς ἂν φοβερὸς εἴη τοῖς ἐχθροῖς; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν Εἰ τῆ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ δυνάμεων παρασκευή πολλή χρώμενος {είδείη} ταῦτα ὄντα κενὰ ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον πρὸς τὸ συμπέρασμα δρᾶ τι· καὶ

conclusive result. For even God instills fear into the minds of men by granting reprieves and making merely a display of the greatness of his power.'

195 This man the king praised and then said to the next, What is the highest good in life? And he answered 'To know that God is Lord of the Universe, and that in our finest achievements it is not we who attain success but God who by his power brings all things to fulfilment and leads us to the goal.'

196 The king exclaimed that the man had answered well and then asked the next How he could keep all his possessions intact and finally hand them down to his successors in the same condition? And he answered 'By praying constantly to God that you may be inspired with high motives in all your undertakings and by warning your descendants not to be dazzled by fame or wealth, for it is God who bestows all these gifts and men never by themselves win the supremacy.'

197 The king expressed his agreement with the answer and enquired of the next guest, How he could bear with equanimity whatever befell him? And he said, 'If you have a firm grasp of the thought that all men are appointed by God to share the greatest evil as well as the greatest good, since it is impossible for one who is a man to be exempt from these. But God, to whom we ought always to pray, inspires us with courage to endure.'

198 Delighted with the man's reply, the king said that all their answers had been good. 'I will put a question to one other', he added, 'and then I will stop for the present: that we may turn our attention to the enjoyment of the feast and spend a pleasant time.'

γὰρ ὁ θεὸς διδοὺς ἀνοχὰς καὶ ἐνδεικνύμενος τὸν τῆς δυναστείας φόβον ἐγκατασκευάζει πάσῃ διανοίᾳ.

195 Καὶ τοῦτον δὲ ἐπαινέσας εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἐχόμενον Τί κάλλιστον αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἄν εἴη; κἀκεῖνος ἔφη Τὸ γινώσκειν ὅτι θεὸς δυναστεύει τῶν ἀπάντων, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν καλλίστων πράσεων οὐκ αὐτοὶ κατευθύνομεν τὰ βουλευθέντα θεὸς δὲ τελειοῖ τὰ πάντων καὶ καθηγεῖται δυναστεύων.

196 Ἐπιφωνήσας δὲ καὶ τούτῳ καλῶς λέγειν τὸν ἔτερον ἠρώτα Πῶς ἂν ἀκέραια συντηρήσας ἄπαντα τοῖς ἐγγόνοις τὴν αὐτὴν παραδιδοῖ διάθεσιν ἐπὶ τέλει; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν Εὐχόμενος ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀγαθὰς ἐπινοίας λαμβάνειν πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα πράσσεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις παρακελευόμενος μὴ ἐκπλήττεσθαι τῆ δόξῃ μηδὲ τῷ πλούτῷ θεὸν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν χαριζόμενον ταῦτα, καὶ οὐ δι' ἑαυτοὺς ἔχει τὴν ὑπεροχὴν ἀπάντων.

197 Ἐπιμαρτυρήσας δὲ τούτοις τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπυνθάνετο Πῶς ἂ τὰ συμβαίνοντα μετρίως φέροι; ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔφησεν Εἰ πρόληψιν λαμβάνοις, ὅτι γέγοναν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντες ἄνθρωποι μετασχεῖν τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἀγαθῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα τούτων ἀμιγῆ γενέσθαι· ὁ θεὸς δὲ τὴν εὐψυχίαν δίδωσιν, ὃν ἱκετεύειν ἀναγκαῖον.

198 Φιλοφρονηθεὶς δὲ καὶ τοῦτον καλῶς εἶπεν ἄπαντας ἀποφαίνεσθαι ἐπερωτήσας δὲ ἔτι ἕνα καταλήξω τὸ νῦν ἔχον, ἵνα καὶ πρὸς τὸ τέρπεσθαι τραπέντες ἡδέως διεξάγωμεν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς μετὰ ταῦτα ἕξ ἑξῆς

199 Thereupon he asked the man, 'What is the true aim of courage?' And he answered, 'If a right plan is carried out in the hour of danger in accordance with the original intention. For all things are accomplished by God to your advantage, O king, since your purpose is good.'

200 When all had signified by their applause their agreement with the answer, the king said to the philosophers (for not a few of them were present), 'It is my opinion that these men excel in virtue and possess extraordinary knowledge, since on the spur of the moment they have given fitting answers to these questions which I have put to them, and have all made God the starting-point of their words.'

201 And Menedemus, the philosopher of Eretria, said, 'True, O King - for since the universe is managed by providence and since we rightly perceive that man is the creation of God, it follows that all power and beauty of speech proceed from God.'

202 When the king had nodded his assent to this sentiment, the speaking ceased and they proceeded to enjoy themselves. When evening came on, the banquet ended.

203 On the following day they sat down to table again and continued the banquet according to the same arrangements. When the king thought that a fitting opportunity had arrived to put inquiries to his guests, he proceeded to ask further questions of the men who sat next in order to those who had given answers on the previous day.

204 He began to open the conversation with the eleventh man, for there were ten who had been asked questions on the former ἡμέραις καὶ παρὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἑξῆς μαθήσομαί τι πλέον.

199 εἶτ' ἐπηρώτα τὸν ἄνδρα Τί πέρας ἀνδρείας ἐστίν; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν Εἰ τὸ βουλευθὲν ὀρθῶς ἐν ταῖς τῶν κινδύνων πράξεσιν ἐπιτελοῖτο κατὰ πρόθεσιν. τελειοῦται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντα σοι καλῶς βουλευομένῳ, βασιλεῦ, συμφερόντως.

200 Ἐπιφωνησάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ κρότω σημηναμένων πρὸς τοὺς φιλοσόφους εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς (οὐκ ὀλίγοι γὰρ παρῆσαν τούτοις) Οἴομαι διαφέρειν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀρετῆ καὶ συνιέναι πλεῖον, οἵτινες ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ τοιαύτας ἐρωτήσεις λαμβάνοντες, ὡς δέον ἐστὶν ἀποκέκρινται, πάντες ἀπὸ θεοῦ τοῦ λόγου τὴν καταρχὴν ποιούμενοι.

201 Μενέδημος δὲ ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς φιλόσοφος εἶπε Ναί, βασιλεῦ προνοία γὰρ τῶν ὅλων διοικουμένων, καὶ ὑπειληφότων ὀρθῶς τοῦτο, ὅτι θεόκτιστόν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος, ἀκολουθεῖ πᾶσαν δυναστείαν καὶ λόγου καλλονὴν ἀπὸ θεοῦ κατάρχεσθαι.

202 τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἐπινεύσαντος τὰ περὶ τούτων ἔληξεν, ἐτράπησαν δὲ πρὸς εὐφροσύνην. ἐπιλαβούσης δὲ τῆς ἑσπέρας τὸ συμπόσιον ἐλύθη.

203 Τῆ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν διάταξιν τὰ τῆς ἀναπτώσεως καὶ συμποσίας ἐπετελεῖτο. καθὸ δὲ ἐνόμιζεν ὁ βασιλεὺς εὔκαιρον εἶναι πρὸς τὸ πυνθάνεσθαί τι τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐπηρώτα τοὺς ἑξῆς τῶν ἀποκεκριμένων τῆ προτέρα ἡμέρα.

204 πρὸς τὸν ἑνδέκατον δὲ ἤρξατο τὴν κοινολογίαν ποιεῖσθαι δέκα γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ ἠρωτημένοι τῆ προτέρα. σιγῆς δὲ

occasion. When silence was established, he asked How he could continue to be rich?

205 After a brief reflection, the man who had been asked the question replied 'If he did nothing unworthy of his position, never acted άχῆς μηδὲ ἀσελγὲς πράσσοι, μηδὲ δαπάνη licentiously, never lavished expense on empty είς τὰ κενὰ καὶ μάταια συντελοῖ, τοὺς {δὲ} and vain pursuits, but by acts of benevolence made all his subjects well disposed towards himself. For it is God who is the author of all good things and Him man must needs obey.'

206 The king bestowed praise upon him and then asked another How he could maintain the truth? In reply to the question he said, 'By recognizing that a lie brings great disgrace upon all men, and more especially upon kings. For since they have the power to do whatever they wish, why should they resort to lies? In addition to this you must always remember, O King, that God is a lover of the truth.'

207 The king received the answer with great delight and looking at another said, 'What is the teaching of wisdom?' And the other replied, 'As you wish that no evil should befall you, but to be a partaker of all good things, so you should act on the same principle towards your subjects and offenders, and you should mildly admonish the noble and good. For God draws all men to himself by his benignity.'

208 The king praised him and asked the next 208 Ἐπαινέσας αὐτὸν τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν εἶπε in order How he could be the friend of men? And he replied, 'By observing that the human race increases and is born with much trouble and great suffering: wherefore you must not lightly punish or inflict torments upon them, since you know that the life of men is made up of pains and penalties. For if you understood everything you would be filled

γενομένης ἐπυνθάνετο Πῶς ἂν πλούσιος διαμένοι;

205 βραχὺ δὲ ἐπισχὼν ὁ τὴν ἐρώτησιν ἐκδεχόμενος εἶπεν Εἰ μηδὲν ἀνάξιον τῆς ύποτεταγμένους εὐεργεσία πρὸς εὔνοιαν ἄγοι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς πᾶσιν αἴτιος ἀγαθῶν ἐστιν, ὧ κατακολουθεῖν άναγκαῖον.

206 Ἐπαινέσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦτον ἕτερον ἐπηρώτα Πῶς ἂν τὴν ἀλήθειαν διατηροῖ; ὁ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀπεκρίθη Γινώσκων ὅτι μεγάλην αἰσχύνην ἐπιφέρει τὸ ψεῦδος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, πολλῶ δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐξουσίαν γὰρ ἔχοντες δ βούλονται πράσσειν, τίνος **ἔνεκεν ἂν ψεύσαιντο; προσλαμβάνειν δὲ** δεῖ τοῦτό σε, βασιλεῦ, διότι φιλαλήθης ὁ θεός ἐστιν.

207 Άποδεξάμενος δὲ εὖ μάλα καὶ τοῦτον ἐπιβλέψας εἶπεν Τί ἐστι σοφίας διδαχή; ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἀπεφήνατο Καθὼς οὐ βούλει σεαυτῷ τὰ κακὰ παρεῖναι, μέτοχος δὲ τῶν άγαθῶν ὑπάρχειν ἀπάντων, εἰ πράσσοις τοῦτο πρὸς τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους καὶ τοὺς άμαρτάνοντας, εί τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ άγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιεικέστερον νουθετοῖς καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους **ἄπαντας ἐπιεικεία ἄγει.**

Πῶς ἂν φιλάνθρωπος εἴη; κἀκεῖνος ἔφη Θεωρῶν ὡς ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ καὶ κακοπαθείαις μεγίσταις αὔξει τε καὶ γεννᾶται τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος ὅθεν οὔτε εὐκόπως δεῖ κολάζειν, οὔτε αἰκίαις περιβάλλειν. γινώσκων ὅτι τὸ τῶν άνθρώπων ζῆν ἐν ὀδύναις τε καὶ

with pity, for God also is pitiful.'

209 The king received the answer with approbation and inquired of the next What is τοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς Τίς ἀναγκαιότατος the most essential qualification for ruling? 'To keep oneself,' he answered, 'free from bribery and to practice sobriety during the greater part of one's life, to honour righteousness above all things, and to make friends of men of this type. For God, too, is a lover of justice.'

210 Having signified his approval, the king said to another 'What is the true mark of piety?' And he replied, 'To perceive that God constantly works in the Universe and knows all things, and no man who acts unjustly and works wickedness can escape His notice. As God is the benefactor of the whole world, so you, too, must imitate Him and be void of offence.'

211 The king signified his agreement and said to another 'What is the essence of kingship?' And he replied, 'To rule oneself well and not to be led astray by wealth or fame to immoderate or unseemly desires, this is the true way of ruling if you reason the matter well out. For all that you really need is yours, and God is free from need and benignant withal. Let your thoughts be such as become a man, and desire not many things but only such as are necessary for ruling.'

212 The king praised him and asked another man How his deliberations might be for the best? and he replied, 'If he constantly set justice before him in everything and thought that injustice was equivalent to deprivation of life. For God always promises the highest blessings to the just.'

τιμωρίαις καθέστηκεν. ἐπινοῶν οὖν έκαστα πρὸς τὸν ἔλεον τραπήσἠ καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἐλεήμων ἐστιν.

209 Άποδεξάμενος δὲ τοῦτον ἐπυνθάνετο τρόπος βασιλείας; Τὸ συντηρεῖν, εἶπεν, αύτὸν ἀδωροδόκητον, καὶ νήφειν τὸ πλεῖον μέρος τοῦ βίου, καὶ δικαιοσύνην προτιμᾶν καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους φιλοποιεῖσθαι καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς φιλοδίκαιός έστιν.

210 Ἐπισημήνας καὶ τοῦτον πρὸς τὸν έτερον εἶπε Τί τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐστὶ κατάστημα; ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔφη Τὸ διαλαμβάνειν ὅτι πάντα διὰ παντὸς ὁ θεὸς ένεργεῖ καὶ γινώσκει, καὶ οὐθὲν ἂν λάθοι άδικον ποιήσας ἢ κακὸν ἐργασάμενος ἄνθρωπος ώς γὰρ θεὸς εὐεργετεῖ τὸν όλον κόσμον, ούτως καὶ σὺ μιμούμενος ἀπρόσκοπος ἂν εἵης.

211 Ἐπιφωνήσας δὲ τούτω πρὸς τὸν έτερον εἶπε Τίς ὄρος τοῦ βασιλεύειν ἐστίν; ό δὲ ἔφη Τὸ καλῶς ἄρχειν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ μὴ τῷ πλούτῳ καὶ τῆ δόξη φερόμενον ύπερήφανον καὶ ἄσχημόν τι ἐπιθυμῆσαι, εί καλῶς λογίζοιο. πάντα γάρ σοι πάρεστιν ώς οὐδέν. ὁ θεὸς δὲ ἀπροσδεής ἐστι καὶ έπιεικής. καὶ σὺ καθόσον ἄνθρωπος έννόει, καὶ μὴ πολλῶν ὀρέγου, τῶν δὲ ίκανῶν πρὸς τὸ βασιλεύειν.

212 Κατεπαινέσας δὲ αὐτόν, ἐπηρώτα τὸν ἕτερον Πῶς ἂν τὰ κάλλιστα διαλογίζοιτο; ἀπεκρίθη δὲ ἐκεῖνος Εἰ τὸ δίκαιον ἐπὶ παντὸς προβάλλοι συνεχῶς, καὶ νομίζοι τὴν ἀδικίαν τοῦ ζῆν στέρησιν εἶναι καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς διὰ παντὸς τοῖς δικαίοις ἀγαθὰ προσημαίνει μέγιστα.

213 Having praised him, the king asked the next How he could be free from disturbing thoughts in his sleep? And he replied, 'You have asked me a question which is very difficult to answer, for we cannot bring our true selves into play during the hours of sleep, but are held fast in these by imaginations that cannot be controlled by reason.

214 For our souls possess the feeling that they actually see the things that enter into our consciousness during sleep. But we make a mistake if we suppose that we are actually sailing on the sea in boats or flying through the air or traveling to other regions or anything else of the kind. And yet we actually do imagine such things to be taking place.

215 So far as it is possible for me to decide, I have reached the following conclusion. You must in every possible way, O King, govern your words and actions by the rule of piety that you may have the consciousness that you are maintaining virtue and that you never choose to gratify yourself at the expense of reason and never by abusing your power do despite to righteousness.

216 For the mind mostly busies itself in sleep with the same things with which it occupies itself when awake. And he who has all his thoughts and actions set towards the noblest ends establishes himself in righteousness both when he is awake and when he is asleep. Wherefore you must be steadfast in the constant discipline of self.'

217 The king bestowed praise on the man and said to another - 'since you are the tenth to answer, when you have spoken, we will devote ourselves to the banquet.'

218 And then he put the question, 'How can 218 ἠρώτα δέ Πῶς ἂν μηδὲν ἀνάξιον

213 Τοῦτον δὲ ἐπαινέσας εἶπε πρὸς τὸν έξῆς Πῶς ἂν ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις ἀτάραχος εἴη; ό δὲ ἔφη Δυσαπολόγητον ἠρώτηκας πρᾶγμα. συναναφέρειν γὰρ οὐ δυνάμεθα έν τούτοις τοῖς κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ἑαυτούς, άλλὰ περιεχόμεθα άλογίστω κατὰ {τάδε} αἰσθήσει.

214 πάσχομεν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑποπίπτουσιν ὡς θεωρουμένους. άλογιστοῦμεν δέ, καθόσον ύπολαμβάνομεν καὶ ἐπὶ πέλαγος καὶ ἐν πλοίοις ἢ πολεῖν, ἢ πέτασθαι φερομένους καὶ διαίρειν εἰς ἐτέρους τόπους, καὶ τοιαῦτα ἕτερα, καὶ ὁ ταῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνων μη καθεστάναι.

215 πλην ὅσον ἔμοιγε ἐφικτόν, οὕτω διείληφα κατὰ πάντα τρόπον σέ, βασιλεῦ, καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἐπανάγειν, οὕτως {ἑαυτῷ} συνιστορῆς, ὅτι τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν συντηρῶν οὔτε χαρίζεσθαι προαιρῆ παρὰ λόγον, οὐδὲ ἐξουσία χρώμενος τὸ δίκαιον αἴρεις.

216 ἐπὶ πλεῖον γάρ, ἐν οἶς ἕκαστος πράγμασιν έγρηγορώς τὴν διαγωγὴν ποιεῖται, καὶ καθ' ὕπνον ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἡ διάνοια την άναστροφην έχει, ώς δὲ πάντα διαλογισμόν καὶ πρᾶξιν ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τρεπομένην κατευθύνει καὶ έγρηγορώς καὶ έν ὕπνω. διὸ καὶ περὶ σὲ διὰ παντός ἐστιν εὐστάθεια.

217 Κατευφημήσας δὲ καὶ τοῦτον εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον Ἐπεὶ σὺ δέκατος τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἔχεις, ὡς ἂν ἀποφήνη, πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον τραπησόμεθα.

I avoid doing anything unworthy of myself?' And he replied, 'Look always to your own fame and your own supreme position, that you may speak and think only such things as are consistent therewith, knowing that all your subjects think and talk about you.

219 For you must not appear to be worse than the actors, who study carefully the role, which it is necessary for them to play, and shape all their actions in accordance with it. You are not acting a part, but are really a king, since God has bestowed upon you a royal authority in keeping with your character.'

220 When the king had applauded loud and long in the most gracious way, the guests were urged to seek repose. So when the conversation ceased, they devoted themselves to the next course of the feast.

221 On the following day, the same arrangement was observed, and when the king found an opportunity of putting questions to the men, he questioned the first of those who had been left over for the next interrogation, What is the highest form of government?

222 And he replied, 'To rule oneself and not to be carried away by impulses. For all men possess a certain natural bent of mind.

223 It is probable that most men have an inclination towards food and drink and pleasure, and kings a bent towards the acquisition of territory and great renown. But it is good that there should be moderation in all things. What God gives, that you must take and keep, but never yearn for things that are beyond your reach.'

έαυτῶν πράσσοιμεν; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν Ἐπίβλεπε διὰ παντὸς εἰς τὴν σεαυτοῦ δόξαν καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχήν, ἵνα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα καὶ λέγης καὶ διανοῆ, γινώσκων ὅτι πάντες ὧν ἄρχεις περὶ σοῦ καὶ διανοοῦνται καὶ λαλοῦσιν.

219 οὐ γὰρ ἐλάχιστόν σε δεῖ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν φαίνεσθαι τὸ γὰρ πρόσωπον, {ὁ δέον αὐτοῖς} ἐστιν ὑποκρίνεσθαι, τοῦτο συνθεωροῦντες ἀκόλουθα πάντα πράσσουσι σὰ δὲ οὐχ ὑπόκρισιν ἔχεις, ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς βασιλεύεις, θεοῦ δόντος σοι καταξίως τῶν τρόπων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

220 Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως εὖ μάλα συγκροτήσαντος μετὰ φιλοφροσύνης ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καθυπνοῦν παρεκάλουν. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τούτους ὡς ἔληξεν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἑξῆς ἐτράπησαν τῆς συμποσίας διάταξιν.

221 Τῆ δὲ ἐχομένη, τῆς αὐτῆς διατάξεως γενηθείσης, ὅτε καιρὸν ὑπελάμβανεν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶναι τοῦ πυνθάνεσθαί τι τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἠρώτα τὸν πρῶτον τῶν ἀπολιπόντων πρὸς τὴν ἑξῆς ἐρώτησιν Τίς ἐστιν ἀρχὴ κρατίστη;

222 ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔφη Τὸ κρατεῖν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μὴ συγκαταφέρεσθαι ταῖς ὁρμαῖς. πᾶσι γὰρ ἀνθρώποις φυσικὸν εἶναι τὸ πρός τι τὴν διάνοιαν ῥέπειν

223 τοῖς μὲν οἶν πολλοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ βρωτὰ καὶ ποτὰ καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς εἰκός ἐστι κεκλίσθαι, τοῖς δὲ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπὶ χώρας κατάκτησιν, κατὰ τὸ τῆς δόξης μέγεθος πλὴν ἐν πᾶσι μετριότης καλόν. ὰ δὲ ὁ θεὸς δίδωσι, ταῦτα λαμβάνων σύνεχε τῶν δ' ἀνεφίκτων μὴ ἐπιθύμει.

224 Pleased with these words, the king asked the next How he could be free from envy? And he after a brief pause replied, 'If you consider first of all that it is God who bestows on all kings glory and great wealth and no one is king by his own power. All men οὐδεὶς περὶ ἑαυτόν ἐστι βασιλεύς \cdot πάντες wish to share this glory but cannot, since it is the gift of God.'

225 The king praised the man in a long speech and then asked another how he could despise his enemies? And he replied, 'If you show kindness to all men and win their friendship, you need fear no one. To be popular with all men is the best of good gifts to receive from God.'

226 Having praised this answer the king ordered the next man to reply to the question, How he could maintain his great renown? and he replied that 'If you are generous and large-hearted in bestowing kindness and acts of grace upon others, you will never lose your renown, but if you wish the aforesaid graces to continue yours, you must call upon God continually.'

227 The king expressed his approval and asked the next, To whom ought a man to show liberality? And he replied, 'All men acknowledge that we ought to show liberality ἔφη Πρὸς τοὺς φιλικῶς ἔχοντας ἡμῖν to those who are well disposed towards us, but I think that we ought to show the same keen spirit of generosity to those who are opposed to us that by this means we may win τούτω τῷ τρόπω μετάγωμεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ them over to the right and to what is advantageous to ourselves. But we must pray to God that this may be accomplished, for he rules the minds of all men.'

228 Having expressed his agreement with the 228 Συνομολογήσας δὲ τούτοις τὴν ἕκτον answer, the king asked the sixth to reply to the question, To whom ought we to exhibit

224 Τοῖς δὲ ῥηθεῖσιν ἀρεσθεὶς πρὸς τὸν έχόμενον εἶπε Πῶς ἂν ἐκτὸς εἴη φθόνου; διαλιπών δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἔφη Πρῶτον εἰ νοήσαι, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς πᾶσι μερίζει δόξαν τε καὶ πλούτου μέγεθος τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, καὶ γὰρ θέλουσι μετασχεῖν ταύτης τῆς δόξης, άλλ' οὐ δύνανται θεοῦ γάρ ἐστι δόμα. 225 Ἐπαινέσας δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ πλειόνων τῶν ἐχθρῶν; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν 'Ησκηκὼς πρὸς

έπηρώτα τὸν ἕτερον Πῶς ἂν καταφρονοίη πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὔνοιαν καὶ κατεργασάμενος φιλίας, λόγον οὐθενὸς ἂν ἔχοις· τὸ δὲ κεχαριτῶσθαι πρὸς πάντας άνθρώπους καὶ καλὸν δῶρον εἰληφέναι παρὰ θεοῦ τοῦτ' ἔστι κράτιστον.

226 Συναινέσας δὲ τούτοις τὸν ἑξῆς ἐκέλευσεν ἀποκριθῆναι, πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπών Πῶς ἂν δοξαζόμενος διαμένοι; εἶπε δὲ Τῆ προθυμία καὶ ταῖς χάρισι πρὸς τοὺς άλλους μεταδοτικός ών καὶ μεγαλομερής οὐδέποτ' ἂν ἀπολίποι δόξης ἵνα δὲ τὰ προειρημένα σοι διαμένη, τὸν θεὸν ἐπικαλοῦ διὰ παντός.

227 Εὐφημήσας δὲ τοῦτον ἕτερον ἠρώτα Πῶς τινα δεῖ φιλότιμον εἶναι; ἐκεῖνος δὲ οἴονται πάντες ὅτι πρὸς τούτους δέον ἐγὼ δ' ύπολαμβάνω, πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιδοξοῦντας φιλοτιμίαν δεῖν χαριστικὴν ἔχειν, ἵνα καθῆκον καὶ συμφέρον ἑαυτοῖς. δεῖ δὲ τὸν θεὸν λιτανεύειν, ἵνα ταῦτ' ἐπιτελῆται τὰς γὰρ ἁπάντων διανοίας κρατεῖ.

ἐκέλευσεν ἀποφήνασθαι πυνθανόμενος Τίσι δεῖ χαρίζεσθαι; ἐκεῖνος δ' ἀπεκρίθη

gratitude? And he replied, 'To our parents continually, for God has given us a most important commandment with regard to the honour due to parents. In the next place He reckons the attitude of friend towards friend for He speaks of "a friend which is as thine own soul." You do well in trying to bring all men into friendship with yourself.'

229 The king spoke kindly to him and then asked the next, What is it that resembles beauty in value? And he said, 'Piety, for it is the pre-eminent form of beauty, and its power lies in love, which is the gift of God. This you have already acquired and with it all the blessings of life.'

230 The king in the most gracious way applauded the answer and asked another How, if he were to fail, he could regain his reputation again in the same degree? And he said, 'It is not possible for you to fail, for you have sown in all men the seeds of gratitude which produce a harvest of goodwill, and this μέγιστα τῶν ὅπλων κατισχύουσα is mightier than the strongest weapons and guarantees the greatest security.

231 But if any man does fail, he must never again do those things which caused his failure, but he must form friendships and act justly. For it is the gift of God to be able to do good actions and not the contrary.'

232 Delighted with these words, the king asked another How he could be free from grief? And he replied, 'If he never injured any one, but did good to everybody and followed $|\mathring{\omega}$ φελοῖ, τῆ δικαιοσύνη κατακολουθ $\tilde{\omega}$ ν· the pathway of righteousness, for its fruits bring freedom from grief.

233 But we must pray to God that unexpected evils such as death or disease or pain or anything of this kind may not come

Γονεῦσι διὰ παντός, καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς πεποίηται έντολην μεγίστην περὶ τῆς τῶν γονέων τιμῆς. ἑπομένως δὲ τὴν τῶν φίλων ἐγκρίνει διάθεσιν, προσονομάσας ἴσον τῆ ψυχῆ τὸν φίλον. σὺ δὲ καλῶς ποιεῖς ἄπαντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς φιλίαν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καθιστῶν.

229 Παρακαλέσας δὲ καὶ τοῦτον έπυνθάνετο καὶ τοῦ μετέπειτα Τί καλλονῆς ἄξιόν ἐστιν; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν Εὐσέβεια. καὶ γὰρ αὕτη καλλονή τίς ἐστι πρωτεύουσα. τὸ δὲ δυνατὸν αὐτῆς ἐστιν άγάπη αύτη γὰρ θεοῦ δόσις ἐστιν ἡν καὶ σὺ κέκτησαι πάντα περιέχων ἐν αὐτῆ τὰ ἀγαθά.

230 Λίαν δὲ φιλοφρόνως ἐπικροτήσας εἶπε πρὸς ἕτερον Πῶς ἂν πταίσας πάλιν τῆς αὐτῆς κρατήσαι δόξης; ὁ δὲ ἔφη Σὲ μὲν οὐ δυνατόν ἐστι πταῖσαι, πᾶσι γὰρ χάριτας ἔσπαρκας, αἳ βλαστάνουσιν εὔνοιαν, ἣ τὰ περιλαμβάνει τὴν μεγίστην ἀσφάλειαν.

231 εἰ δέ τινες πταίουσιν, ἐφ' οἶς πταίουσιν, οὐκέτι χρὴ ταῦτα πράσσειν, αλλά φιλίαν κατακτησαμένους δικαιοπραγεῖν. θεοῦ δὲ δῶρον ἀγαθῶν έργάτην εἶναι καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐναντίων.

232 Συναρεσθεὶς δὲ τούτοις πρὸς τὸν έτερον εἶπε Πῶς ἂν ἐκτὸς γένοιτο λύπης; ό δὲ ἔφησεν Εἰ μηδένα βλάπτοι, πάντες δὲ τοὺς γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῆς καρποὺς ἀλυπίαν κατασκευάζειν.

233 ίκετεύειν δὲ τὸν θεόν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ παρὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἡμῶν ἀνακύπτοντα βλάπτη, λέγω δη οἶον θάνατοί τε καὶ

upon us and injure us. But since you are devoted to piety, no such misfortune will ever σοὶ εὐσεβεῖ καθεστῶτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν come upon you.'

234 The king bestowed great praise upon him and asked the tenth, 'What is the highest form of glory?' And he said, 'To honour God, and this is done not with gifts and sacrifices but with purity of soul and holy conviction, since all things are fashioned and governed by God in accordance with His will. Of this purpose you are in constant possession as all men can see from your achievements in the past and in the present.'

235 With loud voice the king greeted them all and spoke kindly to them, and all those who were present expressed their approval, especially the philosophers. For they were far superior to them [i.e. the philosophers] both in conduct and in argument, since they always made God their starting point. After this the king to show his good feeling proceeded to drink the health of his guests.

236 On the following day the same arrangements were made for the banquet, and the king, as soon as an opportunity occurred, began to put questions to the men who sat next to those who had already responded, and he said to the first 'Is wisdom δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ Τὸ φρονεῖν εἰ διδακτόν capable of being taught?' And he said, 'The soul is so constituted that it is able by the divine power to receive all the good and reject the contrary.'

237 The king expressed approval and asked the next man, What is it that is most beneficial to health? And he said, Temperance, and it is not possible to acquire this unless God create a disposition towards it.'

238 The king spoke kindly to the man and

νόσοι καὶ λῦπαι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. {αὐτῶ} δὲ προσέλθοι.

234 Καλῶς δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἐπαινέσας τὸν δέκατον ἠρώτα Τί μέγιστόν ἐστι δόξης; ὁ δὲ εἶπε Τὸ τιμᾶν τὸν θεόν τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐ δώροις οὐδὲ θυσίαις, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς καθαρότητι καὶ διαλήψεως ὁσίας, καθώς ύπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντα κατασκευάζεται καὶ διοικεῖται κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν. ἣν καὶ σὸ διατελεῖς ἔχων γνώμην, ἡ πάρεστι σημειοῦσθαι πᾶσιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ συντετελεσμένων καὶ συντελουμένων.

235 Μετὰ μείζονος δὲ φωνῆς πάντας αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἠσπάζετο καὶ παρεκάλει, συνεπιφωνούντων τῶν παρόντων, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν φιλοσόφων. καὶ γὰρ ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς καὶ τῷ λόγῳ πολὺ προέχοντες αὐτῶν ἦσαν, ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ θεοῦ τὴν καταρχὴν ποιούμενοι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι προῆλθε διὰ τῶν προπόσεων.

236 Τῆ δὲ ἐπιούση κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῆς διατάξεως τοῦ συμποσίου γενομένης, καθώς εὔκαιρον ἐγένετο τῷ βασιλεῖ, τοὺς έξῆς ἐρώτα τῶν προαποκεκριμένων, εἶπε έστιν; ὃς δ' εἶπε Ψυχῆς ἐστιν κατασκευὴ διὰ θείας δυνάμεως ἐπιδέχεσθαι πᾶν τὸ καλόν, ἀποστρέφεσθαι δὲ τἀναντία.

237 Συνομολογήσας δὲ τὸν ἐχόμενον ήρώτα Τί πρὸς ὑγείαν μάλιστα συντείνει; ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔφη Σωφροσύνη· ταύτης δὲ οὐκ ἔστι τυχεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ θεὸς κατασκευάση τὴν διάνοιαν είς τοῦτο.

238 Παρακαλέσας δὲ τοῦτον πρὸς τὸν

said to another, 'How can a man worthily pay the debt of gratitude to his parents?' And he said, 'By never causing them pain, and this is not possible unless God dispose the mind to the pursuit of the noblest ends.'

239 The king expressed agreement and asked the next How he could become an eager listener? And he said, 'By remembering that all knowledge is useful, because it enables you by the help of God in a time of emergency to select some of the things which $|\dot{\alpha}\nu\theta\nu\pi$ οτιθεὶς πρὸς τὰ τῶν καιρῶν ἂν you have learned and apply them to the crisis αντιπράσσηται, σύν χειραγωγία θεοῦ· which confronts you. And so the efforts of men are fulfilled by the assistance of God.'

240 The king praised him and asked the next How he could avoid doing anything contrary to law? And he said, 'If you recognize that it is God who has put the thoughts into the hearts of the lawgivers that the lives of men might be preserved, you will follow them.'

241 The king acknowledged the man's answer and said to another, 'What is the advantage of kinship?' And he replied, 'If we consider that we ourselves are afflicted by the misfortunes which fall upon our relatives and if their sufferings become our own - then the strength of kinship is apparent at once, 242 for it is only when such feeling is shown

that we shall win honour and esteem in their eyes. For help, when it is linked with kindliness, is of itself a bond which is altogether indissoluble. And in the day of their prosperity we must not crave their possessions, but must pray God to bestow all manner of good upon them.'

243 And having accorded to him the same praise as to the rest, the king asked another How he could attain freedom from fear? And he said, 'When the mind is conscious that it

έτερον έφη Πῶς ἂν γονεῦσι τὰς ἀξίας ἀποδώη χάριτας; ὃς δὲ εἶπε Μηδὲν αὐτοὺς λυπήσας τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἔστιν, εἰ μὴ θεὸς τῆς διανοίας ἡγεμὼν γένοιτο πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα.

239 Προσεπινεύσας δὲ τούτω τὸν ἑξῆς ήρώτα Πῶς ἂν φιλήκοος εἴη; ἐκεῖνος δὲ εἶπε Διαλαμβάνων ὅτι πάντα συμφέρει γινώσκειν, ὅπως ἂν πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα ἐκλεγόμενός τι τῶν ἠκροαμένων τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν, αἱ τῶν πράξεων τελειώσεις ύπ' αὐτοῦ.

240 Τοῦτον δὲ ἐπαινέσας πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον εἶπε Πῶς ἂν μηθὲν παράνομον πράσσοι; πρὸς τοῦτο ἔφησε Γινώσκων ὅτι τὰς ἐπινοίας ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκε τοῖς νομοθετήσασι πρὸς τὸ σώζεσθαι τοὺς βίους τῶν άνθρώπων, ἀκόλουθος εἴης ἂν αὐτοῖς.

241 'Αποδεξάμενος δὲ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἕτερον εἶπε Τίς ὠφέλεια συγγενείας ἐστίν; ὁ δὲ ἀπεφήνατο Έὰν τοῖς συμβαίνουσι νομίζωμεν ἀτυχοῦσιν μὲν ἐλαττοῦσθαι, καὶ κακοπαθῶμεν ὡς αὐτοί, φαίνεται τὸ συγγενὲς ὅσον ἰσχῦόν ἐστι —

242 τελουμένων δὲ τούτων καὶ δόξα καὶ προκοπή παρὰ τοῖς τοιούτοις ὑπάρξει· τὸ γὰρ συνεργὲς εὐνόως γινόμενον ὡς ἐξ έαυτοῦ ἀδιάλυτον πρὸς ἄπαντα—μετὰ δὲ εὐημερίας, μηδὲν προσδεῖσθαι τῶν ἐκεῖνων ἀλλὰ δέον (θεὸν) ἱκετεύειν, πάντα ἀγαθοποιεῖν.

243 'Ωσαύτως δὲ ἐκεῖνοις ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτὸν ἄλλον ἠρώτα Πῶς ἀφοβία γίνεται; εἶπε δέ Συνιστορούσης τῆς διανοίας μηδὲν κακὸν πεπραχέναι, θεοῦ κατευθύνοντος

has wrought no evil, and when God directs it to all noble counsels.'

244 The king expressed his approval and asked another how he could always maintain εἶπε Πῶς ἂν προχείρως ἔχοι τὸν ὀρθὸν a right judgement? And he replied, 'If he constantly set before his eyes the misfortunes | ἀτυχήματα διὰ παντὸς ἐπιβλέποι· which befall men and recognized that it is God who takes away prosperity from some and brings others to great honour and glory.'

245 The king gave a kindly reception to the man and asked the next to answer the question How he could avoid a life of ease and pleasure? And he replied, 'If he continually remembered that he was the ruler of a great empire and the lord of vast occupied with other things, but he ought always to be considering how he could best promote their welfare. He must pray, too, to God that no duty might be neglected.'

246 Having bestowed praise upon him, the king asked the tenth How he could recognize those who were dealing treacherously with him? And he replied to the question, 'If he observed whether the bearing of those about him was natural and whether they maintained the proper rule of precedence at receptions and councils, and in their general intercourse, never going beyond the bounds of propriety in congratulations or in other matters of deportment.

247 But God will incline your mind, O King, to all that is noble.' When the king had expressed his loud approval and praised them all individually (amid the plaudits of all who were present), they turned to the enjoyment of the feast.

248 And on the next day, when the opportunity offered, the king asked the next man, What is the grossest form of neglect?

είς τὸ καλῶς ἄπαντα βουλεύεσθαι.

244 Τούτω δὲ ἐπιφωνήσας πρὸς ἄλλον λόγον; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν Εἰ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γινώσκων ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἀφαιρεῖται τὰς εὐημερίας, ἐτέρους δὲ δοξάζων εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι προάγει.

245 Καλῶς δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἀποδεξάμενος τὸν ἑξῆς ἀποκριθῆναι παρεκάλει Πῶς ἂν μη είς ραθυμίαν, μηδε έπι τας ήδονας . τρέποιτο; ὁ δὲ Προχείρως ἔχων, εἶπεν, ὅτι μεγάλης βασιλείας κατάρχει καὶ πολλῶν multitudes, and that his mind ought not to be ὄχλων ἀφηγεῖται, καὶ οὐ δεῖ περὶ ἕτερόν τι τὴν διάνοιαν εἶναι, τῆς δὲ τούτων έπιμελείας φροντίζειν θεὸν δὲ ἀξιοῦν, δπως μηθὲν ἐλλίπη τῶν καθηκόντων.

> 246 Ἐπαινέσας δὲ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν δέκατον {ἠρώτα Πῶς ἂν ἐπιγινώσκοι} τοὺς δόλω τινὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν πράσσοντας; ὁ δὲ ἀπεφήνατο πρὸς τοῦτο Εἰ παρατηροῖτο την άγωγην έλευθέριον οὖσαν, καὶ την εὐταξίαν διαμένουσαν ἐν τοῖς ἀσπασμοῖς καὶ συμβουλίαις καὶ τῆ λοιπῆ συναναστροφή τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ μηθὲν ύπερτείνοντας τοῦ δέοντος ἐν ταῖς φιλοφρονήσεσι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀγωγήν.

247 θεὸς δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν {ἄξει} σοι, βασιλεῦ, πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα. Συγκροτήσας πάντας τ' ἐπαινέσας κατ' ὄνομα, καὶ τῶν παρόντων ταὐτὰ ποιούντων, ἐπὶ τὸ μέλπειν ἐτράπησαν.

248 Τῆ δὲ ἐχομένη τὸν καιρὸν λαβὼν έπηρώτα τὸν ἑξῆς Τίς ἐστιν ἀμέλεια

And he replied, 'If a man does not care for his $|lpha \phi \rho οντίς τις εἴη, καὶ μὴ κατὰ πάντα$ children and devote every effort to their education. For we always pray to God not so much for ourselves as for our children that every blessing may be theirs. Our desire that our children may possess self-control is only realized by the power of God.'

249 The king said that he had spoken well and then asked another How he could be patriotic? 'By keeping before your mind,' he replied, 'the thought that it is good to live and die in one's own country. Residence abroad brings contempt upon the poor and shame upon the rich as though they had been δ_{i} $\dot{\alpha}$ κακίαν ἐκπεπτωκόσιν. εὐεργετ $\tilde{\omega}$ ν ο \tilde{i} ν banished for a crime. If you bestow benefits upon all, as you continually do, God will give you favour with all and you will be accounted patriotic.'

250 After listening to this man, the king asked the next in order How he could live amicably with his wife? And he answered, 'By recognizing that womankind are by nature headstrong and energetic in the pursuit of their own desires, and subject to sudden changes of opinion through fallacious reasoning, and their nature is essentially weak. It is necessary to deal wisely with them and not to provoke strife.

251 For the successful conduct of life the steersman must know the goal toward which he ought to direct his course. It is only by calling upon the help of God that men can steer a true course of life at all times.'

252 The king expressed his agreement and asked the next How he could be free from error? And he replied, 'If you always act with deliberation and never give credence to slanders, but prove for yourself the things that are said to you and decide by your own judgement the requests which are made to

μεγίστη; πρὸς τοῦτ' ἔφη Εἰ τέκνων τρόπον ἀγαγεῖν {σπεύδοι} εὐχόμεθα γὰρ ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, οὐχ οὕτως περὶ ἑαυτῶν ώς περὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων, ἵνα παρῆ πάντα αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀγαθά. τὸ δὲ ἐπιδεῖσθαι παιδία σωφροσύνης μετασχεῖν, θεοῦ δυνάμει τοῦτο γίνεται.

249 Φήσας δὲ εὐλογεῖν ἄλλον ἠρώτα Πῶς αν φιλόπατρις εἴη; Προτιθέμενος, εἶπεν, ότι καλὸν ἐν ἰδία καὶ ζῆν καὶ τελευτᾶν. ἡ δὲ ξενία τοῖς μὲν πένησι καταφρόνησιν έργάζεται, τοῖς δὲ πλουσίοις ὄνειδος, ὡς άπαντας, καθώς συνεχῶς τοῦτ' ἐπιτελεῖς, θεοῦ διδόντος σοὶ πρὸς πάντα χάριν, φιλόπατρις φανήση.

250 Τούτου δὲ ἀκούσας τοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς έπυνθάνετο Πῶς {ἂν} ἁρμόσαι γυναικί; {Γινώσκων} ὅτι μὲν θρασύ ἐστιν, ἔφη, τὸ θῆλυ γένος, καὶ δραστικὸν ἐφ' ὃ βούλεται πρᾶγμα, καὶ μεταπῖπτον εὐκόπως διὰ παραλογισμοῦ, καὶ τῆ φύσει κατεσκεύασται ἀσθενές δέον δ' ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸ ὑγιὲς χρῆσθαι, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἔριν άντιπράσσειν.

251 κατορθοῦται γὰρ βίος, ὅταν ὁ κυβερνῶν εἰδῆ, πρὸς τίνα σκοπὸν δεῖ τὴν διέξοδον ποιεῖσθαι. θεοῦ δ' ἐπικλήσει καὶ βίος κυβερνᾶται κατὰ πάντα.

252 Συνανθομολογησάμενος δὲ τούτω τὸν έξῆς ἠρώτα Πῶς {ἂν} ἀναμάρτητος εἴη; ὁ δὲ ἔφησεν 'Ως ἄπαντα πράσσων καὶ μετὰ διαλογισμοῦ καὶ μὴ πειθόμενος διαβολαῖς, άλλ' αὐτὸς ὢν δοκιμαστής τῶν λεγομένων καὶ κρίσει κατευθύνων τὰ τῶν

you and carry out everything in the light of your judgement, you will be free from error, O King. But the knowledge and practice of these things is the work of the Divine power.'

253 Delighted with these words, the king asked another How he could be free from wrath? And he said in reply to the question, 'If he recognized that he had power over all even to inflict death upon them, if he gave way to wrath, and that it would be useless and pitiful if he, just because he was lord, deprived many of life. What need was there for wrath, when all men were in subjection and no one was hostile to him?

254 It is necessary to recognize that God rules the whole world in the spirit of kindness and without wrath at all, and you, said he, 'O king, must of necessity copy His example.'

255 The king said that he had answered well and then inquired of the next man, What is good counsel? 'To act well at all times and with due reflection,' he explained, 'comparing απεφήνατο, μετὰ διαλογισμοῦ, κατὰ τὴν what is advantageous to our own policy with the injurious effects that would result from the adoption of the opposite view, in order that by weighing every point we may be well advised and our purpose may be accomplished. And most important of all, by the power of God every plan of yours will find fulfillment because you practice piety.' 256 The king said that this man had answered well, and asked another What is philosophy? And he explained, 'To deliberate well in reference to any question that emerges and never to be carried away by impulses, but to ponder over the injuries that result from the passions, and to act rightly as the circumstances demand, practicing moderation. But we must pray to God to

έντεύξεων καὶ διὰ κρίσεως ἐπιτελῶν ταῦτα ἀναμάρτητος, ἔφησεν, ἂν εἴης, ὧ βασιλεῦ. τὸ δ' ἐπινοεῖν ταῦτα καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἀναστρέφεσθαι θείας δυνάμεώς έστιν ἔργον.

253 Διαχυθεὶς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὸν έτερον ἠρώτα Πῶς ἂν ἐκτὸς θυμοῦ γένοιτο; πρὸς τοῦτ' εἶπε Γινώσκων ὅτι πάντων έξουσίαν έχει, καί, εί χρήσαιτο θυμῷ, θάνατον ἐπιφέρει ὅπερ ἀνωφελὲς καὶ ἀλγεινόν ἐστιν, εἰ τὸ ζῆν ἀφελεῖται πολλῶν, διὰ τὸ κύριον εἶναι. πάντων δ' ύπηκόων ὄντων καὶ μηδενὸς έναντιουμένου, τίνος χάριν θυμωθήσεται;

254 γινώσκειν δὲ δεῖ, διότι θεὸς τὸν πάντα κόσμον διοικεῖ μετ' εὐμενείας καὶ χωρὶς όργῆς ἀπάσης τούτω δὲ κατακολουθεῖν άναγκαῖόν ἐστί σε, ἔφησεν, ὧ βασιλεῦ.

255 Καλῶς δὲ ἀποκεκρίσθαι φήσας τοῦτον έπυνθάνετο τοῦ μετέπειτα Τί ἐστιν εὐβουλία; Τὸ καλῶς ἄπαντα πράσσειν, βουλὴν παρατιθέντα καὶ {τὰ} βλαβερὰ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον τοῦ λόγου διάστημα, ἵνα πρὸς ἕκαστον ἐπινοήσαντες ὦμεν εὖ βεβουλευμένοι, καὶ τὸ προτεθὲν ήμῖν ἐπιτελῆται. τὸ δ' αὖ κράτιστον, θεοῦ δυναστεία πᾶν βούλευμα {τελείωσιν ἕξει} σοι τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀσκοῦντι.

256 Κατωρθωκέναι δὲ καὶ τοῦτον εἰπὼν άλλον ἠρώτα Τί ἐστι φιλοσοφία; Τὸ καλῶς διαλογίζεσθαι πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν συμβαινόντων, ἀπεφήνατο, καὶ μὴ ἐκφέρεσθαι ταῖς ὁρμαῖς, ἀλλὰ τὰς βλάβας καταμελετᾶν τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν έκβαινούσας, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν πράσσειν δεόντως μετριοπαθή καθεστῶτα.

instill into our mind a regard for these things.'

257 The king signified his consent and asked another How he could meet with recognition when traveling abroad? 'By being fair to all men,' he replied, 'and by appearing to be inferior rather than superior to those amongst whom he was traveling. For it is a recognized principle that God by His very nature accepts the humble. And the human race loves those who are willing to be in subjection to them.'

258 Having expressed his approval at this reply, the king asked another How he could build in such a way that his structures would endure after him? And he replied to the question, 'If his creations were on a great and noble scale, so that the beholders would spare them for their beauty, and if he never dismissed any of those who wrought such works and never compelled others to minister to his needs without wages.

259 For observing how God provides for the human race, granting them health and mental capacity and all other gifts, he himself καὶ ὑγείαν καὶ εὐαισθησίαν καὶ τὰ λοιπά, should follow His example by rendering to men a recompense for their arduous toil. For it is the deeds that are wrought in righteousness that abide continually.'

260 The king said that this man, too, had answered well and asked the tenth, 'What is the fruit of wisdom?' And he replied, 'That a man should be conscious in himself that he has wrought no evil and that he should live his life in the truth,

261 since it is from these, O mighty King, that the greatest joy and steadfastness of soul $|\psi \nu \chi \tilde{\eta} \zeta \epsilon \dot{\nu} \sigma \tau \acute{\alpha} \theta \epsilon i \acute{\alpha}$ σοι γίνεται, μέγιστε and strong faith in God accrue to you if you rule your realm in piety.' And when they heard the answer they all shouted with loud

ίνα δ' ἐπίστασιν τούτων λαμβάνωμεν, θεραπεύειν δεῖ τὸν θεόν.

257 Ἐπισημήνας δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἕτερον ήρώτα Πῶς ἂν ἀποδοχῆς {ἐν ξενιτεία} τυγχάνοι; Πᾶσιν ἴσος γινόμενος, ἔφη, καὶ μᾶλλον ήττων ἢ καθυπερέχων φαινόμενος πρός οὓς ξενιτεύει. κοινῶς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὸ ταπεινούμενον προσδέχεται κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος τοὺς ὑποτασσομένους φιλανθρωπεῖ.

258 Ἐπιμαρτυρήσας δὲ τούτοις ἄλλον ήρώτα Πῶς {ἃ} ἂν κατασκευάση καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο διαμένη; πρὸς τοῦτ' εἶπεν Εἰ μεγάλα καὶ σεμνὰ ταῖς ποιήσεσιν ἐπιτελοῖ, πρὸς τὸ φείσασθαι τοὺς θεωροῦντας διὰ τὴν καλλονήν, καὶ μηθένα τῶν κατεργαζομένων τὰ τοιαῦτα παραπέμποι, μηδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀμισθὶ συντελεῖν άναγκάζοι τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν.

259 διανοούμενος γὰρ ὡς θεὸς πολυωρεῖ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, χορηγῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκόλουθόν τι πράξει τῶν κακοπαθειῶν ἀποδιδοὺς τὴν ἀντάμειψιν. τὰ γὰρ ἐκ δικαιοσύνης τελούμενα, ταῦτα καὶ διαμένει.

260 Εὖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον εἰρηκέναι φήσας τὸν δέκατον ἠρώτα Τί ἐστι σοφίας καρπός; ὁ δὲ εἶπε Τὸ μὴ συνιστορεῖν ἑαυτῷ κακὸν πεπραχότι, τὸν δὲ βίον ἐν ἀληθεία διεξάγειν.

261 ἐκ τούτων γὰρ κρατίστη χαρὰ καὶ βασιλεῦ, καὶ ἐλπίδες ἐπὶ θεῶ καλαὶ κρατοῦντί σοι τῆς ἀρχῆς εὐσεβῶς. Ώς δὲ συνήκουσαν πάντες ἐπεφώνησαν σὺν

acclaim, and afterwards the king in the fullness of his joy began to drink their healths.

262 And on the next day the banquet followed the same course as on previous occasions, and when the opportunity presented itself the king proceeded to put questions to the remaining guests, and he said to the first, 'How can a man keep himself from pride?'

263 And he replied, 'If he maintains equality and remembers on all occasions that he is a man ruling over men. And God brings the proud to nought, and exalts the meek and humble.'

264 The king spoke kindly to him and asked the next, 'Whom ought a man to select as his counselors?' And he replied, 'Those who have been tested in many affairs and maintain unmingled goodwill towards him and partake of his own disposition. And God manifests Himself to those who are worthy that these ends may be attained.'

265 The king praised him and asked another, What is the most necessary possession for a king? 'The friendship and love of his subjects,' he replied, 'for it is through this that the bond of goodwill is rendered indissoluble. And it is God who ensures that this may come to pass in accordance with your wish.'

266 The king praised him and inquired of another, What is goal of speech? And he replied, 'To convince your opponent by showing him his mistakes in a well-ordered array of arguments. For in this way you will win your hearer, not by opposing him, but by bestowing praise upon him with a view to persuading him. And it is by the power of God that persuasion is accomplished.'

κρότω πλείονι. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ προπιεῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς [λαμβάνειν] ἐτράπη, χαρᾳ πεπληρωμένος.

262 Τῆ δ' ἑξῆς καθώς πρότερον ἡ διάταξις ἦν τῶν κατὰ τὸν πότον ἐπιτελουμένων, καιροῦ δὲ γενομένου τοὺς ἀπολιπόντας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπηρώτα. πρὸς τὸν πρῶτον δὲ ἔφη Πῶς ἂν μὴ τραπείη τις εἰς ὑπερηφανίαν;

263 ἀπεκρίθη δὲ Εἰ τὴν ἰσότητα τηροῖ, καὶ παρ' ἕκαστον ἑαυτὸν ὑπομιμνήσκοι, καθὼς ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἀνθρώπων ἡγεῖται. καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς ὑπερηφάνους καθαιρεῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὺς ὑψοῖ.

264 Παρακαλέσας δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ἑξῆς ἐπηρώτα Τίσι δεῖ συμβούλοις χρῆσθαι; τοῖς διὰ πολλῶν, ἔφη, πεπειραμένοις πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν συντηροῦσιν ἀκέραιον πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν τρόπων ὅσοι μετέχουσιν αὐτῷ. θεοῦ ἐπιφάνεια γίνεται πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἀξίοις.

265 Ἐπαινέσας δὲ αὐτὸν ἄλλον ἠρώτα Τίς ἐστι βασιλεῖ κτῆσις ἀναγκαιοτάτη; Τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων φιλανθρωπία καὶ ἀγάπησις, ἀπεκρίνατο. διὰ γὰρ τούτων ἄλυτος εὐνοίας δεσμὸς γίνεται. τὸ δὲ γίνεσθαι κατὰ προαίρεσιν ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς ἐπιτελεῖ.

266 Κατεπαινέσας δὲ αὐτὸν ἑτέρου διεπυνθάνετο Τί πέρας ἐστὶ λόγου; κἀκεῖνος δὲ ἔφησε Τὸ πεῖσαι τὸν ἀντιλέγοντα, διὰ τῆς ὑποτεταγμένης τάξεως τὰς βλάβας ἐπιδεικνύντα οὕτω γὰρ λήψη τὸν ἀκροατὴν οὐκ ἀντικείμενος, συγχρώμενος δὲ ἐπαίνω πρὸς τὸ πεῖσαι. θεοῦ δὲ ἐνεργεία κατευθύνεται πειθώ.

amicably with the many different races who formed the population of his kingdom?' By acting the proper part towards each,' he replied, 'and taking righteousness as your guide, as you are now doing with the help of the insight which God bestows upon you.' 268 The king was delighted by this reply, and 268 Φιλοφρονηθείς δὲ τούτω πρὸς τὸν asked another 'Under what circumstances ought a man to suffer grief?' 'In the misfortunes that befall our friends,' he replied, 'when we see that they are protracted and irremediable. Reason does not allow us to grieve for those who are dead and set free from evil, but all men do grieve over them because they think only of

267 The king said that he had given a good

269 The king said that he had given a fitting answer, and asked another, 'How is reputation lost?' And he replied, 'When pride and unbounded self-confidence hold sway, dishonour and loss of reputation are engendered. For God is the Lord of all reputation and bestows it where He will.'

themselves and their own advantage. It is by

the power of God alone that we can escape

all evil.'

270 The king gave his confirmation to the answer, and asked the next man, 'To whom ought men to entrust themselves?' 'To those,' he replied, 'who serve you from goodwill and not from fear or self-interest, thinking only of their own gain. For the one is the sign of love, the other the mark of ill-will and timeserving. For the man who is always watching, for his own gain is a traitor at heart. But you possess the affection of all your subjects by the help of the good counsel which God bestows upon you.'

271 The king said that he had answered wisely, and asked another, 'What is it that

267 Εὖ δὲ λέγειν φήσας αὐτὸν ἕτερον answer, and asked another How he could live ἠρώτα Πῶς ἂν, παμμιγῶν ὄχλων ὄντων ἐν τῆ βασιλεία, τούτοις {ἁρμόσαι}; Τὸ πρέπον έκάστω συνυποκρινόμενος, εἶπε, καθηγεμόνα λαμβάνων δικαιοσύνην ώς καὶ ποιεῖς θεοῦ σοι διδόντος εὖ λογίζεσθαι.

> ^ετερον εἶπεν Ἐπὶ τίσι δεῖ λυπεῖσθαι; πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίθη Τὰ συμβαίνοντα τοῖς φίλοις ὅταν θεωρῶμεν πολυχρόνια καὶ ανέκφευκτα γινόμενα. τελευτήσασι μὲν γὰρ καὶ κακῶν ἀπολελυμένοις οὐχ ύπογράφει λύπην ὁ λόγος ἀλλὰ ἐφ' έαυτοὺς ἀναφέροντες καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς συμφέρον λυποῦνται πάντες ἄνθρωποι. τὸ δ' ἐκφυγεῖν πᾶν κακὸν θεοῦ δυνάμει νίνεται.

269 'Ως ἔδει δὲ φήσας αὐτὸν ἀποκρίνεσθαι πρὸς ἕτερον εἶπε Πῶς ἀδοξία γίνεται; έκεῖνος δὲ ἔφησεν Όταν ὑπερηφανία καθηγῆται καὶ θράσος ἄληκτον, άτιμασμός ἐπιφύεται καὶ δόξης ἀναίρεσις. θεὸς δὲ δόξης πάσης κυριεύει, ῥέπων οὖ βούλεται.

270 Καὶ τούτω δ' ἐπικυρώσας τὰ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως τὸν ἑξῆς ἠρώτα Τίσι δεῖ πιστεύειν έαυτόν; Τοῖς διὰ τὴν εὔνοιαν, εἶπε, συνοῦσί σοι, καὶ μὴ διὰ τὸν φόβον μηδὲ διὰ πολυωρίαν, ἐπανάγουσι πάντα πρὸς τὸ κερδαίνειν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀγαπήσεως σημεῖον, τὸ δὲ δυσνοίας καὶ καιροτηρησίας. δς γάρ ἐπὶ τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν {όρμᾶται} προδότης πέφυκε. σὺ δὲ πάντας εὐνόους ἔχεις θεοῦ σοι καλὴν βουλὴν διδόντος.

271 οφῶς δὲ αὐτὸν εἰπὼν ἀποκεκρίσθαι, έτέρω εἶπε Τί βασιλείαν διατηρεῖ; πρὸς

keeps a kingdom safe?' And he replied to the question, 'Care and forethought that no evil may be wrought by those who are placed in a position of authority over the people, and this you always do by the help of God who inspires you with grave judgement.

272 The king spoke words of encouragement to him, and asked another, 'What is it that maintains gratitude and honour?' And he replied, 'virtue, for it is the creator of good deeds, and by it evil is destroyed, even as you καθώς σὺ διατηρεῖς τὴν πρὸς ἅπαντας exhibit nobility of character towards all by the gift which God bestows upon you.'

273 The king graciously acknowledged the answer and asked the eleventh (since there were two more than seventy), How he could in time of war maintain tranquillity of soul? And he replied, 'By remembering that he had done no evil to any of his subjects, and that all would fight for him in return for the benefits which they had received, knowing that even if they lose their lives, you will care for those dependent on them.

274 For you never fail to make reparation to any-such is the kind-heartedness with which God has inspired you.' The king loudly applauded them all and spoke very kindly to them and then drank a long draught to the health of each, giving himself up to enjoyment, and lavishing the most generous and joyous friendship upon his guests.

275 On the seventh day much more extensive preparations were made, and many others were present from the different cities (among them a large number of ambassadors). When an opportunity occurred, the king asked the first of those who had not yet been questioned How he could avoid being deceived by fallacious reasoning?

τοῦτ' ἔφη Μέριμνα καὶ φροντίς, ὡς οὐδὲν κακουργηθήσεται διὰ τῶν ἀποτεταγμένων είς τοὺς ὄχλους ταῖς χρείαις καθὼς σὺ τοῦτο πράσσεις θεοῦ σοι τὴν σεμνὴν ἐπίνοιαν διδόντος.

272 Θαρσύνας δὲ τοῦτον ἔτερον ἐπηρώτα Τί διαφυλάσσει χάριτα καὶ τιμήν; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν Ἀρετή. καλῶν γὰρ ἔργων ἐστὶν έπιτέλεια, τὸ δὲ κακὸν ἀποτρίβεται καλοκάγαθίαν παρά θεοῦ δῶρον τοῦτ' ἔχων.

273 Κεχαρισμένως δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἀποδεξάμενος τὸν ἑνδέκατον ἐπηρώτα (διὰ τὸ δύο πλεονάζειν τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα) Πῶς ἂν κατὰ ψυχὴν καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις εἰρηνικῶς ἔχοι; ὁ δὲ ἀπεφήνατο Διαλαμβάνων ὅτι κακὸν οὐδὲν εἴργασται τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων οὐθενί, πάντες δὲ άγωνιοῦνται περί τῶν εὐεργετημάτων, είδότες, κἂν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἀποτρέχωσιν, έπιμελητήν σε τῶν βίων.

274 οὐ γὰρ διαλείπεις ἐπανορθῶν ἄπαντας τοῦ θεοῦ σοι καλοφροσύνην δεδωκότος. Ἐπισημήνας δὲ κρότω πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀπεδέξατο φιλοφρονούμενος, καὶ προπίνων ἑκάστω πλεῖόν τι πρὸς τὸ τερφθῆναι {ἐτράπη}, μετ' εὐφροσύνης τοῖς άνδράσι συνών καὶ χαρᾶς πλείονος.

275 Τῆ ἑβδόμη δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν, πλείονος παρασκευῆς γενομένης, προσπαραγινομένων πλειόνων έτέρων ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων (ἦσαν γὰρ ἱκανοὶ πρέσβεις), ἐπηρώτησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καιροῦ γενομένου τὸν πρωτεύοντα τῶν ἀπολιπόντων τῆς ἐρωτήσεως Πῶς ἂν ἀπαραλόγιστος {εἴη};

276 and he replied, 'By noticing carefully the speaker, the thing spoken, and the subject under discussion, and by putting the same questions again after an interval in different forms. But to possess an alert mind and to be able to form a sound judgement in every case is one of the good gifts of God, and you possess it, O King.'

277 The king loudly applauded the answer and asked another, Why is it that the majority of men never become virtuous? 'Because,' he replied, 'all men are by nature intemperate and inclined to pleasure. Hence, injustice springs up and a flood of avarice.

278 The habit of virtue is a hindrance to those who are devoted to a life of pleasure because it enjoins upon them the preference of temperance and righteousness. For it is God who is the master of these things.'

279 The king said that he had answered well, 279 Ε \tilde{i} δε ἀποκεκρίσθαι τοῦτον εἰπὼν ὁ and asked, 'What ought kings to obey?' And he said, 'The laws, in order that by righteous enactments they may restore the lives of men. Even as you by such conduct in obedience to the divine command have laid up in store for yourself a perpetual memorial.'

280 The king said that this man, too, had spoken well, and asked the next, 'Whom ought we to appoint as governors?' And he replied, 'All who hate wickedness, and imitating your own conduct act righteously that they may maintain a good reputation constantly. For this is what you do, O mighty King,' he said, 'and it is God who has bestowed upon you the crown of righteousness.'

281 The king loudly acclaimed the answer and then looking at the next man said,

276 ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔφη Δοκιμάζων καὶ τὸν λέγοντα καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον καὶ περὶ τίνος λέγει, καὶ ἐν πλείονι χρόνω τὰ αὐτὰ δι' έτέρων τρόπων ἐπερωτῶν. τὸ δὲ νοῦν έχειν όξὺν καὶ δύνασθαι κρίνειν ἕκαστα θεοῦ δώρημα καλόν ἐστιν· ὡς σὰ τοῦτο κέκτησαι, βασιλεῦ.

277 Κρότω δὲ ἐπισημηνάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς έτερον ἐπηρώτα Διὰ τί τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐ παραδέχονται τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ πλείονες; Ότι φυσικῶς ἄπαντες, εἶπεν, ἀκρατεῖς καὶ έπὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς τρεπόμενοι γεγόνασιν. ὧν χάριν ἀδικία πέφυκε καὶ τὸ τῆς πλεονεξίας χύμα.

278 τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς κατάστημα κωλύει τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους ἐπὶ τὴν ήδονοκρασίαν, έγκράτειαν δὲ κελεύει καὶ δικαιοσύνην προτιμᾶν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς πάντων ήγεῖται τούτων.

βασιλεὺς ἠρώτα Τίσι δεῖ κατακολουθεῖν . τοὺς βασιλεῖς; ὁ δὲ ἔφη Τοῖς νόμοις, ἵνα δικαιοπραγοῦντες ἀνακτῶνται τοὺς βίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων καθώς σὺ τοῦτο πράσσων άένναον μνήμην καταβέβλησαι σεαυτοῦ, θείω προστάγματι κατακολουθῶν.

280 Εἰπὼν δὲ καὶ τοῦτον καλῶς λέγειν τὸν έχόμενον ἠρώτα Τίνας δεῖ καθιστάνειν στρατηγούς; ὃς δὲ εἶπεν Όσοι μισοπονηρίαν ἔχουσι, καὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν αὐτοῦ μιμούμενοι, πρὸς τὸ διὰ παντὸς εὐδοξίαν ἔχειν αὐτούς, τὰ δίκαια πράσσουσι καθώς σὺ τοῦτο ἐπιτελεῖς, εἶπε, μέγιστε βασιλεῦ, θεοῦ σοι στέφανον δικαιοσύνης δεδωκότος.

281 'Αποδεξάμενος δὲ αὐτὸν μετὰ φωνῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐχόμενον ἐπιβλέψας εἶπε Τίνας δεῖ

Whom ought we to appoint as officers over the forces?' And he explained, 'Those who excel in courage and righteousness and those who are more anxious about the safety of their men than to gain a victory by risking their lives through rashness. For as God acts well towards all men, so too you ill imitation of Him are the benefactor of all your subjects.'

282 The king said that he had given a good answer and asked another, 'What man is worthy of admiration?' And he replied, 'The man who is furnished with reputation and wealth and power and possesses a soul equal to it all. You yourself show by your actions that you are most worthy of admiration through the help of God who makes you care for these things.

283 The king expressed his approval and said 283 Ἐπιφωνήσας δὲ καὶ τούτω πρὸς τὸν to another 'To what affairs ought kings to devote most time?' And he replied, 'To reading and the study of the records of official journeys, which are written in reference to the various kingdoms, with a view to the reformation and preservation of the subjects. And it is by such activity that you have attained to a glory which has never been approached by others, through the help of God who fulfils all your desires.'

284 The king spoke enthusiastically to the man and asked another, 'How ought a man to έτερον ἠρώτα Τίνας δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς occupy himself during his hours of relaxation and recreation?' And he replied, 'To watch those plays which can be acted with propriety and to set before one's eyes scenes taken from life and enacted with dignity and decency is profitable and appropriate. For there is some edification to be found even in these amusements,

285 for often some desirable lesson is taught 285 πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐλαχίστων by the most insignificant affairs of life. But by αίρετόν τι δείκνυται. σὸ δὲ πᾶσαν

καθιστάνειν ἐπὶ τῶν δυνάμεων ἄρχοντας; ό δὲ ἀπεφήνατο Τοὺς ἀνδρεία διαφέροντας καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιουμένους τὸ σώζειν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἢ τὸ νικᾶν, τῷ θράσει {παραβάλλοντας} τὸ ζῆν. ὡς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς εὖ έργάζεται πᾶσι, καὶ σὺ τοῦτον μιμούμενος εὐεργετεῖς τοὺς ὑπὸ σεαυτόν.

282 'Ο δὲ ἀποκεκρίσθαι φήσας αὐτὸν εὖ, ἄλλον ἠρώτα Τίνα θαυμάζειν ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπον; ὁ δὲ ἔφη Τὸν κεχορηγημένον δόξη καὶ πλούτω καὶ δυνάμει, καὶ ψυχὴν ἴσον πᾶσιν ὄντα· καθὼς σὺ τοῦτο ποιῶν άξιοθαύμαστος εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ σοι διδόντος είς ταῦτα τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν.

έτερον εἶπεν Ἐν τίσι δεῖ πράγμασι τοὺς βασιλεῖς τὸν πλείω χρόνον διάγειν; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν Ἐν ταῖς ἀναγνώσεσι καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν πορειῶν ἀπογραφαῖς διατρίβειν, ὅσαι πρὸς τὰς βασιλείας ἀναγεγραμμέναι τυγχάνουσι πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν καὶ διαμονήν άνθρώπων. δ σὺ πράσσων ανέφικτον αλλοις δόξαν κέκτησιν θεοῦ σοι τὰ βουλήματα συντελοῦντος.

284 Ένεργῶς δὲ καὶ τοῦτον προσειπὼν διαγωγάς έν ταῖς ἀνέσεσι καὶ ῥαθυμίαις; ὁ δὲ ἔφη Θεωρεῖν ὅσα {παίζεται} μετὰ περιστολῆς καὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τιθέναι τὰ τοῦ βίου μετ' εὐσχημοσύνης καὶ καταστολῆς γινόμενα {βίω συμφέρον καὶ καθῆκον}. ἔνεστι γὰρ καὶ ἐν τούτοις έπισκευή τις.

practicing the utmost propriety in all your actions, you have shown that you are a philosopher and you are honoured by God on account of your virtue.'

286 The king, pleased with the words which had just been spoken, said to the ninth man, 'How ought a man to conduct himself at banquets?' And he replied, 'You should summon to your side men of learning and those who are able to give you useful hints with regard to the affairs of your kingdom and the lives of your subjects (for you could not find any theme more suitable or more educative than this)

287 since such men are dear to God because they have trained their minds to contemplate the noblest themes - as you indeed are doing yourself, since all your actions are directed by God.'

288 Delighted with the reply, the king inquired of the next man, 'What is best for the people? That a private citizen should be made king over them or a member of the royal family?' And he replied, 'He who is best by nature.

289 For kings who come of royal lineage are often harsh and severe towards their subjects. And still more is this the case with some of those who have risen from the ranks of private citizens, who after having experienced evil and borne their share of poverty, when they rule over multitudes turn out to be more cruel than the godless tyrants.

290 But, as I have said, a good nature which has been properly trained is capable of ruling, and you are a great king, not so much έστί· καθώς σὸ βασιλεὸς μέγας ὑπάρχεις, because you excel in the glory of your rule and your wealth but rather because you have surpassed all men in clemency and philanthropy, thanks to God who has

ήσκηκώς καταστολήν διὰ τῶν ἐνεργεῖν φιλοσοφεῖς διὰ καλοκάγαθίαν ὑπὸ θεοῦ τιμώμενος.

286 Εὐαρεστήσας δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις πρὸς τὸν ἔνατον εἶπε Πῶς δεῖ διὰ τῶν συμποσίων διεξάγειν; ὁ δὲ ἔφησε Παραλαμβάνοντα τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς καὶ δυναμένους ὑπομιμνήσκειν τὰ {χρήσιμα τῆ βασιλεία} καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀρχομένων βίοις-έμμελέστερον ἢ μουσικώτερον οὐκ ὰν εύροις τι τούτων

287 οὖτοι γὰρ θεοφιλεῖς εἰσι πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα πεπαιδευκότες τὰς διανοίας καθώς καὶ σὺ τοῦτο πράσσεις, ώς ἂν ὑπὸ θεοῦ σοι κατευθυνομένων ἄπαντων.

288 Διαχυθείς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἐπυνθάνετο τοῦ μετέπειτα Τί κάλλιστόν έστι τοῖς ὄχλοις, ἐξ ἰδιώτου βασιλέα κατασταθῆναι (ἐπ') αὐτῶν, ἢ ἐκ βασιλέως βασιλέα; ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔφη Τὸ ἄριστον τῆ φύσει.

289 καὶ γὰρ ἐκ βασιλέων βασιλεῖς γινόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους άνήμεροί τε καὶ σκληροὶ καθίστανται· πολλῷ δὲ μᾶλλον καί τινες τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ κακῶν πεπειραμένοι καὶ πενίας μετεσχηκότες ἄρξαντες ὄχλων χαλεπώτεροι τῶν ἀνοσίων τυράννων έξέβησαν.

290 ἀλλὰ ὡς προεῖπον, ἦθος χρηστὸν καὶ παιδείας κεκοινωνηκὸς δυνατὸν ἄρχειν οὐ τοσοῦτον τῆ δόξη τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ πλούτω προσχών, ὅσον ἐπιεικεία καὶ φιλανθρωπία πάντας άνθρώπους

endowed you with these qualities.'

291 The king spent some time in praising this 291 Ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον καὶ τοῦτον man and then asked the last of all, 'What is the greatest achievement in ruling an empire?' And he replied, 'That the subjects should continually dwell in a state of peace, and that justice should be speedily administered in cases of dispute.

292 These results are achieved through the influence of the ruler, when he is a man who hates evil and loves the good and devotes his energies to saving the lives of men, just as you consider injustice the worst form of evil and by your just administration have fashioned for yourself an undying reputation, $|_{\sigma \in \alpha \cup \tau \ \delta \lor \delta}$ δόξαν κατεσκευάσας, τοῦ θεοῦ since God bestows upon you a mind which is pure and untainted by any evil.'

293 And when he ceased, loud and joyful applause broke out for some considerable time. When it stopped the king took a cup and gave a toast in honour of all his guests and the words which they had uttered. Then in conclusion he said, 'I have derived the greatest benefit from your presence.

294 I have profited much by the wise teaching which you have given me in reference to the art of ruling.' Then he ordered that three talents of silver should be presented to each of them, and appointed one of his slaves to deliver over the money. All at once shouted their approval, and the banquet became a scene of joy, while the king gave himself up to a continuous round of festivity.

295 I have written at length and must crave your pardon, Philocrates. I was astonished beyond measure at the men and the way in which on the spur of the moment they gave answers which really needed a long time to

ύπερῆρκας τοῦ θεοῦ σοι δεδωρημένου ταῦτα.

ἐπαινέσας τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἠρώτα Τί μέγιστόν ἐστι βασιλείας; πρὸς τοῦτο εἶπε Τὸ διὰ παντὸς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καθεστάναι τοὺς ύποτεταγμένους, καὶ κομίζεσθαι τὸ δίκαιον ταχέως ἐν ταῖς διακρίσεσι.

292 ταῦτα δὲ γίνεται διὰ τὸν ἡγούμενον, όταν μισοπόνηρος ή καὶ φιλάγαθος καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος ψυχὴν άνθρώπου σώζειν καθώς καὶ σὺ μέγιστον κακὸν ἥγησαι τὴν ἀδικίαν, δικαίως δὲ πάντα κυβερνῶν ἀένναον τὴν περὶ σοι διδόντος ἔχειν ἁγνὴν καὶ ἀμιγῆ παντὸς κακοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν.

293 Καταλήξαντος δὲ τούτου κατερράγη κρότος μετὰ φωνῆς καὶ χαρᾶς ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον. ώς δὲ ἐπαύσατο, ὁ βασιλεὺς λαβὼν ποτήριον ἐπεχέατο καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἁπάντων καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων λόγων. ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ εἶπε Τὰ μέγιστά μοι γέγονεν ἀγαθὰ παραγενηθέντων ὑμῶν·

294 πολλὰ γὰρ ὠφέλημαι, καταβεβλημένων ύμῶν διδαχὴν ἐμοὶ πρὸς τὸ βασιλεύειν. ἑκάστω δὲ τρία τάλαντα προσέταξεν ἀργυρίου δοθῆναι καὶ τὸν ἀποκαταστήσοντα παῖδα. συνεπιφωνησάντων δὲ πάντων, χαρᾶς ἐπληρώθη τὸ συμπόσιον, ἀδιαλείπτως τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς εὐφροσύνην τραπέντος.

295 Έγὼ δὲ {εἰ πεπλεόνακα,} τούτοις, ὧ Φιλόκρατες, συγγνώμην ἔχειν. τεθαυμακώς γὰρ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ τὸ δέον, ώς ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις

devise.

296 For though the questioner had given great thought to each particular question, those who replied one after the other had their answers to the questions ready at once and so they seemed to me and to all who were present and especially to the philosophers to be worthy of admiration. And μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις. οἴομαι δὲ καὶ I suppose that the thing will seem incredible to those who will read my narrative in the future.

297 But it is unseemly to misrepresent facts which are recorded in the public archives. And it would not be right for me to transgress in such a matter as this. I tell the story just as it happened, conscientiously avoiding any error. I was so impressed by the ἐπειράθην ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτῶν τὴν τοῦ force of their utterances, that I made an effort to consult those whose business it was to make a record of all that happened at the royal audiences and banquets.

298 For it is the custom, as you know, from the moment the king begins to transact business until the time when he retires to rest, for a record to be taken of all his sayings κατακοιμηθῆ, πάντα ἀναγράφεσθαι τὰ and doings - a most excellent and useful arrangement.

299 For on the following day the minutes of the doings and sayings of the previous day are read over before business commences, and if there has been any irregularity, the matter is at once set right.

300 I obtained therefore, as has been said, accurate information from the public records, and I have set forth the facts in proper order since I know how eager you are to obtain useful information.

301 Three days later Demetrius took the men 301 Μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁ Δημήτριος and passing along the sea-wall, seven stadia

έποιοῦντο πολλοῦ χρόνου δεομένας,

296 καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐρωτῶντος μεμεριμνηκότος ἕκαστα, τῶν δὲ ἀποκρινομένων καταλλήλως ἐχόντων τὰ πρὸς τὰς ἐρωτήσας, ἄξιοι θαυμασμοῦ κατεφαίνοντό μοι καὶ τοῖς παροῦσι, πᾶσι τοῖς παραληψομένοις τὴν άναγραφὴν ἄπιστον φανεῖται.

297 ψεύσασθαι μὲν οὖν οὐ καθῆκόν ἐστι περὶ τῶν ἀναγραφομένων εἰ δὲ καί τι παραβαίην, οὐχ ὅσιον ἐν τούτοις ἀλλ', ὡς γέγονεν, οὕτως διασαφοῦμεν άφοσιούμενοι πᾶν ἁμάρτημα. διόπερ λόγου δύναμιν παρὰ τῶν ἀναγραφομένων έκαστα τῶν γινομένων ἔν τε τοῖς χρηματισμοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ταῖς συμποσίαις μεταλαβεῖν.

298 ἔθος γάρ ἐστι, καθώς καὶ σὺ γινώσκεις, ἀφ' ἧς ἂν [ἡμέρας] ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄρξηται χρηματίζειν, μέχρις οὖ λεγόμενα καὶ πρασσόμενα, καλῶς γινομένου καὶ συμφερόντως.

299 τῆ γὰρ ἐπιούση τὰ τῆ πρότερον πεπραγμένα καὶ λελαλημένα πρὸ τοῦ χρηματισμοῦ παραναγινώσκεται, καί, εἴ τι μη δεόντως γέγονε, διορθώσεως τυγχάνει τὸ πεπραγμένον.

300 πάντ' οὖν ἀκριβῶς {παρὰ τῶν} ἀναγεγραμμένων, ώς ἐλέχθη, μεταλαβόντες κατακεχωρίκαμεν, είδότες ην έχεις φιλομάθειαν είς τὰ χρήσιμα.

παραλαβών αὐτούς, καὶ διελθών τὸ τῶν

long, to the island, crossed the bridge and made for the northern districts of Pharos. There he assembled them in a house, which had been built upon the sea-shore, of great beauty and in a secluded situation, and invited them to carry out the work of translation, since everything that they needed for the purpose was placed at their disposal.

302 So they set to work comparing their several results and making them agree, and whatever they agreed upon was suitably copied out under the direction of Demetrius.

303 And the session lasted until the ninth hour; after this they were set free to minister to their physical needs. Everything they wanted was furnished for them on a lavish scale.

304 In addition to this Dorotheus made the same preparations for them daily as were made for the king himself - for thus he had been commanded by the king. In the early morning they appeared daily at the court, and after saluting the king went back to their own place.

washed their hands in the sea and prayed to God and then devoted themselves to reading and translating the particular passage upon which they were engaged,

306 and I put the question to them, 'Why it was that they washed their hands before they prayed?' And they explained that it was a token that they had done no evil (for every form of activity is wrought by means of the hands) since in their noble and holy way they

έπτὰ σταδίων ἀνάχωμα τῆς θαλάσσης πρὸς τὴν νῆσον, καὶ διαβὰς τὴν γέφυραν, καὶ προσελθών ώς ἐπὶ τὰ βόρεια μέρη, συνέδριον ποιησάμενος είς κατεσκευασμένον οἶκον παρὰ τὴν ἠϊόνα, διαπρεπῶς ἔχοντα καὶ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας ἔφεδρον, παρεκάλει τοὺς ἄνδρας τὰ τῆς έρμηνείας ἐπιτελεῖν, παρόντων ὅσα πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἔδει καλῶς.

302 οἱ δὲ ἐπετέλουν ἕκαστα σύμφωνα ποιοῦντες πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς ἀντιβολαῖς. τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς συμφωνίας γινόμενον πρεπόντως ἀναγραφῆς οὕτως ἐτύγχανε παρὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου.

303 καὶ μέχρι μὲν ὥρας ἐνάτης τὰ τῆς συνεδρείας ἐγίνετο· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος θεραπείαν ἀπελύοντο γίνεσθαι, χορηγουμένων αὐτοῖς δαψιλῶς ὧν προηροῦντο πάντων.

304 ἐκτὸς δὲ καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν, ὅσα βασιλεῖ παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ τούτοις ὁ Δωρόθεος έπετέλει προστεταγμένον γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. ἄμα δὲ τῆ πρωΐα παρεγίνοντο εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν καθ' ἡμέραν, καὶ ποιησάμενοι τὸν ἀσπασμὸν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀπελύοντο πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτῶν τόπον.

305 And as is the custom of all the Jews, they 305 ώς δὲ ἔθος ἐστὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, {ἀπονιψάμενοι} τῆ θαλάσση τὰς χεῖρας, ώς ἂν εὔξωνται πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ἐτρέποντο πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν καὶ τὴν ἑκάστου διασάφησιν.

> 306 Ἐπηρώτησα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Τίνος χάριν απονιζόμενος τὰς χεῖρας τὸ τηνικαῦτα εὔχονται; διεσάφουν δέ, ὅτι μαρτύριόν έστι τοῦ μηδὲν εἰργάσθαι κακόν πᾶσα γὰρ ένέργεια διὰ τῶν χειρῶν γίνεται καλῶς καὶ ὁσίως μεταφέροντες ἐπὶ τὴν

regard everything as a symbol of righteousness and truth.

daily in the place which was delightful for its quiet and its brightness and applied themselves to their task. And it so chanced that the work of translation was completed in seventy-two days, just as if this had been arranged of set purpose.

308 When the work was completed, Demetrius collected together the Jewish population in the place where the translation had been made, and read it over to all, in the presence of the translators, who met with a great reception also from the people, because of the great benefits which they had conferred upon them.

309 They bestowed warm praise upon Demetrius, too, and urged him to have the whole law transcribed and present a copy to their leaders.

310 After the books had been read, the priests and the elders of the translators and the Jewish community and the leaders of the people stood up and said, that since so excellent and sacred and accurate a translation had been made, it was only right that it should remain as it was and no alteration should be made in it.

311 And when the whole company expressed 311 πάντων δ' ἐπιφωνησάντων τοῖς their approval, they bade them pronounce a curse in accordance with their custom upon any one who should make any alteration either by adding anything or changing in any way whatever any of the words which had been written or making any omission. This was a very wise precaution to ensure that the

δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν πάντα.

307 καθώς δὲ προειρήκαμεν, οὕτως καθ' 307 As I have already said, they met together έκαστην είς τὸν τόπον, ἔχοντα τερπνότητα διὰ τὴν ἠσυχίαν καὶ καταύγειαν, συναγόμενοι τὸ προκείμενον ἐπετέλουν. συνέτυχε δὲ οὕτως ἐν ἡμέραις έβδομήκοντα δυσὶ τελειωθῆναι τὰ τῆς μεταγραφῆς, οίονεὶ κατὰ πρόθεσίν τινα τοῦ τοιούτου γεγενημένου.

> 308 Τελείωσιν δὲ ὅτε ἔλαβε, συναγαγὼν ὁ Δημήτριος τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὸν τόπον, οὖ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἑρμηνείας έτελέσθη, παρανέγνω πᾶσι, παρόντων καὶ τῶν διερμηνευσάντων, οἵτινες μεγάλης αποδοχής καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἔτυχον, ώς ἀνμεγάλων ἀγαθῶν παραίτιοι γεγονότες.

309 ώσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἀποδεξάμενοι παρεκάλεσαν μεταδοῦναι τοῖς ἡγουμένοις αὐτῶν, μεταγράψαντα τὸν πάντα νόμον.

310 καθώς δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη τὰ τεύχη, στάντες οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ τῶν ἑρμηνέων οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολιτεύματος οἵ τε ἡγούμενοι τοῦ πλήθους εἶπον Ἐπεὶ καλῶς καὶ ὁσίως διηρμήνευται καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ἠκριβωμένως, καλῶς ἔχον ἐστίν, ἵνα διαμείνη ταῦθ' ούτως ἔχοντα, καὶ μὴ γένηται μηδεμία διασκευή.

είρημένοις, ἐκέλευσαν διαράσασθαι, καθώς ἔθος αὐτοῖς ἐστιν, εἴ τις διασκευάσει προστιθείς ἢ μεταφέρων τι τὸ σύνολον τῶν γεγραμμένων ἢ ποιούμενος ἀφαίρεσιν, καλῶς τούτο πράσσοντες, ἵνα διὰ παντὸς ἀένναα καὶ μένοντα

book might be preserved for all the future time unchanged.

312 When the matter was reported to the king, he rejoiced greatly, for he felt that the design which he had formed had been safely carried out. The whole book was read over to him and he was greatly astonished at the spirit of the lawgiver. And he said to Demetrius, 'How is it that none of the historians or the poets have ever thought it worth their while to allude to such a wonderful achievement?'

313 And he replied, 'Because the law is sacred and of divine origin. And some of those who formed the intention of dealing with it have been smitten by God and therefore desisted from their purpose.'

314 He said that he had heard from Theopompus that he had been driven out of his mind for more than thirty days because he intended to insert in his history some of the incidents from the earlier and somewhat unreliable translations of the law. When he had recovered a little, he besought God to make it clear to him why the misfortune had befallen him.

315 And it was revealed to him in a dream, that from idle curiosity he was wishing to communicate sacred truths to common men, and that if he desisted he would recover his health.

316 I have heard, too, from the lips of Theodektes, one of the tragic poets, that when he was about to adapt some of the incidents recorded in the book for one of his plays, he was affected with cataract in both his eyes. And when he perceived the reason why the misfortune had befallen him, he prayed to God for many days and was afterwards restored.

317 And after the king, as I have already

φυλάσσηται.

312 Προσφωνηθέντων δὲ καὶ τούτων τῷ βασιλεῖ μεγάλως ἐχάρη· τὴν γὰρ πρόθεσιν, ἢν εἴχεν, ἀσφαλῶς ἔδοξε τετελειῶσθαι. παρανεγνώσθη δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πάντα, καὶ λίαν ἐξεθαύμασε τὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου διάνοιαν. καὶ πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον εἶπε Πῶς τηλικούτων συντετελεσμένων οὐδεὶς ἐπεβάλετο τῶν ἱστορικῶν ἢ ποιητῶν ἐπιμνησθῆναι;

313 ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔφη Διὰ τὸ σεμνὴν εἶναι τὴν νομοθεσίαν καὶ διὰ θεοῦ γεγονέναι καὶ τῶν ἐπιβαλλομένων τινὲς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πληγέντες τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀπέστησαν.

314 καὶ γὰρ ἔφησεν ἀκηκοέναι Θεοπόμπου, διότι μέλλων τινὰ τῶν προηρμηνευμένων ἐπισφαλέστερον ἐκ τοῦ νόμου προσιστορεῖν ταραχὴν λάβοι τῆς διανοίας πλεῖον ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἄνεσιν ἐξιλάσκεσθαι τὸν θεόν, σαφὲς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, τίνος χάριν τὸ συμβαῖνόν ἐστι.

315 δι' ὀνείρου δὲ σημανθέντος, ὅτι τὰ θεῖα βούλεται περιεργασάμενος εἰς κοινοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκφέρειν, ἀποσχόμενον δὲ οὕτως ἀποκαταστῆναι.

316 καὶ παρὰ Θεοδέκτου δὲ τοῦ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν ποιητοῦ μετέλαβον ἐγώ, διότι παραφέρειν μέλλοντός τι τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων ἐν τῆ βίβλῳ πρός τι δρᾶμα τὰς ὄψες ἀπεγλαυκώθη· καὶ λαβὼν ὑπόνοιαν, ὅτι διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ τὸ σύμπτωμα γέγονεν, ἐξιλασάμενος τὸν θεὸν ἐν πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ἀποκατέστη.

317 Μεταλαβὼν δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς, καθὼς

said, had received the explanation of Demetrius on this point, he did homage and ordered that great care should be taken of the books, and that they should be sacredly guarded.

318 And he urged the translators to visit him frequently after their return to Judea, for it was only right, he said, that he should now send them home. But when they came back, he would treat them as friends, as was right, and they would receive rich presents from him.

319 He ordered preparations to be made for them to return home, and treated them most munificently. He presented each one of them of gold, a sideboard weighing one talent, all the furniture for three couches.

320 And with the escort he sent Eleazar ten couches with silver legs and all the necessary equipment, a sideboard worth thirty talents, ten robes, purple, and a magnificent crown, and a hundred pieces of the finest woven linen, also bowls and dishes, and two golden beakers to be dedicated to God.

321 He urged him also in a letter that if any of the men preferred to come back to him, not to hinder them. For he counted it a great privilege to enjoy the society of such learned men, and he would rather lavish his wealth upon them than upon vanities.

322 And now Philocrates, you have the complete story in accordance with my promise. I think that you find greater pleasure in these matters than in the writings of the mythologists. For you are devoted to

προεῖπον, περὶ τούτων τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου, προσκυνήσας ἐκέλευσε μεγάλην ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι τῶν βιβλίων καὶ συντηρεῖν ἁγνῶς.

318 παρακαλέσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἑρμηνεῖς, ίνα παραγίνωνται πυκνότερον πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐὰν ἀποκατασταθῶσιν εἰς τὴν 'Ιουδαίων,—δίκαιον γὰρ εἶπε τὴν έκπομπὴν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι· παραγενηθέντες δέ, ώς θέμις, ἕξειν αὐτοὺς φίλου, καὶ {πολυωρία} τῆς μεγίστης τεύξεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ.

319 τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐκπομπὴν αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἑτοιμάζειν, μεγαλομερῶς τοῖς άνδράσι χρησάμενος. ἑκάστω γὰρ στολὰς τάλαντα δύο καὶ κυλίκιον ταλάντου καὶ τρικλίνου πᾶσαν κατάστρωσιν.

320 ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἐλεαζάρῳ μετὰ τῆς έκπομπῆς αὐτῶν ἀργυρόποδας κλίνας δέκα καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα πάντα καὶ κυλίκιον ταλάντων τριάκοντα καὶ στολὰς δέκα καὶ πορφύραν καὶ στέφανον διαπρεπῆ καὶ βυσσίνων όθονίων ίστοὺς έκατὸν καὶ φιάλας καὶ τρυβλία καὶ κρατῆρας χρυσοῦς δύο πρὸς ἀνάθεσιν.

321 ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ παρακαλῶν, ἵνα, ἐάν τινες τῶν ἀνδρῶν προαιρῶνται πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνακομισθῆναι, μὴ κωλύση, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις συνεῖναι, καὶ εἰς τοιούτους τὸν πλοῦτον κατατίθεσθαι δαψιλῶς, καὶ οὐκ εἰς μάταια.

322 Σὺ δέ, καθὼς ἐπηγγειλάμην, ἀπέχεις τὴν διήγησιν, ὧ Φιλόκρατες. τέρπειν γὰρ οἴομαί σε ταῦτα ἢ τὰ τῶν μυθολόγων βιβλία. νένευκας γὰρ πρὸς περιεργίαν τῶν the study of those things which can benefit the soul, and spend much time upon it. I shall attempt to narrate whatever other events are worth recording, that by perusing them you may secure the highest reward for your zeal.

found in R. H. Charles, ed., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English* [Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1913]).

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δυναμένων ώφελεῖν διάνοιαν, καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὸν πλείονα χρόνον διατελεῖς. πειράσομαι δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἀναγράφειν, ἵνα διαπορευόμενος αὐτὰ κομίζῃ τοῦ βουλήματος τὸ κάλλιστον ἔπαθλον.

The Greek text of *Aristeas* is presented here as it appears in H. St. J. Thackeray, 'Appendix: The Letter of Aristeas,' in H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), pp. 531-50 (introduction), pp. 551-606 (Greek text).

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